

CLASS AND ETHNICITY: THE POLITICS AND IDEOLOGIES
OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA,
CIRCA 1890-1924

by
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Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Cape Town
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1982

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis demonstrates the significance of class and ethnicity as determinants of the political attitudes and ideologies of the Greek community in South Africa. The periodisation of the history of the Greek community in South Africa undertaken in this thesis supports five major hypotheses which are tested, i.e. that ethnic and national solidarity are socially created phenomena, class factors play an important role in the life of the immigrants and that absence of intra-ethnic conflict stems from the non-existence of antagonistic social relations amongst different social strata of the same ethnic group. It also supports the hypotheses that the diffusion of ideologies and politics predominating in the country of origin of the immigrants plays a significant part in their life process and that the existence of political and social forces within the host country contribute to the shaping of individuals' and groups' political responses and attitudes.

The study is organised both chronologically and thematically and includes chapters on the early Greek immigrants and their participation in the Anglo-Boer war, their role as workers in the goldmines and in the economy generally, and traces the origins and development of their national institutions such as the communities, churches, press, schools, voluntary associations, etc.

The basic sources used were the South African official statistics, documents located in the Greek communities, personal reminiscences, newspapers and oral sources. The significance of the thesis, which can be classified as

a socio-historical study of the Greeks during the period circa 1890-1924, lies in the fact that it is the first attempt to write the history of this community in South Africa.

The basic findings of the thesis point to the fact that class and ethnicity were the major factors shaping the political attitudes and ideological attitudes of the Greek immigrants in South Africa during the period examined.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In preparing this thesis, I am indebted to many individuals and institutions. Several colleagues have read parts or the whole of the thesis and made various suggestions from which I have profited greatly. Dr Neville Alexander of the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town has read the theoretical introduction and made various suggestions that crystallised my position. Dr Edna Bradlow of the History Department of the University of Cape Town read parts of the thesis, and Dr C C Saunders, of the same Department, read the whole thesis. Both made valuable comments and suggestions. Dr David Ticktin, whose 1974 Ph.D thesis was a breakthrough in research on the South African Labour Movement, was a constant source of encouragement, and I have benefitted tremendously from his thorough knowledge of the early period of South African Labour History.

My sincerest thanks go to the chairpersons of the Hellenic communities of Pretoria, Cape Town and Johannesburg - Messrs J Kallinicos, C Martalas and S Lagoudis - for their invaluable help and encouragement. Without their help my task would have been impossible to complete. My thanks also to the secretaries and teachers of these communities whose support and kindness was continuous.

The staff of the South African Public Library in Cape Town and the staff of the University of Cape Town Library, especially those of the Africana Division, were always most helpful, courteous and patient.. Special thanks also to the Interlibrary Loan Division of the University of Cape Town. I would like to thank the staff of the Public Libraries of Johannesburg and Pretoria, and the staff of the Central

Archives in the Union Building, Pretoria.

My sincerest thanks to all the people who gave generously of their time in interviews, and especially the late Messrs Maropoulos, Athanasopoulos and Dimitrakakis. Without their help and sharing of memories of the old days this thesis would be very incomplete indeed.

Financially I was supported by Research Scholarships from the University of Cape Town in 1980 and 1981, and a generous bursary from the Hellenic community of Cape Town in 1982. To both institutions, my warmest thanks as they made my full-time research possible.

My good friend Arthur (Athanasios) Gratjios, a lecturer in Law at the University of Durban-Westville, was a constant companion during all these years and helped me tremendously during the final stages of my research. Mrs Velma Vulliamy was a constant source of encouragement and kindness. She edited and typed the entire thesis. Without her invaluable help and patience my task would have been impossible to complete. My sincerest appreciation to my supervisor, Dr Ken Jubber of the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town. He read the whole manuscript of my thesis and his sharp criticism and suggestions were a source of continuous stimulation and guidance.

My father, Tassos Mantzaris, kept me in touch with the wave of new Greek literature on politics and ideology and, during the time of my research, sent me many books dealing with different aspects of Greek society. My late father-in-law, Tassos C Vagiacos, who was born in Germiston, the son of a Greek pioneer in South Africa who was a soldier in the Anglo-Boer war, was a constant source of encouragement, moral and financial. His efforts and comradeship will never be forgotten.

My wife, Athena, and mother-in-law, Andromachi,

deserve my sincerest words of appreciation. Their affection and interest in my work and their moral and financial support made this thesis possible.

June 1982

EVANGELOS A MANTZARIS

KEY TO MAP

ΚΡΗΤΗ	CRETE
ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΑ	DODECANESE
ΚΥΚΛΑΔΕΣ	CYCLADES ISLANDS
ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ	PELOPONNESUS
ΑΤΤΙΚΗ	ATTICA
ΕΥΒΟΙΑ	EVIA
ΦΩΚΙΑ	PHOKIS
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ	THESSALY
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ	SALONICA
ΑΘΗΝΑ	ATHENS
ΧΑΛΚΙΔΙΚΗ	CHALKIDIKI
ΜΙΚΡΑ ΑΣΙΑ	ASIA MINOR
ΣΜΥΡΝΗ	SMYRNA
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ	MACEDONIA
ΘΡΑΚΗ	THRACE
ΑΙΓΑΙΟ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ	AEGEAN SEA
ΙΟΝΙΟΙ ΝΗΣΟΙ	IONIAN ISLANDS
ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ	EPIRUS

— — — — —	ΣΥΝΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ 1832	1832 BORDERS
- . - . - . - .	ΣΥΝΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ 1881	1881 BORDERS
.	ΣΥΝΟΡΑ ΤΟΥ 1913	1913 BORDERS
— . — . — . —	ΣΥΝΟΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΗΣ	1920 BORDERS SETTLED
	ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΡΩΝ 1920	AFTER PEACE TREATY
— — — — —	ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΑ ΣΥΝΟΡΑ.	CONTEMPORARY BORDERS

A CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN GREECE: 1897-1925

Some readers may find difficulty in following the references to Greek history. The chronological diary below will help them to familiarise themselves with the period of Greek history (1897-1924) referred to in the thesis. Those who will find difficulty in following the Venizelian-Anti-Venizelian debate will benefit especially from this chronological history.

1897: Turkish-Greek War. Greece defeated, Turks move to Thessalia (May). Constantinople Treaty: Greece re-annexes Thessalia. Crete gains political autonomy.

1903: Greek militant nationalists create "The Macedonian Commissariat", with plans to intensify struggle against the Turks in Macedonia.

1905: Venizelos, living in Crete, rebels against Prince George, Governor-General of Crete. The "Therissos Revolution", led by Venizelos. George Theotokis becomes Prime Minister following the assassination of Theo Deligiannis.

1906: Prince George resigns as Governor-General of Crete. A Zaimis, a Greek politician, takes his place.

1908: Cretans announce their unification with Greece. The Young Turks Movement in Turkey is established.

1909: Venizelos prominent in unification movement. Prime Minister of the Cretan State (May). Creation of the Military Association. The "Goudi" Movement by young army officers. Venizelos is called upon to act as political adviser to the Association.

1910: Elections, Venizelos comes to power for the first time. He starts by taking steps towards progressive changes directly affecting Greek society.

1912: Liberals win elections again. Italians invade Dodecanese. First of the Balkan Wars. Greeks victoriously enter Salonica.

1913: Greek army enters Ioannina. George I is assassinated. Second Balkan War. Treaties of Bucharest and Athens. Greece annexes Crete.

1915: Venizelos asks Entente if they need Greek army's help in Gallipoli operations. Disagreement between King Constantine and Venizelos; latter resigns. Venizelos wins elections, but his government is ostracised; Zaimis becomes Prime Minister. British and French armies arrive in Salonica. New elections, the Liberals abstain.

1916: French annexe Corfu. Allies pressurise Greece. Subsequent governments under Zaimis, Dimitrakopoulos, N Kalogeropoulos. Bulgarians invade Kavala. Venizelos rebels once again by establishing government in exile in Salonica. The "Battle of Athens".

1917: Subsequent governments. Italians invade Ioannina. King Constantine resigns and leaves Greece; Alexander becomes King. Venizelos returns and becomes Prime Minister.

1918: End of First World War. Bulgaria Treaty.

1919: Greek army against the Bolshevik Revolution. Greek army to Smyrna (Turkey).

1920: Greek army enters Prousa and Andrianople. Treaty of Sevres. Assassination attempt against Venizelos in

Paris. Death of King Alexander. Venizelos defeated in elections. Referendum: King Constantine returns to Greece.

1921: Greek offensive against the Turks in Asia Minor. Battle of Saygarius River.

1922: Turks' offensive leads to annexation of Smyrna again. Military coups in Chios and Lesbos (Greece). King Constantine resigns, and leaves Greece. George II becomes King. Heavy defeat of Greek army leading to the "Asia Minor destruction". One million five hundred thousand Greek refugees from Asia Minor move to Greece. Political problems. Execution of six men thought responsible for the Asia Minor destruction. Plasteras, leader of military coup.

1923: The Lausanne Treaty. Italians invade Corfu. Venizelos wins elections; King George expelled.

1924: Venizelos returns to Greece. He becomes Prime Minister but resigns after two months. Subsequent governments under Kafandaris, Papanastasiou, Sofoulis, Michalakopoulos.

1925: The final result of political uncertainty: Pangalos' military dictatorship. Parliament dissolved.

ABBREVIATIONS

A R M	Assistant Regional Magistrate
C I D	Criminal Investigation Department
H C C T	Hellenic Community of Cape Town
H C C T A	Hellenic Community of Cape Town Archives
H C J	Hellenic Community of Johannesburg
H C P	Hellenic Community of Pretoria
H C P A	Hellenic Community of Pretoria Archives
I S L	International Socialist League
M L A	Member of the Legislative Assembly
M P C	Member of the Provincial Council
R C	Recruiting Committee
S D F	Social Democratic Federation
T M A	Transvaal Miners' Association
W T L C	Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council

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I N T R O D U C T I O N A N D H Y P O T H E S E S

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITIONS AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

Examining class and ethnicity as integral components of a particular social formation and especially trying to use them as variables determining the political and ideological attitudes and activities of a distinct social category within that formation is not an easy task. De Maistre illustrated this difficulty a long time ago when he wrote that:

I have seen, in my time, Frenchmen, Italians and Russians; I even know, thanks to Montesquieu, that one may be a Persian; but as for man I declare that I never met him in my life; if he exists it is without my knowledge.¹

What de Maistre wanted to emphasise with that statement was the attention paid at that time to ethnicity, as a "communalistic" form of social allegiance/commitment based on an assumption of common bonds/ties between people sharing common origin and culture. The resurgence of the subject since then is beyond doubt. New controversies appeared which challenged the old questions, voluminous books and thousands of articles pointed out the importance and significance of the old questions of "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" to sociologists, historians, lawyers, political scientists, anthropologists and biologists, and the ideological and political connotations of these terms were discussed in academic theses, political meetings, sociological and other academic conferences and "revolutionary councils".

And class? The term, used in a very loose way by

theorists such as Saint-Simon, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Proudhon and Thierry before it became a focal point in Marx's analysis of precapitalist and capitalist formations, was given a totally different treatment by Max Weber and his followers. It is still used as a tool of analysis by American sociologists and other social scientists in the Weberian and functionalist mould and by Marxists and those who are labelled "Neo-Marxists". The literature on the problem and the academic and political significance of its historical evolution and development abounds in volumes of books, articles and debates, in the same way as the literature on ethnicity and ethnic groups. It is therefore essential to clarify our position regarding both "ethnic group" and class, before proceeding to an analysis of the concrete problem of the significance of class and ethnicity as determinants of the political and ideological attitudes and practices of the social category under examination.

(A) ETHNICITY, ETHNIC GROUP, NATION

The theoretical discussions on ethnicity and ethnic groups are many and diverse and repetition would be both fruitless and time- and space-consuming. However, in view of the fact that these concepts will play a major role in the process of examining and analysing the existence, evolution and activities of the group/subject of this research, the views of the writer must be stated. Research involving ethnicity and ethnic groups has increased in quantity and scope and the fact that there is no marked consensus amongst social scientists regarding basic elements of the concepts is not strange. Viewpoints of American scholars draw conclusions from the American experience, Europeans from European historical experience, and the same applies with African and Australian scientists. Several scholars have tried to measure ethnicity, others have treated it as an abstract entity. Can we find the vital link? And how? This is a very difficult task but an

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effort to do so is more than worthwhile. Starting with an exploration of some methodological considerations in the definition of ethnicity we must refer specifically to some articles relevant to the subject which have appeared periodically in academic journals, i.e. those of Obidinski,² Burgess,³ Connor,⁴ Isajiw,⁵ and McKay and Lewins.⁶

These articles, all of them important in their own right, have tried to solve some very basic theoretical and conceptual problems relating to the reality of ethnicity and ethnic groups. Obidinski sees ethnicity as a process or consequence of social interaction and describes several criteria for the operational measurement of it. Burgess periodises in a sophisticated way the different characteristics of ethnicity and criteria and concepts applying to ethnic groups as well as the factors facilitating the resurgence of ethnicity. Connor clarifies with sufficient detail the differences and similarities between nation and ethnic group with a good description of ethnicity. Isajiw examines the weaknesses and limitations of several definitions of ethnicity. And McKay and Lewins make several important methodological and conceptual notes on ethnic and social categories and groups by incorporating within their framework new concepts and analytical tools such as the distinction between ethnic awareness and ethnic consciousness.

A deeper exploration of the concepts examined and analysed in these articles, and of the existing vast literature on the subject for that matter, would involve not only painstaking research but also would result in a voluminous thesis on its own. This is why it is intended to enumerate the major methodological and analytical problems on the subject appearing in these articles and in the vast sociological and anthropological literature generally and, after examining and scrutinising them carefully, to give alternative explanations to be used in the process of this thesis. Firstly, all of these writers agree basically that

ethnicity is a synthetic term that cannot be understood apart from ethnic groups, or as Burgess has put it "ethnic groups are of course the sine qua non of ethnicity".⁷ The other apparent common ground to be found in these articles is related to the characteristics of ethnicity and the criteria that define the subject.

The first one is basically rooted in the non-rational versus rational characteristics or the primacy of the view that ethnicity is a primordial, innate or "instinctive" predisposition over the view that it is something more voluntary, functional, pragmatic, something "that changes periodically".⁸ The debate on the subject still continues, but the extremist positions adopted by both categories of writers and the "biologically rooted" conceptions and the deterministic vulgarity of many of these theories make this discussion invalid, and thus it will not be included within the framework of this thesis.⁹ The objective versus subjective criteria that define ethnicity is a very important subject of debate and will play an integral part in our definition of the ethnic group in question and thus will be examined more closely.

From the time of Durkheim many sociologists have tended to view ethnicity as but one type of some broader sociological phenomenon. This view can be more easily understood from the writings of Glazer and Moynihan who use the term stressing both the condition of group belonging and the character of the group.¹⁰ These are probably the only writers on the subject using both these criteria, because most of the others prefer to emphasise only one.¹¹ The symbolic aspects of ethnicity play a very important role in the foundation of objective criteria. These could include a cultural content, a territorial or a biological one, or a combination of all of them.¹²

The exponents of the use of subjective criteria in the definition of ethnicity follow Weber's perception of

an ethnic group. Ethnicity, according to Weber, was a matter of belief:

We shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of custom or both or because of memories of colonisation and emigration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation: conversely it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter. In our sense ethnic membership does not constitute a group - it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere ...¹³

This Weberian definition, which is very useful for many scholars even today, because it allows concrete studies examining different ethnic groups in various social formations to include wider variations of individuals (or groups) than would a purely "cultural" or "religious" definition of ethnic group, has paved the way for many theorists to adopt a similarly "subjective" outlook in defining and analysing ethnic groups. One of the most important components of the "subjective outlook" is identity or ethnic self-definition, which ultimately leads to ethnic awareness or ethnic consciousness. It would be a mistake, however, to classify these components as purely subjective because, as it is hoped to show, they are directly related to the objective material conditions of the social formation within which the ethnic group is living and acting.

Let us briefly examine these concepts, one by one. By identity or self-definition is meant the sense of "togetherness" felt by the members of a particular ethnic group because of the realisation of common cultural, religious or other ties, which ultimately leads to two levels of consciousness as stated by McKay and Lewins:

- (a) The level of ethnic awareness which exists when an individual knows that (s)he possesses a certain

ethnic trait(s) which is not more meaningful than his (her) other cultural, physical, social or territorial characteristics. In a situation of ethnic awareness ethnic groups are conceptualised mainly in cultural terms and in terms of individual identities.

- (b) The level of ethnic consciousness where ethnically conscious individuals manifest strong sentiments about their uniqueness, and the fact leading to a "we/they" mentality subsequently resulting in conflict or tension situations.¹⁴

Bearing in mind that McKay's and Lewins' logic behind this classification is basic truths, the writer would like to dissociate himself from the arbitrary conclusion relating the "we/they" mentality to tension and conflict. Here it appears that the authors do not have a clear picture of the difference between ethnic awareness or consciousness, and false (or naive) ethnocentrism. Their hypothesis could be correct in a situation of African versus European, Swiss versus Italian, Yugoslav versus Turkish immigrant, or Greek versus Barbarian, but it would not entail ethnic consciousness at all, simply a false ethnocentrism.¹⁵ This is a point missed by the authors, who would obviously be correct in their hypothesis in the case of pre-war or war periods, revolutionary situations, or occupation and/or open discrimination of one group over another.

How, then, will we classify our ethnic group? In other words, what criteria should be used to define a person as a Greek? It is the writer's opinion that both subjective and objective criteria should be used - firstly because by only using objective criteria we would fail to grasp, understand and analyse ethnic awareness or consciousness and their material outputs (i.e. Greek nationalism); and, secondly, by using only subjective criteria, we would definitely fail to understand the objective material conditions (causes) under which the previously mentioned effects were produced, developed and flourished.

The principal criteria used in the thesis to define an individual as a Greek are:

- (a) self-definition;
- (b) definition by significant others (such as political groups, or elites, governments, state officials or peer groups); and
- (c) having one or both parents who define themselves as Greeks, or are defined as such by significant others.

Let us now consider the difference between a nation (or an ethnos) and an ethnic group, as they will be used as central concepts in this analysis. The term nation (or ethnos) can generally be used in two ways:

- (a) in the sense of a political entity, and sovereign state; and
- (b) in the sense of a community of people, linked by a common cultural-linguistic historical experience of living and working together, whether or not in possession of their own state.

The former sense applies to countries as state entities, the latter to collectivities of people.¹⁶

It is obvious that the second meaning of the concept "nation", when applied to the group under examination, does not differ from the concept of "ethnic group" as explained previously. The use of the term "ethnic group" then is one of convenience, but the concept "nation" will be used in the latter sense as a conceptual tool in analysing certain developments within those groups (for example, in the case of the Greeks, as a people class).

(B) CHALLENGING THE WISDOM OF THE THEORIES OF ETHNICITY

Theories on ethnicity, ethnic groups and categories, and nations have contributed considerably to our knowledge of complex social phenomena such as ethnocentrism, ethnic

characters and their formations, inter-ethnic conflicts, etc. Can we argue, however, that the conventional wisdom of ethnicity and ethnic group theorists gives a complete and global view of the roots and development of ethnic groups within a social formation and, if not, what are the reasons for this negative answer?

While Burgess is correct in her criticisms of both functionalism and the functionalists in their attempts to understand and analyse ethnicity and the ethnic groups, and similarly critical of development and modernisation theorists (the "liberal expectancy" in the words of Gordon), she is only partly correct when accusing Marxist theorists of ignoring ethnic antagonisms and theories of ethnic groups and factors as tools analysing and understanding stratification systems. It is simply not true that Marxist ideology points to class membership as the cornerstone of corporate interests and that class circumstances were the mainline of division, erasing earlier ties of "tribe" language, or national origin.¹⁷

Although Marx, Engels and the other classic theorists of Marxism, including Lenin, Trotsky, Mao and Gramsci, paid peripheral attention to the question of nationalities, ethnic groups and ethnicity, people such as Bauer and the Austro-Marxists played an important role in recognising the problem as a serious one and explaining it in detail. Burgess falls into the "old trap" of using the terms "Marxism" or "Marxian" only in reference to the classic theorists. A new generation of Marxists, however, has contributed considerably to our understanding of ethnic conflicts and tensions, nationalist movements or multi-ethnic social formations.

As noted earlier, several people think that the resurgence of ethnicity and the contemporary analyses of the concepts related to it have taken place because of specific historical circumstances, and Burgess pinpoints most of

them with considerable clarity in the abovementioned article. The historical realities prevailing in different social formations all around the world make questions on ethnicity and ethnic groups significant both academically and politically, and Glazer and Moynihan were not exaggerating when, several years ago, they claimed that:

We are suggesting that a new word reflects a new reality and a new usage reflects a change in that reality. The new word is "ethnicity" and the new usage is the steady expansion of the term "ethnic group" from minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society - groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome - to major elements of society.¹⁸

The writer has committed himself in accepting certain elements of ethnicity theories which will be incorporated in this thesis and will be used as analytical tools and concepts, but this does not mean that a critical look at ethnicity theories as a whole is out of the question. On the contrary, it is sincerely believed that the vast majority of theorists of ethnic groups and ethnicity base themselves on wrong foundations, for several reasons.

- (a) They fail to realise and analyse the class distinctions within ethnic groups. This failure (evident in most theoretical and empirically-based books, articles and monographs), leads the majority of theorists of ethnicity to a false picture of ethnicity as the only determinant of political and ideological attitudes. They fail to see and examine the class differentiations within ethnic groups and thus lose sight of the dynamics of "a class analysis within an ethnic group situation". This failure leads automatically to a relegation of historical realities to non-existent or obscure historical instances. The assumption that all ethnic groups are homogeneous because of "their cultural-language ties and other common characteristics" leads these theorists to false conclusions, because changing historical conditions within a

particular social formation tend to have different effects on the economic, political and ideological conditions and attitudes of groups occupying different positions within the production process (even in cases where they share common ethnic allegiances or form a part of the same ethnic structure). This assumption fails to realise and analyse social processes such as the establishment of separate class subcultures within ethnic groups and the creation of new norms of contact and behaviour determined both by ethnic and class factors.

These theorists also fail to see and analyse the phenomenon of cross-ethnic class solidarity and alignments taking place in different societies under concrete historical circumstances.

But these failures have their roots deeper into the ideology on which the vast majority of studies of ethnic groups are based: a highly idealist perception of the laws of motion characterising the conditions of different social formations.¹⁹

- (b) Many of the "ethnicity theorists" fall into the idealist trap of the Hegelian method where the Idea (or the Reason), in our case ethnicity, is the true and eternal, the absolute powerful essence. Many of the theorists of ethnicity fail to see the concept in perspective, they fail to see it as a process created and developed within a real and material world.

Let us demistify some of the conventional wisdoms of these "ethnicity theorists". Orlando Patterson, one of the "gurus" of ethnicity theorists, writes thus on ethnicity:

Ethnicity is above all a form of commitment; it is an ideology, or more properly, a faith; one that is often secular, but it is also frequently a secular faith layered on a more profound religious faith.²⁰

What does commitment mean, however, especially in the writing of a theorist who claims that he attempts to analyse his subject, having as a starting point the assumption

that ethnicity is to be found "in the roots of Western culture"?

Does it mean that ethnicity is an Idea, an ideology rooted in the Absolute? Perhaps it does, because the Hegelian influences on Patterson, which seem to fit with his Kantian absolutism,²¹ do not allow him to elaborate on the crucial aspects of the subject; and the same applies to other theorists who wrote before and after him on the subject using the same idealist framework of analysis. Patterson and the others do not see ethnicity as a phenomenon rooted in the laws of social development, and thus a creation of the consciousness and activities of the ethnic group in question and the material conditions under which this group lives and develops. They see ethnicity as an abstract idea and not a concrete reality deep-rooted in the socio-economic structure, and this position is further illustrated in Patterson's examination of the complex relationships between individual and group and his treatment of the phenomenon of consciousness, where his idealist treatment of the subjects is hardly worth describing. Patterson, however, is one of the many "ethnicity theorists" who fail to see the most crucial aspect of ethnic groups, i.e. that they create their history through their economic, political and ideological activities and attitudes, while at the same time being the product of specific historical circumstances prevailing within a particular social formation.

(C) SOCIAL CLASS

Social class is a concept introduced centuries ago by the ancient Greeks. Aristotle divided society into slaves and free men and, in his most important political diatribe, Politics, he divided the state citizens into rich, poor, and the intermediate classes; and he went even further in examining the existing relations between different forms of government and the different classes. Religious documents

such as the New Testament are full of references to social classes in regard to rich and poor, or slaves and masters.

It was the French Revolution, however, that brought into existence the new dynamics, theories, understanding and analyses of social classes. After the rise and fall of the French Republic and the Bonapartist state, the differences of opinion on the roots, nature and evolution of social classes flourished to such an extent that, for a contemporary writer, even a brief analysis would entail many pages of research and scrutiny of different and similar viewpoints. From Adam Smith, the doyen of conventional economy; to Saint-Simon and Proudhon, the fathers of Utopian Socialism; to Max Weber, the spiritual father of functionalist/liberal sociology; to Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism - the list of writers on class is both long and impressive. The writer has demonstrated in sufficient detail elsewhere his ideas on the evolution of social class,²² but he considers that the significance of the concept and its usefulness as an analytical tool requires another brief look.

It is true that initially Marx and Weber tried to analyse class in similar terms, using as a basic criterion for the understanding of the concept the ownership or non-ownership of property. But the similarity did not go very far as Weber, in the process, paid more attention to "status" and "sub-groupings" within the already existing classes (i.e. "positively privileged" and "negatively privileged" classes, etc.). As Weber's ideas on social phenomena progressed, his conceptualisation of social classes went so far towards finding criteria which divided existing populations into smaller groupings that it led to a negation of his previously exposed ideas. Based on mainly subjective criteria such as "honour", he distinguished between "property" and "acquisition" classes, "positively privileged" and "negatively privileged" classes, and "social" classes. Many of these concepts are very dubious,

i.e. the distinction between property classes and acquisition classes, which enabled him to distinguish landowners from industrial and financial capitalists, shows the confusion arising from the distinction of the positively and negatively privileged; and in his social classes he includes the working class, shopkeepers, the intelligentsia without independent property, and the civil servants.²³ While Weber offered many serious and stimulating analyses of complex phenomena such as the relation between religion and capitalism and bureaucracy, it is felt that the subjective element introduced into his analyses of classes and social strata, although worth mentioning and examining briefly, would confuse rather than help our exploration.

The Weberian "tradition" was followed closely by the liberal/functionalist school of sociological thought, mainly in America but also in Europe, and should be disregarded for the same reason. This tradition, mainly based on the Weberian dogmas and the influential writings of Werner and Lund who paid more attention to the subjective criteria acquired through social mobility, still dominates American sociological thought.²⁴ Their explanation and analyses of the roots and development of social classes is based on the Weberian and Werner/Lund model of a measurement of subjective attitudes. Their primary conceptual framework is based on subjective perceptions of individuals, and thus tends to dismiss or ignore the external objective criteria.

Marx did not leave his followers a complete definition of class. He died before finishing the final volume of *Capital*, dealing specifically with social classes. He did, however, leave the methodological tools for social scientists to approach the problem. He was the first to investigate and analyse the roots and development of social classes and, basically, the nature and roots of their conflicts. It is an undoubted fact that Marx did not give social classes the systematic treatment that he gave other

concepts such as necessary and surplus labour, productive and unproductive labour, etc. As shown elsewhere,²⁵ however, the criticisms concerning some fundamental concepts of Marx's analysis of social classes are misunderstandings or distortions (mainly those criticisms directed at Marx from the pen of French sociologist Gurvitch, whose book on the subject is still regarded on both sides of the Atlantic as a pioneering work of academic clarity).²⁶

Since Gurvitch, many other theorists both functionalist and critical have tried either to criticise or support and go beyond Marx and his conceptualisation of social class, and it is felt that a repetition of "against" or "for" would be fruitless and tiring for the reader. It is planned to explain briefly how Marx analysed and developed his conceptualisation of social class and why this mode of analysis would be used instead of a liberal functionalist one.

No person in the world can understand the significance and deep level of analysis of class in Marx's works unless he has read them in inverted order. While Marx had in mind to complete *Capital* with the addition of his chapter on Social Classes, he had already paved the way for people to completely understand the concept and its significance. What did he do in order to succeed in this? He set up the conditions by dealing with the process of capital production in the first volume, the process of capital circulation in the second, and the process of capitalist production as a whole in the third. What does this mean? It means that he saw that the concept "social class" rises theoretically on the level of concrete analysis of a specific mode of production (i.e. the capitalist mode of production). He was careful enough to systematically categorise his analysis, and here lies one of the most serious misunderstandings or distortions that Gurvitch presented us with. Marx was careful enough to point out the complexity of specific social structures and that is why he stated

categorically that, although a theoretical understanding of social relations within a specific social formation is fundamental, the problems arising from an empirical analysis of a concrete situation are much more complex. (He gave, as a concrete example, England during the Industrial Revolution era.)²⁷

Having very briefly looked at some of Marx's ideas on class, let us proceed and ask the question he asked himself in one of the first paragraphs of his unfinished manuscript:

The first question to be answered is this: "What constitutes a class?" - and the reply to this follows narrowly from the reply to another question, namely: "What makes wage-labourers, capitalists, and landlords constitute the three social classes?"²⁸

It is generally accepted by Marxists and followers of Marx's analysis of social classes that they can be understood as groups of social agents, defined principally but not exclusively by their place in the production process, i.e. in the economic sphere. Their economic place plays a major role in determining their social class, but it cannot be regarded as sufficient to determine it exclusively; political and ideological criteria play a very important part as well.²⁹ A social class is defined primarily by its place in the ensemble of social practices; in other words, by its place in the social division of labour as a whole.³⁰ There lies the significance of the Marxist paradigm in comparison with that of the liberals/functionalist. While the latter's conceptualisation of class abounds with confusions as regards the subjective and objective criteria that determine the nature and development of class, Marxists and the theorists who accept Marx's conceptual analysis of social class begin with the objective criteria. To them class is a concept carrying a precise definition related not to attitudes of individuals/agents but to their external material relationships centred on those created by the productive process.³¹

HYPOTHESES

Having examined the concepts "ethnic group" and "social class" and the way they will be used, let us proceed with the major hypotheses which will be tested in this thesis. These are:

(A) Ethnic and national solidarity are socially created phenomena. Although they are phenomena which call upon primordial sentiments and feelings based upon common ancestry, language, religion and culture, they are not to be treated as purely natural phenomena. This basic hypothesis challenges a predominantly functionalist school of "primordialists" such as Geertz and Gordon. Geertz believed that an ethnic primordial attachment is a natural one based on blood, speech and custom and leads to a spiritual affinity of "oneness". He explained this attachment as follows:

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens" - or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens" - of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and on themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred moral obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, such attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural - some would say spiritual - affinity than from social interaction.³²

The same attitude has been adopted by Gordon in his

latest major book, where he described ethnocentrism as a "natural" sentiment.³³ We will negate these analyses which are based on ideas derived from a biologically rooted conception of "human nature",³⁴ by showing that ethnic minorities as well as the material results of their activities (such as nationalism) have material roots.

(B) Class factors play an important role in the life of immigrants. This hypothesis challenges the validity of the conclusions of various theorists of ethnicity already mentioned, who fail to realise the existing class distinctions within ethnic groups and treat ethnic groups as socially homogeneous categories. Several articles on the Jews in South Africa have already appeared using the former framework of analysis.³⁵

(C) The absence of intra-ethnic class conflict stems from the non-existence of antagonistic social relations amongst different social strata of the same group within a given social formation.

This hypothesis is vital as historical evidence suggests that during the same period other ethnic groups in South Africa, such as the Jews, did not avoid such conflict because of sharp economic, political and ideological differences.³⁶

(D) The diffusion of ideologies and politics predominating in the country of origin amongst the immigrants plays a significant role in their life process within the host country. This diffusion, together with the material conditions prevailing in the latter (struggle for economic survival, anti-alien feelings amongst the indigenous population, economic conditions, political struggles, assimilation patterns, etc), shapes to a large extent the nationalist ideologies of the immigrants and determines their political and ideological attitudes within the host society.

(E) To the extent that class and ethnicity are both socially created phenomena, they are linked to a specific historical context and conditions under which they are shaped. The existence of political and social forces, such as trade unions, political parties and economic interest groups within a given social formation, contribute to the shaping of individuals' or groups' political responses and attitudes (nationalist or class-orientated). The role and significance of class and ethnicity as factors underlying the political and ideological attitudes of an ethnic group within a given social formation are determined to a large extent by the changing historical circumstances that take place both within the social formation and the ethnic group itself (social mobility, economic advancement, etc). Thus ethnic groups form an integral part of any given social formation and must be treated as such.

NOTES

on Introduction

- 1 See Jack Lively (ed), *The Works of Joseph de Maistre*. New York: Schocken, 1971, page 80.
- 2 Eugene Obidinski, "Methodological considerations in the definition of ethnicity". *Ethnicity* 5, 1978, pp 213-228.
- 3 M Elaine Burgess, "The resurgence of ethnicity: Myth or reality?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (3, July) 1978.
- 4 Walker Connor, "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is ...". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (4, October) 1978.
- 5 Wsevolod W Isajiw, "Definitions of ethnicity". *Ethnicity* 1, 1974, pp 111-124.
- 6 James McKay and Frank Lewins, "Ethnicity and the ethnic group: A conceptual analysis and reformulation". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (4, October) 1978.
- 7 Burgess, op cit, page 266.
- 8 See E Burgess, op cit, page 267.
- 9 For "biologically rooted" conceptions, see mainly the major works of C Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. London: Hutchison and Co, 1975; and A Greely, *Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974. The "voluntary", "functional" conception has been adopted by important theorists such as H Adam, *Modernising Racial Domination*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971; and F I Durah, "The ecology of ethnic groups from a Kenyan perspective". *Ethnicity* 1, 1974, pp 43-64.
- 10 N Glazer and D Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge: M I T Press, 1970; and *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975. See also Burgess, op cit, page 269.
- 11 See, for example, T Parsons, "Some theoretical considerations on the nature and trends of change of ethnicity", in Glazer and Moynihan, *Ethnicity ...*, op cit, 1975, pp 305-309; C Enloe, *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development*. Boston: Little Brown, 1973; D Bell, "Ethnicity and social change", in Glazer and Moynihan, *Ethnicity ...*, 1975, pp 141-175.
- 12 See Burgess, op cit, page 269. See also K West, "Stratification and ethnicity in plural societies". *Race* 8, 1972, pp 487-495.
- 13 See M Weber, *Economy and Society*. Vol 1, Chapter 5. New York: Bedminster Press, 1968.

- 14 McKay and Lewins, "Ethnicity and the ethnic group ...", op cit, pp 416-417.
- 15 See Vittorio Lanteneri, "Ethnocentrism and ideology". Ethnic and Racial Studies 3 (1, January) 1980, pp 52-66.
- 16 See Stanley B Ryerson, "Quebec: Concepts of class and nation" in Garry Teeple (ed), Capitalism and the National Question in Canada.
- 17 Burgess, op cit, page 273.
- 18 Glazer and Moynihan, Ethnicity ..., op cit, page 5.
- 19 Amongst them see, especially, M Novak, The Rise of Unmeltable Ethnics. New York: Macmillan, 1971; and A Greely, Ethnicity in the United States, op cit. On ethnic groups in South Africa, see H Chattopadhyaya, Indians in South Africa: A Socio-economic Study, 1970; and G Shimoni, Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967. Oxford University Press, 1980.
- 20 See Orlando Patterson, Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse. Stein and Day, 1977, page 10.
- 21 See, for example, Patterson's treatment of the supposed and pre-assumed "innate" and "creative" activity, where he borrows the Kantian philosophical position to be found in The Critique of Pure Reason, where Kant denies the distinction between phenomenon (appearances) and nooumena (things-in-themselves). See Patterson, op cit, pp 13 and 14.
- 22 See E A Mantzaris, "The social structure and the process of assimilation of the Greek community in South Africa", unpublished M Soc Sc thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town, 1978, especially chapter 4, pp 121-130.
- 23 See Mantzaris, op cit, page 128.
- 24 See W L Werner and P C Lund, The Status System of Modern Community. Yale University Press, 1941; The Social Life of a Modern Community. Yale University Press, 1942; and A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status. New York: Harper and Row, 1949.
- 25 Mantzaris, op cit, pp 122-126.
- 26 G Gurvitch, The Concept of Social Classes from Marx to Our Times (in Greek). Athens: Gutenberg Publications, 1976.
- 27 K Marx, Capital. Vol 3 (in Greek), page 1086. The writer has preferred to consult the Greek translation because he considers it to be more in accordance with the original German text than the various English translations.
- 28 Ibid, page 1087.
- 29 On the definition of social classes, the writer has

- relied heavily on the pioneering work of Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*. New Left Books, 1975, especially the Introduction.
- 30 Poulantzas, *op cit*, page 14.
- 31 See L A Johnson, "The development of class in Canada in the Twentieth Century", in G Teeple, *op cit*, page 143.
- 32 See C Geertz, "The integrative revolution: Primordial sentiments and civic politics in new states", in Geertz (ed), *Old Societies and New States*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe. Also quoted in E Bonacich, "Class approaches to ethnicity and race". *Insurgent Sociologist* X (2, Fall) 1980, page 10.
- 33 See M Gordon, *Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978, especially pp 72-74.
- 34 See Bonacich, *ibid*.
- 35 See E Mantzaris, "The promise of the impossible revolution: The Cape Town Industrial Socialist League, 1918-1921", in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Vol 4, pp 145-173. See also T Adler, "Lithuania's Diaspora: The Johannesburg Jewish Workers' Club 1928-1948". *Journal of Southern African Studies* 6 (1, October) 1979; and G Saron and L Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa: A History*. Oxford University Press, 1955.
- 36 See Mantzaris, "A short history of Bundist activity in South Africa" (in Yiddish). *Die Zeit* (Winter) 1981.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

GREEKS IN AFRICA: A SYNOPTIC HISTORY

(A) SOME MARGINAL NOTES ON PUSH-FACTORS FOR EMIGRATION AND THE EMIGRANTS

Why do Greeks travel? Why do they emigrate? These questions can be answered in many ways. Some Greek historians think that "travelling", "exploring", "emigrating" is "part of Greek nature", and their writings and conclusions have been echoed by some prominent historians of other nationalities. The historical parallels between the exploration of the ancient world by the Athenians and the creation of colonies, as well as the conquests of Alexander the Great and the contemporary Greek "explorations" and "emigrations", are inaccurate as they fail to take into account the different historical periods and conditions under which those "explorations" took place.

The problem of emigration does not constitute an isolated national social phenomenon of countries such as Greece, Italy, or Poland. Emigration is the direct result of underdevelopment, a phenomenon which can be properly understood only after an analysis of the political and economic structures of the countries faced with this problem, which is directly related to the historical dependence of these countries on others, and their place within the international division of labour.¹ Greek emigration to America and Africa was not the result of an "innate desire to travel or emigrate" as some historians and sociologists would desperately try to convince us, but the result of the socio-economic structures predominating in Greece at specific periods of her history.²

The first Greek mass emigration took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. While from 1821 to 1890, only 2 531 Greeks had emigrated (the vast majority to the United States of America), from 1891 to 1900 the numbers increased by large proportions (16 979 emigrants). Most of these also emigrated to the United States.³ The numbers reached their highest proportions during the period 1900-1920 (351 720 individuals).⁴ Until 1920 the major countries of reception were the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and South Africa. Ninety per cent of the emigrants were males and classified in the 15 to 45 age group.⁵ At that time Greece was passing through a process of transition: an underdeveloped pre-capitalist society accelerating towards an "unwanted industrial revolution",⁶ facing problems such as the Balkan Wars, the First World War and its disastrous effects on her national unity, revolutions and counter-revolutions. While in the countryside the feudal-type agricultural settlement was the dominant form of production, and hundreds of villages still belonged to influential landowners,⁷ shipping capital tripled its shares in the market, having a net profit of 30 million golden drachmas in 1909.⁸ Merchant capital also increased its shares⁹ and foreign ("metropolitan") bank capital was becoming the major force in the market by introducing "new techniques" of dominating the Greek economy by creating subsidiaries or buying existing ones.¹⁰

The traditional middle classes who were represented politically by the moderate government of Prime Minister Venizelos after the 1909 Goudi military coup started pressing for new and more progressive measures leading to an improvement of the civil service, more progressive taxation, and other steps leading to a further liberalisation of Greek society. Venizelos was actually the politician who, by introducing new faces into his 1910 government, tried to turn Greece into a modern western democracy with the help of a clique of progressive liberal

intellectuals. The revision of the 1864 constitution, redistribution of alienated land to landless peasants, establishment of the first agricultural co-operatives and recognition of the first nucleus of trade unions, were some of the immediate steps taken.¹¹ While it seemed that Greece was heading for a rosy future, two dramatic events occurred to delay the rapid "modernisation" process, viz:

- (a) The First World War, followed by the disagreement between Venizelos and King Constantine, created not only the political problem known as "Dichasmos" (literally "division"), but also caused serious economic problems for the country because of the Allied Forces' embargo on Greece; and
- (b) The 1922 Asia Minor destruction following the disastrous 1921-1922 war against the Turks.¹²

Following the 1922 destruction, more than a million refugees had to be absorbed in the Greek economy. Many of these were semi-skilled workers and skilled artisans who joined the small indigenous working-class populations in the industrial centres. A series of workers' actions during the years 1919-1924, the early industrialisation period,¹³ led to an increase in workers' wages. These increases sometimes amounted to 100 per cent, but in actual terms galloping inflation resulted in a real decrease of wages, i.e. the daily wage of a mineworker in 1922 was equal to 40 per cent of his salary in 1914.¹⁴

While unemployment of the existing labour force was seasonal for some workers and permanent for others,¹⁵ the 1922 stream of refugees created new problems relating to their absorption within the existing industrial infrastructure, housing, job opportunities, etc.¹⁶ At the same time while the State had redistributed large parts of the land to small peasants, it did not try to help them in any way with loans or by teaching them new methods and techniques of cultivation, or by introducing new organisational methods.¹⁷ The result of this inaction was twofold:

it caused small-scale agriculturalists/peasants to emigrate, and it accelerated the industrialisation process.¹⁸

From the above, it is easy to understand what were the social strata of the Greek population constituting the major sources for emigration: the small-scale agriculturalists/peasants and certain sections of the refugee and indigenous working classes.

(B) "COUNTRIES WHO ARE LOVED MORE THAN WOMEN":¹⁹ GREEK
PIONEERS IN AFRICA

"Africa is a woman born to be loved more than any woman in the world", wrote one of the most prolific writers on the subject of Greek emigration to Asia and Africa, "and her best lovers are the Persians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Jews, everyone".²⁰

Greeks seem to be the first to have fallen in love with this woman and the adventures of Macedonian armies through some of her countries were followed by the explorations and expansion of the Byzantine Emperors in their search for new colonies. These historical facts, together with the myth-like stories of Father Frumentius who became the first Greek Orthodox Church Archbishop of Ethiopia, Costas Gerakis who in the seventeenth century became Prime Minister of Siam, and the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church in India as far back as 1812 -- unknown as they are to many -- constitute but a few examples of the fascinating adventures of early Greek travellers.²¹

The migration process which followed the historical circumstances in Greece already described were of a different pattern, however. The Greek emigrants finding their way to Africa were not only adventurers searching for virgin landscapes or exotic countries. They came to Africa as diamond diggers, railway workers, small traders, agriculturalists and artisans. The vast majority started

working for meagre wages or salaries, digging the mines or the mountains; they sweated blood, and a large number left their bodies unburied in different parts of their lover-land, without fulfilling their dreams of becoming rich, or going back to the loving Motherland. Many rose to prominence through a continuous accumulation of wealth, while others climbed the social ladder of their adopted country and became landowners or politicians. For many, the dream of acquiring wealth became an obsessive ideology, while the dreams of dying on an Aegean or Ionian island or upon the mountain-slopes of Peloponessus, were left locked at the bottom of the hand-made chest, lying in a dark corner of their warehouse.

South Africa was one of the first African countries to receive Greek emigrants during the early period of their emigration, as will be shown below in detail, but it was not the only one. Sudan, for example, an African country which had been one of the primary targets for ancient Greek explorers many centuries before Christ, received her first large numbers of Greek immigrants around 1853. They fought in all the wars of Gordon and Kitchener against the rebellious "natives", many losing their lives, while the survivors formed the nucleus of an affluent merchant class in the period 1900-1910.²² Streams of Greek immigrant workers and artisans flocked into that country during the period 1905-1915, working as stevedores in the docks of Port Sudan or as contracted workers in the manufacturing plants or on the railways.²³ According to other historians the first Greeks in Sudan arrived during the eighteenth century as adventurers and tailors, trying to find the route to new lands.²⁴

As early as 1900, Greek workers and artisans were to be found in Ethiopia as railway workers,²⁵ in Southern Rhodesia, where approximately 300 workers from the Dodecanese and the Ionian islands were the major labour force in the railway plans of Rhodes,²⁶ and in Portuguese

East Africa where Greek artisans were the major force behind the success of the Beira railway around 1890.²⁷ In the Tanganyika territory at the turn of the century approximately 300 Greek workers constituted the major element amongst a work force of 400 on the railway line from Dar-es-Salaam to Kingoma. Their "golden age" lasted ten years (1905-1914), after which most of them turned their talents to farming and commerce.²⁸ Farming experts on tobacco and cotton were the pioneers of this cultivation both in Southern Rhodesia and Egypt,²⁹ while Egyptian-born Greeks constituted the Egyptian artisan class circa 1790-1850.³⁰

We could go on and on with details concerning Greek pioneers in Africa, but this exercise would mean that the main aim, a socio-historical exploration of South African Hellenism, would be pushed into the background. Nevertheless a comparison of the Greeks of South Africa with those of other African countries will always be a help towards understanding the process of their immigration, background, adaptation and absorption into their new environment.

CHAPTER 2

THE GREEKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(A) THE BEGINNINGS

The examination and analysis of the historical process of Greek life and achievements in South Africa is a painstaking and difficult task. Unlike other ethnic groups - for instance the Jews who emigrated en masse to South Africa - their history has been neglected by both academic and popular historiography.¹ New trends in South African academia largely neglect the contribution of immigrant groups in all spheres of South African life and one of the major reasons for this is undoubtedly the lack of both written and oral evidence concerning these groups.

This was the major obstacle encountered in undertaking the writing of the history of the Greeks in South Africa. As most of the pioneers of the community are no longer alive, and the community archives are far from complete, the writer had to rely heavily on secondary sources in order to achieve his aim, as will be shown elsewhere.

According to the most valid existing source the first Greeks found their way to South Africa circa 1850.² Nicolaides, the author of the major directory and history of Greeks in South Africa, based his writings on evidence provided by the "oral tradition" by talking to older emigrants during his regular journeys throughout South Africa but his claims regarding the Greeks in the country need to be substantiated. An examination of the existing South African Statistical Yearbooks revealed the following table (Table No 1).

TABLE NO 1: BIRTHPLACES SHOWING THE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
OF GREEKS BORN OUTSIDE THE UNION: 1918³

Country of Birth and Province of Residence	Length of Residence in the Union														TOTAL		
	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40-44 years	45-49 years		50+ years	Unspec- fied
TOTAL	25	16	25	50	120	478	319	381	91	22	12	9	11	8	11	23	1 601
Greece	2	2	0	5	8	18	37	32	16	7	2	2	1	1	1	5	1 139
Turkey																	
CAPE PROVINCE																	
Greece	12	7	10	16	51	88	78	79	22	5	3	3	3	4	4	13	398
Turkey	1	2	0	1	0	1	8	8	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	25
NATAL																	
Greece	5	0	0	1	1	8	5	12	4	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	42
Turkey	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
TRANSVAAL																	
Greece	8	8	12	32	65	350	208	265	57	15	6	5	6	3	6	9	1 055
Turkey	1	0	0	3	7	15	21	13	7	5	2	2	0	0	1	5	82
ORANGE FREE STATE																	
Greece	0	1	3	1	3	32	28	25	8	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	106
Turkey	0	0	0	0	1	2	6	9	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	26

A glance at the table shows that there were 11 Greeks born in Greece and Turkey* who had lived in South Africa for over 50 years. (This means that there were at least 11 Greek immigrants in South Africa during 1860.) We can also see that there were approximately at least 32 Greek immigrants in the mid-1880s and that the vast majority came just at or around the turn of the century.

The city which attracted the majority of the first immigrants seems to have been Cape Town, at least initially. The first immigrants were sailors and adventurers who had left their ships to settle illegally in the city.⁴ One of Nicolaides's informants who had come to Cape Town in 1876 told him that at that time there were approximately 12 Greeks in town. Amongst them were four political exiles who had helped the first Greek King Othon while he was trying to recapture his throne.⁵ Most of the Greeks were from the Eptanesa Islands and mainly Ithaka, famous island of the wise Ulysses and Penelope, Homer's heroes.⁶ Ithakasian "oral tradition" believes that the first immigrant from the island to set foot in Cape Town was a certain sailor Nicolas Vlassopoulos (not John Vlassopoulos, whose name appears in Nicolaides's writings).⁷ Other Ithakasians joined those already living in Cape Town, the most prominent of whom was Argyrios Maroudas, who settled there with four others in 1870.⁸ One of the most important pioneer immigrants was George "Uncle" Sores, who came to Cape Town in 1860 as a sailor. He was 18 years old and worked as a stevedore in the Cape Town harbour for two years before becoming harbour superintendent, a position he filled until his death in 1925 at the age of 85.⁹

*It is taken as a given fact that the absolute majority of persons appearing in official statistics as born in Turkey were Greeks whose place of birth was under Turkish occupation, especially in the period 1850-1900. Most of them left because they could not bear the conditions of occupation. See E Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement in Southern Rhodesia," op cit; and Nicolaides, pp 439-441.

According to Nicolaides, only after 1885 were Greeks to be found in the Transvaal.¹⁰ This claim is challenged however by the evidence produced in Table 1, where it is shown that at least nine Greeks were living in the Transvaal before 1885.¹¹ According to the same author there were approximately 70 Greeks in the Transvaal after 1895, while in 1891 only 15 of them were residing in Johannesburg and suburbs, all males.¹² In Kimberley there were approximately 20 Greek immigrants working as diamond diggers. One of them was P Zaphiris who came to South Africa from Constantinople in the early 1880s as a diamond digger, before moving to Southern Rhodesia where he became the owner of three goldmines during the period 1890-1920.¹³ Most of the pioneer Greek immigrants to South Africa were small shopkeepers and fishmongers, while others preferred to work on the mines, as will be seen later. Following the declaration of the Anglo-Boer war nearly all of them joined one side or the other but, before examining this process, let us briefly outline the material conditions that made the war inevitable.

(B) THE GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

The domination of imperial capital in the mining sector was the main characteristic of the transitional period of the South African social formation during 1870-1900. At the same time the agents of that imperial capital tried desperately to dominate politically and ideologically all parts of this social formation both rich in raw materials and important as a strategic link on the periphery of the British Empire. This transitional period was marked at the same time by the increasing efforts of certain "national" elements to capitalise on the opportunities existing in the other sectors of the economy (agriculture and manufacturing).¹⁴ Those "national" elements were predominantly descendants of the Dutch-speaking people who defected from the Cape Colony during the Great Trek, and who had already established close links with the world market.¹⁵

The political conflicts between the British administration and the Afrikaans-speaking farmers were mainly the result of Britain's imperialist greed toward the Colonies. The military aims of the British have been sufficiently exposed by enlightened liberal historians and it is not necessary to enter the debate in any depth.¹⁶ The Boer Republics easily dispossessed the Basuto and Zulu peoples (with the help of the British) but the material existence of their people as pastoralists/farmers and agriculturalists did not advance considerably, while their national unity was shaky. It was the discovery of diamonds and gold that led to the creation of a national unity ("Afrikanerdom"), because it was those discoveries that considerably increased the British Lion's imperialist greed. The annexation of the Kimberley goldfields and the Jameson Raid are instances of crude and open imperialism. It was mainly these struggles between British imperialism and the indigenous European natives over the ownership and control of the goldfields that created a unity amongst all sections of Afrikanerdom, thus establishing a national and class alliance with firmly established political and ideological roots, ready to dominate the land and its peoples.¹⁷

While dispossessing the African native population who had fought a tough military struggle against both British imperialism and the Afrikaner conquerors, and creating a reserve system of labour reservoir for the needs of the fast-growing mining enterprises,¹⁸ British imperialists were facing a rising political consciousness on the part of the Afrikaners. The first Afrikaans language movement had started growing considerably in the Western Cape and its stronger advocates were demanding the immediate substitution of Dutch with "the language of the people". The establishment of the Afrikaner Bond was another political milestone in the history of the Afrikaner and his fight against British imperialism that led through a process of economic, political and ideological struggles to the Anglo-Boer war.

There were approximately 150 Greek immigrants in South Africa at the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war, according to Nicolaides.¹⁹ His estimate is modest, however, if we look at the existing statistics. From Table 1 we can see that a modest estimation of Greek immigrants at the time of the war (excluding the period of those resident for 15-19 years), shows that there were at least 181 Greeks in the country during the period prior to the Anglo-Boer war. Many of them had come to South Africa after the humiliating defeat of the Greek army in the 1897 war against Turkey, and the subsequent International Economic Control which led to the dependency of the country on "protector allies".²⁰ Most of them were young men still licking the wounds left as a result of the big hunt of the vision of the "Grand Ideal" (Megali Idea). That dream had suffered another severe blow, but those young men found themselves in the middle of another war, and they had to take sides: on the one side British imperialism, on the other the Afrikaner "volk". The former were fighting for material gains and domination, the latter for access to the land and dignity.

The Greek pioneer immigrants living in the Transvaal and the Cape Colony found themselves in the middle of the conflicting political and economic interests that caused the war. The majority of them fought with one side or the other. What were the major factors and determinants for their participation? Certainly one can assume that the two most important determinants were their place of residence (Transvaal or the Cape Colony) and, directly related to this, their material interests. There were property, business and capital owned at one or the other place and, more significantly, the desire to join the side more likely to win the war; in this case, the British. As we will see, however, although both these factors were decisive, they were not the only ones. Those living in the Transvaal, for example, could leave it immediately after the outbreak of the war by taking advantage of the laws of the Republic that stated that, in a case of emergency, all

foreign inhabitants in the state had the right to stand down and leave within 24 hours of receiving the conscription notice.

The Greeks living in the Cape Colony, especially those involved in petty trade, generally joined the British regiments. The conditions created in Cape Town after the influx of the refugees from the Transvaal did not help the petty traders as one would expect. It created instead a stream of unemployment which hit mainly the "Coloured" and "African" working classes that constituted the traditional clientele of the Greek small traders, fishmongers and vegetable-shop owners.²¹ Those out of work had to join the British army, although there was no legislation making their conscription compulsory. Their joining was a result of the decision of the authorities to open their relief programmes only to people who had joined forces with the British.²² Of all the combatant Greeks, only those with small business interests suffered as a result of unemployment. S Adeline, a merchant whose business was established in 1891 and was still going strong, continued operating his shop during the war.²³

In the Transvaal, where many Greeks had moved following the discoveries of gold and diamonds, conditions were different. There, some of them had established themselves in the urban markets and they operated produce stores and fruitshops, whose reputation was compatible with the high prices they charged for their merchandise. Observed a contemporary:

I shall never forget my amazement when I saw oranges, a winter fruit, and grapes, a summer fruit, simultaneously in the same shop, called a "Greek" shop simply because all fruit shops were run by Greeks.²⁴ (emphasis added)

Most of the owners of these shops bought their merchandise directly from the farmers, sometimes paying by exchange with cigarettes, sweets or liquor.²⁵

The social relationships created amongst Greek and Boer during that period (prior to the war), played an important part in their decision to join the Boer forces after the outbreak of war. The same applies to the small number of Greek mineworkers and artisans working on the railways. They had established firm relationships with their Afrikaner co-workers, sharing with them the same feelings towards the mining capitalists, and thus joined the Boer forces together with the Greek small shopowners.²⁶

A number of new immigrants recently arrived from Greece found themselves working as clerks (shop assistants) in larger establishments. Most of them were unskilled young men who joined a relative or friend who had been "established" in the Transvaal for some time, and their work started from the moment they arrived. By working in the "older establishment" the newcomer could acquire a small capital and much experience in order to start his own enterprise. Most of these young Greeks joined the Boer side immediately after the outbreak of the war. By seeing the existing opportunities in the Transvaal and its booming "mineral revolution", the choice of joining the Boer forces was not an arbitrary one.²⁷

Those were the concrete historical conditions and circumstances determining to a large extent the choice of young Greeks, but it would be unfair not to mention two other factors determining the pioneers' actions, viz:

(a) The role played by an "idealist factor", the Greek "philotimo" (self-esteem) or "o kaimos tis Romiosinis" ("the grief of Greekness"), symbolising the frustration of the Greek people with the injustices and persecutions perpetrated against them through the course of their history,²⁸ as contrasted to the superiority of the British Empire in all aspects relating to the war. This "grief", an ideology deeply rooted in historical circumstances and experiences, was once again realised in the case of Greek participation in the

Anglo-Boer war, and

- (b) The role played by two conflicting ideologies (indirectly related to the previous ones), also deeply rooted in the historical experiences of the Greek people, i.e. the ideology of "Westernism" and the ideology based on the Eastern tradition.

For young Greek nationalists such as the first pioneers, the choice under different circumstances would have been an easy one to make: the political and ideological frustration of every Greek nationalist towards anything oppressive and imperial in nature would definitely have guided them to join the Boer struggle (having experienced the frustration of oppression under the Turkish occupation for over four hundred years).

There was another consideration at stake, however: England was a "European" country, a powerful ally of the Motherland, and additionally an Empire dominating large parts of the world, with a powerful military machine, very unlikely to be defeated by the Boer forces. The political/ideological romanticism of the young Greeks who joined forces with the Boers was an extension of the desire to fight for a worthy cause, sympathising with the Boer idea of a "free nation", and it also held suspicion of everything reminiscent of an "Empire" (the Ottoman Empire's place as a catalyst for the creation of such a feeling should be seen in the correct perspective). On the other hand, the young Greeks joining the imperial forces represented another part of the Greek middle classes that tried to cut their ideological ties with the "Eastern Greek tradition", following closely the model of a "Europeanism", supported by certain sectors of the Greek upper classes.²⁹ This deep ideological difference rooted in the dynamics of the historical processes of the Motherland, and finding its realisation in the sphere of political activity, can only be understood if one is familiar with the history of those processes.

Looking back to the roots of the establishment of what is today known as contemporary Hellenism, we will see that two major ideological tendencies played the dominant role within Greek history up to a certain period of time (the transitional period from the pre-capitalist to a capitalist mode of production). On the one side the vast majority of the people both in the cities and the countryside endorsed a typically "anti-Western" ideology. During the period of the 400-year Turkish occupation it was the "Franks" (the westerners) who were blamed for the fall of Constantinople and were hated for that reason even more than the Turks.³⁰ On the other side, there was the "pro-Western" middle class and upper classes (mainly those living in the Diaspora) who resented everything "Ottoman". "Ottoman barbarism" was the enemy and the natural allies were to be found in the West, in Europe. It was that ideological division that created great divisions within Greek society before independence. The upper classes were desperately trying to discover the historical continuity of Hellenism in the European tradition, while the lower classes looked for it in the Eastern tradition of the "demotika" songs*, popular poetry and arts. This ideology was destined to produce the most important theorist of "Greek Eastern nationalism", Ion Dragoumis, a man whose ideas, although highly idealist, became the basis of a Greek "nationalist populism". Dragoumis fought heroically against the Venizelos idea of alliances with the Western countries and died a martyr of an ideological and political struggle which divided Greece for a long time. He was murdered by his opponents in 1920, but his work still bears a great significance in the understanding of the historical process of Greek nationalism, the political/ideological controversies pertinent in Greek society at that time.³¹

*Songs written by unknown poets and sung in most parts of Greece. Very well-known are the "akritika" songs, dedicated to the border fighters of the Byzantine Empire who opposed the enemies of the state.

Could we speculate that those distinctions just described played a role in determining the decisions of young Greek immigrants to participate in the war by joining one or other side? Although our research points to a positive answer to this question, this answer could not be conclusively proved, and there are several reasons for this. The writer's oral and written evidence led him to identify a small number of people who fought in the Anglo-Boer war (14 in number); there is enough evidence, however, to prove that this number was in actual fact much larger. There is a photograph of 27 Greeks fighting with the British forces, under the leadership of Captain Chrisovelonis, now to be found in the offices of the Greek community of Johannesburg (see Appendix 1), and the older and most reliable source on early immigrants was positive that there were at least 60 Greeks fighting with the Boer forces, but could not give the names of any of those fighters.³² Evidence given in court by five Greek hawkers working in the Cape Colony, after escaping from the Transvaal, shows that there were many Greeks fighting on both sides. The hawkers were functioning without a licence and, because of the nature of their work, they came into contact with both armies.³³

A close examination of the background of the 14 Greek pioneers fighting in the war would lead us to the conclusion that the ideological divisions in the Motherland played a very important part in determining their decision as to which side to join. One of the leading members who fought with the English was Christo Mantzaris who was born in 1879 in Maronia, Thrace, then under Turkish occupation. While studying in Constantinople's famous "School of the Nation", he participated in the disastrous war of 1897. His liberal ideals and his belief in the historical role of Europe, and England in particular, led him to the Transvaal in 1899 where, in the middle of the South African Republic, he started recruiting Greeks to the English side, until he moved to Cape Town in January 1900. There

he continued his recruiting campaign amongst all sections of the population and fought in many battles until the end of the war.

He lived in Cape Town until 1910 when he returned to Greece, to finish his studies at the "School of the Nation". While in Cape Town he was the owner of a brickyard and a shop. He could speak seven languages at the age of 21, including Dutch and Xhosa. He also involved himself with the manufacturing of Vassi's Egyptian cigarettes, and commerce.³⁴ He became one of the prominent members and organisers of the Cape Town Greek community and one of its main leaders.³⁵ The brothers Demitrios and Panos Vlassopoulos were born in Lakos, Ithaka, Eptanesa around 1880 and 1881, respectively. After educating themselves in Roumania (a centre of the Hellenic Diaspora), they came to Bloemfontein in February 1900, where they immediately joined the English forces against the Boers. Both of them had received a European/English education, one in Roumania and the other in Australia. They remained in South Africa for the rest of their lives.³⁶

Another product of the Hellenism of the Diaspora and its ideology of "Western superiority" was Dionisios Schinas who started his adventures from Tripolis, Peloponessus, the place of his birth, at the age of 17. He fought with the Germans in East Africa after his travels had taken him from Beira to China and to Australia, where he settled for four years before he came to South Africa. His close affiliation with the imperial ideology stemmed from his days in Australia, while his dislike of the other "Empires" of the period (i.e. Russia and Ottoman) was reinforced by his Greek nationalism, opposing the occupation of the Motherland by the Turks. His dissatisfaction towards the Russians was the result of his expulsion from Vladivostock, where he had been a digger for diamonds and gold, because of the fact that he was not a Russian citizen. He fought with the English troops and was eventually rewarded by

Kitchener with a sum of money which was sufficient to help him open a small shop in Brakpan.³⁷

Other Greeks who fought with the English side were Christo A Paitaki, from Thrace, who came to South Africa and settled in Cape Town in 1896, where he established the first mineral water manufacturing plant in the Colony, The Friedmond Mineral Water Manufacturers,³⁸ and G Apergis from the Isle of Kefallinia, Eptanesa, about whom no other details are known. He apparently was the guard of another prominent Greek, John Costas, who fought with the Boers. The latter accused the Eptanesian of being a "traitor of free thought" during his prisoner days and later when both were members of the Greek community in Cape Town and environs.³⁹

We can see that all these people were relatively well-educated, with close ties with the Diaspora Hellenism, the strongest ideological advocate of close relations and connections of Hellenism with "Western culture", and were against the "popular traditional Eastern culture and way of life". On the other side the Greek pioneers who fought for the Boers represented the "anti-Western", "anti-imperial", "anti-European" tradition of Greek nationalism. The case of John Costas and his comrades and the Greek commando fighters in the Transvaal points to the historical truth of such a claim.

John Papacostas (John Costas to the South Africans and Greek immigrants in this country), was born in a small village of Epirus, Lias, Filiata in 1868. His father and grandfather were priests, the former being assassinated by the Turks. It was his father's influence which played the major part in the creation of the strong "anti-Turkish", "anti-imperial" nationalism of Costas. His love of freedom was the major determinant of his later life. He emigrated to Australia in 1894, but the following year moved to East Africa where he remained until 1896.⁴⁰ He worked as an

artisan on the Dar-Es-Salaam railway line until the end of 1898. Following the outbreak of the war "full of resentment for every Empire and conquerors, and love of freedom", according to his nephew⁴¹ he volunteered to fight against the Imperial Army.

In Stellenbosch, where he later settled, he was called "the hero of the River Modder" where he fought "like a lion". He was taken, as a prisoner-of-war after that battle, to Ceylon, later to Colombo (in India), and Santa-Helena and, after the war, in 1903, he settled in Stellenbosch where he opened a café, opposite the university campus.⁴² There he became a cult hero of young Afrikanerdom, because of his participation in the war. In 1906 he brought to South Africa his nephew, who was the first Greek to enter Stellenbosch University to study law.

In the meantime, he was a regular contributor to three Greek newspapers and was in close contact with the Macedonian Commissariat, a nationalist organisation fighting for the liberation of Macedonia. He went to Greece in 1911 where he made contact with Captain Cromidas and the Colivei brothers and started recruiting partisans from the Epirotic Mountains to fight for the cause of the liberation of his native province. There he was given another name, "The hero of Keramitsa", following this historic battle, where he destroyed the Turkish regiment trying to advance through Tsamouria in order to help the defence operations of the latter.

The decorations for his heroic actions were too numerous to count, but Costas was another victim of the ideological and political divisions within Greek society. Being an ardent nationalist and in his mature years a supporter of the Venizelian version of the "Grand Ideal", he became a refugee again after his leader's defeat in 1920 and returned to South Africa where his business was flourishing under the management of his nephew. His affiliations

with the South African National Party to which he belonged became strained in 1930, following the controversy surrounding the Alien's Act. Costas was very critical of Malan and the Nationalists because he saw this Bill as a direct insult to Greeks,⁴³ but, at the same time, he was very critical of the new generations of Greek immigrants, maintaining that they were coming to the country "only to make money and not because they feel affection for it".⁴⁴ He also urged Greek voters in South Africa to denounce Smuts and his policies and to vote for the Nationalists.⁴⁵

John Costas was one of the typical heroic pioneer immigrants who fought gallantly for what he believed in; his whole life was actually a struggle for freedom and dignity. He represented those Greek individuals whose dislike of everything "imperialist" was directly connected to a love of freedom and continuous struggle. On the other hand, he was the personification of the tragedy of Hellenism and its divisions. He fought for what he believed right and after the end of the struggle he was forced to emigrate again because the victors of the 1920 elections belonged to the opposite camp.

His grave in the Greek Orthodox Cemetery in Cape Town is always full of flowers, and his name is still a household word amongst the older members of the Nationalist Party establishment in the city of Stellenbosch.⁴⁶

There were some other Greek pioneers in the Anglo-Boer war who fought with the Boers, whose life stories confirm our assumptions. Constantine Vranas was no exception. He was born in Kondia, Lemnos, in 1879. He assassinated a Turkish official in 1896 and participated in the 1897 war. He had no formal education. After the war he settled and worked in Egypt. After six months he became a sailor and settled in Johannesburg, arriving via Lourenco Marques. He joined the Boer forces voluntarily "because he saw their cause as a similar one to

that fought in the 1897 war".⁴⁷ He worked as a volunteer in the powder works, and was a prisoner-of-war for several months.

A similar story is that of John Michos who was born in Platanistos, Evia, and went to Pretoria in 1897, having fought in the 1897 war. He worked for a tobacco enterprise owned by another Greek, Bourdos, before joining the Boer Commandos of General de Wet. His Greekness was manifested through the ideology of the "Grand Ideal", the popular "demotika" songs, and his love for the Motherland in an uncompromising, strong way, and his resentment of both the Turks and the anti-Greek politics of the so-called Allies.⁴⁸

Other Greeks who fought with the Boers were Antonis Avouris from Zakynthos, Eptanesa, who died in Johannesburg at the age of 80 in 1926;⁴⁹ George Artemios from Amorgos Island, who died in Johannesburg aged 70, in 1926;⁵⁰ and John Karavas, from the Island of Chios in the Aegean Sea, who died during the same year.⁵¹ Christo T Vagiacos was another Greek who fought with the Boer forces. He was born in Portianou, on the Island of Lemnos, in 1871 and came to South Africa after fighting in the 1897 war.⁵² He settled in Johannesburg and took part in many battles. He was arrested in 1900 and spent two years in concentration camps in Kimberley.⁵³

One of the most important men in the war, Captain Chrisovelonis, whose photograph taken with another 27 Greeks is to be found in the offices of the Greek Community in Johannesburg, is still a mystery. No-one seems to remember him, but it is possible that he took to his grave a life full of adventure and heroism.

After the Anglo-Boer war the struggle for economic survival and the preservation of the Greek ethnic identity continued on all levels. Although both are equally

important for this analysis we will start our exploration with the former.

NOTES

on Chapter 1

- 1 For a thorough discussion of the problem see Evangelos A Mantzaris, "The social structure and the process of assimilation of the Greek community in South Africa", unpublished M Soc Sc thesis. Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town, 1978, Introduction.
- 2 Ibid, page 1.
- 3 National Statistics Service of Greece, "Evolution of Greek Immigration 1890-1940", Athens, 1968.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Mantzaris, op cit, page 16.
- 6 See particularly Nikos Mouzelis, Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment, Second edition (in Greek). Exandas Publications, Athens, 1978, pp 34-35; Nikos G Svoronos, History of Modern Greece (in Greek). Athens, Themelio, 1976; and Constantine Tsoukalas, The Greek Tragedy, Third edition (in Greek). Olkos, Athens, 1974.
- 7 See Mantzaris, op cit, page 16.
- 8 See Costis Moschoff, History of the Greek Labour Movement (in Greek). Salonika, pp 142-143.
- 9 Ibid, pp 143-144.
10. See S Spiliotopoulos, History of the National Bank of Greece. Athens, 1948; A Syngros, Memoirs, Volumes 1-2 (in Greek). Athens, 1908.
- 11 See Tsoukalas, op cit, pp 16-17.
- 12 See, amongst others, Tassos Vournas, History of Modern Greece (in Greek). Athens, 1974; Chris Angelomatis, The Chronicle of Tragedy (in Greek). Athens, 1963; D Svoloopoulos, The Historical Divisions of 1922 (in Greek). Athens, 1929.
- 13 See George Leontaritis, "Greek labour movement and the State 1910-1920". First published in Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, Vol IV, No 4, New York, 1978; and reprinted in Thanos Veremis and O Dimitrakopoulos (eds), Studies of Venizelos and his Period (in Greek). Philippotis Publishers, Athens, 1980; also Dimitris Livieratos, The Greek Labour Movement 1918-1920 (in Greek). Athens, 1976.
- 14 See Leontaritis, op cit, page 73 and note 14.
- 15 See X Zolotas, Greece in the Stage of Industrialisation. Athens, page 90.
- 16 See, amongst others, Tsoukalas, op cit; N Psiroukis, The Asia Minor Destruction (in Greek). Epikerotita, Athens, 1966.

- 17 See A Sideris, Greece and its Agricultural Policy 1833-1933 (in Greek). Athens, 1933; X Zolotas, Agricultural Policy (in Greek). Athens, 1933.
- 18 See C Vergopoulos, The Agricultural Problem in Greece (in Greek). Exandas, Athens, 1975, pp 149-150.
- 19 The title is borrowed from S Prokopiou, Greeks in Asia and Africa: Pioneers of Civilisation (in Greek). Athens, 1930, page 11.
- 20 Ibid, page 12.
- 21 All these stories can be found in the books of S Prokopiou, In the Kingdoms of Menelik (in Greek). Athens, 1924; and A Greek and the Mysteries of Islam (in Greek). Athens, 1928.
- 22 See Nicholas Evangelides, History of the Greeks in Sudan (in Greek). Alexandria, Egypt, 1925, pp 53-63; also G Kamitzis, Sudan and its Hellenism (in Greek). Athens, 1967.
- 23 Evangelides, op cit, pp 155, 161-163.
- 24 Prokopiou, op cit, pp 140-144.
- 25 See M Papamichael, The Hellenic Pan-African Directory: From Cape to Cairo (in Greek). Athens, 1950-1951, page 254.
- 26 See E A Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930". Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, Vol VII, No 1, Spring 1980, for a background on Greeks in Southern Rhodesia. See also Papamichael, op cit, pp 612-613; and G Sakellarides, The Greeks in Rhodesia and Nyasaland (in Greek). Athens, 1960.
- 27 Papamichael, op cit, pp 582-583.
- 28 Op cit, pp 95-96, 98-103.
- 29 On Southern Rhodesia, see Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement ... ", op cit; on Egypt, Prokopiou, Greeks in Asia and Africa ..., op cit, pp 184-185; and especially A C Pachticos, Greeks in Africa: A Pictorial History (in two volumes), Vol 2, Part 8, "Greeks in Egypt" (in Greek). Alexandria, 1938.
- 30 Pachticos, op cit.

NOTES

on Chapter 2

- 1 On the Jews in South Africa see especially: G Saron and L Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa: A History*. Oxford University Press, 1955; I Abrahams, *The Birth of a Community*. Cape Town, 1953; M Gitlin, *The Vision Amazing: The Story of South African Zionism*. Menorah Book Club: Johannesburg, 1950; Morris de Saxe (ed), *The South African Jewish Year Book*. South African Jewish Historical Society, Johannesburg, 1929; L Herrman, *History of the Jews in South Africa*. London, 1935.
- 2 I am referring to Costa Nicolaides's, *Panhellenic Directory of South Africa (in Greek)*. Johannesburg: New Hellas. Nicolaides's book is undoubtedly the most valid source of information. He became a South African resident in 1910 and, during his extensive travels throughout South Africa, had the chance to meet many pioneer immigrants and talk to them in considerable depth. In 1913 he established the second Greek newspaper in South Africa, "New Hellas".
- 3 Based on calculations of unnumbered table headed "Birthplaces showing the length of residence in the Union of Europeans born outside the Union", in UG 32, 1920.
- 4 A similar stock of Greek immigrants found their way to Southern Rhodesia. See Barry Cosmin, "Ethnic and commercial relations in Southern Rhodesia: A socio-historical study of the Asian, Hellene and Jewish populations 1898-1943", unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Rhodesia, History Department, 1974, and "Ethnic groups and the qualified franchise in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1922", in *Rhodesian History* 8, 1977.
- 5 See Nicolaiades, *op cit*, page 437; and Mantzaris, "The Social Structure ...", *op cit*, page 1.
- 6 See names and birthplaces of Vlassopoulos, Stromboulis, Barbayiannes, Sores, Kouris, Anastasis, Kouranis and Mantzavrakis, in Nicolaides, *op cit*, pp 437-438.
- 7 On N Vlassopoulos, see "Ithakasian Society", newsletter, no date, presumably a commemoration of the Society's 75th anniversary. On J Vlassopoulos, see Nicolaides, *op cit*, page 437.
- 8 "Ithakasian Society" newsletter, *ibid*.
- 9 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis, 1924 Greek pioneer, Cape Town 29 March 1977. See also Nicolaides, *op cit*, page 438. He writes that Sores was so popular in Cape Town that the Municipality had named a city

- street after him. Sores's life details were given by the late Dimitrakakis, and his grave is in the Greek Orthodox Church Cemetery in Maitland, Cape Town.
- 10 Nicolaides, op cit, page 438.
 - 11 See Table 1, and Note No 3.
 - 12 Nicolaides, op cit, page 438.
 - 13 See Neville Jones, Rhodesian Genesis. Salisbury: Rhodesia Pioneers and Early Settlers' Society (no date); Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement in Rhodesia", page 91; and Nicolaides, op cit, Chapter 3, "Greeks in Rhodesia", page 252.
 - 14 See Robert Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa 1900-1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations. Harvester Press, 1979, pp 43-44.
 - 15 See Hammond-Tooke, W D, Command or Consensus: The Development of Transkeian Local Government. David Philip, Cape Town, 1975; also Monica Wilson, "The Nguni People", in M Wilson and L Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa, Oxford University Press, 1969, Vol 1.
 - 16 I am referring especially to De Kiewiet's monumental book where he points out that the Cape was listed in the (English) Treasury accounts not as a settlement or plantation but as a military and maritime station, as early as 1849. See C W de Kiewiet, A History of South Africa: Social and Economic. London, Oxford University Press, 1972, page 58.
 - 17 See Van Jaarsveld, F A, The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism. Cape Town, 1961; and The Afrikaners' Interpretation of South African History. Cape Town: Simondium Publishers, 1964.
 - 18 See Frank Molteno, "The historical significance of the Bantustan strategy", in Social Dynamics 3 (2) 1978.
 - 19 Nicolaides, op cit, page 439.
 - 20 Interview with Athanasios Athanasopoulos, 1905 Greek pioneer, Johannesburg.
 - 21 See E van Heyningen, "Refugees and relief in Cape Town 1899-1902", in Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol III. Cape Town: African Studies Institute, University of Cape Town, 1980.
 - 22 On the relief programmes during the war and the level of unemployment amongst all working classes in Cape Town, see ibid.
 - 23 See Nicolaides, op cit, Part II, pp 74-75.
 - 24 See Flora Behrman, My Fifty Odd Years in Johannesburg. Johannesburg, 1960, page 7.
 - 25 Interview with Athanasios Athanasopoulos.

- 26 Interview with Athanasias Athanasopoulos.
- 27 Interview with Athanasias Athanasopoulos. On the better prospects for Greeks in the Transvaal during that period, see especially Nicolaidis, pp 500-501; and for a complete picture, T R H Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History. Macmillan, 1977.
- 28 The analysis of the term is used by George Seferis in "Dokimes" ("Tests") (in Greek). Athens, 1974, third edition, page 47.
- 29 Greek and international bibliography on the topic is very scarce. Some valuable (though limited) expositions can be found in C Moschoff, National and Social Consciousness in Greece 1830-1909 (in Greek), Synchroni Epoki Publications, third edition, especially Part 4, Chapter D; and C Vergopoulos, Nationalism and Economic Development (in Greek), Exandas, 1978, Part 2, A. Our interviewees with first-hand knowledge of the social circumstances under which Greeks joined the war effort were quite clear that the most educated people and members with an "upper class" background joined the English side, while the poorer and less educated joined the Boer side. Interviews with Mr A Athanasopoulos and Mr C Constantinides, 1912 pioneer.
- 30 These are historical truths revealed by two of the most prominent Greek contemporary historians. See A Vakalopoulos, History of Contemporary Hellenism (in Greek) (3 volumes). Salonica, 1961; and J Kordatos, Pages from the History of Contemporary Hellenism (in Greek). Athens, 1964.
- 31 Dragoumis's main books and articles are: "Socialism and Sociology", in "Noumas" (in Greek), May 1908; Greek Civilisation (in Greek). Alexandria, 1914; My Hellenism, My Hellenes (in Greek). Athens, 1909; Samothrace (in Greek). Athens, 1909; "Greek soil" (in Greek), in "Noumas", 11 May 1908; and many others.
- 32 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos.
- 33 The Court proceedings appeared in detail in the Cape Argus, 30 October 1900.
- 34 The basic details of his story were acquired through interviews and letters of his sons Tassos and Kyriakos, and those of his business from Braby's Professional Directories of Cape Town, 1905 and 1910.
- 35 (H)ellenic (C)ommunity of (C)ape (T)own (C)ash (B)ooks 2, 3 and 4, for the years 1902-3, 1904-5, 1908-10, to be found in the Archives of the Community, Mountain Road, Woodstock.
- 36 The details of their lives are to be found in Nicolaidis, op cit, page 512, and "Index", page 68.

- 37 His full biography can be found in Nicolaides, op cit, "Index", page 111. Other details about his life were given to the author by his close friend, Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 38 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 507; and 1900, 1905 and 1910 Cape Town Braby Directories.
- 39 Interviews with Mr N Efstratiou, 1927 pioneer, Cape Town.
- 40 His life's story to this point is based on an historical account of his life written by his only relative (C Costas, his nephew, who came to South Africa in 1906 with his uncle) for the newspaper "The Epirotic Future", Volume 35, second period No 97/674, Athens, 6 October 1969, pp 1-2.
- 41 Op cit, page 1.
- 42 See "New Hellas" newspaper, obituary 4 October 1934.
- 43 Op cit, page 4.
- 44 See his letter praising Malan and the Nationalists in "New Hellas", 19 June 1930.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Interview with J (Jannie) Hanekom, stalwart organiser of the National Party in Stellenbosch and districts, Stellenbosch 24 April 1978.
- 47 Those were his exact words, as expressed to his son, Mr A Vranas, obtained in an interview with the latter, Johannesburg, November 1980.
- 48 Interview with his son, Mr Michos, Johannesburg, November 1980.
- 49 See obituary in "New Hellas", 23 April 1926.
- 50 See, op cit, 23 April 1926.
- 51 Op cit, obituary, 20 August 1926.
- 52 Interviews with his son Tasso Vagiacos, Cape Town.
- 53 See Mantzaris, "The Hellenes in Cape Town". Unpublished paper presented at the First History Workshop, University of Cape Town, 1978, page 6.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC SOLIDARITY, IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND MATERIAL CONDITIONS: DIVISION OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL CLASSES

INTRODUCTION

We have looked briefly at the migration process and the settlement of the pioneer Greek emigrants in South Africa and their participation in the Anglo-Boer war. Our next step will be the examination of the establishment and evolution of Greek institutions in South Africa up until 1914, the year when the First World War began. During that period very important developments of a political and economic nature, both in South Africa and the Motherland, played a significant role in the life of Greek pioneers in this country.

It is inevitable that this chapter will be divided into a considerable number of sub-sections, each one examining a different aspect of the emigrants' life in the four provinces, because of the differences in the prevailing social conditions affecting directly or indirectly the economic, political and ideological position of the pioneers living in those provinces.

(A) POPULATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

Provincial statistics covering the period under examination are insufficient and incomplete, but a scrutiny could reveal some interesting findings considering the subject of the chapter. Although provincial statistics of the period differ in many ways because of the various administrative systems used, some important observations can be

established which, if correlated with the existing material on the pioneer Greek emigrants (professional directories, newspapers, community notebooks and personal reminiscences), could lead us to a more or less global picture of the Greek population of that time.

In the Cape Province in 1904 there were 931 Greek males and 31 females, the majority of whom (695) were living in Cape Town and its suburbs (see Appendix 2).¹ The Greek population of the Province was 0,04 per cent of the total population, and the Greek male population 0,08 per cent of the male population.² Nine hundred and twenty six Greeks (895 males and all 31 females) were living in the urban areas, while only 36 males were living in the rural districts.³ (There were 92 Greeks in the Cape Colony in 1891, 77 males and 15 females.)⁴

There are no immigration figures appearing in the 1904 Transvaal Census but, using the figure in Table 1 once more, we can see that a conservative estimation of the Greek population of the Transvaal would be 378.⁵ This number corresponds both with Nicolaides's estimates,⁶ and with the estimates based on the other available data and statistics of the period (newspaper reports, professional directories, etc).

The Natal statistics point to the existence of 140 Greeks (or 0,01 per cent of the whole population of the Province), 133 of whom were males. The vast majority (117 males and 5 females) lived in the municipality of Durban. There was a Greek couple living in the Inanda division, three individuals in the Lower Tugela division, five in the Umlazi division, and 12 in the Natal Harbour Board.⁷

There are no statistics showing the number of Greeks in the Orange Free State in 1904, but existing sources indicate that there were approximately 50, the majority being males.⁸

There are characteristic differences in the division of labour of the economically active Greeks in South Africa in the different provinces, the main reason for this being the economic and social fluctuations of the provinces at that time. As we will see later, it was mainly unemployment that forced unskilled Greeks to seek skilled jobs at the expense of English and Jewish artisans and workers and, in some instances, it was the mere fact of higher wages in a particular occupation that attracted Greeks, for example, to work on the mines.

In the Cape, for instance, although the vast majority of Greeks in 1905 were general dealers and fruiterers (139), café owners (46) and hoteliers (12), there were approximately 60 railway workers,⁹ who will be dealt with in the chapter on the Greek working class.

In the Transvaal during this period (1905), the great majority of Greeks were small shopkeepers, shop assistants and miners. There were 58 general dealers and fruiterers, 43 café and restaurant owners, 51 shop assistants and 100 miners.¹⁰

In the Orange Free State, in 1905, all Greeks were involved in small shop business,¹¹ as were the majority of Greeks in Natal.¹²

During the period 1902-1911, there was a move of Greeks from the Cape Province to the Transvaal, as we have pointed out earlier. This movement had its obvious demographic results, as one can see from the 1911 census. Statistics show that there were approximately 1 101 Greek males and 156 females, a total of 1 257 in the Transvaal; 420 males and 83 females, a total of 503 in the Cape; 100 males and 20 females in the Orange Free State, a total of 120; and in Natal there were 43 males and three females, a total of 46 Greeks.¹³ There were also 17 "coloured" Greek Orthodox Christians, a decline of the 1904 number.¹⁴

The division of labour amongst the Greeks in the Union in 1911 did not change radically. In the Cape, for example, general dealers and fruiterers (89) and café and restaurant owners (39) predominated, while the number of railway workers decreased dramatically, a fact which points to the temporary nature of this occupation amongst the Greek pioneers.¹⁵ In the Orange Free State, the Greeks concentrated in small-business occupations.¹⁶ Unfortunately, no division of labour of the Greeks in the Transvaal and Natal could be drawn because of the non-existence of professional directories for those provinces for the period under examination. In the Transvaal, however, as will be shown, a large number of Greeks were working on the railways and an equal number was employed as contract labour in the mines.

Having examined the demographic picture of the Greeks in South Africa, as well as their division of labour, let us now proceed to examine the conditions under which the two social groups comprising the Greek ethnic group in South Africa were functioning within the South African social formation.

(B) THE GREEK WORKING CLASS

(a) The Greek Miners

Greek mineworkers in South Africa constituted a stratum of the white working class and participated in its militant actions during the early period of capitalist expansion in the Transvaal. The controversy over the nature of the "white working class" in South Africa is still at its height, the dominant schools being the "Poulantzian" and that spearheaded by Mlongo and others.¹

The question of the nature of the white working class is a particularly crucial one; as we have already stated the Greek mineworkers constituted a stratum within it. That is why we feel that a clarification of our position and approach in regard to this ongoing discussion is essential.

Davies has provided us with a thorough analysis of the white working class during the period 1900-1960, and his book has proved to be a landmark in a "Poulantzian" analysis of the State and white workers.² Departing from his previous position, well supported by empirical data, that the white working class in South Africa constituted a "labour aristocracy", i.e. a stratum of the South African working class,³ Davies points out in his latest work that a very significant section of the white working class assumed and were assigned petty-bourgeois rather than proletarian status.⁴ Although he pays more attention to those manual workers involved in supervision,⁵ he points out correctly that they were a small minority of the whole labour force, whereas African workers formed the large majority; it was on the total exploitation of this latter group that the accumulation of capital was entirely dependent.⁶

Although Davies's book is both well-researched and original, some theoretical questions can be posed. Goldberg has posed several significant questions as to the problems of class alliances and the political significance of the classification of the white workers as "petty bourgeoisie",⁷ but the most significant question towards the political connotations of those classifications is that of the overall position of the white workers within the labour process.

Our criticism of Davies's outlook and formulation is based on the fundamental mistake of the Poulantzian school of separating the "political level" (in Davies's case focus on the State) from the "economic" (i.e. the production process). Davies tends to pay more (if not absolute) attention to the role of the State and fractions of capital at the expense of the response of the "white" workers to the changing material conditions of production. Using this specific theoretical framework Davies categorises the "white working class" as a new petty bourgeoisie, thus obscuring the process of the ongoing struggle between labour and capital. He points out that the State and capital alike did their best to separate and isolate black labour from white, by giving concessions to the white section, and coerced white labour both ideologically and politically during the historical period under examination.

The problem that remains unsolved, however, is a crucial one, and Davies's theoretical competence has ignored it completely: that white workers, in spite of their privileged position within both the production process and the social formation at large, form a part of a divided working class. The crucial factor that Davies has failed to realise is that white workers produced surplus value appropriated by capitalists, i.e. they formed an integral part of the productive working class.

Bearing in mind the previous analysis we can proceed now to analyse the genesis of the Greek mineworkers, paying attention both to their economic functions and their political and ideological positions within the white working class, the class struggle and the Greek community as a whole. Greeks started joining the mineworkers' ranks as early as 1902.⁸ It was the period of the foreign imperialist expansion that led to the establishment of the mining industry in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The mining capitalists took advantage of the subordination of the pre-capitalist modes of production as producers of cheap labour power,⁹ but it was the skilled work of white labour that helped mining capital to progress in a short period of time. The economic dominance of mining capital in the South African economy has been explained fully by Davies and we need not go into details here. He has shown that revenue from total output was £41,5 million in 1911 and £48,3 million in 1915.¹⁰

Additionally the mining operations needed skilled artisan producers, capable of organising a number of very productive functions. Because of the significant shortage of skilled mine labour capable of performing those operations, mining capital was obliged to import skilled workers from various European countries. These miners had to be paid high wages and occupy supervisory artisan positions within the production process, while African workers were occupying non-artisan productive positions.¹¹ Greeks and Italians were either imported directly from their respective countries or recruited from the ranks of the unemployed.¹² Italians actually comprised a large group of mineworkers in both supervisory and unskilled jobs and, although Davies indicates that their numbers were "so small that no definite position of the question of unskilled white employment in the industry had been formulated",¹³ there are indications that there were approximately 500 Italians working in the Rand mines during that period.¹⁴

The presence of Greek mineworkers in South Africa during the period under examination is not as unique as it might at first appear. A large number of Greeks worked in productive and supervisory capacities in mines in the Belgian Congo during the period 1900-1905.¹⁵ The vast majority of Greek and other foreign miners were mainly on contract work in developing and stoping. Although the job was never permanent, the wages were so high that most of the foreigners remained for a long time.¹⁶ The appalling working conditions were stressed even by management, who pointed out however that housing, food and medical attention were all free.¹⁷ The presence of Greeks as miners did not escape the attention of prominent historians of the South African labour movement such as Cope and Walker and Weinbren, who unfortunately did not expand their analysis on the problem of European contract labour.¹⁸

By the turn of the twentieth century the Transvaal mining labour process was characterised by a considerable degree of technological intensity in mineral extraction, which bore not only imminent results in the production of the minerals, but also played a very important part in the mass production of dust resulting in the deadly disease of miners' phthisis, which will be examined later.

The most dramatic technological change, directly imported from Cornwall, was the introduction of the steam-driven pumping engine to control water in the mine levels, so brilliantly discussed by Rowe in his pioneer book on Cornwall at the time of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁹ The second major technological innovation in mining operations in the Transvaal was the introduction of machine drilling facilitating the opening of deeper levels; and the third was the large-scale application of cheap dynamite for blasting operations. As Blainey has pointed out:

Moreover, most deep level companies were still developing their mines for production, and, as they didn't operate a mill or cyanide plant, their sole working costs were in the mine; accordingly,

the costs of explosives was a much higher proportion of their total working costs.²⁰

The use of dynamite assured the mining capitalists that more rock was broken and hoisted at considerably lower costs, but at the same time put the lives of those blasting it in jeopardy, as we will see later.

Greeks were considered at first as medically and physically fit to work in all operations (blasting, drilling and pumping),²¹ in contrast to what Dr Louis G Irvine called the "indigent whites" who, although usually well-grown, often had narrow chests and were generally soft, not having been accustomed to continuous manual labour all their lives. According to Irvine, those whites (mainly Afrikaners) "had not been accustomed to hard work that developed muscles and they were more likely to contract tuberculosis when placed under conditions in which the disease was likely to attack them".²²

Greek mineworkers lived together with the other European miners and black workers in Marshalltown, Ferreiratown, Vrededorp and Fordsburg, under very bad housing and sanitary conditions. Their number was considerably higher during the first part of the twentieth century (up to 1912), before miners' phthisis became a permanent problem.²³ The management's opinion of their efficiency as mineworkers was extremely high. Thus when Mr Merriman, the Chairman of the Commission on European Labour Conditions, asked sardonically whether the consulting engineer to the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company could find Greeks working efficiently on the mines, the latter's reply was an unqualified "Yes".²⁴ Besides the appalling housing and sanitary conditions under which the labourers lived in the areas mentioned, another major problem, especially for immigrant workers, was the complete lack of educational facilities for their children. For those living on the outskirts of Johannesburg and other outlying

districts, the possibility of sending their children to school was non-existent. Unfortunately, this situation did not change even after the recommendations of the Committee.²⁵

There is wide speculation on the wages paid to white mineworkers during the period under examination. According to Harry Ross-Skinner, the average pay on the Rand for foreign (presumably skilled) workers was £25 to £26 per month,²⁶ while Lawn pointed out that during the same period (1912) whites generally were paid approximately £315 per annum, which was one-third higher than that paid on Australian mines.²⁷ These wages were substantially higher than those of white unskilled and African wages. For example, as the Transvaal Mines Department indicated, during the period 1903-1904 the lowest paid white employees, excluding apprentices, received a wage of 13s 9d per shift, while the highest paid received 29s, double the former's wage. The lowest paid white employee's wage was eight times higher than that of the average African.²⁸ Nicolaides pointed out that most Greek mineworkers worked overtime in order to increase their income, and he condemned it as a "step to their physical destruction and death",²⁹ while another contemporary pointed out that the average monthly wage of Greek mineworkers was approximately £30-£40.³⁰ Yet another contemporary, whose close relations with Greek mineworkers were cultivated through their membership of a Greek nationalist organisation, pointed out that there were many Greek mineworkers who could earn up to £50-£60 per month.³¹

Nicolaides bitterly criticised those Greeks who, attracted by the "monthly huge profit", forgot everything and became mineworkers and soon found themselves in a desperate position, facing death because of miners' phthisis. He also accused them of greed and thoughtless spending of their wages.³² His judgement however is unjustified for several reasons. First of all, most of the

miners came as contract workers, as we have already shown, and those who were recruited locally were either bankrupt shop-owners or unemployed without any other means of subsistence.³³ During that period (following the Anglo-Boer war and before the First World War), they faced problems such as the competition of Chinese workers imported to the Transvaal, unemployment, and the high cost of living. Although, in 1914, the government of the Union recognised the complete lack of investigation into the cost of living,³⁴ as well as the entire absence of statistics relating to factories, production costs, number of employees, sex and nationalities of the employees, etc,³⁵ we have several indications of the rise in the cost of living during that period.

First of all there were two recessions (the first in 1906-1909 and the second in 1912-1914). The former resulted in the mass exodus of rural workers to towns, a fact leading to unemployment, and a rise in the cost of living because of the high prices of agricultural products.³⁶ The second crisis took place roughly from 1912 to 1914 and was characterised by a substantial recession in the manufacturing industry, the 1913 miners' strike, and the railway strike in 1914.³⁷ There were other indicators, however, of the increasing rise in the cost of living in the period under examination.

Although we must accept that overseas mineworkers (including Greeks) were paid substantial wages to supervise the unskilled black labourers, the living conditions in the Witwatersrand area were unpleasant and the cost of living was rising day by day. In 1902, the South African Typographical Journal, official organ of the South African Typographical Union, claimed that a married man could not live in Johannesburg for under £30 a month.³⁸ (The typographers were actually the first craft unionists to point out the high cost of living in the Transvaal. A craft militant union that realised both its bargaining power and

its influence within the organised union movement of the period, the typographers went into the forefront of the struggle for increased wages to compensate for the rising cost of living.)³⁹

What was the social composition and the background of the Greeks working in the mines? A careful analysis of Appendix 6, showing all Greeks who died of miners' phthisis and other accidents in the mines during the period under examination (the only existing record that reveals the real picture of the Greek miners' lives), gives us the following picture: Most of the Greeks working in the mines were from the small town of Neopolis Vion and the Island of Crete, but the picture clearly given by a close study of the Appendix, and the table attached to it, is that every single geographical area in Greece had its victims amongst the Greek miners.⁴⁰ Most of those working (and dying) in the South African mines were in the age group 30 to 40, but there were some workers aged 50 to 60. Most deaths occurred in the period 1915-1918, and the number of married mineworkers who died was double that of single men.

Let us examine now the real position of the Greek workers within the labour process, and the circumstances leading to this "blood toll" as the "Voice of Labour" called it, i.e. miners' phthisis, and the accidents occurring in the mines at that time. While during the period 1902-1903 it was estimated that over 90 per cent of all white miners in the Rand were of foreign origin,⁴¹ in 1911 only 65 per cent of miners examined by the medical authorities investigating the miners' phthisis situation were foreigners.⁴² There were two basic reasons offered to explain this substantial decrease: early retirement because of the disease, or death.

The first deaths from miners' phthisis were reported only in the 1902-1903 Miners' Phthisis Commission, although many miners had died because of this disease even before

the Anglo-Boer war.⁴³ Bill Andrews, who was a leading member of the South African Labour Party and the International Socialist League in the 1920s, refused to work underground during his first years on the Rand, despite the high wages paid to underground workers, because he thought it was deadly to "eat dust" for ten hours (and even more) per day. His fellow workers scoffed at his fears, but he was in his prime when most of them had died from phthisis.⁴⁴

Phthisis, initially a form of pure silicosis, is a composite disease upon which an infective process has been superimposed. This disease develops from a fibroid change in the lung, affected by the presence of very fine silicious particles deriving from a dust-laden atmosphere. During the illness an infective tuberculous element is added. Phthisis, in other words, is an effect related directly to the degree of silicosis present in the substance of the lung.⁴⁵ The composite nature of the illness is a fact of primary importance because it is directly related to a number of issues crucial to our understanding of the process of the disease, such as the control imposed upon the production process, the role of the dust, etc. Thus, instead of looking first and foremost at the disease as primarily a medical phenomenon, we should rather concentrate on the changes in the production process.

We have already pointed out the high degree of technological intensity in mineral extraction taking place in the Transvaal during that period and the subsequent change in the disease patterns. The introduction of pumping engines controlling the water in the mine levels, increased blasting, shovelling and hoisting, which intensified the amount of dust, and the use of dynamite, had the same effects because more rocks were broken and hoisted, while the large-scale introduction of machine-drills caused enormous amounts of dust.⁴⁶ The Miners' Phthisis Prevention Committee, evaluating these three technological

"innovations", pointed out that the persons who were most likely to develop the disease were those engaged in "raising" (drilling "uppers"), and that most of the bosses and supervisors had been affected by the illness because they were "raising" without using water.⁴⁷ The same committee revealed that the air in the crusher house could contain between 25 and 100 mg of dust per cubic meter.⁴⁸

These working conditions caused what is known as "miners' death". In 1909, 9,6 per cent of all deaths in the Transvaal were from phthisis, representing a gross total of 1 228 deaths.⁴⁹ In 1913, 563 miners and members of their families (289 miners, 3 widows, 103 wives and 168 children) were repatriated by the Union Government under the terms of the Miners' Phthisis Act of 1912. The State and the mining corporations received 2 413 applications for compensation (1 819 from miners and 594 from dependents), of which only 11 were from Greeks (8 miners, one wife and two children).⁵⁰ Between 1905 and 1907 phthisis, including miners' phthisis, was responsible for 43,1 per cent of all deaths of white mining males over 20 years of age; together with other lung diseases the total was 61 per cent of all deaths in this age group.⁵¹ It was this situation in 1913 that caused a contemporary to write in a powerful and tragic vein:

The [mining] system is one of thinly disguised blood-smeared slavery. The white workers earn an average of £1 per day but they live only from seven to nine years. ... Ancient Nineveh and Babylon have been revived. Johannesburg is their twentieth-century prototype. It is a city of unbridled squander and unfathomable squalor. ... The wages are high indeed but the price the worker pays for them is paid in suffering and blood. Better a thousand times to perish as paupers in your own country if such a chance should hap than race to an early tomb in a hot deep African cavern.⁵²

Let us examine briefly the actual position of Greek workers in the mining labour process. It is well known by now that the mining management of the early period (circa

1900-1903) subscribed to the idea that the black man had to be controlled in order to be efficient, and thus whites were thought to be the only group capable of performing the tasks of conception and cooperation within the labour process.⁵³ It was during this period that mining capitalists realised that blacks were capable of operating a large rock machine, instead of merely helping the skilled emigrants. It soon became apparent that the actual process would end with the whites in a purely supervisory capacity. Did this then mean that whites were not performing a productive role at all? Although by 1907 the production process had been reorganised in such a way that blacks were performing "drilling" roles, helped by the introduction of smaller drills, and the skilled whites had become supervisors of three drills, they were at times required to do the drilling if the blacks could not manage; and it was the whites who exercised judgement in opening the holes to the best advantage for the operation and using the explosives in the best possible way.⁵⁴ Evidence given by people to the various committees and the writings of contemporaries on the subject of "productive" and "supervisory" labour does not change the crux of the problem as pointed out by one contemporary:

Everyone who says that the blacks were performing the hard work and the whites were sitting down and supervising, does not realise one thing: That drilling and blasting are two different things. Drilling was performed by everyone, including blacks, but the "upper holes" were always worked-up by whites; blacks were mainly drilling the "lower holes". Blacks could not do blasting, neither could unskilled white workers. There were some Greeks and Scots and Cornish miners and a couple of Australians, then the Afrikaners came over, but they were useless, that was what I was told. The Greeks' hands were black and full of blisters and blood, even after they washed them. At our picnics they used to tease us, calling us "shop-assistant sissies", and showing us their hands. Some of them were proud of their hands and their technique of drilling and blasting, but most were very aware of the approaching problems. That is why the Greek miners wanted to take everything out of life, because they knew they had not enough of it. But anyone who says that Greeks were

supervisors and lazy does not know what he's talking about, or has to look at his facts once again. What is written in books is not always what has happened.⁵⁵

Those words prove that Greek skilled workers were performing productive labour, possibly in addition to that of supervision. Another indication negating the notion that white skilled workers performed only supervisory labour can be found in the following obituary:

Last night death struck our compatriot Gabriel Giakoumatos, from Lixouri, 39 years of age. He died instantly while he was drilling, when dynamite blasted next to him. The accident took place in the Crown Mines.⁵⁶ (Emphasis mine.)

In 1917, another accident was reported as follows:

While our compatriot Manousos Mikelis was drilling in the roof of Crown Mine a lift fell and killed him. He was married with one daughter, and was 37 years of age. He came to South Africa as a contract worker in 1913.⁵⁷

Although the State took serious measures in order to fight against miners' phthisis, firstly by introducing a system of compensation for white victims of the disease,⁵⁸ medical checks of white and black miners,⁵⁹ and examinations of the working conditions,⁶⁰ the great majority of Greeks who worked as miners died from the illness. According to a reliable source, in 1930 there were only two or three Greek ex-miners still alive, the most notable being Sakellarides, later an editor of "New Hellas", who was paralysed while in his thirties.⁶¹ Another contemporary pointed out that by 1930 only a few Greek ex-miners were living; these could be "counted on the fingers of one hand".⁶²

The question of Greeks being severely affected by miners' phthisis came before the Select Committee on European Employment and Labour Conditions for the first time when the Chairman told Dr Louis G Irvine that it had come to his attention that some Greeks and Italians had been referred to the Council suffering from miners' phthisis.

Irvine was asked whether Greeks and Italians were more resistant to the illness than the English or South African-born miners, but he declined to comment on that, saying that the medical people had a good many of them (Greeks) before the Miners' Phthisis Board, adding that they were affected by the disease.⁶³

It was not only Greek miners in South Africa who were dying of miners' phthisis; the illness was also common amongst Greek workers in the United States of America. "Ignorance, carelessness, inconsiderateness and thoughtless economising" were the main reasons for miners' phthisis amongst Greeks in the United States, according to a contemporary writer.⁶⁴ Hundreds died and others returned to the Motherland in poor health. American doctors revealed that it was not only the mine dust that affected them, but the poor housing and sanitary conditions played a very significant part.⁶⁵

Those were the conditions under which Greek miners in the Transvaal were living. In 1912 they constituted a considerable proportion of the 1 591 emigrant miners (or 5,1 per cent of the total mining labour force), and of the 1 493 foreign miners (or 5 per cent of the total mining labour force) in 1913.⁶⁶ As a part of the Transvaal working class, they participated in its struggles and, in so doing, created a special "workers' consciousness" which we will examine next.

(b) National and Workers' Consciousness: The Greek Mine Workers' Union

Having examined in considerable detail the environment within which the Greek mineworkers found themselves during the period under examination, let us now turn our attention to certain aspects of their political and ideological relations with the mining companies, their co-workers, and the Greek community.

The first efforts to bring together the Greek mineworkers in the Witwatersrand seem to have occurred as far back as 1902 when a young miner, Dimitrios Spanos from Arachova, who had come to South Africa immediately after the end of the Anglo-Boer war, tried unsuccessfully to organise a Greek miners' society. There is no written evidence concerning Spanos's efforts but three people knew of his activities and their descriptions were similar. All of them had heard that Spanos was a devoted socialist who had tried to organise a nucleus of Greek mineworkers into an association.¹ One of them had worked as a shop assistant for Athanasios Pournaras, the doyen of Greek socialists in South Africa, and Pournaras had recounted stories about Spanos when he started as a young miner in 1905. Our interviewee pointed out:

Athanasios was speaking with respect and passion about Spanos. He used to tell me that people like him (Spanos) were rare and the workers were unlucky not to have one like him to guide them. He was not only speaking of Greek workers, although Spanos only tried to organise his compatriots, but also other foreign workers. Athanasios knew many workers who had met Spanos and who were always talking about him with admiration. I can say that Spanos was a sort of cult hero for my employer and friend.²

The circumstances under which Spanos left Johannesburg to move to Lourenco Marques are not recorded. What is known, however, is that he left the Transvaal in late 1902 and opened a newspaper and magazine agency on arrival in

Lourenco Marques, which was described by Nicolaides in 1922 as follows:

In town Greeks are doing very well. Their shops are the most reputable of all. Of course, the gem is that of Mr Dimitri Spanos, the only shop of its kind in the whole country. It is the centre where all cosmopolitan high society of the city buys its books and magazines.³

Spanos did not lose his contacts with the workers' cause and socialism. He was the distributor for the whole country of "International", the official organ of the International Socialist League, from its inception (1915) until at least 1924.⁴ Pournaras, himself a pioneer socialist in South Africa and a miner in the country from 1905 to 1907, and another miner, Kutsolis, were the organisers of what became known in mining and Greek circles as "The Greek Miners' Association". It is impossible to establish the exact date of the creation of the organisation but it was in existence when Athanasopoulos arrived in Johannesburg in late June 1905.⁵

Kutsolis was a miner at Langlaagte Deep Mine⁶ and, besides his trade union activities, was an above average athlete. During the Labour Day sports at the Wanderers in 1906 he came second in the 120-yards hurdles event (open to trades union members only), and second in the high jump (open to all). His jump was unrecorded but the winner jumped five feet three-and-a-half inches.⁷ Kutsolis was another Greek victim of a terrible accident, sustaining a broken leg and arm and horrible facial injuries in a blasting accident. The newspaper reporting the accident concluded that his life was in danger.⁸ He died some days later.⁹ Greek miners (most of whom can be seen in the photograph in Appendix 7), faced more problems than did workers related directly to the production process which was dealt with in the previous section.

The Transvaal Miners' Association (T M A), which was established in April 1902 following a Crown Reef strike in

the same month,¹⁰ did not follow the industrial militancy path of overseas miners' unions;¹¹ its organisational structures, functions and activities were characteristic of a craft union.¹² The nature of the Association can be gauged from the fact that its membership was exclusive and it was restricted to white underground miners possessing a blasting certificate awarded by the Inspector of Mines.¹³ Although Greek miners were classified as "skilled", as we have already seen, and the majority would qualify to be members of the union, not a large number actually joined its ranks.¹⁴ The main reason for not joining was not the lack of trade union consciousness, as will be shown later, but rather the hostile attitude of the trade unionists and unionised miners towards foreign, and especially contract, workers.

When unemployment increased, Johannesburg trade unionists felt that the continuous importation of large numbers of skilled contract workers was a threat to their position. The T M A and other unions claimed that the imported skilled contract workers were paid lower wages than the minimum trade union rates.¹⁵ This did not apply to the Greek miners who were paid the same wages as the local miners, as we have already noted.

The T M A's attitude towards foreign imported labour was partly understandable. The introduction of the Italian contract miners, with a much lower wage rate than that of men already working in the mines, clearly showed that the mining capitalists were doing their best to maximise their profits. The Italians brought into the country as contract workers faced the hostile attitudes of the underground miners who saw them as a threat to their position. It is significant that the T M A did not criticise the low wages paid to the Italians, but the contract system; additionally, they did not accept the idea of working underground with the foreign workers.¹⁶ This attitude changed, however, in the Ferreira Mine where the miners voted

unanimously to accept the Italians when they realised that a strike would lead to their dismissal; the prospects of obtaining new jobs at that time were not very rosy because of the proportions that unemployment was assuming.¹⁷

The Greek miners found themselves in the middle of the controversy. They were imported foreign labourers, most of whom were on a contract basis. If they joined the union (in this case the T M A) they would be obliged to conform to its policies and turn against the recently imported foreign labourers in whose position they could find themselves when their contracts expired. Their position became more difficult when unemployment increased. The T M A, with the help of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council (W T L C), ignored the accusations directed against them of discriminating against the Italian miners, and pointed out that their opposition to unfair foreign competition would increase.¹⁸ Workers who were not members of the existing unions were constantly condemned by union members, and Greeks who felt that their participation in the T M A was against their own interests came under severe pressure during that time.

Maropoulos said of the period:

When the English union members left their jobs because of low wages, dismissals, or other reasons, their employers imported contract hands from Port Elizabeth, East London or Cape Town. It was an easy procedure. The employer would write to a labour bureau in town and in a few days the men would arrive. The situation greatly worried the organised unions and especially the T M A because it was not easy to have contract labour in the mines at that time. Greeks did not participate in the union because the union had a policy against contract work; they were organised in their own ethnic union. But the pressure was on them. On the one hand they were workers and the T M A was the representative of the Transvaal miners but, on the other hand, the union's policy was anti-contract and anti-foreign, and Greeks were both contract and foreign. They had no alternative but to form their own union.¹⁹

The alternative of an "ethnic" trade union is not unique in labour history. In America and England several large groups of foreign workers established "ethnic" trade unions.²⁰ In America, Greek coal-workers and copper-miners were organised on "ethnic" lines and, later on, even on "intra-ethnic" lines (Cretans and mainland Greeks).²¹

Following its establishment, the Greek Miners' Association initiated a number of weekend lectures on Greek political affairs and, later on, had joint ventures with the nationalist organisation "Hellenismos".²² The association continued its activities after the death of Kutsolis and after Pournaras had become a shopkeeper in 1907. It participated in all communal and other activities of the nationalist organisations and of the church,²³ and became even more active after Theodoros Ananiades took over as the organiser and unofficial leader of the association.²⁴

Ananiades came to South Africa in 1903 as a miner from Stretiova, Kalavrita in Peloponnesus. He was very young, only 19 years old, when he arrived, a well-educated man "full of dreams", as Nicolaides has pointed out.²⁵ His activities as a leading figure within the Greek Miners' Association started in 1908 and he was the first Greek labour leader to take a democratic vote within the association concerning its participation in the May Day celebrations.

Although the Greek miners participated in the May Day celebrations of 1905 and 1906, the dominant trade unions did not include the organisation's name as a participant in their reports to the newspapers. Several Greek miners felt that, in view of the fact that their association was considered as "second class" by the Johannesburg unions, it should not participate in future Labour Day celebrations, in opposition to others who felt that it should participate. Ananiades put the question to the vote and the result was that the organisation should participate en masse in future

Labour Day celebrations.²⁶

Ananiades who, according to Nicolaides, "was not a common person" - in other words, he had excellent leadership qualities - played a very important role as the link between the Greek miners and the wider community. Through his powerful personality and his contacts with the Greek community and nationalist associations he tried to keep the miners away from marginal activities that had had disastrous results for Greek workers in other parts of the world, such as America, where railway workers and miners spent all their money in gambling, drinking, etc.²⁷ He was the chief negotiator and spokesman of the association in all its Greek affairs and, because of his skill in negotiating and his "personal charm", the relations between Greek miners and the community as a whole were cordial.²⁸

Having collected a considerable amount of money, and knowing that he was suffering from miners' phthisis, Ananiades did not retire to open a small shop as many of his contemporaries did, but continued to work in the mines until 1918, when his illness became intolerable.²⁹ Being an "ideal type" of person, as Nicolaides wrote, he did not aim at material and practical gains. On his death in June 1921, Nicolaides wrote:

He passed away, 37 years old, without being rich, but his memory will last forever in our community and especially amongst those who adored him and admired him.³⁰

Nicolaides obviously referred to the Greek miners who knew Ananiades intimately, both as a fellow worker and as a Greek.

Could one argue that the Greek Mineworkers' Association was characterised by a trade union or workers' consciousness? And, if so, was there any connection with the Greek consciousness prevailing amongst its members? There is no doubt that the Greek mineworkers at that time possessed a dual collective consciousness. On the one side

they felt that they were members of a particular class of workers who were paid well at the present moment but who could face several difficulties in the future as a result of increasing unemployment, miners' phthisis, and competition from blacks and poor South African whites. On the other hand they faced the hostile attitude of the indigenous workers, and were not welcome in their unions. At the same time, the Greek community helped them in every way and considered them a part of its structure and organisation. There is no doubt that the Greek mineworkers who established this association did so bearing those facts in mind.

The association proved its worth time and again, and especially during the period 1912-1914 when usurers of all kinds took advantage of the miners' phthisis situation and exploited large numbers of miners who were suffering from the disease. One such miner, who received a monthly grant of £8. 5. 0 under the Phthisis Act, borrowed £25 from a moneylender on the security of four of his monthly payments, i.e. £33.³¹ Another young unmarried man borrowed £20 and, within four months had paid back £25, while still owing £22.10. 0.³²

The Usury Act of the Cape had not been introduced to the other provinces after Union and thus the moneylenders could replace the banks by giving loans to diseased miners who could not work any more. While usury was still practised in the Cape Peninsula, it was controlled to a large degree by the authorities. The comparison between the usury practices in the provinces showed that even in the Cape a usurer still quietly lent money at about 300 per cent per annum.³³ In Johannesburg, the newspapers were reaping a rich harvest from moneylenders' advertisements, a practice that was forbidden in Cape Town after the passing of the Usury Act.³⁴

Moneylenders would approach miners suffering from

phthisis and offer them loans. Several accepted money, either to send to their families in Greece or to use to enter hospital for treatment.³⁵ In 1910 the Greek Miners' Association came into the picture, and Ananiades took the initiative in collecting money for the Greek Miners' Fund. This fund was created by the association and supported by the miners themselves and many other people, including Pournaras, the Stathakis brothers, Athanasopoulos, and other prominent members of the Greek community of Johannesburg.³⁶ A levy of £1 per month was put on the miners' wages and the money collected was used for hospitalisation, for funerals, or sent to Greece to the families of deceased miners.

Many ailing Greeks who had returned to the Motherland did not receive the allowances which were due to them under the provisions of the Miners' Phthisis Act owing to the incompetence of the Miners' Phthisis Board in not sending the necessary forms for them to complete. This was especially true during the period of the First World War. As a result, the Greek Miners' Association approached the Board and arranged to take over the responsibility of sending the money to Greece. But, even then, the situation did not improve because of the Board's incompetence and possibly also because of the anti-Greek feelings of the British administration at that time.³⁷

The association grew weak in numbers following the gradual disappearance of Greek miners for reasons already noted and, in early 1919, its few remaining members decided to throw in their lot with the newly-established "Phthisis Men's Union". The object of this union was to help the phthisis sufferers whose benefits were entirely, or almost, exhausted. The union and its leaders approached Johannesburg and Cape Town professional men and traders who were willing to offer even a limited means of livelihood to those suffering from the disease.³⁸

Greeks played the most important role in the union and Pournaras was one of the prime movers and financial contributors towards buying the Charlton Hotel where the union established a club run by and for the benefit of phthisis sufferers.³⁹ A shoemaking and dry-cleaning department was started, employing only phthisis men and their dependents; and the intention of the leaders of the union was to establish more branches. Concerts and other functions were organised which were well supported by the Greek community.⁴⁰

So neglected were the Greek miners and their families by the Miners' Phthisis Board that, during the period 1921-1922, only one widow and one child were repatriated to Greece with the Board's assistance.⁴¹ There was not one Greek miner or dependent amongst those who benefited from the annual awards given by the Board as compensation during that period - the total number of beneficiaries was 337.⁴² At that time victims of miners' phthisis did not receive pensions, although the Phthisis Section of the I S L-dominated South African Mine Workers' Union had petitioned General Smuts for this, without success. The union was aware of the desperate plight of the victims but the authorities did nothing.⁴³

There is no written reference about Greeks playing any part in the 1907 and 1913 miners' strikes, but there are identifiable Greek names amongst those injured in the 1913 strike (H Bubis, Lombardos, and Manuel Souros).⁴⁴ Only one - Souros - was known to present survivors of contemporaries.⁴⁵

How can we classify the Greek Miners' Association and its place within the ongoing struggle between labour and capital, and its relations to the Greek community and Greek nationalism? There is no doubt that it was established by radical elements and trade unionists such as Pournaras and Kutsolis. But it seems that the moderate nationalist

outlook of Ananiades and the association's close ties with the Greek community, as well as the hostile attitude of the T M A, turned it into a middle-class, beneficial organisation more concerned with Greek nationalism and good relationships with the wider community than with trade union or class struggle.

During the time of the social awakening of the Greek shop assistants on the Rand, and their direct involvement with the overall struggle of the workers, which will be examined in the next chapters, the Greek Miners' Association was too numerically weak and psychologically destroyed (following the death of most of its members) to be able to participate. Its absorption into a beneficial union (the Phthisis Men's Union) was a natural end to a worthy cause.

(c) Greek Occasional Labour: The Railway Workers and the Cigarette-makers

Many Greek small-shop-owners and restaurateurs, in both the Cape Province and the Transvaal, had been driven to bankruptcy and unemployment by the depressions that hit South Africa during the period we are examining. Many found employment on the Cape railways during the period 1905-1909, and in the Transvaal between 1910 and 1913.

Those working under the Cape Government Railway division were contract labourers who were exploited to the maximum. They were paid from 2/- to 3/- per day and, as the South African Review pointed out, "they have been treated exactly like kaffirs and their standard of living has been scarcely higher than that of the kaffirs".¹ The journal stated that the treatment of the labourers, especially in the Cape Province, was absolutely disgraceful; in addition, boys between 16 and 18 years of age were employed by the railways without any remuneration for overtime.²

There were approximately 1 058 Greeks and Italians entering the Cape Colony during the period 1904-1906,³ the majority of whom were presumably petty traders.⁴ (There are no statistics specifying the actual division of labour of European immigrants entering the Colony.) Of these, 92,8 per cent were males, and only 7,2 per cent females.⁵ The Labour Bureau attending to the problem of "white" and "coloured" unemployment wished to induce "white" immigrants to settle down in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, although the skilled artisans were not affected to a large extent by the depression and unemployment. It was only in trades such as construction and printing that employees suffered severely.⁶

It is not easy to understand why Greeks were preferred to other unemployed Europeans to fill the gaps in the

railway division, but it would seem that their eagerness to have work and their negative attitude towards trade unionism were the major determinants.⁷ The employers were at pains to stop the trade union movement which, through its militant stand, had succeeded in keeping wages for trade union members at a relatively healthy level during that period.⁸

There were two other factors, however, leading to the recruitment to the railways of Greek semi-skilled and unskilled workers. One was that, because of the depression, many unemployed males made their way to the Transvaal or overseas where there was less competition and wages were better.⁹ And the other was the fear held by the new Greek immigrants to the Colony that, in the event of their not finding work, they would be deported. There were 112 Greek and Italian prohibited immigrants in 1903, 126 in 1904, 134 in 1905, and 90 in 1906. This was 20 per cent of the total number of applications for admission, as compared with only 1,8 per cent of Russian Jews declared prohibited immigrants during the same period.¹⁰

The life of Greek railway workers was in constant danger because of the inadequate security measures during working hours. There was no legislation securing compensation for the dependents of the railway workers. Although the Workmen's Compensation Act was in existence, the railway authorities functioned mainly by publishing regulations which evaded the Act. For example, in the Kelly case of March 1909, the circulars of the railway authorities that evaded the Act enabled them not only to avoid paying compensation to Kelly's wife after his death, but also to demand from her payment of damages because her husband had acted contrary to the regulations set by the department. The case was won in court by Kelly's widow, but this was a clear indication of the state of affairs in the railway department in the Cape, where circularized regulations were more powerful than Acts on the Statute

Book.¹¹ Greeks could be employed instantly and dismissed any time before the termination of their short-term contract. They were not allowed to establish a trade union. A large number of them were fired in January 1906, simply because they were "aliens". This action of the Cape Railway Department was criticised severely by the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg, which noted:

It would be interesting, in view of the cosmopolitan nature of our tradesmen in South Africa, to hear some news on trade-unionists viz. equal opportunity for all, irrespective of religion or race, but there are many weak-kneed supporters of this principle to be found in our ranks, and many who will probably openly express approval of the action of the Railway Department in showing such distinction in races.¹²

The Greek railway workers in the Transvaal were employed as substitutes for migrant African workers whose work was considered unsatisfactory and for white labourers whose work had been seen as "uneconomic".¹³ Most of these Greeks worked in the Vryheid area during the period 1910-1912. M W Myburg, M L A for the area, pointed out that the largest number of railwaymen employed there were Greeks and Italians, and that there were much smaller numbers of Dutch, Scotsmen, Englishmen and Irishmen. The total number of employees was 600, mainly small farmers and ex-shopkeepers, working on short-term contracts and temporarily. The wages were very low, the average pay being 10/- to 12/- per day; most of the workers came from Lydenburg and Ermelo. On the whole they were uneducated, or had had very little education, but were satisfied with their wages which were substantially higher than those paid to blacks (i.e. 2/6d per day).¹⁴ Most of them lived in tents or small tin shanties. Some, rather than trust to a tent in bad weather, carried a few sheets of iron with them; they erected sod walls and put the iron on top, thus making a little house. When they went away they took their iron with them and put up a house somewhere else.¹⁵

The conditions described above should be seen in

perspective. Greeks who were working for the railways were temporary workers drawn to this occupation by economic difficulties, such as bankruptcy, unemployment, or the difficult material conditions prevailing in the respective provinces during this period. Thus they cannot be compared with the stream of Greek workers who went to Ethiopia at the turn of the century as "pure" railway workers;¹⁶ to Portuguese East Africa, where they pioneered the work on the Beira railway during the same period;¹⁷ or to Tanganyika territory,¹⁸ and the Belgian Congo.¹⁹ Those who went to work in these areas were skilled artisans, on temporary assignments, while those working on the South African railways were middle-class individuals, hit by unemployment or economic failure who saw manual labour as their last chance of surviving financially during difficult times.

The similarities between Greek railway workers in South Africa and those in America, especially in the western areas such as Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Montana, Oregon and California, are striking. Although many of those emigrating to America started as street vendors and small shopkeepers, economic depressions and unemployment forced them to become productive workers in the mines, factories, and on the railways.²⁰ Between 1910 and 1912 the daily wage in the mines was approximately \$3, while on the railways it was between \$1,50 and \$2,50, depending on the experience of the workers and the working conditions.²¹ Canoutas calculated the number of productive Greek workers in the Western States during that period at 35 to 40 thousand, 90 per cent of whom were in the 20-45 age bracket.²²

Having examined the Greek railway workers in South Africa, let us now turn to another category of occasional workers, i.e. the cigarette-makers.

Amongst the Greeks from Asia Minor who found their way to South Africa were several skilled tobacconists who had previously been involved in the cultivation of Turkish tobacco in the place of their birth. A similar stock of

Greek emigrants had gone to Southern Rhodesia as early as 1900.²³ Greeks were regarded as the pioneers of scientific tobacco cultivation in that country (mainly as importers of Turkish blend), especially after 1907 when an expert on tobacco, G M Oldblum of the Department of Agriculture, took with him a number of Greek experts, who gave a tremendous boost to the tobacco-growing business in the country.²⁴

The three most important tobacconists to come to South Africa were C Bourdos, who went to Pretoria in 1899 and started manufacturing Turkish tobacco with the help of five or six other young Greeks;²⁵ Aristo Yaxoglou, one of the most colourful Greeks in the Cape Province, who, after a successful career as a tobacco manufacturer, was declared bankrupt in 1907;²⁶ and Demos Tyambatzoglou in Cape Town, whose factory was located at 47 Rissik Street.²⁷

Of Bourdos and Tyambatzoglou not much is known, but it seems that the latter was a dominant figure in the Cape Town market until the depression, when high costs and lack of capital put him in a very difficult financial position which led to his bankruptcy.²⁸

Aristos Yaxoglou, together with his brother, was one of the stalwarts of Cape Town's Greek community from its establishment.²⁹ He started business in 1900 and shortly afterwards opened a shop in Castle Street on a 14-year lease, at a rent of £35 a month. The following year he purchased for £1 700 an old building in Riebeek Street which he pulled down and in its place erected a factory, for an additional sum of £1 300. He produced the famous "Aristos" cigarette and, despite the initial high outlay, his business flourished during the war period and until 1904, when he entered into partnership with J B Gold and H B Levinson, both renowned trade unionists and pioneers of workers' struggles in the Cape, as we will see later. The partnership was financed entirely by Aristos, and a business was opened in Johannesburg. This business proved

unsuccessful and in January 1906 Yaxoglou paid Gold £300 to dissolve the partnership. Levinson did not pay his debt and a sum of £600 was lost on the purchase of two cigarette-making machines which were found to be unworkable. A law suit with the sellers resulted in Yaxoglou losing the action with costs. In addition to this, Aristos had lost £1 500 in bad debts in Cape Town. On 3 February 1907, Yaxoglou appeared in the bankruptcy court and declared assets of £4 657/17/7 and liabilities of £3 727/9/6, leaving a credit balance of £930/8/1. It was apparent that the landed property could not cover the creditors, and thus one of the most respected tobacco manufacturers in Cape Town went bankrupt, another victim of the difficult conditions prevailing in the Cape Colony at that time.³⁰

Yaxoglou employed occasional labour, mainly "coloured" and Greeks,³¹ but his factory could not compete with the two biggest in town, i.e. Policansky's and Hermann and Canard, where the majority of cigarette-makers worked. The Cape Town cigarette-makers were one of the most militant trade-union-orientated sections of the working class, as well as one of the most exploited. It was reported that in the Policansky factory, girls of nine, 10 and 11 years of age were working for ten hours every day for 5/- a week under extremely unsanitary conditions.³² Most were "coloured" but there were also white girls.³³ These large factories operated under appalling sanitary conditions. At Policansky's, where approximately 85 people worked, there were only two lavatories, both for males, although the majority of workers were females.³⁴

The division of labour within the production process was simple, yet well-organised to the advantage of the manufacturers. There were cigarette-makers, cigarette packers, foremen and engineers, cigarette cutters and two or three apprentices (boys).³⁵ The Greek cigarette-makers were working mainly in Yaxoglou's and Policansky's.

factories and played a very important part in the first cigarette-makers' strike in Cape Town in January 1906.

The Greek cigarette-makers were an integral part of the South African General Workers' Union (S A G W U) which was established by a number of militant workers in 1905 and, under the leadership of Salter and Levinsohn, was causing many problems for Cape Town capitalists. Its organisational structure was the most democratic in the Cape Town trade union movement; it elected its officers quarterly.³⁶ The financial situation of the union was good, as every member had paid a levy of £1 to start a fund. The major characteristic of the society was that it was composed of half a dozen nationalities, including Greek and Afrikaner.³⁷

The first cigarette-makers' strike occurred when many members of the S A G W U, working in the Plein Street factory of the Policansky brothers, downed tools because the management had reduced the price per thousand for the making of cigarettes six months before, without notice to the workers.³⁸ After the first day, the Cape Town trade union fraternity, led by the tailors and brickmakers, came out in support.³⁹

The union leadership soon realised that the Policansky brothers would try to divide the workers by playing off one nationality against another (most of the workers being Greeks and Jews) and the union directed its efforts towards uniting the labourers across ethnic barriers.⁴⁰ The speeches in the mass meetings of the unions supporting the strike were in English and Yiddish, and the efforts of Policansky to falsify the facts surrounding the strikes were successful.⁴¹ The other tobacco manufacturers in Cape Town were on the side of the workers, whose strike was described by Harlow, Chairman of the Trades and Labour Council, as one of the greatest in the history of the working-class movement. Harlow stressed that it was trade

unionism that made workers of all national origins (an open reference to Greek and Jewish workers), of both sexes and of all ages, stand firm, realising that their interests were identical.⁴²

Oshman, a cigarette-maker striker and one of the workers' leaders, pointed out that Policansky's main aim was to do away with skilled labour and thus reduce wages, and that was why the union was fighting him. Salter maintained that the managers of the factory were trying to play off one nationality against another, in order to cut wages.⁴³ John Christodoulou, the representative of the striking Greek workers, spoke on the resolution and called on everyone to vote for it. The resolution was carried unanimously.⁴⁴ (John Christodoulou and his brother George, himself also a cigarette-maker, were prominent members of the Greek community, participating in all its functions).⁴⁵

The fighting spirit of the striking workers led to victory, after Policansky conceded all the conditions set up by their union. Celebrating the victory, Salter and Christodoulou, together with Mrs Tinley of the cigarette-makers committee, paid tribute to the unity of the workers across ethnic and sex barriers. This was the first time in South African trade union history that a woman was a member of a strike committee.⁴⁶ Christodoulou spoke as one of the leaders of the strike and thanked everyone involved for its success.⁴⁷ The South African News paid special tribute to the Greek cigarette workers. While stressing the fact that a group of Greek, Jewish, Arabian and Afrikaner workers had stood together against the arrogance of the employer, it pointed out that the capitalists would be looking for new scabs should another strike occur.

McKillop, a Cape Town pioneer trade unionist, noted that even "the girls" came out on strike and if scabs had appeared they would be "hopeless characters". He pointed

out that deliberate attempts were made to induce the experienced workers to sacrifice the girls, and strenuous efforts were made to induce the Greeks to act as scabs, but to no avail. McKillop concluded his remarks as follows:

These workers [the Greeks] had thoroughly grasped the idea that an injustice to one is an injustice to all and that any real permanent gain to them must be the result of a clean fight against injustice, each for all and all for each. The Greeks might have benefitted financially for the time being by becoming traitors, but they had benefitted much more and in a broader sense by earning the distinction of the Chairman's testimony that they were the strongest trade unionists of all.⁴⁸

John Christodoulou highlighted the significance of the Greek workers' contribution to the success of the strike by being the main architect of the conditions of settlement, and by especially pointing out that Point 2 ("an even price to be paid for the respective brands, namely Sultan's Favorites, Bravos, and Small Sultans") should be stressed primarily because Policansky Brothers had 45 workers and 45 different ways of paying them.⁴⁹

This strike was not the only one in which Greek cigarette-makers played an important role. Approximately three months later a strike started at the cigarette-making firm of Hermann and Canard who had decided to reduce the wages of women and girl workers. Although the cigarette-makers group of the General Workers' Union (G W U) tried to negotiate with the management, the latter's reply was that their primary aim was to destroy the union once and for all.⁵⁰ The unionised workers (including a number of Greeks) went on strike immediately, and Hermann threatened to use blacklegs in their place.⁵¹ The workers declared that they had been "locked out by the firm", while the latter immediately tried to force their Greek contract workers to sign an affidavit denouncing the trade union. The unionised workers realised that the lock-out was the

strategy employed by management not only to reduce the women's wages, but also to destroy their union.⁵² In an interview with the South African News, Hermann revealed his intention to destroy the union and gave a false picture of the wage structure used.⁵³

In the meantime, the Greeks under contract were still working in the factory. The union members appealed to them to cease work and to come out in solidarity with the striking workers. Christodoulou felt that the strikers should try to convince the Greek contract workers of the necessity to join the strike. He stressed that the latter should be ashamed of themselves for breaking the solidarity of the workers, and appealed to them to stop working. He felt that if the union could succeed in keeping them out of work, victory would be certain, and the struggle would be won.⁵⁴ The leader of the Greek contract workers decided to support the strike and informed the management that "the workers' better nature had been aroused by the appeals of the girl and women workers".⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the union under the supervision of Levinson and Christodoulou started producing the "Lock-out" cigarette, using the striking workers. This was the first cooperative trade union movement in South Africa, supported by all trade unions in the mother city, several benefit societies, and many individuals who helped it financially in its initial stages.⁵⁶ The union, in the meantime, negotiated with Canard for a settlement that would be based mainly on a cancellation of the agreement made with the Greek contract labourers who had been working in the factory since 1901,⁵⁷ pointing out that they would not consent to seeing the Greeks suffer from their actions.⁵⁸

Canard advertised in both of the Cape Town morning papers for new staff, a sign of his desire to recruit strike-breakers.⁵⁹ The Greek workers were persuaded by the management to act as blacklegs, thereby incurring the fury

of their co-workers who threw stones at them as they entered the factory.⁶⁰ The "Lock-out" cigarette, in the meantime, was progressing steadily, and received considerable financial assistance from all of the Cape Town and most of the Transvaal trade unions, while its distribution was extended to the whole Union.⁶¹

Policansky followed Hermann and Canard by locking out his workers, on 14 May 1906, and the cooperatives' cigarettes continued to be produced on an even larger scale.⁶² The union felt that it was in a strong position to bargain with the management of Hermann and Canard, and their next letter clearly stated that the workers would only negotiate with the firm when the contracts of the Greeks had been cancelled. The firm did not reply.⁶³ It later became known that the firm had blackmailed the Greek contract labourers into signing, before an attorney, a letter of resignation from the union.⁶⁴

Aristos Yaxoglou was one of the main supporters of the striking workers and facilitated their efforts to support themselves. His factory was regarded as a "union shop" in the mother city, always ready to help the cigarette-makers and "Lock-out".⁶⁵ While the cooperative borrowed money from several sources in order to keep up with the demand for its cigarettes, the Greek contract workers were under police protection, requested by the management of Hermann and Canard⁶⁶ who, being disturbed by the unexpected success of the "Lock-out" effort, cut off negotiations with the union.⁶⁷ Policansky faced a shortage of cigarette-makers and approached the union with a request for ten skilled workers. All those approached rejected the offer, because the cooperative was paying better wages than any manufacturer in town.⁶⁸

The Greek contract workers faced the wrath of the Cape Town workers. They were attacked by three pro-strike tailors and retaliated,⁶⁹ and the South African News

reported sardonically that it was a mystery that they (the Greeks) used offensive language and aggressive behaviour against union members, but did not molest their fellow countrymen union members.⁷⁰ The strike continued, as well as the "Lock-out", without the Greek contract workers being dismissed. Although the cooperative movement continued its efforts to survive, it was liquidated by an order of the Supreme Court on 10 September 1907.⁷¹

The two cigarette-makers' strikes exposed a new dimension to the Greeks in South Africa - the class dimension. In both strikes, Greeks participated as union members and some of them led their fellow-workers (in the case of the first strike). As we have already shown, both strikes had their roots in the desire of the factory owners to maximise profits. As they spent large sums of their variable capital on new machines and equipment, they had to spend less capital on wages. Accordingly, as the workers' labour in the cigarette-making factories produced the surplus over costs from which profits were derived, the declining proportion of total capital used to pay wages caused profit rates to decline. The two factory owners therefore had to stop this decline, and the only way was by reducing wages, speeding up the labour process, lengthening hours, and hiring women and children in competition with men.

Let us examine how many of these methods were adopted by the factory owners in question. Hermann and Canard, for example, used one six-horsepower motor in 1904, and three in 1906;⁷² and Policansky had to import skilled artisans from Port Elizabeth to operate his newly-bought equipment.⁷³ As already pointed out, women and children were working in the factories, their wages had been decreased, and the labour process had been speeded up. Additionally, according to a cigarette-maker appearing before the Select Committee on Factories and Fair Wage Clause, all workers in the Hermann and Canard factory were working 70 hours a

week instead of 50, without being paid overtime wages.⁷⁴ Locating the strikes within the overall struggle of the Cape Town workers at that time, we could add that both were shaped around the ideology of Owenism, which supported the class antagonisms existing during the period of early capitalism, but did not see the workers as a vehicle for revolutionary change. That is why the Owenites wished to attain their ends by peaceful means and small-scale experiments such as cooperatives, thus rejecting straight political/revolutionary action.⁷⁵ The leaders of the strikes, and especially the second one, were also influenced by the ideas of the "American Labour Exchange" and the "Cooperative Brotherhood of England".⁷⁶

The role of the Greek workers within the two strikes was twofold. They participated in the first strike and, according to the trade union leaders in Cape Town, constituted the vanguard of the struggle. In the second strike some of them, all union members, supported it while a small number of contract labourers, although initially joining the strike, were later compelled by the intimidating tactics of the employer to return to work.

European "scab labour" was not only a South African phenomenon - in Australia it was used early in the 1890s;⁷⁷ but there are a number of explanations why the Greeks acted as strikers and strike breakers. Those who acted as strikers undoubtedly endorsed a collective workers' consciousness during that specific historical period, shaped by the "trade union" ideology advocated by the General Workers' Union. That collective consciousness manifested itself in the economic action taken by the workers when they went on strike, as a defensive weapon against capitalist exploitation. This consciousness, as we have already pointed out, was shaped ideologically by the utopian socialists of the period, but it never found itself in the political arena of the class struggle for various reasons, such as the slow development of the

capitalist relations of production, the absence of a revolutionary socialist theory, and of a revolutionary party. The collective "trade union consciousness", however, united the Greek artisans with the workers of other nationalities in a common bond of resistance that led to the mass strike action, while it stopped the competition among the labourers.

The case of the strike-breakers is different. Being contract workers, they had been trade union members before they were taken by the employer to the attorney in order to cancel this union registration. The intimidation by the employer, who could easily have them deported, coupled with their financial difficulties and the fear of unemployment, could be the other reasons for scabbing. The fact that they were not actually "workers/artisans-as-such" but mainly bankrupt small-shopkeepers turned cigarette-makers because of the unemployment conditions,⁷⁸ could point to the predominance of the middle class over workers' trade union ideology.

This latter fact did not prevent Erasmus, a leader of the strike and a prominent trade unionist, from declaring that the whole attitude of the Greek (contract) workers had been of much more honourable and praiseworthy character than had appeared on the surface; and, had it not been for the meddling interference of certain Greeks demoralised by "business" methods (an insinuation against the interference of middle-class Greeks who helped in the re-recruitment of the contract labourers), there would not have been a Greek scab in Cape Town.⁷⁹

Erasmus's praise for Greek workers in Cape Town did not change the basic fact that the Greek artisans' attitude towards the union was one of workers' solidarity struggling to attain certain objectives. This solidarity was the result of a common experience within the production process and was shaped and strengthened by the exploitation

of the workers by the cigarette-making capitalists. On the other hand the Greek contract labourers, facing the "Damoclean swords" of unemployment and intimidation and blackmail from their employer, found themselves in the middle of a continuous struggle between labour and capital; their middle-class background was another decisive factor that led them to side with their employer against their co-workers.

(C) THE GREEK "INTERMEDIATE" CLASS

Most recent socio-historical and historical works on stratification theory tend to be primarily descriptive and classificatory rather than explanatory of social differences.¹ The "intermediate" (or "middle") classes are treated as "formal" social classes without internal differences and contradictions. "Middle" classes are seen as a unified stratum of people situated between the two "main" classes (the capitalist class and the working class), without being analysed as a group consisting of various strata defined by their function within a historically defined system of production. In reality the analysis and understanding of the "middle classes" is far more complex than is usually realised, as Poulantzas's pioneering work has shown.²

The Greek "middle class" within the South African social formation during the period under examination will be analysed as a group situated (economically, politically and ideologically) between the workers on the one side and the capitalists on the other. There are two distinct categories (or strata) within the Greek "intermediate" class: (a) the small shopkeepers, restaurant and café owners, and (b) the shop assistants. Their different positions within the circulation process makes this distinction necessary, as the former were self-employed while the latter were wage-earners. The difference is of vital importance to this analysis as it determined to a large extent the political and ideological attitudes of the respective strata towards the two "main" classes, and between themselves. Both strata were of a transitional nature and their numerical increase or decrease was a direct result of the prevailing economic and political conditions.

(a) The Shopkeepers

The first stratum of the intermediate class to be considered will be that of the small propertied producers and traders, as contrasted to that of the salaried

employees (shop assistants).

As we have already shown in our discussion on the division of labour of Greeks in South Africa during this period, the main occupations of Greeks involved in trading were the following:

- (a) Merchants, i.e. wholesale buyers and sellers of various commodities;
- (b) Produce shops or fruitshops, i.e. shops for the sale and purchase of agricultural products, but also sweets and sometimes cigarettes;
- (c) Family grocers, i.e. retail grocers which were mainly attached to bottle stores which sold "full" bottles; and
- (d) Cafés or restaurants or "kaffir eating houses", mainly restaurants for blacks, and shops for selling tea, coffee and cocoa.³

Greeks generally avoided becoming involved in small-scale artisanal and direct production, where the individual is both owner and possessor of his means of production and does not employ wage labour. They preferred to involve themselves in small-scale ownership, mainly in the retail trade (i.e. in the circulation sphere), usually helped by their own family, or occasional labour. Economic considerations and the lack of necessary skills were the reasons for this.

Depression, unemployment, tightness of money supply, as well as anti-alienism as a dominant political and economic obstacle, were the main problems facing Greek shopkeepers at that time. It was mainly in the Cape Colony that the latter problem gained momentum amongst the British workers and middle-class strata, following the Anglo-Boer war. This trend was created in the Colony, firstly, by the expansion of commercial activities following the Anglo-Boer war, which were mainly dominated by "alien" elements (Jews, Indians and Greeks),⁴ and, secondly, by the influx of soldiers at the end of the war.⁵

Asiatics and Chinese were the first to face the wrath of the well-to-do British commercial elements, but soon the Russian Jews and other Mediterranean immigrants, including Greeks, became the target of anti-alienism. The first official fears of a continuous alien influx into the Colony were reported to the Commission of Inquiry into Labour in the Cape Colony in 1893, when many ways were suggested to prevent further immigration.⁶ The fiery attack by prominent members of the committee - Merriman, Orpen, Molteno, etc. - was concentrated mainly on Eastern European Jews and Indians,⁷ but soon the Greeks came into the picture.

The material conditions were ripe for this kind of agitation. The agricultural drought during 1901-1905, the viticulture depression, and high inflation created by the supply of money spent by the imperial troops in the Colony, as well as the withdrawal of those troops at the end of the war, resulted in a commercial set-back.⁸ The cost of living was tremendously high.⁹ Meat prices had increased because Australia's meat was subject to foot and mouth disease,¹⁰ and the prices of commodities were kept high because of the monopolistic structure of the Colony's market.¹¹

The unemployment issue was the major concern of the Colony's authorities and the various relief committees did their best to help the Cape Town population to find jobs, but to no avail.¹² In 1903, insolvencies doubled as compared with 1902, and in 1904 and 1905 increased between eight- and ninefold over those during the latter year of prosperity, due mainly to over-trading and over-speculation, especially in land.¹³ It was pointed out that the cost of living in Cape Town was the highest in the Empire.¹⁴

The influx of Russian Jews and Indians into the Colony created the first anti-alien attitudes. (There were approximately 2 397 Indians in the Colony in 1903 and 5 000 in 1906.)¹⁵ While it was obvious that the British

Establishment wanted to strengthen the "white" English colonial structure by increasing the numbers of British immigrants from the metropolis,¹⁶ their attitude towards the influx of "small dealers, hawkers, peddlars and shop assistants" was a negative one.¹⁷ The Immigration Act of 1902 was a stepping-stone towards the exclusion of "alien immigrants" and, although the Greeks were not affected to the same degree as the Indians and East European Jews, they were the first to be sceptical of its consequences, as we will see later.¹⁸

It is understandable that recession, unemployment and economic depression would create tensions, especially in the Cape Colony, where "yellow and alien" invasions were at their peak. Although anti-alienism was directed mostly against the "Indian and Peruvian* (or Eastern European Jewish) peril", the Greeks were one of the major alien subjects to come under attack. The agitation (predominantly confined to the Cape Colony and not in all provinces) took the form of public meetings, and press coverage. Working-class and middle-class agitation against the alien subjects took similar forms of class hatred, insinuations and smear.

It was the Cape Times which started orchestrating the anti-alien agitation, following the calls of Thomas Harris, a self-proclaimed "workers' leader", for an "all-British" campaign, demanding that the authorities restrict the influx of aliens into the Colony.¹⁹ In a vitriolic editorial the Cape Times pointed out that of those naturalised in 1902 most were from Poland and Russia and the rest from Syria and Rumania. Twenty per cent of all had been described as "general dealers", or "storekeepers". These were considered the most undesirable class of people. The

*Term used to describe the newcomer Jewish element from Eastern Europe, mainly consisting of peddlars, small shopkeepers, etc.

newspaper concluded:

The large number of unsavoury-looking and fifth-rate fruitshops and similar places of business which have opened during recent months furnish the unpleasant truth that the undesirable alien has established himself firmly in Cape Town.²⁰

The anxiety felt by the working or, rather, artisanal class (the skilled artisans comprising the labouring classes of Cape Town at the time cannot be classified as purely productive workers) was manifested through the editorials of the South African Review, and the speeches of George Woolends and A Hughes at the Van Riebeeck Statue every Sunday. The South African Review expressed the view that "civilised" rather than "alien" labour should be imported, and accused the labour bureaus of not encouraging British immigration.²¹

At the same time, the journal hit at conditions in the early morning market, mainly dominated by Greeks and Indians. It accused the Council of having no control over "the trade of damaged goods, bananas in a pulpy mess rendering the skins from the in'nards, tomatoes in a decayed state and other unwholesome eatables that were frequented upon the tables." The prices were very high and although certain regulations existed (the major one being that none but market officials, market agents and agents' clerks would be allowed within the enclosure in which sales of fruit were proceeding) Greeks and Indians were allowed free access to the enclosure, and it was pointed out that unless these intruders were closely watched there was little fruit left for sale when they had satisfied their requirements.²²

Woolends, speaking at a meeting on the railway tracks next to the Van Riebeeck Statue, alluded to "cursed Greeks, Italians and Russian Jews", and pointed out that he would have nothing to say to an organisation or trade union which included foreigners.²³ His strongly anti-alien bias,

very uncharacteristic of a "proletarian leader", as he considered himself, were not typical only of a South African situation. In the early period of the American labour movement, the overseas immigration that resulted in a heterogeneous labour force caused unions and labour leaders to adopt protective devices such as the "closed shop", the "closed union", etc. Economic depression and unemployment were the main reasons for such an attitude.²⁴

Nevertheless, Woolends was not a very popular leader amongst the "labouring classes" in Cape Town. He was regarded mainly as a "labour charlatan". According to J Erasmus, a leading labour agitator and trade union organiser, writing in the "Labour Notes" of the South African News, the clique of Woolends, Page and Hughes was not representative of labour men, did not belong to any trade union and generally damaged the labour cause in the Colony. The general belief amongst the labouring classes in Cape Town was that a well-known financial influence was behind these three in their attempt to split the labour vote. Erasmus was suspicious that the Progressive newspapers were treating them with a liberality which was refused to the trade union movement.²⁵ The Social Democratic Federation as well had sent its leading members, J K Wilson, W H Harrison and W Baxter, to speak at the Van Riebeeck Statue in the afternoons - the mornings being left to Mr Woolends and others "who did not speak from the socialist platform".²⁶

Woolends had lived in the Colony since 1897 when he was first employed as a wagon-driver; he had then become a butcher and horse breeder. Later he became a gardener, and also started a laundry at the corner of Keerom and Leeuwen Streets. When he returned from South-West Africa where he had moved in 1901 to work as a horse breeder, he worked for a Mr McIverson and was a full-time "labour" agitator, though not accepted by the "official" leaders of the Cape Town trade union and labour movement.²⁷ Woolends appeared "irresponsible" in the eyes of the trade unionists of the Colony but, as Hallett has suggested, he clearly possessed a populist appeal, because he spoke the language

of the crowd, and additionally he played a very significant part in collecting money on a regular basis for the unemployed.²⁸ But this did not stop even Hughes, his greatest admirer and co-speaker at the Riebeek Statue, from accusing him of being an egoist, who spent all his money on race-horses and who did not know what he was talking about.²⁹

Nevertheless Greek shopkeepers felt very strongly the effects of economic depression and anti-alienism. Meat prices were soaring and the "continental" shopkeepers and restaurant and cafe owners had to face the financial burden imposed by the meat monopolies. At a meeting of "continental" shopkeepers which took place in a restaurant in Loop Street, it was resolved to raise the charge, by one penny, for a meal containing meat.³⁰

In the meantime, a Greek who had applied to the Woodstock Municipality for a general dealer's licence faced the anti-alien attitudes of the officials. While the Town Clerk and Sanitary Inspector reported that there appeared to be nothing to warrant the withholding of a certificate, two officials, Reyner and Wilson, objected to the issue of a certificate merely on the grounds that there was nothing known about the applicant. They thought that strict inquiries should be made as to his record in other municipalities before a certificate was granted, and also as to his "moral character". They said these precautions were necessary in the interests of the community at large. It was finally resolved to have a list of questions drawn up to be answered by all applicants before the issue of certificates, and also that a personal interview be held with the applicant in each case.³¹

This was a typical case of the anti-alien attitude of the city officials. The anti-alien feeling was the reflection (in the ideological sphere) of British jingoistic and racist ideology and chauvinism. It proved, in the process, to be an invaluable instrument for the ruling

classes who sought to channel the obvious anti-capitalist consciousness of the middle class and the labouring classes into politically harmless directions. Who else could be a better scapegoat responsible for a depression, which was "one of the severest and undoubtedly the most prolonged South Africa has experienced during the past one hundred years",³² than the aliens? How could this crisis be consolidated?

The truth of that explanation could be found in the political hypocrisy of the ruling class who, although spearheading the heated debate against the alien element, was at the same time advocating cheaper continental labour for the Cape Colony. Thus the South African News, mouth-piece of the South African Party, advocated the importation of continental labour,³³ while Merriman, the chief anti-alien propagandist, called for importation of immigrants who would "assimilate easily with the people of the country."³⁴

It was evident that anti-alienism was a part of a political/ideological debate taking place during that period, and the fact that all political parties contesting the 1904 election included it as the most controversial point in their programmes proves the point. The working-class candidates fell into the trap of the ruling class and used more jingoist language than they in order to explain the "British unemployment". Pointing out that aliens were used as cheap labour, these labour agitators ignored the fact that the majority of the continental immigrants were involved in the sphere of circulation and not of production, and thus were not responsible for the unemployment of their "labouring" contemporaries.³⁵

The anti-alien sentiments of the Cape Town public as reported in the press clearly showed the confusion created by the controversies surrounding the problem. Thus a Jewish contemporary, trying to support his co-religionists

against the socialist anti-alien agitation of a certain Mr Blackburn, asked the latter why he was only attacking the Jews as having a great percentage of rich individuals and not the Greeks who were guilty of the same crime.³⁶ The letter was indicative of the confusion which had arisen amongst the "common folk" of Cape Town, bombarded by different opinions and viewpoints of the problem, and it was not the only one.

The ambiguous policy and statements of the various parties made the question more difficult for the average Capetonian. The example of the South African Review is one of the most intriguing. In December 1903, as we have already seen, this newspaper had advocated the importation of cheap continental labour. But, in early February 1904, in its effort to denounce the Afrikaner Bond as "philo-alien", it declared:

... putting every obstacle in the way of increasing the British population of the Colony, and flooding the land with the lowest type of Continental; anybody in short who is not British.³⁷

This political yoyo of one of the major newspapers in the city obviously influenced the anti-alien sentiments of the British "civilised" public. The emphasis on the "civilised"/free society and the "uncivilised"/repressive society was quickly picked up by the newspaper readers. One of them pointed out that the nationality of the immigrants would play a major role in their selection (a point that the newspapers had made a long time before).³⁸ Germans and French, he wrote, came from countries with great intellectual freedom and sense of duty, but:

On the other hand, the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Italians and the Russian Jews come from states of society in which an extremely low standard of living prevails, where freedom has been repressed by unrestrained competition and severe militarism, and where they have not been privileged to hear the prophets denouncing commercialism.³⁹

This "class" anti-alienism was really a disguised

class hatred against the newcomers "unlawful competitors". Most Englishmen who were unemployed came from the ranks of the independent artisan stratum and the "returned soldiers" and they were envious of the commercial spirit of the Greeks, Jews and Indians which helped them to survive financially under difficult conditions. It was the voice of the populist middle-of-the-road editor, Palmer, and his journal, the South African Review, that expressed the sentiments of the alienated British unemployed, accusing the authorities of not tidying up the legislation that had enabled thousands of the "scum of Europe" to come into the Colony legally.⁴⁰ In the meantime, the anti-alien letters were treated prominently by the city's newspapers, especially the Cape Times,⁴¹ and the financial survival of the continental small shopkeepers aroused the antagonism of the merchant capitalists and the "labouring classes" in the Colony.

Woolends appeared on the scene again and, when sharing a platform with a Mr M Donovan, accused the Jews of working on Sunday. Donovan went further by implying that the laws of the Colony were out-dated, and that the social conditions had changed radically and new legislation was needed immediately. He said that because of those out-dated laws the Greeks, Russians and Indians were dominating the trading market of the Colony at the expense of the British.⁴² It was the pro-British lobby that advocated new legislation that would allow Imperial commercial interests to regain domination of the market in the Colony.⁴³ A new legislation designed specifically against "alien subjects" could lead to a decrease in the influx of East European and Indian immigrants into the Colony, but would not stop the large numbers of bankruptcies that were taking place during the period 1904-1905.

Nevertheless, the fact that it was the smaller traders (including Greeks) and not the merchants who suffered the financial burden of the depression, was an

additional alibi for those supporting the imposition of stricter legislation against the foreign small traders who, according to the South African Review, "monopolised" certain sections of the trade. The Greeks and Indians, according to the journal, monopolised the small confectionery businesses and fruitshops as early as 1903. They did not sell cheaply to the consumer because they secured every stand and thus excluded competition. The journal revealed that a Greek in one suburb had three fruitshops in one road. He paid £10 per month for each, thus keeping competition away. He could charge any price he wanted - "atrocious overcharging", according to the reporter.⁴⁴

The General Dealers' Licence Bill which was introduced in 1905 was specifically designed against "foreign" traders, although it was a severe blow to "free trade and competition" advocated by the leading parties in the Cape Legislative Assembly.⁴⁵ This Bill was specifically planned to protect the commercial interests of a small group of merchants and speculators and to destroy, once and for all, the small trader. The concern expressed by the Progressive Party at the poor quality of the foreign shopkeepers⁴⁶ was merely a smokescreen hiding the class alliance between that party and the big commercial interests in the Colony. The organisation, Progressive Grocers, was the moving force behind the Bill and used the Progressive Party as its political front to have the Bill passed in the Legislative Assembly.

The depression, unemployment, and overstocking by the big merchants (in one year the merchants in the Colony imported £5 000 000 worth of foodstuffs)⁴⁷ were the main reasons pushing the big merchants towards increasing their share in the local market. Instead of capturing the middle and lower-middle classes they wished to capture the working class's limited buying power, and the only way of succeeding was by destroying the small shopkeeper. The move of the Progressive Grocers' Association to persuade the municipal

authorities to impose a closing time of eight o'clock was especially designed to destroy them. Commented a local observer in 1906:

... and in this greed the big trader is now opening the door to a more energetic and intelligent man than the Indian, viz. the Portuguese, Greek and continental Hebrew, as these will slip into the shops now held by Indians.⁴⁸

The strategy of the Progressive merchants bore fruit when the Cape Town Council took a majority decision according to which all shops operating under a general dealer's licence should close at eight o'clock every day, except Saturday.⁴⁹

Even before the General Dealers' Act, the different sections of the Cape Colony population showed extreme dissatisfaction at the domination of the market by the small shops. The socialist viewpoint was spearheaded by the Cape Socialist (of which only one copy seems to have survived in South Africa), official mouthpiece of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF). Under the heading "Abolition of Private Enterprise", the author of the anti-alien article pointed out that socialism would "abolish the dirty little shops scattered around town, those shops with the fly-speckled cheese on the counter and the half-pound of bacon from which the surfeited blowfly arises in his langour whenever a kid comes in for a tin of milk and a tickey's worth of tea, a pennyworth of sugar, and a candle". The quasi-socialist note continued as follows:

The collarless Indian glaring with envy at the Greek opposite who has a customer in his Greek shop. Multiplication of shops, waste of labour from a national point of view and of course general inefficiency and expense. What is the matter with having splendid national stores? But of course this would be socialism and an end of private enterprise and free initiative and the glorious freedom of the subject and all the rest of the silly flap-doodle that's stuffed into the people by half-educated editors of daily newspapers who write heavy-as-lead articles to prove that socialism is slavery. Meanwhile, the dirty little shop in the dirty little street continues.⁵⁰

The Cape Socialist had a guaranteed circulation of 3 000 copies per week,⁵¹ and articles of that kind showed the jingoist character of its editors and readers as well as their general attitudes towards the "scruffy alien shopkeepers". In Port Elizabeth, the city's Grocers' Association, consisting mainly of English shopkeepers, passed the following resolution:

That the members of the Port Elizabeth Grocers' Association are of the opinion that in order to meet the unfair competition of alien and other shopkeepers, the hours of closing should be regulated by legislative enactments.

The Association regarded the 12-hour day as ample for all the public and suggested that the closing hour should be seven o'clock, except Saturday which might be 10 o'clock.⁵²

It was, however, the South African Grocers' Record and General Dealers' Gazette, the official organ of the Grocers' Association all over the country, that led the campaign against the "foreign" shopkeepers. The Association created a "Vigilance Committee", whose main aim was to fight against the right of alien shopkeepers to be open until midnight.⁵³ The committee met in March 1906, and the spokesmen for the big merchants, such as Archer of Graaff-Reinet, Searle of Cape Town and Short of Durban, made clear their intention to lobby with all political parties in order to secure the passing of the General Dealers' Bill.⁵⁴ The problems facing the British merchants before the passing of the Bill were so severe in the Colony that the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce established close links with the respective Chambers of the Colony, in order to make sure that British traders would support its fight against the foreigners.

At a very successful meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of Worcester, J H Hartley, President of the Cape Peninsula Grocers' and Provision Merchants' Association and a leading figure in the Cape Town Chamber, was the main speaker, supported by P de Vos Rabie, M L A. Accusing the

low class trader (referring to the non-British and Indian subjects), he asked the respectable traders to support the movement designed "to keep a check on the undesirable element in the profession". "The unscrupulous trader would have to run the gauntlet but the honest trader should be protected," he declared.⁵⁵

The Bill was introduced into the Assembly amid a political and economic outcry against the aliens. From the one side, the Socialists were calling for a "national store" (whatever that meant), the Progressives were considering the economic problems that their financial contributors (the big merchants) were facing, and the Grocers' Vigilance Committee and the general press were supporting, if not the physical abolition, at least the economic destruction of the alien shopkeepers. The economic benefits to the British merchants were, as already mentioned, serious, and they hoped their political allies would be able to prove that the system of everyone obtaining a general dealer's licence was disastrous because it could not safeguard the interests of the "civilised" population. Even the "liberal" voice of the Cape Times was crystal clear that Indians, Greeks and Polish and Russian Jews, speaking in a pentecostal variety of tongues, had flocked into the country establishing small shops, especially in the urban areas, thus ostracising the British population.⁵⁶

The General Dealers' Bill appeared in the Cape Government Gazette of 17 April 1906, and its full text left a number of questions wide open. In the first place it made sure that the procedures and regulations for an individual to retain or obtain a licence became stricter, in some cases impossible. For example, it called for a court (the General Dealers' Licensing Court) which would have absolute discretion in granting or refusing a certificate in respect of any application for a licence or transfer. It would determine, inter alia, the character of the applicant and his ability to keep intelligible

records of his transactions.⁵⁷ This court would consist of the Resident Magistrate or the Assistant Resident Magistrate of the district or detached district, as the case might be, the Mayor or Chairman of the Municipality or Village Management Board of the district in which the Resident Magistrate's or Assistant Resident Magistrate's court was situated, and a member of the Divisional Council elected for the purpose of such court under the provisions of that Act.⁵⁸ The court could refuse a licence to anyone (including Greeks, Jews and Indians) who could not keep his records in English. It could also refuse a licence to anyone suspected of having "dirty", "weak" or "sloppy" habits or character. Additionally, clause 10 of the Bill made certain that persons holding, or interested in obtaining, a general dealer's licence, and any person interested or concerned in partnership with any applicant in any business for which a licence was sought, or any person employed directly or indirectly as an agent for the purpose of making application for a licence for any other person, or any partner of any person so employed as an agent, should be disqualified from election or appointment to the Licencing Court.

The validity of the act was tested severely when it was revealed that the Kalk Bay and Muizenberg Municipal Council had refused to grant licences to new applicants because three out of its five members were prominent traders and did not wish licences to be granted, fearing competition.⁵⁹ This case underlined the shortcomings of the Bill, but the orchestrated attacks on the alien traders and especially the small Greek shopkeepers soon bore fruit.

Greek shops faced considerable pressure during the 1906 "hooligan riots" in Cape Town, which were triggered off by an unemployed crowd, following a labour meeting organised by the S D F. We have already referred to the anti-alien and particularly anti-Greek attitudes of that early misguided militant quasi-socialist organisation, but

it would be far-fetched to assume that the riots were organised against alien shopkeepers. Robin Hallett has pinpointed the underlying factors that led to the riots. Depression and unemployment were the most important determinants and in 1906 the situation had grown much worse.⁶⁰

Following a deputation to the Prime Minister by members of the S D F and Woolends, the crowd listened to speeches by the Socialists condemning the evils of capitalism as being responsible for unemployment and economic exploitation. After this, they started rioting on the parade, and attacked most of the shops there. However, many owners had already closed their businesses but a number of terrified restaurant owners started throwing bread and fried fish to the crowd.⁶¹

Many Jewish shopkeepers had been warned by David Goldblatt, a community leader, not to open their shops, but Indians and Greeks were not as lucky. Several Indians saw their shops smashed,⁶² while a number of Greek shop-owners faced considerable pressure from the crowd. Scores of unemployed attacked the Greek shops and one of the owners whose property was in danger "fired revolvers over the head of the mob".⁶³ Certainly Greek shopkeepers were not the only ones to suffer from the riots and the "mob" behaviour, but the background of the leaders (Woolends and the S D F) of the meetings that preceded the riots indicates that a certain element of jingoism and anti-alienism could be found in those attacks.

The economic position of Greek shopkeepers started to deteriorate when faced with competition from both the big merchants and the Indians. Indians generally presented a unique situation in the Cape Colony market. Although newcomers could not obtain licences, those established for a long time were leading the insolvency cases by a long way. From 1905 to 1906 there were 103 Indian insolvencies (with liabilities of £109 255), of which 79 occurred in the Cape

district, with liabilities amounting to £83 102, representing 77 per cent of the number and 76 per cent of the amount of insolvencies and liabilities for the Cape Town district alone.⁶⁴ At the same time, however, the money order transactions between the Cape Colony and India amounted to 2 949 orders valued at £26 632 in 1904; 9 827 orders, value £100.243 in 1905; 6 720 orders, value £85 959 in 1906; and 5 478 orders, value £69 799 in 1907.⁶⁵ Indians generally were thought to be in a better financial position than Greeks and other small shopkeepers⁶⁶ and could sell most of their stocks at much lower prices than the Europeans.⁶⁷ European shopkeepers could make a turnover of £100 a month, and pay £1 to £2 for rent. They could make a net profit of five per cent on the stock sold.⁶⁸

The financial position of the small shopkeepers and especially the Greeks and other immigrants worsened, particularly after the introduction of the General Dealers' Act. A member of the Woodstock Municipal Council pointed out that the shopkeepers who remained in the area were all prepared to go because of the difficulties they were facing. He said that those remaining were absolute slaves, "dreaming groceries from early morning to late at night". They could not afford to pay servants, so they employed child labour, but most of them had their wives in the business.⁶⁹

In addition, the wholesale houses did not give credit to most small shopkeepers for the reasons already mentioned,⁷⁰ a fact that made the latter's position even worse. The lack of credit obviously meant that stock was limited. A prominent member of the Grocers' section of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce pointed out that most of the grocery shops carried only £20 to £70 worth of stock and could not compete with the Indians, a fact that drove many away from the trade. An additional reason for their leaving the trade was the reluctance of some creditors to wait for any length of time for payment. Creditors believed that Greeks and other white shopkeepers could not compete against the

Indians.⁷¹

The discrimination against Greeks and other European immigrant shopkeepers was not unique to the Cape Colony. In America, during the same period, following the mass immigrations of the 1890s and the 1900s, Greek shopkeepers and immigrants were called by the Americans "the scum of Europe" and "dagoes". A Californian restaurateur summarised the feelings of a large part of the American public in an advertisement for his restaurant which said: "John's Restaurant. Pure American. No rats. No Greeks."⁷²

In southern Africa, and especially in Southern Rhodesia, Greeks faced the same problem. Oldblum, a pioneer agriculturalist who brought a large number of Greek tobacco cultivators to Rhodesia, summarised the general public's attitude towards the Greeks in the country as follows:

Farmers and others treat them [the Greeks] with consideration for they are not quite Barbarians, many of them being very nice people.⁷³

Additionally, a typical pioneer writer claimed that in the Bulawayo market there were but three real white men, "the rest of the crowd consisting of Greeks, coolies, half-castes and local savages".⁷⁴

After the passing of the General Dealers' Bill, and while the depression was still one of the major economic problems facing the Cape Colony, the small shopkeepers were struggling to survive. On the one hand, the problems already mentioned and, on the other, the strategy of the wholesale firms to retain their goods and not supply the small shopkeepers caused another wave of bankruptcies.⁷⁵ At the same time the situation of the small traders became more difficult because of the actions of the stamp companies. The former used the latter's stamps in order to attract customers, offering them gifts supplied by the stamp companies. Soon, however, the companies monopolised the market because the stamps became an

integral part of the function of the small traders, as the gifts offered were an incentive to customers. As a result the stamp companies raised their prices drastically, which meant that the small profit of the shopkeepers was absorbed by those companies.⁷⁶

The financial difficulties of the small shopkeepers were evident from their efforts in 1907 to reintroduce late closing hours. Mr Baxter consented to their plea and they were permitted to close at 9.30 p.m. but, unfortunately for them, this measure was short-lived.⁷⁷ The Grocers' Conference in Cape Town condemned the stamp companies as being one of the major reasons for bankruptcies; but, at the same time, they asked the authorities to take severe measures against the "Asiatic" traders and the European "low class dealers", a description always used for Greeks and Eastern European Jews.⁷⁸

A Cape Town Greek pioneer, himself a small trader, summarised the position of the Greek small shopkeepers during that period thus:

The stamp companies knew that the small shopkeeper, dealer, butcher, etc., were dependent on them. The housewives would not buy from grocers who did not give them something in return, i.e. stamps, and that meant additional costs for the small retailers. We, Greeks, Jews, Indians, Portuguese, were accused by the public of cheating, overcharging, and everything, and people did not seem to realise how we went bankrupt. One after the other, all of us, faced severe financial problems; actually the money-lenders were doing very well, but not as well as the bankruptcy courts. It was not only us who went bankrupt, however. All small people - manufacturers, bakers, plumbers, etc. - faced a very difficult time.⁷⁹

These words could be substantiated by the case of the bankruptcy of Paul Manolis and Christo Paitakis who appeared in the Bankruptcy Court on 28 April 1907. They were manufacturers of aerated water, whose financial deficit was £899 8s 6d. They had started their business in

1902 with an actual capital of £1 050, and had purchased the factory for £300 deposit, securing a mortgage of £2 200. Their machinery proved unsatisfactory and further expense was incurred in the purchase of modern appliances. Because of the general financial situation in the Colony the returns showed a considerable falling off and during the period 1905-1907 they had difficulty in meeting the current business charges and the payment of rates, interest, etc., upon their property. Finding that they were unable to discharge their obligations at the beginning of 1907 they surrendered their estate to their creditors. The court stated that their bankruptcy was the result of the local financial situation and the lack of sufficient working capital which would have enabled them to tide themselves over the international trade depression, and was not attributable to any lack of effort or energy on their part.⁸⁰ There were also several other Greeks whose names appeared in the Bankruptcy Court, mainly small shopkeepers.⁸¹

In 1908, the financial situation of small shopkeepers worsened due to the expansion of the trade through Indian stalls in the central areas of the city. The absence of an inspector to control the trading practices of the Indians was stressed by the Cape Peninsula Retail Drapers' and Outfitters' Association which, besides drapers and outfitters, included grocers and butchers. The association, representing all white ethnic groups, petitioned the City Council for the removal of all Indian stalls as a first step towards the abolition of all Indian trade that was "not in the interests of the people or country."⁸² A member of the association made the point that while in 1903 there had been many white grocers in Salt River, no-one was left there because of the "Indian peril". The association decided to co-operate more closely with the Grocers' Association and to petition Parliament for measures regarding the liability of retail traders under the Food and Drugs Act, the abolition of "Asiatic" trading, the menace of the stamp trading companies, the compulsory closing on

public holidays, etc.⁸³

The period following the depression and the Act of Union, found the Greek small traders in a new and better position financially, but press remarks against them appeared from time to time, particularly in Cape Town. For instance, in 1911, the South African Review wrote:

Cables report South African peaches selling in London at 6s a dozen. Even the Greek syndicates here do not charge such a price ...⁸⁴

The Review's attitude towards the alien shopkeepers was the result of the quasi-labourite and jingoist attitude of its editorial policy throughout the years, and the Greeks seemed to be the editor's target of attack. The ultimate smear appeared on 16 August 1912 under the very promising title of "A Tragical Comedy: Illustrating the little ways of the Greek Shop Syndicates". There the editor tried to show the tactics of several Greek shopkeepers against a British café proprietor who closed his shop at eight o'clock because he had a general dealer's licence, while his Greek adversaries operated a café and were open until late at night. The Greeks offered the landlord a higher rent for the premises and acquired the café, but could not secure a general dealer's licence to operate it. Later, when the Britisher tried to open a new café in Sea Point, the Greeks opened a shop which they had rented a few days earlier, a day before the Britisher opened his. In the process, they were again refused a general dealer's licence. Once more they offered an increased rent for the premises occupied by the Britisher, and he had to move somewhere else.⁸⁵

The Review, a sensationalist journal, by publishing this story, wished to make its readers aware of two things. Firstly, it wanted to show that the market was dominated by the Greek syndicate that could manipulate it, thereby keeping Britishers out of work; and, secondly, it wanted

compatriots in the Cape Colony, and these will be examined in the next section dealing with the Greek shop assistants. Their compatriots in the Cape Colony faced the difficulties of depression, unemployment, and bankruptcy, and mainly the hostile attitudes of certain sections of the Colony's population and press, and the harsh competition of the bigger merchants and their political representatives. Many Greeks did not survive and found their way to the railways or joined the reserve army of the unemployed. Soon after the depression, however, and up to 1914, they re-established themselves as a part of the small trading community of the Colony.

(b) The Shop Assistants

A large number of the new immigrants, mainly young and unskilled, who had arrived penniless, were employed as clerks in the numerous shops and cafés both on the Reef and in the Cape Colony.¹ Most of the shops, even the smallest, employed one or more assistants during the early period.² Greek shop assistants could be drawn from two categories:

- (a) New arrivals who joined an established relative as helpers and worked for him until they had made enough capital to open their own shops; and
- (b) Bankrupt shopkeepers or café-owners who had to start from the beginning in order to pay their debts and accumulate enough capital to restart their own businesses.³

The latter category was the more common, as the prospect of manual labour did not appeal to those who had previously been in business on their own account.

The shop assistants formed a "transitional" class of workers because their position and numbers rose or declined according to the fluctuations of the capitalist market in which they functioned. (This fact, directly related to occupational and social mobility, depressions and unemployment and tightness or increase of the supply of money within a market, will become evident as we proceed.)

Shop assistants were unproductive wage earners,⁴ their labour-power being purchased with the variable capital of their employers (merchant or café-owner); their wages were determined by the cost of production and reproduction of their specific labour-power and not by the product of their labour.⁵ Because of the nature of the work done by shop assistants, we have classified them as an integral part of the middle class. Their exploitation was different from that of productive workers, such

as miners, and this fact alone suggests that they belonged to a different class. The shop assistants' labour did not produce surplus-value, it merely realised it for the employer, and thus their wages constituted a share of the profits. Let us examine first of all the actual wages of the Greek shop assistants during the period we are discussing, and then return to the process of the exploitation of this class of wage-earner.

There are no official statistics, only indications, of the wages of shop assistants during the period under examination.⁶ The lack of statistics on the financial position of this class of worker, however, need not be regarded as a serious obstacle because there is sufficient material from primary sources to draw upon. The wages of the early shop assistants were determined by many factors, the most important being the relationship between employee and employer.

Many new arrivals joined their relatives' businesses as shop assistants, and were thus unlikely to be victims of ruthless exploitation. However, there were cases of both newly-arrived immigrants and bankrupt shopkeepers working in well-established businesses being exploited to the full by their employers, especially during periods of high unemployment.⁷ According to Hersch, the starting wages were £4 to £5 per month rising, after a period of time, to £7 or £8 per month.⁸ However Hersch's article appeared in 1895, and wages did not increase noticeably until 1914. A Greek pioneer, who was a shop assistant when he was first in Johannesburg in 1905, stated that a shop assistant's wage could vary from £3 to £12 or more, per month. The wage depended on the employee's experience, overtime, and on his ability as a buyer and seller of goods, an organiser and bookkeeper. He started with £3 per month, including accommodation and board. According to this pioneer, the provision by the employer of board and lodging was an integral part of the shop assistant's

way of life because of the high prices prevailing during that period. He said:

What could I do with £3? I could not buy a thing in those days with this kind of money. Most of the shop assistants were living next to the shop, in huts, like the blacks. I was a shop assistant in a fruiterer in Simmonds Street. He was paying my food and accommodation. In the hut I lived with three other shop assistants who worked nearby, one of whom worked in a Jewish shop. He envied us because we were working with Greeks and could communicate, and we envied him because his boss was paying him more than our bosses paid us. He later became a miner; he joined the people who wanted to make money fast. We were satisfied with our salaries, but we could see that the employers were taking advantage of us. We worked overtime for which we were never paid; we were doing the buying and selling; and I did my uncle's books because I was good at arithmetic. I could not argue; he had paid my ticket to South Africa, and he looked after me. He was feeding me and providing me with accommodation. What else could I wish for? I was only 15 years old then, anyway.⁹

In 1903 the shop assistants' union in the Transvaal tried to secure a minimum wage of 17/6d per day, as against the minimum of 22/6d paid to skilled tradesmen,¹⁰ while in 1913 another Greek received £4 per month during his first months of employment as a shop assistant.¹¹

There was no legislation regarding the number of hours of work which could be demanded from a shop assistant, although it was laid down that they were entitled to one half-day off per week. According to the "Half Holiday Act" of 1905, shops had to be closed for one half-day in each week, except Sundays. Chemists' shops, restaurants, cafés, eating-houses and hotels were exempted, but each employee had to be given a half-holiday on one weekday in each week.¹² The clauses of that Act were violated consistently, as Elisseos wrote in his diary.

We had to work all day from seven in the morning until eight at night. When we finished we could hardly walk. My bones were so tired that I felt like sleeping immediately on the stones of the yard. There is no legislation that can make my

employers treat me better. This is a sad fact, but I can do nothing better, so I have to work these long hours.¹³

According to an assistant in a Cape Town shop in 1909 the employees were working a total of 72 hours a week.¹⁴ Many employers made their assistants work after the shops were closed, which was illegal and contrary to the conditions of the Act. The excessive number of hours worked by shop assistants in all trades is an indication of the financial exploitation of these employees. These commercial wage-earners received in wages the value of the product of only seven or eight working hours, yet they were working for as long as ten and, in some cases, 14 or 15 hours a day.¹⁵ By the use of a simple mathematical equation we can calculate the rate of this exploitation, taking as an example the case of a shop assistant who complained about his long hours of work. From Mondays to Fridays, inclusive, he worked from 8 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. - that is, $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day. He was a mere wage-labourer who, although not producing commodities, worked part of his time for nothing, receiving payment for eight hours work per day, while devoting $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day to his employer. In order to find the rate of exploitation of this unproductive labour we could use the equation:

$$\frac{\text{unpaid labour}}{\text{paid labour}} = \text{rate of exploitation}$$

In our example, the rate of exploitation would be approximately 43 per cent. In the case of Sundays, where the assistant was working for $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours instead of eight (i.e. six and a half hours of unpaid labour) the rate of exploitation would be approximately 81 per cent.¹⁶

Greek shop assistants also felt the "anti-alienism" of the state and the local press during that period. For example, there were several Greek shop assistants amongst the large number of "aliens" who were expelled from the Transvaal on 48 hours notice in 1904, because they could

not produce passports.¹⁷ Jameson suggested that the Cape Colony authorities should take immediate steps to prevent them from coming to Cape Town.¹⁸ A pioneer Greek remembered the names of George Comminos, Roussis and Tragaras, who were amongst those deported. Comminos and Tragaras were from the Island of Lemnos and Roussis came from Peloponnesus.¹⁹

The anti-alienism of the general press and the Cape Colony authorities, discussed in the previous section of this thesis, was also directed at the shop assistants. In Cape Town, for example, as early as 1902 the town's shop assistants met in order to form a trade union, and their meeting was an "unparalleled success". Amid the enthusiasm in the crowded café where the meeting was held, Graham, a leading shop assistant and trade unionist, suggested that the association should take a clear position against "alien" immigration.²⁰ The fact that many of the shop assistants were of foreign nationalities was not considered by the unionist who made the proposal and thus those present did not consider it as a serious suggestion. Nevertheless, Graham's attitude was that of a typical British jingo and the British faction of this class of working-man was to play an important role in the process.

The shop assistants in Cape Town organised themselves into a union that night and a strong working committee of 25 members was appointed, with Smith, Cadman and Allcock as the leading figures in the executive.²¹ This organisation later changed its name to South African Warehousemen and Clerks, having as its main objective the "general good of workers" by means of social intercourse, athletic clubs, and other forms of amusement.²²

A further meeting, designed specifically to strengthen the bonds between the already existing members, took place in 1902 in Camp's Café. Approximately 70 members were present. The very nature of the union was exposed

when the chairman of the meeting declared that the major objective of the union was the sports links amongst the members; another speaker thought that the first move of the union should be to approach the big merchants for assistance to build up the union because the association was not antagonistic towards the employers. Although a shop assistant named Cohen (presumably a Jew) proposed the election of a committee of ten members, all those elected were British (Tate, Carnegie, Boyd, Horsey, Davis, Ingram, Lock, Balfour, Tatton and Hillick). Beck, the originator of the movement, became secretary, and no aliens were elected to the committee.²³

The Transvaal shop assistants' trade union was also organised on the same lines, although affiliated to the Witwatersrand Trade and Labour Council; it played a relatively important role in the latter's activities concentrating mainly on the "Chinese labour question".²⁴

Greek shop assistants did not participate in the activities of the unions, at least during the period under examination. There appear to be two main reasons for this apathy towards the unions:

- (a) The negative attitude of the British shop assistants towards the alien element in the profession; and
- (b) The nature of the unions that functioned mainly as social clubs rather than actual labour organisations.

The Greek shop assistant who wanted to participate in social activities during his limited free time preferred to join one of the Greek nationalist organisations, discuss politics in his native tongue with his compatriots, and go for picnics with them, or attend church services.²⁵ The pioneer shop assistant of 1905 explained:

What did the unions offer? Rugby, cricket, or card-playing. We did not play cricket or rugby. We did play cards but we preferred to play amongst ourselves; we could trust each other at least. The unionists were mainly English, especially during my period. They did not like us, they did not like the Jews either; they were the people

who would make it, and this is why Englishmen did not like them. English trade unionism amongst shop assistants was a middle-class trade unionism, nothing to do with blacks, Indians and Chinese. The shop assistants' union was a closed, exclusive white English-speaking club, where anyone who did not speak with a cockney accent was scorned. So what could we do? We stayed away. We had our own circles; we went for picnics, we played cards together and, most important of all, we made it in the final analysis. The trade unionists never made it because they were simply narrow-minded.²⁶

Another reason given by the Greek pioneer shop assistant for the Greeks not joining the unions was the inconsistency of their leadership. This claim can be substantiated by historical evidence. The Cape Town union, for example, which came into existence in 1902 as we have already seen, held another inaugural meeting at the end of 1903 because it was not functioning and no-one had shown any interest in the organisation.²⁷

The same situation prevailed in the Transvaal. Although an organisation had been in existence since 1903, its inactivity forced its leaders to discuss the formation of a new union which would consider the disabilities of this class of labourer on the Rand. The leaders of the shop assistants' union realised that they would have to handle the situation delicately as the shop assistants generally felt that they had no need for the organisation.²⁸ Their fears were substantiated and although the meeting took place and the shop assistants reacted enthusiastically to the oratory of the trade union leaders, no organisational procedures took place.²⁹ A few days later a union was organised and first reports showed that its members were very pleased with it,³⁰ but a few months later "Labour Notes" of the Rand Daily Mail asked what had become of the union, which seemed to have disappeared although it had started out with many hopes.³¹

Another reason why Greek shop assistants did not participate in trade union activities was the involvement

of its leaders in politics. Athanasopoulos recalled:

It was 1905 or 1906 when we were told that the leaders of the defunct union were the official speakers at meetings organised by Mr Farrar. We did not want to be used by anyone, and the political stand taken by the British shop assistants/leaders was another manifestation of the usefulness of the union. We felt as Greeks that we should not participate in South African politics. Very few of us were naturalised and those who were did not participate in party politics. We felt once again that a leader who used the trade union label to make a public appearance in a political meeting was not trustworthy. The Shop Hours Bill which we were hoping for never came through because of the inability of the leadership but, in the meantime, the very leadership was using a non-existent label for political purposes, and Greeks, let alone Jews, would not permit such a thing.³²

The attitude of Greek shop assistants towards union activities changed in 1906 when they realised that they formed one of the most exploited sections of the Transvaal population. Nearly all the large merchants kept their shop assistants working until the late hours every night, and there was an outbreak of public indignation against the former when a large number of shop assistants and members of the public gathered outside the premises of Goodman, Beart and Company in order to prevent the firm's assistants from over-working. Every person who entered the shop was hooted at and a stone was thrown against the firm's plateglass windows. The police escorted the merchants to their homes, but the demonstration continued into the early hours of the next day. Leaflets were distributed appealing to the public not to support firms that treated their men and women like "white slaves".³³ There were four Greeks working for Goodman, Beart and Company - Sarris, Cotsovolas, Marinis and Messinis.³⁴

The differences between the shop assistants and their respective employers were solved on paper when a resolution was passed during a conference attended by all parties, stating that shops would be closed on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays at 6 p.m., Wednesdays at

1 p.m., and Saturdays at 9 p.m. This resolution, however, did not apply to chemists, restaurants, hairdressers and tobacconists.³⁵ Because the great majority of shopkeepers did not follow the resolution, the Shop Assistants' Association created a Vigilance Committee which undertook the enforcement of the agreement. The maximum penalty for non-compliance was £50. But for a long time the employers objected strongly to the compulsory closing.³⁶

Spurred on by this success, the shop assistants started a petition to make this agreement law. They collected 1 332 signatures in three days and succeeded in having the agreement passed as an ordinance in the Legislative Council.³⁷ Most of the Greek shop assistants signed the petition.³⁸ The Transvaal Shop Hours Act was passed in the last session of Parliament in 1910, just before the Declaration of the Union, and was enthusiastically received in the Republic.³⁹ According to this Act, an attendance register had to be kept by every firm. The main purpose of the register concerned the role of the shop assistant as a salaried worker entitled to work for a specific number of hours. In the register the assistant would enter, in ink, the time he started work and the time he finished, thus proving to the state inspectors that the shopkeeper did not keep him illegally. Weekly and monthly hours of work were also recorded by the shop-owner and assistant, and both signed a monthly attendance register. If a shop assistant felt that his employer was not fulfilling his obligations, he could refuse to sign the register, thus giving the inspector the opportunity to challenge the employer. In the case of an illiterate assistant, the employer was obliged to fill in the register in front of him and a witness who could read.⁴⁰

In Cape Town, however, the situation regarding closing hours did not change much and the shop assistants found themselves in the middle of a controversy in which the big merchants and the small shopkeepers (especially

the Greeks, Indians and Jews) were involved. In February 1907, a new organisation was formed under the name of Shop Hours Reform Association, consisting mainly of big merchants led by C E Griffiths, the president of the Cape Peninsula Grocers and Provision Merchants' Association. The new association was established with the main objective of forcing the small shopkeepers to close their shops in accordance with the regulations laid down by the General Dealers' Act.⁴¹ Notwithstanding the fact that Griffiths had himself started his career as a shop assistant in Liverpool in 1868, the shop assistants were not convinced that he had created the association in order to better their position. He was one of the biggest merchants in the Cape Peninsula, with three large stores, and in the same year (1907) had acquired the old-established firm of Badcock and Feltham in Long Street.⁴² The primary objective of the association was to smash the competition of the smaller shopkeepers, who were surviving financially mainly as a result of the late-hour shopping they offered to the public when the big merchants had closed. The association even approached its arch-enemy, the Trade and Labour Council, with an appeal for the small shops to close early. Griffiths pointed out that the shop assistants were human beings, and many were family men, and they needed a rest. He emphasised that Indian shops should also close earlier in order that their assistants could have adequate rest.⁴³

The fact that the Reform Association was a front for the big merchants was further illustrated by the composition of their first public meeting which attracted only the "commercial cream" of Cape Town, the Trade and Labour Council, and the Mayor of the City. The association's speakers pointed out that many shops opened at five in the morning and only closed at midnight; consequently the shop assistants were working "like slaves". The speakers from the Trades and Labour Council stressed the existence of the General Dealers' Act and pointed out that because

of the cosmopolitan character of trade in Cape Town many small traders tried to force the commercial customs of Bombay and Kovno upon the European traders in South Africa (implying that those who were mainly responsible for keeping their shops open until the late hours of the night were the Indians and the Jews). The Mayor of Cape Town pointed out that those who believed that the Act was meant to close down the small shopkeepers, and especially the Hebrew and Indian traders, were mistaken.⁴⁴

The shop assistants in Cape Town were so disorganised that they could not participate in the controversy. A Cape Town pioneer explained why:

I was told that there were approximately 20 Greek shop assistants in town during that controversy, but they could not participate in it for many reasons. The main reason was, I was told, that they did not want to participate in a debate between the big merchants and the negotiators of the Trades and Labour Council, without their union playing a significant role. The problem was, however, that there was no union at the time. The union existed, but only in name, no-one participated in its functions, they were very unorganised. The second reason was that the Greek shop assistants preferred to stay away from those controversies because their dream was to open their own shop, and thus they did not want to get involved in a negative or positive way with one or other side, because they would need both in the future. And the third and most important reason was that they preferred to stay within our community and participate in its functions because they were not very welcome in the predominantly English trade union of the shop assistants.⁴⁵

This quotation summarises the economic, political and ideological position of the Greek shop assistant during that period. Squeezed between the merchant capitalist and the reformist attitude of the Cape Town representatives of the trade union movement (the Trades and Labour Council), he did not participate in the controversy because his main objective was his own survival. The individualist tradition of the middle class, married to his ambition of becoming a small employer in the near future, had

The shop assistants' movement fell into obscurity during the period 1911-1918 and the only matter worth recording during that time was the unions' negative attitude towards affiliation to the Industrial Workers of the World (I W W) and the formers' insistence on the "old line" craft unionism in contrast to the syndicalist outlook of the latter. The Mayor of Johannesburg was a regular speaker at the Shop Assistants' Union's general meetings, another indication of the character of the union.⁴⁷ From Cape Town the only item worth mentioning was that certain shop assistants were disturbed by the fact that big merchants forced them to work long hours and did not conform to the regulations of the Shop Hours Act.⁴⁸

Overall, the Greek shop assistants during that period were reluctant to participate in the trade union movement, dominated as it was by the reformist British elements. Instead they remained distant from the controversies surrounding the General Dealers' and Shop Hours Acts, and strengthened their ties with the Greek communities and nationalist organisations. In later years this attitude of "wait and see", mainly a product of middle-class aspirations, was to be radically changed, as we will show.

NOTES

on Chapter 3

Section (A)

- 1 Cape of Good Hope Census for the year 1904, Birthplaces of the people, pp 88-117.
- 2 Calculations by the author based on the same statistical source as Note 1.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 See Cape Colony 1891 Census, Birthplaces of people, page 85.
- 5 See Table One based on "Birthplaces", showing the length of residence in the Union. UG '32-'20.
- 6 See Nicolaides, op cit, pp 437-439.
- 7 See Census of the Natal Province for the year 1904. The statistics on Greeks appear in the "Emigration" section, although there is no indication of existence of the Greek Orthodox Church in the section on religions.
- 8 The sources consulted were the professional directories for the period, books and Table One. See Braby and Donaldson Orange River Directory, 1905; and Nicolaides, op cit, pp 520-522. Although there is an Orange River Colony Census for 1904, there is nothing concerning Greeks in the sections "Birthplaces of the people" or "Religions". See Orange River Colony Census for 1904 under these headings.
- 9 See Appendix 3. Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 10 See Appendix 4. The calculations are based on an extensive scrutiny of the only sources available, i.e. Nicolaides, obituaries, and other reports in newspapers and the Donaldson's Professional Directory of 1905.
- 11 See Appendix 5. The calculations are based on the sources quoted in Note 17 and the Donaldson O F S Professional Directory.
- 12 See Appendix 5. The same sources were used with the addition of Natal's Braby's Professional Directory.
- 13 Calculations are based on comparisons of the Union Census of 1911; UG 15-1923, Population of the Union. Third Census enumerated 3 May 1921, Part I; and UG 42-1923. Third Census of the population of the Union of South Africa; Part V, Birthplaces of the people.
- 14 Census of 1911; Religions of the people.
- 15 See Appendix 3. The calculations were based on the

same sources as the other appendices, plus the Cape Town Juta's Professional Directory and the Donaldson's Professional Directory.

- 16 See Appendix 5 . Based on the same sources, and Donaldson's 1910 O F S Professional Directory.

Section (B)(a)

- 1 On the controversy see especially H Simson, "The myth of the white working class." African Review, Vol 4, No 2, 1974; H Wolpe, "The white working class in South Africa: Some theoretical problems." IDEP/UN Seminar Paper, Dar-es-Salaam, 1975; S Mlongo, "An analysis of the classes in South Africa." Race and Class, January, 1975.
- 2 Robert H Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa 1900-1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations. The Harvester Press, 1979.
- 3 R Davies, "The political economy of white labour in South Africa: Some preliminary notes". In T Adler, Perspectives on South Africa. African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1977.
- 4 Davies, Capital, State and White Labour ..., op cit, page 23.
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PART THREE

CHAPTER 4

THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK INSTITUTIONS TO 1914

(A) AN INTRODUCTION

Finding themselves within a foreign and sometimes hostile environment, the first Greek immigrants soon realised that they had to unite in one or another form of "togetherness" and maintain their close "ethnic links" in an attempt to resist assimilation. Their efforts to create and develop cohesive interpersonal networks resulted in the formation of ethnic institutional structures capable of maintaining those "close links".

We will start by examining the birth and development of Greek institutions within South Africa, using the concept "institutional completeness" as a variable, in order to investigate the social parameters of those efforts. After briefly examining the concept and its theoretical connotations, an attempt will be made to apply it to the case of the Greek immigrants during the period under investigation and to spell out the factors pointing to its significance as an analytical tool in examining the "ethnic cohesiveness" of the Greek community and its efforts to preserve its ethnic identity by resisting assimilation.

The concept "institutional completeness" was introduced by B Breton. It referred to "the degree to which an ethnic community could perform all of the services required by its members."¹ According to him, ethnic groups vary in the degree to which they perform the services required by their members, and thus their attractiveness to new

immigrants varies accordingly. As assimilation would ultimately lead to the immigrants' absorption within the host society, the social organisations and institutions of the ethnic community could be used as factors resisting assimilation. Breton paid attention to the relationship between the combating of assimilation and the existence of formal ethnic associations and institutions, and he operationalised the degree of institutional completeness by the number of formal organisations in which immigrants were involved.² His analysis provided initially a useful insight into the understanding of the maintenance of "ethnic solidarity" and has since then been followed closely by other theorists.³

Breton wrote that the control of an immigrant minority over its institutional needs plays a very important part in the maintenance of ethnic solidarity. Its religious needs in other words could serve as a factor against assimilation to the same degree as could the ethnic school. He pointed out that if the control is effective enough over the immigrants' institutions/associations/organisations, then the latter's social relations will be maintained in such a way that, in the process, individuals will "become tied together in a cohesive interpersonal network".⁴ The achievement of such a network would obviously be one of the major anti-assimilation factors in the life of an immigrant minority group.

Although Breton's conceptual analysis is useful in many ways, certain limitations of his analysis must be pointed out. He insisted, for instance, that the degree of completeness can be observed "in the amount and complexity of community organisations" and can be measured by counting the number of churches, welfare institutions, organisations newspapers, and periodicals in each ethnic community.⁵ This point suggests that the existence of such organisations/associations/institutions is enough to play a very decisive part in the ethnic group's fight against

assimilation. This approach however ignores two major possibilities:

- (a) That the existence of a large number of institutions/associations/organisations established by a certain ethnic community does not necessarily mean that they would be effective in combating assimilation; and
- (b) That in cases of large ethnic communities (such as the Jewish community in America or England, for example) other parameters could play a very important part in the assimilation or non-assimilation process of such communities (i.e. class distinctions, religious differences, etc.).

Certain anthropologists and sociologists have tried, since the appearance of Breton's pioneer article, to re-evaluate the problems arising from his theory. Most of the theorists adopted Breton's analysis without questioning the gaps that his theory presents. Thus, in 1969, Vallee and Shulman developed a five point scale in order to measure the viability of French groupings outside Quebec, where institutional completeness was one component.⁶ Two other sociologists, Church and Driedger, went further by developing the Institutional Completeness Score, which could be used in urban studies in Canada and elsewhere.⁷ These theorists and researchers used these new research methods in order to compare the assimilation patterns of different ethnic minorities in Canada, as did Comeau and Driedger who used the same data collection and analysis techniques.⁸

A penetrating criticism of Breton's essentially "enumerative" approach and its validity as regards the formal organisations came from Borhek who pointed out that such an approach ignored the possibility that there were particular characteristics of ethnic institutions/organisations that could be significantly more effective than others. In other words, Borhek offered a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach, by pointing out that

the nature (or character) of an ethnic organisation should be taken into serious consideration in analysing its role as a factor against assimilation.⁹

This framework is more acceptable as, by enumerating the number of educational, religious or other social institutions maintained by an immigrant group within the host society, we are in a position to assess the institutional activities of the ethnic group in question. But it certainly tells us nothing about the nature of interpersonal relationships within these institutions or the relations between the ethnic groups and other groups in the host society.

One must go beyond Breton's conceptualisation and operationalisation and tackle the problem in a broader context. Breton's analysis is in many ways based on Don Martindale's pioneer work on ethnic communities¹⁰ but, unlike the latter, it did clarify certain important aspects of the processes involved in institutional completeness, such as discrimination and the group's resilience. Both Martindale's and Breton's definitions and conceptualisations, to be useful, have to make allowances for the variation in the institutional structures of ethnic communities, and not try to solve their theoretical problems by counting the latter's formal organisations.

Our analysis will be structured in such a way that, although taking into proper consideration the number of educational, religious and other associations/organisations, it will focus at the same time on the character of those institutions and factors that played an important role in helping the first Greek immigrants in their attempt to preserve their national and cultural identity and to resist the assimilation "threats" posed by the wider society. What then were the factors and associations/organisations/institutions that helped Greeks maintain their ethnic identity during the period under examination? They could be

summarised as follows:

- (a) Greek nationalism
- (b) Greek communities and/or welfare organisations
- (c) Greek Orthodox religion; and
- (d) Greek education.

(B) GREEK NATIONALISM

There were two interrelated factors that shaped Greek nationalist consciousness in South Africa during the period under examination, namely the material conditions prevailing within the country and the continuous efforts to resist assimilation.

The effort to create a "collective Greek ethnic consciousness" was the primary consideration of the community leaders and was articulated in many ways. The stress of a "national collective consciousness" as opposed to the traditional "individualistic" Greek/Mediterranean consciousness (based on the assumption that Mediterraneans are "individualistic by nature"), took the form of the creation of "organic unities"/institutions such as communities, nationalist organisations and churches. (We draw the distinction between collective and individual consciousness heavily relying on Lukacs's pioneer work.)¹

Neither collective nor individual consciousness can be isolated from the history of a social group (in our case the Greek ethnic group), but it is mainly the former that played the major role in shaping this history. And although it would be incorrect to state that individual consciousness periodises a social formation in the same strong sense as the collective one, we do not negate the fact that individuals played a very significant role in shaping the "collective nationalist consciousness" of the early Greek pioneers.

The fight against assimilation during that period also took various forms (creation of associations, cultural meetings, etc). Several instances indicating the fear of assimilation of the first immigrants show why the communities and their leaders took drastic steps against the acculturation and assimilation processes. Said a pioneer Greek immigrant, who came to the country

in 1905:

I remember that at the time there was not a formal community in Johannesburg. My uncle was a prominent member of the Greek community and he was trying his best to bring all other Greeks together. This was not difficult because all of them spent all their spare time talking Greek politics and religion. There was a threat, however, hanging over their heads. It was obvious that all of them wanted to make money and return home; this was perfectly legitimate at that period. The problem was, however, that many of them were married and their children had to go to school. But how could they go to school if the only language and religion taught and spoken at home were the Greek ones? The Greeks were afraid that sending their children to school would mean that they would be assimilated within the English (or Dutch) environment. The discussions for drastic measures of combating this process were endless. Everyone was coming up with one solution or another: "Let's build a school", "Let's bring teachers", "Let's establish a proper community", "Let's build a church" ... The discussions were endless, day and night everyone was thinking of the problem. I was 16 years old at the time, my Greek was excellent, but my uncle wanted to send me to school. He faced the anger of his friends and compatriots. "Do you want to make him an Englishman?" was the attitude of the Greeks. I was in the middle of a controversy; I did not want to go to school, I wanted to work, to make money; but I can still remember the fear the Greeks had of the English schools. Not because they did not want their children to become educated, but because they were scared that they would become Englishmen and would forget their language and religion. So they tried to do their best to stop such a thing happening.²

There are also indications that existing associations in different towns of the country were very concerned about the future of the immigrants regarding their absorption within the wider society. Thus, a document located in the Archives of the Greek Community of Pretoria states, among other things:

... but how can we stop the process of acculturation and absorption? How can we stop it without schools, church, teacher and priest? Why cannot we Greeks follow the example of the Jews in this country? When there are 20 of them, they build a synagogue; they have their schools, their club, they are always together. They send their

children to school to learn English and Dutch; they are not afraid of the evil of absorption because they have their churches, schools, priests, and everything else that helps them as a nation. What are we doing? This is the question ... We must act immediately, otherwise we will regret it later.³

This letter gives an idea of the fear predominating amongst the pioneer Greek immigrants concerning assimilation (a fear that would continue to predominate for a long time, as we will see later).

During the same period a different school of thought had predominated on the other side of the Atlantic. Greek intellectuals in America (where the vast majority of Greek immigrants were living), led by the author Seraphim Canoutas, a Doctor of Law, were advocating a complete and speedy assimilation within the wider society, in order to reap the fruits of material success and wealth.⁴ Canoutas condemned Greek nationalist consciousness and activities as being ridiculous and harmful to all Greeks in every sphere of society, and urged all immigrants, and especially the new ones, to adapt as quickly as possible "to the good ideals of the great American nation".⁵

Let us now examine the forms that this nationalist consciousness took during the period we are examining. The first and foremost was the establishment of nationalist associations, the most important being "Hellenismos" ("Hellenism"). This association was established in Athens in 1894 by a circle of Greek intellectuals headed by Neoclis Kazazis, a Doctor of Law who studied in a number of German and French universities.⁶ He became a Professor of Natural Law and Political Economy at the University of Athens in 1887, and in 1910 was elected Member of Parliament. His many writings include books on Philosophy, Political Economy, Political Science, Psychology and History.⁷

Kazazis was the leading figure and ideologue of the

association and the editor of its official monthly journal bearing the same name ("Hellenismos"). The governing body of the association included two university professors, six lawyers, three army officers, three bankers, two members of Parliament, one farmer and one medical doctor.⁸ Its ideology was that of "populist nationalism", and from 1905 it endorsed the idea of increased participation by the Greek Army in the politics of the country.⁹ It is common knowledge that the association supported wholeheartedly the 1909 army officers' "revolution" of Goudi.¹⁰

Kazazis himself was a positivist believing in an evolutionary progress in an environment of law and order,¹¹ and was one of the first Greek scientists to pay serious attention to the ideological and political significance of Marxism;¹² but the association in different periods adopted an extreme chauvinist position regarding the relationships of the country with its neighbours.¹³

The obvious continuous efforts of the organisation from its inception¹⁴ towards a mobilisation of all sections of the middle class, in defending the "national rights" of the Greek population in Macedonia, and the international contacts of the organisation, as well as its popular support, seem to be the basic criteria that convinced the Greeks in certain parts of South Africa to form branches of this organisation in this country.¹⁵ It was the Pretoria Greeks, then numbering approximately 120,¹⁶ who formed the first "Hellenismos" branch.

It was the zest and enthusiasm of George Golfinopoulos that made this possible. Golfinopoulos was not only the protagonist of the nationalist ideology and practice amongst the Greeks, but also the man responsible for the diffusion of this ideology amongst all sections of Pretoria's population.¹⁷ He was one of the few Greeks immigrating to South Africa with a commercial background. Born in Contovazena, Peloponnesus, he started working with

his brother who was a merchant in Pyrgos but, although he was at home with trade, his real interest was politics. His merchant background and his political affiliations won him a place, in 1894, in the Greek trade delegation for the promotion of the export of sultana raisins to Russia. After 16 months in Russia he returned to Greece where he worked again with his brother and on his own, but bankruptcy led him to South Africa in 1904. He settled in Pretoria where he opened a "Greek shop".¹⁸

The Pretoria branch of "Hellenismos" played a very important part in raising the nationalist feelings of the first immigrants, and its most significant feature was that it bound them together. The meetings of the association took place in the houses of the wealthier members of the community, who could afford to entertain 70 or 80 people talking politics and reading the Greek newspapers bringing news from the Motherland.¹⁹ There was no organisational structure within the association, and there is no evidence leading to the conclusion that elections ever took place, but there are striking similarities in the "propaganda" policy of that association and the "Pan-Hellenic Union" branches in the United States of America. There were branches of the "Pan-Hellenic Union" in every American town where more than 40 or 50 Greeks were living.²⁰

The organisation was formed in New York in 1907 (one year after the formation of "Hellenismos" in Pretoria) and was an amalgamation of many small groups of Greek individuals. The organisation played a major role in the diffusion of the nationalist ideology in America for two years, but then fell into obscurity for a year. In 1910, representatives from all over America gathered in Boston to restart the organisation under the aegis of the Greek Ambassador. The organisation flourished and had 39 branches and thousands of paid-up members all over America,²¹ while its leaders claimed a nationwide membership in 150 branches throughout the United States - a

number open to question.²²

The constitutions of the two organisations were identical, but there is no evidence that they were ever in contact with each other. Amongst the similar articles of the constitutions were the basic idea of ethnic solidarity and love for their nationality, respect for the laws of the adopting society, teaching of the Greek language and maintenance of the Greek Orthodox religion amongst the Greeks, help to association members and the protection of all Greek immigrants, especially workers, and material and spiritual help for the needy Motherland.²³ Correspondence between the Paris (Central) "Hellenismos" branch and that of Pretoria was continuous and the donations of the Pretoria Greeks were a welcome contribution to the financial needs of the association in Greece.²⁴

There were at times various disagreements amongst the leading members of the association, not so much for ideological or political reasons, but mainly stemming from different approaches to the activities of the organisation and its links and relationship with the Greek community (of which all "Hellenismos" members were leading figures), the church, and the various funds.²⁵ M Savva, a shopkeeper from Ikonion in Asia Minor, who came to Pretoria in 1898 and was one of the stalwarts of the Greek nationalist movement in that town,²⁶ and J Michos (who, as shown earlier, had fought with the Boers during the Anglo-Boer war), tried to sort out these differences and re-unite the Greeks in all member organisations.²⁷

It has not been established whether the Pretoria branch sent delegates to the various conferences and annual general meetings of the Association, most of which took place in Athens. There is no doubt, however, that they were invited to attend. The invitations were almost identical each year, asking all branches of the association to send representatives to Athens in order to

discuss and make decisions on subjects such as what were the basic national alternatives to the problems facing the Greek nation and what would be the remedies to those problems. Branches that were unable to attend the conference were asked to arrange to be represented by a proxy.²⁸

The Pretoria association was active in collecting and sending money to the Greek Navy, in cooperation with the Greek community, and twice the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Motherland acknowledged these donations, warmly thanking Golfinopoulos and his fellow nationalists.²⁹ The branch also participated in relief work, and in 1909 sent a large amount of money to the victims of the Italian earthquake. Roberto Gali, the famous Italian M P, wrote in Greek thanking them sincerely for their donation. He mentioned that he had not been aware of their existence, and was greatly touched by their sympathy and help for the victims of this tragedy.³⁰

The Pretoria branch's activities continued without interruption until 1914, contrary to the claim of Nicolaides that it had disbanded and been absorbed into the Greek community after the latter's establishment.³¹ There is no evidence that the association in Pretoria kept records of its members (unlike the Pan-Hellenic Benevolent Society) or minutes of its meetings. Contemporary sources however point out that "Hellenismos" was not only the nucleus on which the community was established and progressed, but the "only real nationalist organisation in the country during a period of uncertainty and fear of assimilation".³²

In the final stages of its existence, in 1914, the members of the branch, feeling that contributing financially to three causes ("Hellenismos", the Greek community and the church) was something they could no longer afford, decided to contribute only towards the church and the community.³³ Spiliotopoulos tried desperately to

continue the activities of the association but it was impossible for 250 Greeks to support three causes; besides, the leaders of the community and "Hellenismos" were the same, which made the continuance of two organisations unnecessary.³⁴

The Johannesburg branch was also started in 1906, following the instructions of Golfinopoulos who went to the city for this reason. It was not as large as the Pretoria branch due to the different conditions prevailing in the two cities. One of the leading young members of the association detailed the functions and structure of the organisation in Johannesburg as follows:

We were actually a nucleus of people, mostly young and enthusiastic. Older people involved in trade and commerce contributed financially to the association but they could not participate in our meetings, which took place mostly in cafés, because they were unable to leave their businesses. We were mostly Peloponnesians and Cretans who participated, some of us miners and small shopkeepers. We discussed subjects such as the Grand Ideal, the wars against Turkey, and mainly how to enlarge our organisation which was seen as a pioneer nationalist instrument with its main aim the preservation of our language, our heritage and our religion. The tensions between the members, which became apparent in later years, were absent; we were a family. We collected money and sent it to Greece for national causes; this was a very great achievement, because most of us were shop assistants and working men, without much money. We adopted the constitution of Hellenism and subscribed to the magazine, which was received regularly and studied thoroughly by everyone. Some did not know how to read, so we formed study classes where we were instructed by Sklavounos Michalopoulos, one of the leading members, an intellectual and fairly wealthy shopkeeper. Our organisation was benevolent as well; we spent money on needy compatriots who were in hospitals, etc. The association was not strictly political, although politics was our daily bread and butter, but we tried to be united, to resist absorption and remain Greeks in our tradition, language and religion. And "Hellenismos" kept us together and aware of what was going on in Greece for many years.³⁵

The association was the leading body preserving Greek

traditions and language until the formation of the Greek community in the town, in 1908. It participated with flags and banners in the celebrations of the National Day, 25 March, and generally played a very important role within the Greek community at that period.³⁶ The leading figures behind those activities, study circles, participation in celebrations, etc, were two wealthy merchants, Sklavounos Michalopoulos and Dionesios Angelacopoulos. The former was the leading figure behind the idea of the creation of a school and church and the major contributor to every national and beneficial cause. He was born in Aeropolis, Oetilou, Peloponnesus, and participated in the 1897 Greek-Turkish war. He emigrated first to Australia and then to South Africa, where he settled in 1904. His commercial brilliance made him one of the prime examples of Greek upward mobility in South Africa. Starting as a shop assistant, within five years he was managing a hotel and two above-average tearooms in central Johannesburg. The Frascati Restaurant was the only one in town serving fresh oysters, brought daily from Mossel Bay, at 3s per dozen.³⁷

Angelacopoulos was better educated than Michalopoulos, but he was outclassed by the latter's lively personality.³⁸ It was Angelacopoulos, however, who continually pushed for the introduction of certain procedures for a better functioning of the association; but his suggestions were always turned down.³⁹ He was a Peloponnesian (born in Mostitsi, Calavryta). After matriculating, he registered at the Medical School of Athens, where he was involved in the political discussions of the period. After two years of study he decided to become a telegraphist. When he had served for four years in the Greek National Telegraphic Association, he joined his cousin working in East Africa. In 1903 he came to South Africa where he opened a restaurant. He became one of the wealthiest Greeks in town, and later invested his money in property in Central Johannesburg.⁴⁰

What was the actual significance of "Hellenismos" as a nationalist Greek organisation? It is not difficult to comment on that after examining in brief its history within the community. It was a nucleus of concerned people, led by relatively wealthy intellectuals, but including all strata of the Greek population, having as its main aim the preservation of the Greek language and culture and the orthodox religion. At the same time it aimed at making known to its members recent developments in the Motherland in political terms, following the lines of the Central Branch.

The collection of money to be sent to Greece (not only to the Central Branch but also to the Greek Navy)⁴¹ was also one of the aims of the association which was well supported during the whole period of its existence. A comparison of the ideology and activities of "Hellenismos" in South Africa with the existing nationalist Greek organisations in America, reveal their striking similarities.⁴² The Grand Ideal as an element of Greek populist nationalist ideology was present during the discussions taking place at that time, but its impact was not as powerful then as in the next period (to be examined later) and that is why we do not pay much attention to it at this stage. It was mainly one cause, that of avoiding speedy assimilation and preserving the national, cultural and religious ideals, that played the main part in the establishment and existence of "Hellenismos" as a nationalist organisation.

Nationalism on a smaller scale was prominent in Durban, although there was no formal active organisation there. During the period we are examining the nationalist Greek spirit was kept alive by the efforts of V Christopoulos, T Kalliontzis, and especially D G Frangs (Frangos).⁴³ The former two will be examined briefly in later chapters, when their role in nationalist politics becomes more important.

Frangs (or Franks) was born in Lefki, Ithaka, and arrived in Durban from Australia in 1896, one of the first Greeks in town. He soon started working on his own, before joining the firm of Whyte Brothers Limited as a junior partner. Within four years he was senior partner and director of the company, one of the very few Greeks to so quickly ascend the professional, economic and social ladder. His relief and nationalist work, especially during the period we are examining, was organised from his house where politics were discussed at meetings and material aid for needy and destitute Greeks was arranged.⁴⁴

Greek nationalists in South Africa, as in the United States, participated in the 1912-1913 Balkan wars, demonstrating once more that assimilation, at least during that period, had not played an important role in dominating their social relationships. Similar features regarding young Greek immigrants took place in both countries, as well as in Australia. In the United States the Pan-Hellenic Union - which, as we have already pointed out, was established in order to create a greater sense of nationalist patriotism and to strengthen Greek identity and the emotional ties of the immigrants with the motherland - had mobilised thousands of trained soldiers to fight for Greece mainly on her northern frontiers.⁴⁵ One of the most intelligent observers of the political situation, after experiencing the spectacle of hundreds of armed Greeks at the time of the Balkan wars practising war tactics outside Chicago, wrote:

How startled were the English-speaking people of the United States to find that thousands of newly made "Americans" were taking ship to the Balkan Peninsula to offer their lives to the old countries. ... They awoke to the reality that, in spite of all the visible and invisible agencies of assimilation their country was not one nation but a congerie of nations.⁴⁶

In Southern Africa, Greek pioneers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia formed volunteer groups in order to

join the Greek regiments fighting in the Balkan Peninsula.⁴⁷ In South Africa the "Hellenismos" association played a very important role in mobilising many Greeks for the Greek army,⁴⁸ but it seems that the most active association was the Ithakasian one. This society immediately formed a volunteer group that left for Greece in order to join forces with the Greek army. The group fought for the liberation of Ioannina and Salonica. In the meantime, while the war progressed, the society continued to support the volunteer group and the Hellenic Red Cross until the end of the war.⁴⁹

There is no official record available of the number or names of the volunteers, but a scrutiny of newspapers, community records, and personal reminiscences has revealed several names of people who joined the Greek regiments in the Balkan wars. The most prominent amongst them was Miltiades Giannelos of Worcester, who later became one of the wealthiest members of the Greek community. He was born in Ypati, near Athens, in 1891, and came to Cape Town in 1910, where he joined his brother. In 1913 he volunteered to fight in the Balkan wars joining the 7th Regiment of the 20th Division. On returning to Worcester, he bought a farm and a bioscope and became one of the few Greeks of that period who climbed the ladder of economic success.⁵⁰ Another Capetonian who joined the volunteer forces was Fotios Comminos who was born in Lemnos, in the Aegean Islands, and had worked in Egypt before arriving in Cape Town in 1905.⁵¹

From Pretoria, Constantine Deroukos joined the volunteers in 1912,⁵² and Elias Sikiotis the same year.⁵³ From Johannesburg, Nicos Roumbis, from Evia, who died in 1917 from miners' phthisis,⁵⁴ Antonis Mavromatis and Harilaos Paxinos who were both decorated,⁵⁵ five members of the Maroudas family from Anoyi in Ithaka, led by Panayiotes Maroudas who came to Johannesburg in 1907,⁵⁶ were amongst those who joined the volunteers' cause. From Durban came

Efstratios Mavros who was also decorated.⁵⁷ Last, but not least, John Costas from Stellenbosch, the veteran of the Anglo-Boer war, was one of the first to volunteer, as we have already noted.

The long list of the above names and many others who joined the struggle in the Motherland is an indication that Greek nationalism sometimes surpassed the wish for personal economic survival and social mobility.⁵⁸

The local newspapers took a considerably sympathetic attitude towards Greece's endeavours in the Balkan wars, celebrating the country's victories and praising the heroism of its army and the efforts of the volunteers. The Rand Daily Mail dedicated two editorials in a space of three days to celebrate the Greek victories.⁵⁹

(C) THE GREEK COMMUNITIES AND WELFARE ORGANISATIONS

In the section on nationalism we saw that the prime motive behind the formation and development of the nationalist organisation "Hellenismos" was the wish to resist assimilation and absorption within the wider and sometimes hostile environment. The establishment and development of the Greek communities in South Africa as the "organic unities" serving their members, representing them in their entirety and keeping alive the contacts with the Motherland, were primarily but not exclusively rooted in the same premises. The communities were the creation of the necessities of life and social relationships based on both the overall wish of the immigrants to preserve their identity and the need for the establishment of an "official representative" of the community as a whole.

It is significant that the communities in every major city (Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria) were established after the failure of other organisations to function as "official representatives" of the Greeks, and moreover that they were headed by the same people who were leaders of those benevolent or "purely" nationalist organisations. As we will see, the role of the communities was very significant during the whole period and constituted the nucleus of every aspect of Greek life in South Africa.

(1) THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF CAPE TOWN

In Cape Town there were approximately 60 Greeks in 1898 when they established the "Mutual Help Association". Its primary functions were to help Greeks who were new in town, to pay the hospitals and the doctors' fees in cases where needy Greeks were hospitalised, and to represent the Greek community in its contacts with the local authorities.¹ This organisation, whose work was highly appreciated by the pioneer Greeks in town, was headed by the "elder", Hercules Kossifas, from Rhodes Island. Its treasurer was Nicolas Adelines, who we will discuss later.² The election

of the "elders" (the oldest members of the community) to lead the organisation was not arbitrary. Said a Cape Town pioneer of 1924:

Even during the time I came to town it was common knowledge that we newcomers had to vote for the older members. They were wiser, could speak the English language better than us, were better off, and especially they always reminded us of the ancient history of Athens and Sparta. Which of the two was the best democracy? The one that was not based on military strength but on wisdom, i.e. Athens. But they said to us that Athens was governed by the "elders". Those were the decision-makers, and we had to elect the older ones to be our leaders, this was the commonly accepted voting pattern.³

There is no record of regular meetings, or the existence of constitutional procedures maintaining a smooth functioning of the organisation. Nevertheless it is evident that its financial situation was good. When the organisation was disbanded and absorbed within the newly-formed "Hellenic Community of Cape Town" (hereinafter H C C T) there was a cash surplus in its treasury. This was used to buy furniture for the church, a bed and clothes for the priest, and other necessities.⁴ It was the arrival of a priest called Artemios that led to the decision to change the name and aims of the organisation. The priest conducted the Holy Liturgy in the schoolroom of the Saint Phillip's Church for some weeks. He convinced the leaders that a mutual help organisation did not bear the same weight and significance as an association named "Hellenic Community of Cape Town".⁵ This association was formed in 1902, after the Holy Liturgy, in the Masonic Hall.⁶

It was the first Greek community in South Africa to adopt a proper constitution, Article Number One of which summarised the primary aims of the organisation as follows:

We establish in Cape Town an association called "Hellenic Community of Cape Town", whose aims are the building of an Orthodox Greek Church with all

the means at our disposal, its preservation, and generally the social and moral progress of all members and the relief of the needy and suffering members of the organisation.⁷

The wording of the constitution bears many similarities to those of Greek communities to be found in every part of the world. The period of the establishment of the communities is also identical. For example, the wording of the H C C T constitution is very similar to those of Khartoum in Sudan, which was established in 1902,⁸ Alexandria, Egypt, where the community was established in 1843, Cairo in 1904, Port Said 1865, Zagazig 1870, Suez 1871, etc.⁹

Obviously the material conditions prevailing in Cape Town at the time of the establishment of the community played a very important role. It is more than coincidental that the rebirth of a number of Greek communities in the United States was a result of the conditions created by a hostile environment. The strict immigration laws of the American government between 1914 and 1924 gave birth to new Greek communities, where virtually every Greek in the country found shelter.¹⁰ The public appeal of the new racist schools of sociologists such as Grants, and historians such as Fairchild, who popularised the fears of "pure" America's racial deterioration and emphasised the "differences between old and new immigration" had the same effect. These "scientists" called for the protection of the Anglo-Saxon immigrants, as opposed to the "Mediterranean" immigration (Jewish, Greek or Italian).¹¹

It was obvious that the impact of the prevailing racist ideology in the United States led towards a "re-discovery" of their ethnic culture, heritage and communities,¹² and the similarity of the circumstances in America and South Africa and the "return to the community" pattern was apparent. (Of course, in South Africa, the anti-Greek, anti-alien feelings and activities were very strong indeed, as has been shown, but the American vicious racism of the period we are examining seems to be unparalleled.) The

main functions of the H C C T (and of all communities for that matter) were:

- (a) Economic;
- (b) Political; and
- (c) Ideological.

These three functions cannot really be treated separately because of their interrelationship within the "community life process", but the significance of the economic function has to be stressed as it is the base on which the other two were founded.

The economic function consisted of the collection of subscriptions and donations that were used for the fulfilment of several objectives (church, relief work, rents, wages to those working for the community, etc.) The H C C T did not at first face any serious economic problems. Its first executive committee, consisting of H D Kossifas (President), A Capsopoulos (Secretary), J Chrisovelonis, Karavas, A Anemojiannis, A Philippou, A Stratis, N Mazarakis (members),¹³ inherited the money left by the "Mutual Help Organisation" and, additionally, collected £800 at its first official Annual General Meeting.¹⁴ This seems an extraordinarily large amount to be collected at this first meeting because the Greek community, especially during that period, was not one of the wealthiest sections of the Cape Town population; but existing evidence leaves no doubt concerning the truth of Nicolaides's claim. This amount of money appears in the assets column of the Greek community's Cash Book for the year 1902.¹⁵

The donations and subscriptions of the community's members were received regularly and that added to its sound financial position. There were 258 members/subscribers in 1903, 210 in 1904, 150 in 1905, 263 in 1908, 167 in 1909, and 137 in 1910.¹⁶ Only heads of families and independent males were expected to pay subscriptions and give donations to the community. Females do not

appear in any community document as donors, subscribers, or participants in the community's affairs. They participated in the religious functions, the celebration of the national days, social and other occasions. The fluctuation of the community membership was due to several reasons, the most important being the migration of large numbers of Greeks to the Rand, as already mentioned. Other reasons included the disillusionment of some members with the leadership of the community on political or ideological grounds, that occasionally brought the work of the H C C T to a standstill, as well as the economic stagnation of the Cape Colony which determined, to a large extent, the economic position of the Greeks living in it.¹⁷ Additionally there were a number of relatively wealthy members (Costalas, Adelines, Balaskas, Doriades and Mantzaris)¹⁸ who donated between £10 and £20 per month to the community.

The healthy economic position of the community is illustrated in the cash books to be found in the H C C T archives. In 1902, for example, the balance was £1 115.12.11,¹⁹ and in 1903 £1 244. 7. 4.²⁰ After the completion of the church in 1905 the balance was only £69. 2. 9.²¹ The reasons were obvious: the cost of the plot on which the church was built was £650,²² and the monthly salary of the priest was £16 plus £3 per month for a cab for his daily use.²³

The H C C T negotiated a loan with the firm of Herold and Gie for the erection of the church,²⁴ and paid £35 per month for the hire of Saint Phillip's school-room.²⁵ The economic drive of the leaders, however, very soon paid dividends. Rolandi was appointed as building contractor for the erection of the church and immediately an economic committee was established to collect money.²⁶ It collected donations and subscriptions on a daily basis and in 1904 it issued 1 000 debenture shares of £1 each "for the completion of the Greek Orthodox Church at

Woodstock". The debentures were transferable only on the surrender of the certificate, accompanied by a duly executed transfer form. The debentures were signed by the President, J Mitchell (Michalopoulos), and the Secretary, John Costas (the Boer war hero). (See Appendix 8).

The committee collected money on every possible occasion (house parties, national celebrations, and even at cultural events). During a public speech on Christmas Eve, where a cultural subject was discussed, the committee appeared with a "donation tray" and collected £29.12. 6.²⁷ One of the more constant sources of revenue was the Sunday liturgy "donation tray", which contributed considerably to the assets of the community (Saint Phillip's Church and later the Greek Orthodox Church were full of worshippers every Sunday).²⁸ Overall, the efforts of the community to collect the money needed for the building of the church were highly successful. By 1905, the amount had reached £3 000.²⁹

Politically the H C C T represented all Greeks in town in their contacts with the authorities, and played a very significant part in retaining the ethnic bonds between the members of the community in all spheres of activity (cultural, educational and social). The chairman or secretary of the community was the official translator of Greek in the courts,³⁰ and the chairman censored the printed material (newspapers and magazines) received from Greece.³¹ Although there was an official Consul General for Greece in Cape Town - Julius Jeppe, a prominent shipping and forwarding agent who had worked extensively as an agent with the famous shipping firm of Ellis and Sons, and as a link with the Far East since 1894³² - the political representation of the Greek community was in the hands of the administrative committee.

The most important political and ideological role of

the H C C T was to revive and perpetuate the nationalist spirit and unity of its members and other Greeks and to keep them together. Its main function was to try to combat assimilation and absorption and for that purpose the usual means were employed (emphasis on national celebration days, patriotic speeches, cultural meetings, etc). The community was fortunate to have at its disposal the journalistic skills of George Costalas, a young immigrant from Peloponessus who, in 1902, established "Apocalypsis" ("Apocalypse"), the first Greek newspaper in South Africa, at 94 Sir Lowry Road, Woodstock.³³ No single copy of that newspaper has survived, unfortunately. Costalas took great risks in order to serve the interests of the Greek community, the biggest being the financial one. To establish a foreign language newspaper in the Colony of Good Hope in 1902 was a sure step towards bankruptcy, mainly because of the economic depression prevailing in the area in the period following the Anglo-Boer war.

In America at that time there were approximately 70 000 Greeks, and the fact that only two newspapers catered for them indicates the courage and dedication of Costalas.³⁴ The fact that no copy of "Apocalypsis" has survived is regrettable as a lively discussion on the relations of the Greeks in the Colony, both amongst themselves and the other population groups of Cape Town, is denied us. Costalas's understanding of Greek politics and his insights of the South African material conditions would make interesting reading. The newspaper appears to have existed for at least five years, until late in 1906.³⁵

Costalas was the invisible spirit behind every nationalist function and his powerful orations during general meetings and at celebrations were reported enthusiastically in the local press. Although not one of the main community leaders, he always spoke on national occasions together with C Caravera, another Peloponessian shopkeeper. Celebrating the Greek National Day in 1903, for example,

Costalas's powerful speech in Greek was applauded loudly, especially when he ended by reading the Declaration of Greek Independence. Caravera was the second speaker on that day.³⁶

The leadership of the community used the commemoration days, the national and religious celebrations, and other occasions to bring its members together,³⁷ and they did their best to ensure that they were celebrated in high spirits. The meeting place would be decorated, and the appropriate photographs hung - for instance, for the celebration of the national day, posters of the heroes of the Great Greek Revolution of 1821 would be displayed, decorated with red and white flowers. Every year the "Spes Bona" band was invited to provide the music, which always included both the Greek and British national anthems. A considerable amount of money was spent annually on the band and decorations.³⁸

The playing of "God Save the Queen" in Cape Town was not the only typical feature of the Greek pioneers' allegiance to the Imperial Power. As we have already seen, in the section dealing with the Greek immigrants' participation in the Anglo-Boer war, the political and ideological divisions within Greece and the Diaspora were shaped by two distinct parameters: the "western" and the "eastern". In the period under examination the political arena in Greece was the scene of a power struggle between the different parties representing that division. Theotokis's party (representing mainly commercial capital and British interests in Greece) was in power from 1898 to 1901, and constituted a major partner in coalition governments until 1904, and again in 1906.³⁹

Existing evidence suggests that the ideology of the Motherland, directly related to that of the superiority of the Imperial Power, found fertile soil in Cape Town. Costalas, in his speeches was full of praise for the

political and economic aid of the Metropolis of Freedom to its "daughter" Greece. To Costalas and his followers only the aid of the Imperial Power could help Greece's steps forward.⁴⁰ It appears that Costalas's ideas were shared by the official community which was the major financial contributor to his newspaper.⁴¹

Julius Jeppe, the Greek Consul General in Cape Town, was also a leading figure behind the diffusion of an "Anglophile" ideology amongst Cape Town's Greeks.⁴² His speeches during the celebrations were devoted not only to complimenting Greeks on their loyalty to their Motherland, their religious feelings, and their efforts towards their own betterment and that of their families and town of adoption, but also he was proud to know

... that while they felt Greeks in their heart and religion, they were true to the flag under which they lived.⁴³

We have mentioned several names of Greeks who played a role in strengthening and organising the Greek community of Cape Town. There were two main figures, however, who with their dedicated work and leadership kept the community together for a long time. Both participated actively in community affairs, served on its committees, and their services as leaders were highly praised by the international community of the town. They were both from Cefallinia, in the Ionian Islands.

Nicolaos Adelines came to South Africa at a relatively advanced age (he was 32) and settled in Cape Town in 1891. He became one of the wealthier Greek merchants in town and it was he who finally realised that the material conditions both before and after the Anglo-Boer war were ripe for the creation of a community. He was the leading figure behind the establishment of the "Mutual Aid Organisation", and the H C C T.⁴⁴ Adeline was the first to donate large amounts of money to the church fund,⁴⁵ and thus set the example needed to attract the donations that made possible the

erection of the church. His ideological position was that of an "Anglophile" (although, as we have already mentioned, he did not participate in the Anglo-Boer war with the British forces), and his political philosophy followed that of Ch Tricoupis and, later, Theotokis. He was probably one of the staunchest supporters of "Apocalypsis", another indication of his "westernised" imperial ideology.⁴⁶

The Greek community, recognising the zest and determination of its leader, donated to him an expensive table service and made him honorary life president of the community as early as 1920. The Greek government decorated him with its highest award, the "Silver Cross of the Lord".⁴⁷

The other man responsible for the advancement of the Greek community in Cape Town during those years was Socrates Messaris, who arrived in 1899 and established the Good Hope Mercantile Company Limited. Being a wealthy man he not only used his money for general relief work amongst the destitute people of Cape Town but also for promoting community aims and objectives. He was a leader of the Greek community all his life (he died in 1922) and chairman of its executive committee for a number of years.⁴⁸

(2) THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF JOHANNESBURG

The Greek community of Johannesburg, destined to become the centre of many controversies in the years to come, decided in 1908 to amalgamate three organisations - the "Hellenismos" branch, the "Mutual Help Association", and the "National Mutual Help Association"⁴⁹ - which catered for the Greek immigrants in town. The resultant organisation was named the Hellenic Community of Johannesburg (hereinafter referred to as H C J). The existence of two mutual help associations suggests a division within the ranks of Greeks, but a participant in the social life of the period commented on that:

The two mutual help associations were not actually antagonistic. It was a problem of location. Obviously there were certain political disagreements

amongst the members of the two associations, but the most important reason for their separate existence was the long distances. The National Mutual Help Organisation was actually an integral part of "Hellenismos", all members of "Hellenismos" being members of the National, as it was known. We catered for Greeks living in Central Johannesburg who needed help. We had good functions. Members of the group visited the hospitals, fed the needy, and mainly took care of miners who had accidents. Many miners were members of the association. The other association catered for the Greeks in the suburbs and other nearby towns. They were good, too; they had tremendous spirit and energy and some of them, few I must say, came to the "Hellenismos" meetings.⁵⁰

From the photograph which appears in Appendix 7, we can see that the "National" had many members. The picture was taken on an excursion/picnic at Florida Lake in 1905. The members carried a Greek and an English flag and a banner of the organisation. During these picnics, lectures on national subjects were given (mainly by members of "Hellenismos"), followed by discussions, and musical items were played until late at night.⁵¹ There is no available information concerning the "Mutual Help Association" other than that already given.

Having covered briefly the "Hellenismos" Johannesburg branch, let us now concentrate on the H C J. The community was established in 1908, after the three associations had amalgamated. The drive for membership and subscriptions was successful within a matter of days; 200 members were enrolled, paying a subscription fee of five shillings per month.⁵² The functions of the community at this time were concentrated in the collection of money for the building of the church, but nationalist feelings were also kept alive during the whole period.

Most of the community members subscribed to newspapers and especially "Empros" ("Forward"), a liberal daily destined to play a very important part in Greek life in Johannesburg in the following years. "The Script" was also

a popular choice of the immigrants.⁵³ Very few of them became naturalised English subjects, most preferring to retain Greek citizenship because of their ultimate objective to return home.⁵⁴ The daily political discussions did not take place at private houses anymore, as in the period of "Hellenismos". Now, the political discussions took place at "Diamandis Hotel", the owner being a close friend of Mavrogordato, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Johannesburg Police, to whom we will refer later. The discussions at that time were relatively peaceful, and the main arguments concerned the establishment or not of a "national club". The decision in favour of such a club was not taken until much later.⁵⁵

In 1911 the drive and determination of the community leaders, helped by the initial efforts of several committees in collecting money for the erection of the church, resulted in the registration of approximately 600 members on the books of the H C J.⁵⁶ This led to a resurrection of Greek nationalist feelings, with parades during the national day celebrations and on other occasions, and new cultural activities.⁵⁷ Two miners at the City Deep Mines led the political discussions: Joseph Amiradakis from Milos Island, who came to South Africa in 1904 and worked in the mines for ten years before he retired,⁵⁸ and Theodoros Ananiades, a highly educated young man who arrived in Johannesburg in 1903. He started working in the gold-mines during the same year. Although he had studied at the famous Corfu High School, he did not follow an intellectual career but rather one which would offer him a substantial amount of money and some spare time. This time was spent in political discussions and relief activities which made him one of the most popular figures in Johannesburg Hellenism. He died in June 1921, at the age of 37, from miners' phthisis. His friend, Amiradakis, followed him five years later, from the same cause.⁵⁹

Johannesburg Greek nationalism played a very important

role in the affairs and functions of the H C J, and it is unfortunate that community records were not kept. The local newspapers of the period are not very informative on the subject.

(3) THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF PRETORIA

The Pretoria Greek pioneers were the vanguard of Greek nationalism, not because they started organising themselves on national lines very early but because their organisation was superior in all respects to the organisation of the Greek communities in other centres. We have already briefly discussed the "Hellenismos" branch, which played a vital part in the rise of national consciousness, and now we will discuss the role of the other organisations, and mainly the Hellenic Community of Pretoria (hereinafter called H C P) as the basic nucleus of the survival of "ethnic allegiance" in the city.

Besides the "Hellenismos" branch there was another association in town - the "Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society", which numbered 56 male members in 1906 (the majority of the Greek male population of the city).⁶⁰ The list of names of members of this society is one of the most valuable documents kept in the archives of the H C P, because it reveals several significant details concerning the social background of the immigrants, although some details are missing. For instance, we can see that there were 11 immigrants in the age group 10-20 years, 12 in the 20-30 age group, two in the 40-50 group, and two in the age group 50-60. Nine of them were from Peloponessus, five from Macedonia, four from Epirus, two each from the Aegean Islands, the Dodecanese, and Asia Minor, and one each from Athens, Crete, and Thrace. Most of them had been South African residents for less than 10 years (26 in number). There was one, John Prevezanos from Preveza, Epirus, who had been a resident for 15 years, and two others for longer than that - Evangelos Potelis from Thrace (26 years), and Nick Gogos, from Plaka, Athens (27 years).⁶¹

We cannot assume that all members of that society were involved in the functions and activities of "Hellenismos" but, considering the different nature of the two associations, such an assumption would not be far from the truth. "Hellenismos" was an association political in nature; it tried to arouse Greek nationalist consciousness through the medium of lectures and other activities, while the Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society was, as its title suggests, a society dedicated to relief work. The society suffered a setback during the first year of its existence when 14 of its founder members resigned to form the "Greek Society Hermes". The reason for the split seemed to have been economic, although this was not stated in their letter of resignation to the committee of the society.⁶² The society was amalgamated within the newly established H C P in 1908, but "Hermes" kept its autonomy until 1914 when it was disbanded. Its cash reserves of £400 were sent as a donation to the Greek Navy.⁶³ A leading figure in the Hermes Society was a tearoom and property owner, Christos Christopoulos from Patras, Peloponessus, who was a 1900 pioneer.⁶⁴ Other leading figures were Spiros Matelas from Cefallinia, and A Dascalopoulos from Velimachi, Gortynia, Peloponessus who settled in Pretoria in 1899; they were both café and property owners.⁶⁵

On 1 July 1908, representatives of the different Greek societies and associations met in a commercial hall located on the corner of Potgieter and Pretoria Streets with the aim of inaugurating the H C P. The chairman was C Valtatzis, a founder member of "Hellenismos",⁶⁶ and a leading member of the Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society.⁶⁷ The latter organisation donated its cash reserves of £24 to the newly-established body and joined forces with it while the other two associations continued their ventures as separate bodies, as we have already stated.⁶⁸

The first gathering saw 44 Greeks enrolled as members

of the community, and a committee was set up with the objective of enrolling more members, having as chairman G Golfinopoulos. Their efforts bore fruit and within a month membership had doubled. At the constitutional meeting of the new body, in August 1908, 88 members were present. The constitution of the H C P was passed unanimously and consisted of 37 articles, the main objectives being "the erection and preservation of the Orthodox Greek Church, and the relief work amongst the needy compatriots".⁶⁹ The same meeting voted unanimously for the first administrative committee of the H C P consisting of G Golfinopoulos as president, J Michael from Cyprus, a grocer, as vice-president, and D Milonas from Carlovasi, Samos Island, a tea-room owner, as treasurer.⁷⁰

The committee set three short-term aims and objectives:

- (a) The economic elevation of the community.
- (b) The erection of the church.
- (c) Greek nationalist rejuvenation.

All these aims were directly related to the drive for new members. In three months the community had 180 members who regularly donated towards the building of the church and the realisation of other H C P objectives.⁷¹ For pessimists all over South Africa, including the sister communities of Johannesburg and Cape Town, the erection of a church was a dream difficult to realise because of the financial position of the communities at that period;⁷² it was the determination of the Pretoria leadership and membership that led to a speedy realisation of that objective, mainly as a result of the businesslike manner in which the economic drive was conducted under the guidance of Golfinopoulos. He had soon realised that the financial position of the community would only improve if new ways of obtaining liquid assets were to be discovered. Being himself a successful businessman, he introduced two original methods to improve the economic position of the community:

- (a) He was a general dealer importing several commodities from overseas, the principal one being sugar,⁷³ and selling them at a considerable profit. A part of this profit he donated directly to the community funds.
- (b) He subscribed to the Greek Navy Lottery and sold the tickets at a higher price; the surplus from this source was also donated to the community funds.

He travelled extensively all over South Africa to make the lottery known to the country's Hellenism and to personally collect the money.⁷⁴ Thus Golfinopoulos's two aims were realised: Greek nationalism, in the form of donations to the Greek National Navy, and the improvement of the economic position of the Pretoria community.

Golfinopoulos also used his influence to persuade the Pretoria wholesalers to support the funds, if they wished Greek shopkeepers to continue buying from them. As a result, the wholesalers donated a certain amount of money every month to the community.⁷⁵ In one year the H C P had a constant monthly income of funds in the vicinity of £50,⁷⁶ and, in 1912, when Golfinopoulos resigned, there was an amount of £1 000 in the community's safe.⁷⁷ The process of the erection of the church will be discussed in the section on religion.

We will now look briefly at the nationalist features of the community. Bearing in mind the parallel existence of "Hellenismos" and the benevolent society and despite the fact that there is no record of joint ventures, a thorough examination of names appearing in the community's lists of donors and members reveals that the organisations shared the allegiance of the vast majority of Greeks in Pretoria. There is also evidence that the leading members of the community, amongst them Golfinopoulos and Papageloutsos, were also leading members of "Hellenismos".⁷⁸

During the period 1909-1910, the community hired a hall where cultural and other lectures took place, paying

£7 a month for it.⁷⁹ A pioneer of 1912 said:

When I came to Pretoria in June 1912, all organisations approached me to become a member. They knew that they could not expect me to contribute financially because I had just started working as a shop assistant for £4. 5. 0 per month, but they wanted to have my name in their records. I was 15 at the time and very reluctant to join an organisation I thought of as being political, such as "Hellenismos", and so I joined the community. They took good care of me and in three months I had a job with one of the leaders at £8. 5. 0, so I could contribute financially also. We celebrated all national occasions in private houses or at the hall we had hired. Most of the early immigrants were subscribers to "Embros" newspaper; we really felt very attached to the Greek political situation. The celebrations in the hall, and later in the church, were full of patriotic speeches and there were bands playing as well. The only problem was that the local newspapers did not pay any attention to our celebrations; the same happened in Johannesburg too. But we enjoyed ourselves, and we were proud to participate in those celebrations; some of us spent days on preparations. We sent our suits and ties to the cleaners and dyers to be ready for the occasion, and some bought new clothes and hats as well. Every two or three weeks Golfinopoulos and the other people around him came together to discuss politics and argue at the hall or houses. We went there as friends and sometimes we parted in tension, which disappeared the next day. Those days were full of excitement; we had a really good time and I personally felt more Greek and more politically aware here than in Greece. Our nationalist agitators knew what they were talking about, and my knowledge and understanding of Greek politics was developed considerably - in the right direction, of course ...⁸⁰

The local newspapers did not cover the activities of the Greek community at all, the exception being the publication of the declaration of the Committee for the Building of the Greek Church which was headed by prominent Pretoria citizens. The H C P paid £3.12. 6 for this publication.⁸¹

The nationalist feelings of the Greeks of Pretoria were not only expressed on the ideological level but also took political shape in the sending of material aid to the Greek Navy. Not only was the National Navy Lottery an

instant success all over South Africa, but the Pretoria community supported the Greek Navy in other ways as well. During the period 1909-1910 this community sent £1 070 to the Navy and had sold over 25 thousand lottery tickets.⁸² The second major aim of the H C P was relief for the needy members of the community. In the case of I Iacovides, they spent £22. 0. 5 on hospitalisation and funeral arrangements; in the case of C Gizicas, they spent £24.17. 3 for hospitalisation; and for other cases, approximately £45.⁸³

All Greek communities and their leaders worked hard during those years to responsibly fulfil their aims and objectives and, as we have seen, their efforts were mostly successful: in the rejuvenation and expansion of Greek nationalism, on both the political and ideological levels, in their economic progress, and in their relief work. Both the nationalism and relief work were directly connected to one of the strongest components of South African Hellenism, i.e. the Greek Orthodox Church, which will be examined next.

(D) THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

Statistics for 1904 for the Cape Province show that there were 136 members of the Greek Orthodox Church other than Greeks; this figure included 21 "coloureds" (16 males and five females). (See Appendix 2.)¹ It is not known where the "coloureds" were baptised, although Nicolaides mentions that:

Several (μερικοί) of the Greeks at that period [1880-1890 (E M)] had married women of mixed race (Coloured) and had children with them. Those people have passed away, and no-one knows about those children, who probably do not know their origin.²

The rest of the Greek Orthodox Church members would most probably have been Russians or Slavs who had made their way to Southern Africa for various reasons during that period.³

The allegiance of early Greeks to their church is reported from the able pen of Juliet König in her book "Seven Builders of Johannesburg". During the 1880s the Greek community in Johannesburg had no priest and a member who wished to get married had to ask the Reverend John Darragh to perform the ceremony in Greek, which he did after receiving permission to do so from the Greek Patriarch.⁴

There is no doubt that the long-recognised and discussed interrelationship of religion and ethnicity has been over-emphasised, without actually having been thoroughly investigated. The descriptive literature on this interrelationship is both long and impressive, but largely fails to synthesise a valid theoretical framework and a factual analysis.⁵ It fails to take into account the social nature of the religions analysed, their historical evolution and their political and ideological significance within the context of a particular society.⁶ Most of these writings are based on the American experience, and

the direct or indirect influence of the American "ethnicity"/functionalist school is evident. The relevant literature concerning ethnicity and religion and their interrelationships in the South African setting is very limited.⁷ Believing that the Greek Orthodox religion in South Africa (and in the whole of the Diaspora for that matter) played a very important role (politically and ideologically) in the lives of the Greek immigrants during the period under examination, it is necessary to give a historical background of its development as a part of the Greek nation.

The strong bonds between the Greek people and the Orthodox Church are rooted in the very existence and historical process of the nation. Religious structure played an important part in strengthening the sense of national identification. The tight links between religion and nationality were not only based on the fact that under Ottoman rule and the "Millet" system the Greek Orthodox religious leader was the temporal head of a national community. They were also based on the fact that the Orthodox Church played a progressive role in preserving and maintaining Greek culture. In addition, the church was one of the vanguards of the national liberation struggle.⁸ As Moschoff has put it, Jesus Christ symbolises the Greek nation. He suffers as the nation does, and this is one of the reasons why the Orthodox religion plays such an important part in the ideological sphere for Greeks everywhere. Greek nationalism is the creation of historical material realities. The Greek's love for his country is strengthened by his frustration at seeing her suffering continuously.⁹

During the whole period of the 400-year Turkish occupation of Greece, the Orthodox religion remained the vital link between the Greek people and their rich cultural heritage and traditions through the creation of the secret schools; and although religious orthodoxy became

the official ideology of the nation it was primarily a progressive, popular, and sometimes radical ideology.¹⁰

Religion, any religion, and its acceptance by a particular ethnically homogeneous group, is based on material roots, to the same degree as is ethnicity or class. There are nations that identify themselves with a certain religion. This religion is the "alter ego" of the nation because it is related to its ultimate allegiance, "to the one and only faith", as Trikoupis put it a century ago.¹¹

The churches that were built in South Africa were planned to function in two ways:

- (a) They would function primarily as institutions maintaining and perpetuating an ethnic and religious allegiance, and preserving the national language and heritage.
- (b) They would provide an institutional enclosure preventing the immigrants and their children from assimilating into the wider environment, a matter which, as already shown, was of vital concern for the preservation of an ethnic identity.

It was natural then for the first Greek immigrants to South Africa to have as a first aim and priority the erection of a church, following the pattern of Greeks in other parts of Africa and the world. In Khartoum the Greek church started functioning in 1903, in Port Sudan and Badi-Chalva in 1907, in Atpara in 1910;¹² in Egypt, every small Greek community had its own church.¹³ In the United States of America the first Greek Orthodox Church was formed in New Orleans from a handful of pioneer immigrants in 1866, the second in New York City in 1891, and the third in Chicago in 1898.¹⁴ Until 1910, every single Greek community in the country had its own church.¹⁵ The church service became a symbolic bond of affirmation to Greek culture and tradition, and in different periods the

church itself was used as the school where the Greek language was taught to the younger generations, as will be seen shortly.

Let us proceed now to examine the struggle of the community to erect its own churches in order to realise the real significance of the Orthodox Church, both as a counter-assimilation factor and as an institution maintaining and preserving Greek nationalism.

(1) THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH IN CAPE TOWN

It was mid-1901 when a priest named Artemios toured Southern Africa and Madagascar and came to Cape Town. The Greek community welcomed him and he officiated in church liturgies for several months. These services took place in the Anglican Church of Saint Peter where Artemios, who was attached to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, had been ordained.¹⁶ There was a serious problem, however, which led to the discontinuance of the services: there were no Holy Books. Immediately after the arrival of the priest, the Greek community sent £20 to the Patriarch of Jerusalem for the purchase and dispatch of these books.¹⁷ The cessation of services was possibly one of the reasons why Artemios declined an offer made by the leaders of the H C C T to stay indefinitely with them¹⁸ and returned to his previous parish, in Egypt, where he had been based before he started out on his mission to Southern Africa.¹⁹

After the departure of Artemios, the Greek community of Cape Town requested help from the Archbishop of Athens to find a permanent priest who could conduct the liturgy in Saint Peter's.²⁰ A year later Archimandrite Anthimos Lappas came to Cape Town and started officiating as priest at this church.²¹ His ticket had been paid for by the executive committee of the community in 1902,²² and the Holy Books and necessary equipment for the church had already been purchased.²³

The enthusiasm of the community following the arrival of the Archimandrite, and the knowledge that a church would be a positive defence mechanism protecting the Greek immigrants from absorption, activated the H C C T into fulfilling the plans for its erection. They corresponded with the respective Greek communities of Manchester,²⁴ Liverpool,²⁵ and Chicago²⁶ in order to obtain information on the bases on which the Orthodox Churches were functioning in those cities. Although there was no response from these communities, the Greek population of Cape Town and its leaders had fully realised that the immediate erection of the church would result in a revival of interest amongst members on the one hand, and provide a suitable centre for community life on the other. Having collected a considerable amount of money and having bought the plot of ground on which the church was destined to be built, serious problems arose. Arguments amongst members of the executive committee and the ordinary members put a brake on activities for the building of the church. Nicolaides writes:

The Association [H C C T (E M)] was Greek and consequently it was natural to quarrel, which destroyed the existing accord and cooperation.²⁷

There is no evidence as to the causes and roots of those quarrels, and they proved to be short-lived. Unity was reinstated and, by the end of September 1903, the foundation stone of the church was laid by Lappas on the site purchased in Mountain Road, Woodstock.²⁸ The priest's rooms were built next to the church on a plot bought by the community, and both church and house were completed within six months.²⁹ The church was not built according to the standard Byzantine style, but had the advantage of being spacious.³⁰

Lappas provided religious services to the community until 1907, when he was recalled by the Holy Synod of Greece under whose jurisdiction the Greek churches in South Africa had been placed.³¹ Under the dual system of jurisdiction at the time of the Turkish occupation the

Greek church had been under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1850, however, the Church of Greece became independent and Greeks within the political boundaries of the Greek State were placed under its jurisdiction, while the spiritual headship remained with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Under various arrangements, Greeks living in the Diaspora remained directly under the headship of the Patriarch, which resulted in one Orthodox Church with a dual headship. As we have already seen, all correspondence from the H C C T in connection with the church was addressed both to the Patriarch of Constantinople and to the Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church. The fact remains that the Greek Church took a lively interest in the Hellenism of the Diaspora and several churches came under its jurisdiction, including the one in Cape Town.³² This dual jurisdiction proved to be one of the major controversies surrounding the fate and development of Greek Orthodox religion all over the Greek Diaspora, and especially in its American section.³³

In 1907, following the recall of Lappas, the Cape Town Greeks started collecting money once more to bring out a new priest.³⁴ He was also an Archimandrite, Mavrogordato by name (no relation to the Witwatersrand C I D man), who started his services that same year. He was paid £12 per month.³⁵ He resigned in 1912 after a series of poorly attended annual general meetings.³⁶ The final discussion on the acceptance or not of his resignation took place at an ill-attended annual general meeting where only 20 members were present; 17 voted to accept his resignation, and three found it totally unacceptable.³⁷

At the same meeting, the leaders of the community decided to write immediately to the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece requesting a new priest and voting in favour of a salary of £16 per month. It was recommended

that his service should be based on a three-year contract.³⁸ At that time a resurrection of nationalist activities with the aid of the church was apparent. All national celebrations and mournings (such as that following the assassination of King George I) took place in the Saint George Greek Orthodox Church, and the Archimandrite was the main speaker on all occasions.³⁹

Following the resignation of Mavrogordato, the Patriarchite of Alexandria, in Egypt, sent Archimandrite Timotheos to replace him.⁴⁰ When the time approached for Timotheos to leave Cape Town, the heads of the community persuaded him to stay on because the Holy Synod in Athens had not sent a replacement; by this time, two deacons had joined him, on his recommendation.⁴¹ The new priest, Archimandrite Athanasios Katsis, arrived in Cape Town on 10 June 1912,⁴² and was welcomed by all Greeks in the town who had been notified previously by the administrative committee through posters displayed in the centre of town and announcements in the newspapers.⁴³

It was Katsis's religious nationalism that played a major role in the ethno-religious life of the Greeks in Cape Town during the years that followed. Katsis was born in Tsernota, Calavrita, in Peloponessus. His family influenced him to study theology at the University of Athens. He graduated in 1912, while working as a deacon. He was ordained as Archimandrite in the same year and immediately after that became the priest of the H C C T.⁴⁴ It was there that he transformed the community into an active ethno-religious unit with the focus on nationalist resurgence. Being a royalist himself, he did not try to find the lines dividing the Greek nationalist movement but those which united it.⁴⁵

Only a few months after his arrival in Cape Town, King George I was assassinated and Katsis's influence became apparent. The administrative committee of the H C C T

at a special meeting following the assassination voted for measures never before taken in the Greek community in Cape Town. Not only did they vote to have a special funeral service in the church but also to send a large wreath to the funeral in Athens, to attend the funeral service in Cape Town dressed in black, and to notify all Greeks in town, through posters and the local press, to attend the service weeping. The national celebration of 25 March was postponed until 21 May, the name-day of the new king, Constantine.⁴⁶

The Archimandrite became involved in all aspects of community life and particularly with relief work. During his term of office, the community regularly donated money to charities such as hospitals, orphanages, etc.⁴⁷ Katsis personally collected hundreds of pounds for nationalist causes, mainly after the victorious Balkan wars of 1913. His chief concern was for the war orphans and for this reason his main collections were sent to the "White Cross" Association, a relief organisation established in Greece. His efforts were so successful that in one year he collected £800 in South Africa alone, which he sent to Greece, afterwards receiving a letter of thanks from the King. He started a new tour of South Africa in 1920 in order to collect donations for the crippled of the wars, covering his travelling expenses from his own salary. In a period of three-and-a-half months he collected £650, which he mailed to Greece, thus becoming one of the pioneer collectors of relief funds for war victims.⁴⁸

(2) THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE TRANSVAAL

We have seen the gallant efforts made by the Cape Town Greek community as a whole that helped in the erection of the Orthodox Church in a record time of six months.⁴⁹ Let us now turn to the efforts of the other two Greek communities in South Africa at that time - Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The spark needed for such a venture was supplied by Archimandrite Nicodemos Sarikas. Born in Kato Panagia in Asia Minor in October 1876, Sarikas became a monk when seventeen years old. After extensive travels, he arrived in Jerusalem where he stayed with Patriarch Damianos. In 1907 he was ordained in Smyrna, Asia Minor. On hearing that the Greeks working in the Transvaal goldmines needed a priest, he decided to take up this challenge. He travelled through Beira and Southern Rhodesia, where he visited all the Greek families and communities in the country, and arrived in the Transvaal in November 1907. He started his services immediately at the Saint Margaret's Anglican Church, which soon became the meeting place of all Greeks in the town. The excitement of the Johannesburg Greek leaders was evident in a letter sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople expressing their gratitude for the arrival of the Archimandrite.⁵⁰

Sarikas travelled extensively throughout the Rand in order to collect funds for the erection of the church, with the aid of the leaders of the community. He was also the first Orthodox priest in South Africa to hold discussions with the leaders of the Johannesburg Greek community (H C J) regarding the proselytising of blacks.⁵¹ For that reason he contacted the priests of the other Christian churches in order to coordinate their efforts to that end. He soon realised, however, that the urban industrial environment could not ensure the success of his plans and that rural Africa would offer him more scope for missionary work.

He moved to Southern Rhodesia and later travelled to Alexandria in order to meet the Patriarch. With him he carried two enthusiastic letters signed by all the members of the Greek community in the Transvaal in which they expressed their gratitude to the Archimandrite for his devotion and activities which had helped to establish the church and the community as an organic unity. Amongst the signatories were Michalopoulos, Chrisovelonis, Ananiades,

Mentis, Stumbos, Darras, Pournaras and Capsopoulos.

Sarikas's travels throughout Africa ended prematurely when he lost his life's savings in Southern Rhodesia, but his missionary zeal led him back to Alexandria, where he persuaded several relatives to join him in his venture. He also persuaded a childhood friend, Leonidas Christianakis, to join him in Johannesburg. Christianakis was well-educated and a cantor, and while in Alexandria with Sarikas had learned that a new Greek community was in the making at Mossi in the Kilimanjaro area. This was a good opportunity for Sarikas to serve both the Greek community there and also to proselytise the blacks of the Kibosho Province.

He offered a new approach to Orthodox religion in South Africa generally and Johannesburg in particular as he tried to show that the Orthodox religion was universal, but he was soon to realise that his innovative missionary ideas were very radical for the time and place. In Tanganyika he established a Greek Orthodox Church which he called the "Greek Orthodox Mission". He preached both to the natives and to the Greek population in that country. He built the church at his own expense and cultivated a coffee plantation. The church was named after Holy Sophia and was one of the few Greek Orthodox missions on the continent of Africa.⁵²

When Sarikas left Johannesburg, the H C J wrote to the Greek Holy Synod asking for a new priest. In January 1911, Archimandrite Athanasios Alexiou arrived in Johannesburg and found a community numbering 600 paid-up members.⁵³ The significance of a church as a link of ethnic allegiance and religious attachment is expressed by a contemporary:

{ We all see the church, the Orthodox Church, our church, as a symbol of ethnic solidarity. We had our meeting, all of us were good nationalists, we talked politics and religion amongst ourselves.

We knew how to tackle the problems of the foreign environment, but we were always worried about our children's absorption. In church we could mix with each other and have a constant place of meeting. Many of us could not make it to the nationalist meetings because of work load, but everyone could close his shop and come to church, so he could meet his friends, and especially meet some young new lady to marry. Church was always a dream for us, because we knew that a good priest could make us more conscious, more united, more nationalist and could also teach our children Greek - that was the main problem. Church always was our dream.⁵⁴

After the arrival of the new Archimandrite, the economic drive of the community for the collection of funds for the erection of the church was intensified. Letters were sent to the communities of Pretoria and Cape Town asking for contributions to the fund, but the poor financial position of these communities made it impossible for them to help.⁵⁵ Alexiou went himself to Cape Town in an effort to raise funds there but, although he was welcomed by a large crowd at the railway station and his accommodation was paid for by the H C C T, his appeal for funds was turned down.⁵⁶

Within a period of two years £3 300 had been collected and on 5 January 1913, the foundation stone was laid.⁵⁷ The church, located in Wolmarans Street, was named after Saint Constantine and Saint Eleni. It was built in the traditional Greek Orthodox Byzantine style, unlike the one in Cape Town.⁵⁸ The Johannesburg Greeks continued to collect money for the church, even after its erection. Ikons had to be bought, and all the other holy vestments. Because of the difficulties faced by the community during the following years and after the First World War, the outside temple was only built in 1923. The newly formed "Greek Ladies' Benevolent Society" played an important part in collecting money to build the temple.⁵⁹

We have already referred to the good organisational

manner in which the Pretoria Greek community leaders conducted their functions. We have also shown the pessimism of the other communities with regard to the erection of the Orthodox church in town, and some aspects of the economic drive led by Golfinopoulos to collect money for the church fund. Let us now turn to a more detailed analysis of this process which started with the arrival in Pretoria of Archimandrite Athanasios Nikolopoulos, whose activities played an important part in the resurrection of religious and nationalist feelings in the country.

Nikolopoulos arrived in Pretoria on 10 January 1911, finding an economically sound community and an administrative committee ready to do everything to help him in his endeavours. He was born in Agridio, Calavryta, in Peloponessus, and studied at the University of Athens, graduating from its Theology School in 1909. He was a deacon and a teacher of the Greek language in Athens before the Greek Holy Synod sent him to Pretoria.⁶⁰

Golfinopoulos was a very popular figure in Pretoria and his influence with its prominent citizens was significant. Thus he persuaded Lord Gladstone, General Smuts, the Anglican Archbishop of Pretoria, General Hertzog, amongst others, to participate in a fundraising committee consisting of 17 members, including P Michael, N Cacouris, T Palmos, A Papageloutsos, George Tomaropoulos and John Michos.⁶¹

Nikolopoulos was, in the meantime, officiating at the Saint Mark Church, an Anglican chapel situated in Bloed Street.⁶² He travelled extensively to Cape Town, Johannesburg and the other cities of the Union in order to collect money. He went as far as the Congo and German East Africa, where he was kept prisoner for three years because of the war.⁶³ In the meantime, although Golfinopoulos resigned in February 1912 because of friction created between himself and several other prominent members

of the community, there was already a sum of £1 000 in the H C P's safe, to be spent on the building of the church. A generous boost to the fund was provided by contributions from prominent members of the international community and the Greek communities all over Africa. (See Table below for a detailed analysis of the donations.)

TABLE NO 2

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED TOWARDS PRETORIA
GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH FUND, 1912-1914 (64)

Town or country	Nationality of donors	Number of donors	Amount received
Durban	Greeks	22	£88. 0. 0
East London	Greeks	14	£47. 0. 0
East London	General	17	£34.12. 0
Port Elizabeth	Greeks	3	£8. 0. 0
Port Elizabeth	General (6 Jews)	15	£33.17. 6
Cape Town	Greeks	70	£103. 2. 0
Cape Town	General		£330.10. 0
Johannesburg	Greeks	125	£125. 0. 0
Johannesburg	General	75	£299. 9. 0
Barberton	Greeks	4	£20. 0. 0
Potchefstroom	General	22	£24.16. 6
Oudtschoorn	General (14 Jews)	35	£59. 2. 0
Kimberley	Greeks	22	£20.10. 0
Kimberley	General	18	£18.13. 0
Bloemfontein	English	7	£13.18. 0
Pretoria	Greeks	278	£1 426.15. 0
Pretoria	General (42 Jews)	93	£674.10. 0
Rhodesia	Greeks	134	£213.10. 0
Congo	Greeks	239	90.530Fr
Bethlehem	Greeks	8	£9.10. 0

The calculations based on the Pretoria community's

cash books seem impressive, but a more careful examination reveals some other characteristics not appearing in the table. It becomes evident that General Smuts was a regular contributor to the fund, as were such well known figures as Louis Botha, Rissik, A Fisher, then Minister of the Interior, and General J Hertzog.⁶⁵ It also becomes apparent that Greeks of other cities regularly contributed to the fund, and the general public was extremely generous. Rhodesian Greeks, too, were very generous donors, as well as Greeks from the Belgian Congo.

Following the resignation of Golfinopoulos, A Papageloutsos took over as chairman of the community in 1912 and immediately bought a large plot of land in Central Pretoria for the sum of £1 625. The building of the church began in November 1913 and on 31 May 1914 the Consul General of Greece in Johannesburg, A Vorres, officially opened the church.⁶⁶ It was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Holy Mother. The community also renovated the priest's house next to the church, spending approximately £1 050 on this. The original estimate for the church was £2 000 but the overall figure, including renovations, interest, etc, exceeded £7 000.⁶⁷

The difficult circumstances faced by the Greek community during the First World War had an immediate effect on the economic position of the Pretoria Greeks. Following the resignation of Papageloutsos, and with a sum of £2 968 owing to one creditor, the new leaders of the community were unable to face the financial difficulties confronting them. The only man capable of getting the community back on its feet was Golfinopoulos who was called upon to continue the plan he had initiated. Seeing that it would be impossible to complete the work without expert aid, he called Nicolaides, the publisher of New Hellas, from Johannesburg to assist him in his endeavours.

In April 1915 the two men started planning new

activities to help bring the community back to its previous healthy financial position.⁶⁸ Although new donations were reaching the Pretoria community,⁶⁹ the committee, nevertheless, found it necessary to write to the communities in Johannesburg⁷⁰ and Cape Town asking them to donate or lend money to the struggling fund, stressing that if help was not received the church would have to be put up for auction.⁷¹ This latter danger was made very clear in a circular to the Pretoria Greek community from its leaders,⁷² while letters were addressed to the Greek government asking for financial assistance.⁷³ Julius Jeppe, the Greek Consul General in Johannesburg, played a very important part in mobilising local public opinion and the Greek community of other centres.⁷⁴ In one of these letters, addressed to the Greek communities in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, it was urged that donations should reach Pretoria by May 1916, otherwise the loss of the church would be inevitable.⁷⁵

The return of Archimandrite Nikolopoulos from East Africa in 1917 was another boost to the effort of the community. The priest had already indicated his determination to help the fundraising from Port Elizabeth.⁷⁶ The final drive by the community to raise funds was the organisation of a "Community Raffle", which faced stern opposition from certain sections of the Greek population.⁷⁷ This opposition posed a serious threat to the fund-raising efforts, but the raffle was supported by the most affluent section of the Greek population and the community was, in due course, able to repay all the loans and thus save the church.⁷⁸

The Greek Orthodox Church played a pioneer and important role in preserving the Greek language, nationalism, and religious feelings among the Greek immigrants in South Africa. The determination of the various community leaders and the rank-and-file members together with the vigour of the first priests held together the Greek

population. Religion and ethnic allegiance during that period became one and the same thing and the prevailing difficult material conditions were obviously a determining factor. Descriptions of orthodox religious celebrations rarely appeared in the daily press, thus we have to rely on only two sources for details of how the high festivities were celebrated; one is based on an oral source, and thus is general, and the other on a newspaper report, and thus is specific.

According to the oral source,

... during Easter and Christmas there was no Greek to be found on the streets or in the shops; everyone had to be in church. You see, most of us could not go to church every Sunday, so it was considered a very serious sin not to attend the high festivities. There were several people who were regular church-goers, basically the retired, not many, but all the others could not attend church regularly. This is why the high festivities were something really special for the community. There were always bands playing outside the church and after the Holy Liturgy all of us went for picnics. It was strictly a family affair on these occasions, no-one was going to celebrate alone. All the families came together and enjoyed themselves. We had listened to the service and, after that, we all united and had a good time. This is why everyone thought that the church was a uniting factor and we should build it as soon as possible.⁷⁹

The Cape Town Greeks as usual celebrated Christmas, in 1903, 13 days later than the rest of the Christian population of the city. All fruitshops and greengroceries owned by them were closed, a fact that was "very noticeable". They had their special ceremonies and celebrations at Saint Phillip's Church which stood "above the most squalid and dingy region of the city, almost on the summit of the eminence of which Chapel Street is the slope citywards". There was a large congregation at the morning celebration, and evensong was recited at 5.30. After the liturgy most people went for picnics around the city and celebrated in District Six, one of their main residential

areas.⁸⁰

The problem of education was one of the most important and intriguing facing the Greek community in South Africa. Although everywhere in Africa Greek schools were established within a relatively short time of the immigrants' arrival (in Alexandria and Egypt generally there were Greek schools as early as 1843, and in Khartoum as early as 1907),⁸¹ Greek education in South Africa during the period we are examining was non-existent. The major reason given by contemporaries was the "wish to return to the Homeland", which meant a return in a short period of time. Thus the Greek education of the children was not one of the priorities of parents.⁸²

In Johannesburg and Pretoria there were some attempts between 1908 and 1910. Nikolopoulos, the Pretoria Archimandrite, and Sarikas attempted to start a proper Greek school in different houses in town but this was very soon abandoned.⁸³ In Cape Town, Archimandrites Mavrogordato and Katsis were obliged constitutionally to teach the young children the Greek language and religion, but the effort was not very successful due to the lack of systematic teaching and the small attendances.⁸⁴ The "school problem", as it was commonly known amongst the pioneer immigrants, was the centre of controversy for many years because, even during 1912-1914, there was a strong wish for the creation of a school that could accommodate the Greek youth of all southern Africa, including Rhodesia, Nyasaland, etc.⁸⁵ In 1914, two pioneer immigrants donated £1 500 for the creation of such a school but the wave of political events that followed made discussions of educational matters premature and irrelevant.

NOTES

on Chapter 4

Section (A)

- 1 R Breton, "Institutional Completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 70, 1964, pp 193-205.
- 2 Ibid, page 197.
- 3 See F Vallee, "Regionalism and ethnicity: The French-Canadian case." Pp 19-25 in B Y Card (ed), *Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism*. University of Alberta, 1969; R Joy, *Languages in Conflict*. McClelland and Stewart, 1972; H Radecki, "Ethnic voluntary organisational dynamics in Canada: A report." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 17, 1976, pp 275-284.
- 4 Breton, *ibid*, page 194.
- 5 Ibid, pp 194-195.
- 6 F Vallee and N Shulman, "The viability of French groupings outside Quebec." In M Wade (ed), *Regionalism in the Community*. University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- 7 G Church and L Driedger, "Residential segregation and institutional completeness: A comparison of ethnic minorities." *Canadian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 11 (1), 1974, pp 30-52.
- 8 L Comeau and L Driedger, "Ethnic opening and closing in an open system: A Canadian example." *Social Forces* 57 (2), 1978, pp 600-620.
- 9 J T Borhek, "Ethnic group cohesion." *American Journal of Sociology* 76, 1970, pp 33-46.
- 10 D Martindale, *American Social Structure: Historical Antecedents and Contemporary Analyses*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970.

Section (B)

- 1 G Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness. Merlin Press, 1971, especially pp 50-53.
- 2 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos.
- 3 Handwritten letter, unsigned, possibly submitted by a member of the Greek community for consideration or discussion by the leaders of the Pretoria Hellenism. Pretoria Greek Community Archives (hereafter HCPA), Book A, 1906.
- 4 See S G Canoutas, Greek-American Guide and Business Directory (partly in Greek and partly in English). New York, 1911, especially Introduction.
- 5 Ibid, page 18.
- 6 See Encyclopaedia "PYRSOS" (in Greek), Vol 13. Athens, 1930, page 444.
- 7 His scientific writings include seven books and dozens of monographs in Greek, German and French. See, op cit, page 445.
- 8 For the composition of the governing body, see "Hellenismos", Nos 95, 96 and 97. Athens, October and November, 1906, and January, 1906.
- 9 See the articles of N Kazazis, "1906" and "On our national situation" in "Hellenismos", Vol 8, No 97, January, 1906, pp 3-4 and 5-15 (in Greek).
- 10 See also letters of the association to the Pretoria branch, dated 3 February 1910 and 24 May 1912, where this support is analysed in national terms. HCPA, correspondence 1910-1912.
- 11 See, for example, his monograph "Natural science and political science", published in Athens, 1881 (in Greek).
- 12 See his article "Notes from Germany", first published in "Parthenon", 1885, and later appearing as a monograph (in 1906). See also his articles "Historical materialism", in Economic Review, 15 May 1876, and "Socialism in Germany", in "Parnassos", 1 July 1878, where he shows his understanding of both The Communist Manifesto and Capital. (All in Greek.)
- 13 See, for example, letter addressed by the association to the Pretoria branch where the Turks are described as "our race enemies for centuries who should be eliminated by power". Letter to be found at the HCPA, dated 24 May 1912, Correspondence Book 1910-1912.
- 14 The association was established in 1894, as indicated earlier, and not in 1890 as the pioneer Greek

- historian, Costas Moschoff, points out in his book *Prolegomena in the History of the (Greek) Labour Movement*. Salonica, 1979, page 287, footnote 6. See "Pyrros", op cit, page 444.
- 15 On the considerable number of nationalist organisations that existed in order to mobilise the Greek people towards "the national rights of the Macedonian compatriots", and the mass base of "Hellenismos", see Moschoff, *ibid.* On the international contacts of the association, see the extracts of the Committee report on the Conferences that Kazazis participated in, and his close attachment to Clemenseu and other prominent members of the French, German and Swiss diplomacy, in "Hellenismos", op cit, pp 69-71.
 - 16 See alphabetical directory of the members in HCPA, *Minute Book*, No 2, and also Pan-Hellenic Benevolent Society membership list, op cit.
 - 17 See Nicolaides, op cit, Second Part, page 85.
 - 18 The main information for Golfinopoulos's biography was drawn from Nicolaides, op cit, pp 83-86.
 - 19 See letter written by Spiliotopoulos to the Paris branch of "Hellenismos", dated 4 July 1913, HCPA Correspondence Book, 1912-1913.
 - 20 See Canoutas, op cit, Second Part, pp 324-415.
 - 21 *Ibid*, pp 414-415.
 - 22 See C Moskos, Jnr, *Greek Americans*, op cit, pp 39-40; also T Burgess, *Greeks in America*. Boston: Sherman French and Co, 1913, pp 63-68.
 - 23 For the constitution of "Hellenismos", see Correspondence 1908-1909 in HCPA, handwritten constitution, or draft for constitution, and compare it with that of The Pan-Hellenic Union of the United States, in Canoutas, op cit, pp 413-414.
 - 24 See letter from Paris branch to Golfinopoulos thanking him for the donations of the Greeks of Pretoria to the association, dated 18 June 1913, HCPA Correspondence Book 1912-1913.
 - 25 *Ibid*.
 - 26 See Pan-Hellenic Benevolent Society 1906 list of members in HCPA, *Minute Book* 1906. This is a very useful source of information. It gives the names of the members of the organisation (virtually all Pretoria Greeks, their age, place of birth and years of residence in South Africa).
 - 27 See letter referred to, footnote No 23, op cit.
 - 28 See typewritten invitation of the "Hellenismos" association to the Pretoria branch, dated 25 April 1906, in HCPA, *Minute Book*, 1905-1906.
 - 29 Letters from the Greek Minister of Economic Affairs

- to Golfinopoulos, dated 20 May 1911 and 20 April 1912. Correspondence Books, 1911-1912.
- 30 See letter from R Gali to Golfinopoulos, dated 6 February 1909. Correspondence Book, 1909, op cit.
- 31 See Nicolaides, op cit, pp 550-551. Evidence of the continuation of the branch can be found in its correspondence with the Paris and Athens branches, in HCPA Minute Books and Correspondence Books, 1906-1914.
- 32 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos, himself a devoted member of the Johannesburg branch which had many joint meetings with the Pretoria branch.
- 33 See letter from Spiliotopoulos to "Hellenismos" Central Branch, dated 23 January 1914. HCPA Correspondence Book, 1914-1915.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 This short biography is based on Nicolaides, op cit, Second Part, pp 98-99, and Braby's Transvaal and Rhodesia Directory 1917-1918, where Michalopoulos has set three advertisement features for his hotel and restaurants.
- 38 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 See Nicolaides, op cit, pp 99-100.
- 41 See letter from Golfinopoulos to the Greek Minister of Economic Affairs, offering £25 for the Greek Navy, dated 5 June 1908, HCPA Correspondence Book 1908-1909. See also the joint ventures of "Hellenismos" and the Greek Community of Pretoria in collecting money for the Greek Navy, HCPA Correspondence Books 1908-1914.
- 42 See letters from Ch Christovasilis, Panayiotis Drasas, and John Palamaris, in "Athena" newspaper, Chicago, USA, dated May 1906 (in Greek), as appeared in "Hellenismos", Vol 8, No 100, May 1906.
- 43 See New Hellas, 20 January 1917.
- 44 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. See also Nicolaides, op cit, pp 63-64 and 532-533.
- 45 See R J Theodoratus, "The influence of the homeland on the social organisation of a Greek community in America", unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Washington, 1961, pp 17-19.
- 46 See Sir A E Zimmern, Nationality and Government with other War-time Essays. London, page 122.
- 47 For Greeks from Southern Rhodesia who fought in the Balkan wars, see New Hellas continuous editorials of May, June and July. The release of those names was

basically planned so as to mobilise Greek opinion in South Africa and make Greek immigrants participate in the First World War.

- 48 Interview with Mr A Athanasopoulos.
- 49 See "Ithakasian Society" newsletter, op cit.
- 50 His biography is based on Nicolaides, op cit, page 70.
- 51 Op cit, pp 80-81.
- 52 See New Hellas, 14 January 1932, obituary.
- 53 Op cit, 27 February 1930, obituary.
- 54 Hew Hellas, 18 August 1917, obituary.
- 55 Op cit, 27 March 1915.
- 56 See "Afrikanis", 20-27 October 1981, obituary of Panayiotis Maroudas.
- 57 New Hellas, 14 January 1932, obituary.
- 58 For the same pattern of behaviour of Greeks in Southern Rhodesia during the same period, see Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement ...", op cit, page 98.
- 59 See items in Rand Daily Mail, 1, 2 and 4 November 1912, and editorials 1 November and 4 December 1912. Also Cape Times, 2 and 4 November 1912.

NOTESSection (C)

- 1 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 502.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis, a 1924 Greek pioneer, 24 July 1977.
- 4 See Cash Book (hereinafter C B) No 1, 1901, H C C T Archives (hereinafter H C C T A), Expenditure Column.
- 5 See discussion which took place at the Annual General Meeting for the inauguration of the H C C T, as reported in C B No 2, 1902, H C C T A, undated.
- 6 See letter dated 1 January 1902, from the H C C T to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joakim the Third, signed by the first elected committee, H C C T A Correspondence Book.
- 7 The quotation from the Constitution can be found in Nicolaides, op cit, page 503. There is no copy of the Constitution in the Archives of the H C C T.
- 8 See Evangelides, History of the Greeks in Sudan, op cit, page 11, where extracts of the Constitution can be found.
- 9 It is well-known that the Greek Diaspora in Egypt was one of the most populous and active in Africa and in the world. Details about the communities, churches and school can be found in Pachticos, page 502.
- 10 On the discriminatory measures and behaviour against Greeks in the United States, see Dinnerstein, Nichols and Reimers, Natives and Strangers: Ethnic Groups and the Building of America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979, op cit.
- 11 See M Grants, The Passing of the Great Race. 1916; H P Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the U S A. New-haven, 1911; John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. New Brunswick, 1955.
- 12 See also T Giannakoulis, "Introduction to the history of Greek-Americans" (in Greek). Argonautes (1955), pp 36-46.
- 13 See letter dated 1 January 1902 from the committee to the Patriarch of Constantinople, H C C T A Correspondence Book.
- 14 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 502.
- 15 C B, 1902-1905, H C C T A.
- 16 Membership figures were calculated from the name lists appearing in C Bs of 1903-1905 and 1906-1910, in H C C T A.

- 17 For some reasons for the disagreements, see Nicolaides, op cit, page 503.
- 18 See continuous donations of the abovementioned members in C Bs 1903-1904 and 1905, H C C T A.
- 19 See 1902 C B, in H C C T A.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 C B of 1905.
- 22 C B of 1902.
- 23 C B of 1903.
- 24 C B of 1905.
- 25 C B of 1903.
- 26 C B of 1904.
- 27 C B of 1905.
- 28 C Bs of 1902-1905.
- 29 Based on calculations of money donated during the whole period to be found in C Bs 1901-1906. See also Nicolaides, op cit, page 502.
- 30 See letter dated 4 July 1906 from N Adelines to the Greek Consul General, Mr J Jeppe, Correspondence Book, H C C T A.
- 31 See letter dated 6 April 1905 from N Adelines to J Jeppe, Correspondence Book H C C T A.
- 32 See South African Who's Who, 1923-1924, Cape Times, page 115.
- 33 See Juta's Directory of Cape Town 1901 and 1905.
- 34 For Greek immigration to America during the period 1821-1920, see National Statistics Service of Greece. It is indicated that during the years 1891 and 1900, 16 979 Greeks emigrated, and during 1901-1905 the number was 49 969. On Greek-American press in the United States, see Canoutas, op cit, pp 332-335; B Malafouris, Greeks in America 1528-1948 (in Greek), New York, pp 227-241; M N Cutsumbis, A Bibliographical Guide to Materials on Greeks in the United States of America, New York, 1970.
- 35 See Juta's Cape Town Professional Directory, 1906. The directories were published one year after the year appearing on their cover as the year of publication, so we can assume that "Apocalypsis" was alive in 1906.
- 36 See South African News, 13 April 1903. Also E A Mantzaris, "How Greeks celebrated 25 March in Cape Town 80 years ago", in H C C T Newsletter No 26 (June-July) 1981, pp 3-5.
- 37 See items of expenditure for celebrations of Heroes' Day, 25 March (National Day celebration), religious

- celebrations, in C Bs 1901-1908.
- 38 See South African News, op cit; also expenditure columns of H C C T in C Bs 1901, 1902, and 1903, where it is stated that the band was paid fully in cash (£14) in order to provide its services during the National Day celebrations.
- 39 See C Moschoff, op cit, page 237.
- 40 See South African News, op cit, where Costalas gives a eulogistic speech praising the Imperial Power and its "aid" to the Motherland.
- 41 All circulars of the H C C T were published in "Apocalypse" for a fee of £2. The community also supported other ventures of the newspaper. See C Bs 1902-1905.
- 42 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis, Cape Town, 8 August 1977.
- 43 See South African News, op cit.
- 44 See C Bs from 1901 to 1903, where his name features prominently both as a collector of funds and as a donor.
- 45 Op cit.
- 46 This part of the biography is based on interviews with Mr Dimitrakakis in Cape Town on 8 and 9 August 1977.
- 47 Nicolaidis, op cit, Second Part, page 75.
- 48 Op cit, page 76.
- 49 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos on 8 July 1979. Nicolaidis, op cit, points out that only two associations amalgamated, namely "Hellenismos" and the "Mutual Help Association". Athanasopoulos, however, who was a leading figure in "Hellenismos" and the "National Mutual Help Association", drew the distinction between the two mutual help associations.
- 50 Interviews with Mr Athanasopoulos on 8 and 9 July 1979.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Nicolaidis, op cit, page 565.
- 53 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, op cit.
- 54 Ibid. The interviewee was one of the few who actually became a British citizen in 1911.
- 55 Nicolaidis, op cit, page 567.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, 10 July 1979.
- 58 New Hellas (hereinafter N H), 10 November 1926, see obituary of Amiradakis.
- 59 Ananiades's biography was extracted from N H, obituary

- 30 June 1921, and Nicolaides, op cit, pp 104-105.
- 60 See list of members of Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society, in Minutes of Society to be found in H C P A (1906).
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 See letter of 19 October 1906 to the Administrative Committee of the Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society, signed by Pan Pastalis, Sp Matelas, G Livanis, E Livanis, Dascalopoulos, Sakakos, Tsagalis, Angelopoulos, N Matsopoulos, J Sarris, J Kokkinakis, V Katsoulis, C Vlachos, N Andronicos, Gabriel Nader. H C P A, Correspondence Book, 1906-1907. These members did not disclose the reasons for their resignation; they merely point out that the *raison-d'etre* is "well known" to the committee.
- 63 See "The chronicle of the Greek community of Pretoria", in H C P, Sixty Years of Progress (in Greek). Pretoria, 1968, no author mentioned.
- 64 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 579.
- 65 Op cit, pp 576 and 577.
- 66 See "The chronicle of the Greek community ... ", op cit.
- 67 See list of members of Pan-hellenic Benevolent Society, op cit.
- 68 See Minutes of executive committee of H C P, in H C P A, 1909.
- 69 Nicolaides, op cit, page 550.
- 70 Op cit, page 577.
- 71 Calculation based on names appearing in Minutes of H C P, 1908-1909, in H C P A.
- 72 See letters from the chairmen of the Johannesburg and the Cape Town Greek communities, dated 4 July 1910 and 6 April 1911, respectively, expressing serious scepticism concerning the viability of the erection of the church. In Correspondence Files 1910 and 1911, H C P A.
- 73 See contiguous donations by Golfinopoulos to the community "from sale of sugar", as appeared in H C P Minutes 1909, 1910 and 1911. Also Nicolaides, op cit, page 551.
- 74 See Minutes of H C P, 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912, in H C P A; also Nicolaides, op cit, pp 84-85 and 551-552.
- 75 Nicolaides, op cit, page 551.
- 76 See Minutes of 1912, op cit. Also Nicolaides, page 553.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 See letter, dated 3 December 1910, from the Central

Branch of "Hellenismos" to Golfinopoulos who was, at that time, chairman of both "Hellenismos" and the H C P. H C P A Correspondence File, 1910-1911.

- 79 See Minutes of 1909-1910 in H C P A.
- 80 Personal interview in Pretoria with Anonymous. The interviewee is no longer with us and, respecting his wish, his name is not being published.
- 81 See Minutes, May 1912, in H C P A.
- 82 Op cit, Minutes 1909-1910.
- 83 Ibid.

Section (D)

- 1 The calculations are based on the Cape Colony Census of 1904, "Religions of the people", pp 135-169.
- 2 Nicolaidis, op cit, page 438.
- 3 See Cosmin, Ethnic and Commercial Relations ..., op cit.
- 4 See Juliet Konig, Seven Builders of Johannesburg. Pretoria: J L van Schaik, 1950, pp 69-70. I am indebted to D D Leos who made the book available to me.
- 5 See, for example, amongst others, the pioneer articles of H J Abramson, "Ethnic diversity within Catholicism: A comparative analysis of contemporary and historical religion", in Journal of Social History 4, 1970-1971, pp 359-388; M E Marty, "Ethnicity: The skeleton of religion in America", in Church History 41, 1973, pp 11-29; J P Dolan, "Immigrants in the city: New York's Irish and German Catholics", in Church History 41, 1972, pp 354-368; and books by C H Anderson, White Protestant Americans: From National Origins to Religious Group. New Jersey, 1970; W Herzberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology. Garden City: 1955; and, of course, Milton Gordon's classic, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- 6 See, amongst others, M Sklare, Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement. Illinois: 1955; C J Barry, The Catholic Church and German Americans. Indiana: 1953; and N Glazer, American Judaism. Chicago: 1957.
- 7 Notably histories related to the Jewish religion and people in this country; and T Dunbar Moodie's pioneering, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- 8 Let us not forget that it was Patriarch Germanos of Patras who, in 1821, raised the banner of the revolution sanctioning the struggle for national liberation.
- 9 C Moschoff, op cit, pp 91-92.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 "Blessed is the nation that professes one and the same faith", he declared. Quotation to be found in G G Arnakis, "The role of religion in the development of Balkan nationalism", in G G Arnakis and B Jelavich (eds), The Balkans in Transition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, page 115.

- 12 See Kamitsis, op cit, pp 59, 62; Evangelides, op cit, pp 116-117, 161, 163, respectively.
- 13 For details on Greek churches in Egypt, see Pachticos, op cit, and Prokopiou, op cit.
- 14 See S H R Urson, Orthodox Church History. New York: 1954, pp 84-85.
- 15 On the developments concerning Greek Orthodox Churches in the U S A, see Canoutas, op cit, Second Part.
- 16 See letter of 1 January 1902, signed by all members of the executive committee of the H C C T, to Joakim the Third, Patriarch of Constantinople, now kept at the H C C T A, Correspondence Book A.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 See different letter to Joakim the Third, dated 1 January 1902, op cit.
- 19 Letter dated 6 May 1902 from Patriarch Joakim the Third to the Greek community, signed by the Bishop of Tripolis (representative), H C C T A, op cit.
- 20 Letter dated 7 January 1902 from H C C T to Archbishop of Athens, op cit.
- 21 See H C C T A Cash Book, January 1903.
- 22 See H C C T A's C B, June 1902.
- 23 See H C C T A's C B, February 1903.
- 24 Letter of 2 January 1902 from H C C T to the Greek community of Manchester, in H C C T A Correspondence Book A.
- 25 Letter of 15 January 1902 from H C C T to the Greek community of Liverpool, op cit.
- 26 Letter of 2 January 1902 from H C C T to the Greek community of Chicago, op cit.
- 27 Nicolaides, op cit, page 503.
- 28 Ibid. See also H C C T A's C B, September 1903.
- 29 Nicolaides, op cit, page 503.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 See C B 1907, H C C T A.
- 32 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 503, footnote 1.
- 33 On the controversies and problems concerning the dual jurisdiction, see mainly P T Kourides, The Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Church in America and its Present Problems. New York: 1959; and C Carvanos, Greek Orthodoxy in America (in Greek). Athens, 1958.
- 34 See C B, June 1907, H C C T A.
- 35 See C B, September 1907, H C C T A.
- 36 See Minute Book (M B) of H C C T A, 2 and 28 January 1912.

- 37 Op cit, M B, 11 February 1912.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 M B, 20 March 1913, op cit.
- 40 M B, 24 March 1912, op cit.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 M B, 6 June 1912.
- 43 Ibid. The new Archimandrite's reputation had preceded him and the tumultuous welcome was the main subject of discussions for many years. Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 44 Nicolaides, op cit, Second Part, page 72.
- 45 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 46 Special meeting of the executive committee of the H C C T. M B, 27 May 1913.
- 47 M B, 11 September 1913. Donations to Somerset Hospital and orphanages in Cape Town.
- 48 Nicolaides, op cit, Second Part, pp 73-74.
- 49 Nicolaides, op cit, page 504.
- 50 See A Orphanos, "The saint of Kilimanjaro". Krikos No 262, October 1972, pp 19-21.
- 51 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos; Orphanos, ibid.
- 52 Orphanos, ibid.
- 53 Nicolaides, ibid, page 565.
- 54 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. For an illuminating treatment of the relationship between ethnic church and assimilation, see S M Tomas, "Assimilation and religion: The role of the Italian ethnic church in the New York metropolitan area 1880-1930", unpublished Ph.D thesis, Fordham University, 1972.
- 55 H C C T A's M B 1912-1913, meeting of the executive committee of 21 January 1912.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Nicolaides, op cit, page 565.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. See also Nicolaides, op cit, page 566.
- 60 Interview with Mr J Michos of Johannesburg who was baptised by Nikolopoulos and knew him intimately for many years. Johannesburg, 8 July 1979.
- 61 H C P, "Sixty years of progress", op cit.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Interview with Michos, op cit. Nicolaides, op cit, page 553.

- 64 Based on calculation of list of contributors to be found in C B 1912-1914, H C P A.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Nicolaides, op cit, page 553.
- 67 Nicolaides, op cit, page 554.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 See letter of 17 June 1914 from Golfinopoulos to the chairman, M Vousvounis, appealing for an Annual General Meeting to discuss the use of the money/donations that were reaching the community. Correspondence File 1914, H C P A.
- 70 Letter of 26 October 1915 from Golfinopoulos to the Johannesburg community. Correspondence File 1915, H C P A.
- 71 Letter dated 21 July 1916 to S Messaris (Cape Town) requesting the loan of £600 to the Pretoria community. Correspondence File 1916, H C P A.
- 72 Circular dated 18 April 1915, H C P A.
- 73 See letters from Nicolaides to Prime Ministers Gounaris (19 May 1915) and Venizelos (no date). Correspondence File 1916, H C P A.
- 74 See his letters addressed to the communities of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, dated 24 March 1916 and undated, op cit.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 See his letter to Golfinopoulos of 12 June 1917, op cit.
- 77 Nicolaides, op cit, page 555.
- 78 The efforts for fundraising were intensified during 1918 and 1919 when the committee decided to contact directly the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and ask him to mobilise support for the cause within the ranks of the church as a whole. See letter dated 8 February 1919 from Golfinopoulos to the Patriarch, op cit.
- 79 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, op cit.
- 80 This is a summary of a colourful description of the Christmas celebrations which appeared in the South African News of 8 January 1903.
- 81 See Pachticos, op cit, and Evangelides, op cit, respectively.
- 82 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. The same explanation was advanced by Nicolaides, op cit, page 445.
- 83 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, op cit.
- 84 M B 1912 of the H C C T. Meeting of the administrative committee at N Adeline's house on 26 June 1912.
- 85 Nicolaides, op cit, page 447.

PART FOUR

CHAPTER 5

GREEK NATIONALISM AT THE CROSSROADS: 1914-1918

(A) A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON GREECE AND GREEK NATIONALISM DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

It has already been shown that Greek nationalism played a very important part in preserving Greek identity and cultural homogeneity during the pioneer period and until 1913. The unity established around the Greek religious institutions, organic communities and nationalist organisations which seemed to be unbreakable during that period, was severely challenged by two major factors:

- (a) The political differences which had arisen amongst Greeks regarding the Motherland's attitude towards its participation in the First World War; and
- (b) The attitude of the South African population towards Greeks and Greek nationalism during that time.

Lack of space does not allow us to analyse in detail the political climate of Greece following the first world war. A brief introduction to the socio-political conditions of Greece at that time would, however, be helpful in order to put the whole problem into perspective:

Following the liberation of Ioannina and Crete, before and after the second Balkan war in 1913, and Chios and Lesbos Islands in 1914, and while the First World War was already in its initial stages, the Greek Prime Minister, Venizélos, a liberal politician, suggested to the Entente forces that Greece could join them in the war operations near Gallipoli.¹ King Constantine rejected the suggestion and Venizelos resigned, but won the next election in August

1915.

Venizelos's idea behind his suggestion to join the Allied forces was based on the practical assumption that after victory Entente would reward Greece with new annexations. This Venizelian vision of the Grand Ideal was not shared by King Constantine, whose wife was a sister of the Kaizer, and whose main military advisers were Germanophiles.² Both Venizelos and Constantine's views had strong support inside Greece.³ After Venizelos's resignation following his electoral victory in 1915, the Allied forces occupied Salonica, and the following year a handful of nationalist Army officers loyal to Venizelos created the Committee of National Defence based in Salonica. Venizelos joined the committee in 1916 and declared his opposition to the King's attitude towards the war. This meant that Greece was divided politically and ideologically and that there were two "governments", one based in Athens and the other in Salonica, although Venizelos was adamant that his policy was not anti-royalist.⁴

In 1916 the Entente forces blockaded Piræus and officially recognised Venizelos's government as the only legitimate government of Greece. Venizelos made clear to the Allied forces that a civil war within Greece would be avoided only if Constantine abdicated, which he did in June 1916. Prince Alexander became King, and Venizelos immediately became Prime Minister.⁵ Greece then joined the Allied cause and for the next three years had a strong military government. Venizelos again became the dominant force in Greek politics, but in the meantime serious divisions of a political and ideological nature had been created both in Greece and in the Diaspora. These divisions played a very significant role amongst the Greeks in South Africa, as indeed everywhere in the world.

Passion rather than reason prevailed amongst Greeks and it seemed inevitable that the national unity gained

during the victorious Balkan wars was ephemeral. In America, violence erupted in coffee-houses, long-standing friendships were destroyed, communities were disrupted, and mass demonstrations took place in every major town.⁶ The Greek national press at once took sides and the pro-German newspaper "Atlantis" was banned in Greece after Venizelos came to power in 1917.⁷

What then were the social parameters of Greek nationalist ideology and why did the concept of the Grand Ideal become not only a political and ideological myth but a political and ideological obsession that was viewed in different ways by different sections of the Greek population in the Motherland and in the Diaspora? The answers to these questions are complex and diverse, and still a matter for discussion and controversy. I will try a sketchy periodisation of Greek nationalism, which will put the following arguments into a proper theoretical perspective. Greek nationalism as a politico-ideological phenomenon cannot be understood properly if not explained diachronically. Theorists who have tried to explain it as an innate, stable, primordial and eternal phenomenon have failed miserably to realise that Greek nationalism is the effect of the historical process of Greek history. It is shaped by the historical conditions prevailing in the social formation, but at the same time plays an important part as a social factor within that formation.⁸

Greek nationalism has passed through several stages of development. Although it was expressed as a progressive national liberation ideology during the period before the 1821 uprising, it was transformed into a politico-religious conservative ideology after the revolution. The third stage of its development started immediately after the disastrous 1897 defeat. During that period, shaped decisively by a pessimism enforced by political and economic factors such as the rise of Balkan nationalism and economic stagnation in the Motherland, Greek nationalism

faced a crisis resulting from the inefficiency of the Greek state to pass successfully through a transitional period of pre-capitalist to capitalist social relations of production.

The Western ideology of the intelligentsia of the Diaspora contrasted with the traditional values and norms of the population, who tried to transform the values of the Greek ancient civilisation into a blend of ideological parameters which had their roots both in the glorious past and the social realities of that period. The ideological/political myth of the Grand Ideal played a very important role in shaping this ideology. This notion/ideology was never transformed into concrete political practices; it rather served as a substitute for the burning realities of the time. The intelligentsia realised this deadlock and tried desperately to call for a return to the roots of the ancient Greek civilisation. The Greek intellectuals soon realised that the only way the Greek people would solve their political/ideological problems was by maintaining the Greek particularity. Intellectuals such as Ion Dragoumis tried to see and analyse the dialectical relationships between individuals, people and humanity, paying attention to the difference between the cosmopolitan and Greek spirits. The latter was considered culturally and politically/ideologically superior to the former.⁹

Smith, in his book *Theories of Nationalism*, distinguished between "ethnocentric" and "polycentric" nationalism. For ethnocentric nationalists, both "power" and "value" are inherent in their group. Their ethnic group is "the vessel of wisdom, beauty, holiness, culture", and this means that the real strength of the group is God-given as a result of the special relationship of the group with the divine.¹⁰ Polycentric nationalism implies that there are many centres of real power, in other words other groups do have valuable and genuinely noble ideas and institutions which the group could do well to borrow or adopt.¹¹

Using this distinction as a pivotal guide, it will be shown in this part of the thesis that an "ethnocentric nationalism", based on pre-existing values and cultural beliefs and tied to archaic stereotypes (the Hellenic ancient glory and civilisation), predominated amongst the Greeks in South Africa during the period under examination. The main aim will be to show that this nationalism failed to adapt itself to the prevailing existing social realities of that time.

(B) THE FIRST PERIOD: SOME PREMONITIONS

The political developments in Greece and the deadlock created by the division between King Constantine and Venizelos and their attitudes towards the country's entry into the war had enormous consequences for the Greek community in South Africa. The hidden politico/ideological differences existing within the community came to the fore, and that alone was significant enough for them to forget the "fear of assimilation", "preservation of the national ideals and culture" and "Greek education". The existing differences were, until 1914, apparent but were kept hidden by a "nationalist unity" that was the result of the prevailing material conditions. This unity was reinforced by the fear of absorption and assimilation and was perpetuated mainly through the existing communities, nationalist associations and the religious homogeneity of the Greek pioneers. As we shall see later, it was the material circumstances that reunited Greeks.

According to the 1916 census there were 2 292 members of the Greek Orthodox Church (1 592 males and 700 females),¹ and according to Nicolaides the vast majority were Greeks.² An interesting factor appearing in the same census is the age classification of the Greeks. The table in Appendix 9 shows that, although the majority of males were in the 20-50 years bracket (1 074 out of 1 664, or 64,5 per cent), there were also a considerable number of males between the ages of 1 and 15 in the country (463 out of 1 664, or 27,8 per cent). As far as the Greek female population is concerned, it can be seen that there were 403 out of 740 (or 54,4 per cent) in the 1-19 years bracket, and 312 out of 740 (or 42,1 per cent) in the 20-50 years bracket. Other interesting demographic comparisons can be made by using this table.

We have mentioned the existing unity along nationalist lines that prevailed amongst the Greeks in South Africa.

The existing divisions along politico/ideological lines, however, were correctly spelled out by Nicolaides, even before 1914. He wrote:

There are good social relations amongst them. These relations are disturbed, however, by the existing political arguments and quarrels.³

The year 1914 passed without incident. The internal policies of Greece were, however, met with considerable scepticism from the local (South African) public, which was daily bombarded with pro-Entente propaganda from the English-speaking press. It was the Rand Daily Mail that first pointed out the seriousness of the Greek political situation. A cartoon showing a Greek in a foustanelle, the Greek national dress, taking off his coat, thus becoming ready for action, while Germany and her allies looked on with fear, was published.⁴ A leading article in the same newspaper that day forecast that, after Zaimis's defeat in the elections and the victory of Venizelos, Greece would join the Allied forces.⁵ In the meantime, and while New Hellas was taking an open pro-Royalist stand,⁶ the Greek-in-the-street was becoming aware that the attitude of the general public towards him had started to change radically following the non-entry of Greece into the war against Germany. The anti-German riots in all centres of the country were a premonition and most Greeks realised this, as we will later see.

The attitude of the English-speaking South African public who supported the efforts of the Entente forces, became openly hostile to "enemy aliens", especially during May and June 1915 following the sinking of the Lusitania carrying 1 906 persons of whom 1 198 were drowned, 147 being American citizens.⁷ The overseas press and public reacted unanimously against German aggression and the same occurred in South Africa,⁸ but the pro-British element in the main cities of the Union did not stop at verbal reaction. After the creation of two openly anti-German

groups - "The Consumers' Alliance" and "The Petitioners' Committee" - set up to lead an agitation against Germans living in the country,⁹ open violence erupted on Ascension Day, 13 May 1915. All over the Union, especially in Cape Town and Johannesburg, properties belonging to German immigrants were set alight, their shops were looted, and individuals assaulted.¹⁰

The English press started questioning the government regarding the legal status of "enemy aliens" residing in the country,¹¹ while the public initiated a letter bombardment, accusing the government of allowing Germans to reside in the Union.¹² German subjects replied with letters claiming that they were loyal citizens and had nothing to do with the imperialist plans of the Kaizer.¹³ The letter war did not stop returning soldiers and a large crowd of Cape Town citizens from re-starting the hostile activities against German subjects and shops by singing "It's a long way to Tipperary".¹⁴ The participation of the soldiers, who formed the most violent section of the mob, was due to the fact that the military camp at Rosebank at that time contained nearly 6 000 volunteers,¹⁵ and a large number of sailors.¹⁶ A new element appearing in the violent scenes was the presence and active participation of a large number of "hooligans" who were not in evidence during the first stage.¹⁷

This is how an observer in Johannesburg witnessed the violence against German shops and buildings:

... when I witnessed that savagery of the civilised (!!!) Englishmen. Many thousands of Englishmen divided into different sections were stepping into the German shops. They were breaking doors and windows and burning everything inside. Pawnbrokers' shops, jewellery shops, and generally every German shop was set alight. This violence continued for three days, and many people calculate the damage up to half-a-million pounds. The shops situated in the best suburbs of Johannesburg were destroyed, while fire brigades and movie cameras followed every move. Because of the situation many clerks could not find work, including

myself.¹⁸

The "mob law" against the German "enemy alien element" was the result of a continuous process of legal measures planned by the Union government against certain sections of the population. The most important legal measure of this kind was the Enemy Trading Bill which was introduced on 10 March 1914. Several members of the Nationalist Party were against the Bill,¹⁹ but it was assented to in June 1916. The Bill was designed not only to prevent trading activities with the enemy, but also to restrict the trading activities of enemy aliens resident in the country and to control the property and other assets of such people. Section 2 of the Bill gave the authorities the power to deal with any businesses or firms in the Union that were owned or partly owned by aliens of enemy nationality. Section 3 stated that the Treasury could, if it believed that a particular firm was trading with the enemy, enter and search the firm's premises and inspect its books and other documents. According to Section 20, the Governor-General could prohibit anyone in the Union from trading with any persons or group of persons, even though not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory ... wherever by reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or groups of persons ... it appeared to him expedient to do so ...

The first proclamation in this regard listed companies in several countries including Greece (my emphasis, E M),²⁰ The feelings of the local Greeks after the passing of this Bill were mixed. They knew that the Bill was directed against the German element but they also realised that in the future it could be used against anybody, including themselves, especially after the controversy over Greece's entry into the war. One Greek resident of Johannesburg during that period remembers:

Our lawyers were as mixed as we were. You see, we did not have our own lawyers and the Jewish lawyers we employed were more involved with politics than

in their clients' cases. Well, all of us were very scared after the passing of the Enemy Trading Bill. We were sure that Venizelos would win the elections and lead Greece into the war, but we never thought that [King] Constantine would be as negative as he was. It was not only a problem of nationalism and excitement that our Army would recapture Constantinople. At the same time we were hopeful that Venizelos would lead Greece into the war because otherwise we would be facing the hatred and violence of the pro-Allied mobs. The Germans paid the price, and we were not prepared to pay for the mistakes of the politicians in Greece. We could feel that the Enemy Trading Bill was not directed only against the Germans, it was a legislation against everyone who could be regarded as an enemy alien. He could be a Jew, a German, a Greek or an Italian. The mobs at that time were not interested in nationalities, they were only interested in looting and destroying everything. And the news of the mobs' behaviour against the German shops and buildings was very fresh.²¹

A Cape Town interviewee remembered:

I was not in Cape Town at that time but during the 1930s, when we faced the problems of the Immigration Act, many prominent elders pointed out to me the conditions Cape Town Hellenism faced during the period 1914-1916, after the passing of the Enemy Trading Bill. The fears of the Cape Town Greeks were reinforced by the anti-royalist feelings of the Cape Town public, and the anti-German riots that had erupted in Adderley Street and other central areas of the city. And many clauses of the Bill were so harsh that they could destroy any business, and could lead to bankruptcy of even the most successful businessman. Greeks who lived during that period were adamant that this Bill could be disastrous for every Greek in South Africa if Constantine insisted on neutrality of the country in the war.²²

Elisseos wrote in his diary:

Until the 30 September the situation was stable. Because of the neutrality of our Motherland, however, in connection with the war and the rumoured philo-German attitude (of Greece), it is feared (as the rumours are spreading around) that the Greek shops will have the same fate as the German ones, and that all Greeks will be arrested and driven to Maritzburg, where the German prisoners-of-war have been transferred. There are rumours that the Greeks in Australia received the treatment the Germans received here. Probably these rumours

are true, because I received back a registered letter posted to the editor of the Greek newspaper in Australia.²³

This was the situation in the Union during the first year of the First World War. One would expect that Greeks would face the challenge more united than ever, but this was not the case. Greek nationalism and its ideological power over the pioneer immigrants proved to be stronger than the feeling of economic survival.²⁴

(C) THE FIRST PERIOD: 1914-1915

While during December New Hellas declared in its editorial that Greece was entering the war with Entente, a fact that Nicolaides celebrated with high nationalist fervour,¹ very few actually believed that this was possible. As we have mentioned, 1914 passed peacefully for the Greeks in terms of their cordial relations with each other and the attitude of the general public towards them, but 1915 started in a different mood. New Hellas played the most important part in shaping that mood. Being the only Greek newspaper in southern Africa it was, of course, a significant factor of Greek public opinion, as will be shown later.

The Grand Ideal started figuring prominently in the newspaper, either through the super-nationalist poems of Elisseos and A Seirlis,² or through openly anti-Turkish editorials.³ The nationalist feelings of the Greek population were once again aroused in a large commemoration meeting celebrating the glories of the Balkan wars, when several Greeks were decorated by the representatives of the community for their participation in those wars.⁴

This unity did not last long however. While Greek royalists in Johannesburg and Cape Town were going from door to door propagating the necessity for Greece to stay neutral,⁵ and New Hellas had a pronounced philo-royalist line,⁶ the first open confrontations between the royalists and the followers of Venizelos took place. N Tsirintanis, a prominent member of the Johannesburg community, sent an "open letter" to New Hellas accusing the city's Greeks of knowing nothing about politics because they criticised the actions of the "great Cretan", Venizelos. He challenged them to stop using public platforms for the purpose of making petty accusations against the pro-Entente policies of Venizelos. He also accused certain Greeks of behaving in an unprincipled way towards the legitimate Prime Minister

of the Motherland.⁷

The attitude of the newspapers during that period was one of "wait and see" but they gave prominence to the death of a 20-year old Greek shop assistant, Panayiotis Sarakis, who had fought with General Botha's army in West Africa. Sarakis had arrived in 1911 from Lesbos and had volunteered to fight with Botha at the beginning of the war.⁸

Following the publication of Tsirintanis's letter, the Johannesburg royalists immediately hit back. A poem by Elisseos was published six days before King Constantine's name day (21 May), showing the Leader (the King) on a white horse, galloping through thousands of blue and white flags towards the Church of Aghia Sophia in Constantinople, the church where the last Byzantine Emperor was killed in 1453.⁹ Elisseos's poems are a characteristic example of how the ideology of the Motherland was diffused in this part of the Diaspora. Aesthetically his poetry is below average, stylistically based on a traditional rhyme, very common to most Greek poets of the period, and its ideological motives were a direct transformation of the Nietzschean tradition so popular in Greek literary and intellectual circles after the defeat of 1897.

This defeat opened new ideological horizons for the frustrated intellectuals and literary men. The Greek Nation became an Absolute Idea, the myths of the old glorious years of Greek civilisation were linked to the Nietzschean Superman who would bring about the Resurrection of the Greek Nation.¹⁰ The vision of the Grand Ideal that had been destroyed after the 1897 defeat came to the fore again, and the Leader who would make it a material reality was the King on a white horse. The charismatic leader would lead his loyal and alienated people to a new life, to the end of the road, to Constantinople.¹¹ The genius of ancient Greek civilisation and the creativity of

the Byzantine era were personified by the King who had led the victorious Greek army to the triumphs of the Balkan wars; in 1914 he would lead the same army, not only to new victory but to Constantinople; the Grand Ideal would cease to be a vision - it would become a reality.

Elisseos's poetry is the mirror of the ideology of a large section of the Greek immigrants in South Africa, his Nietzschean belief in a Superman, a Leader, a Hero partisan, points to the King, while Palamas's same approach does not name the Leader. In his pioneer poem, "The King's Flute", the latter described the Force hidden behind History, the One and Great who walks hand-in-hand with History, guiding and guided by Her. There are many governors and heroes, but only one leader.¹²

The ambiguity following the middle of the road position of King Constantine in Greece had Greek royalists all over the Union in continuous mobilisation. While they called for a midnight mass liturgy to pray for his health on 24 May 1915, the absence of a large number of worshippers was evident.¹³ Followers of Venizelos had already decided to sabotage the midnight mass,¹⁴ while the editor of New Hellas explained the absence of worshippers by pointing out that they were working too hard and for long hours, and thus did not have time for such functions.¹⁵

Venizelos's victory in the elections of June 1915 did not convince New Hellas and its editor that they should change their openly pro-royalist approach. While giving a brilliant analysis of the June elections, explaining clearly the strategy of Venizelos and his victory, the newspaper obviously supported the King.¹⁶

In the meantime, the attitude of the public in all centres in South Africa had changed considerably. After the expulsion of five Greek shop-owners for allegedly selling liquor illegally, a fact that was widely criticised

by the unemployed and the soldiers in Johannesburg as well as the business community,¹⁷ and while the Greeks in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town participated in their national and religious celebrations,¹⁸ the first signs of friction between the pro-English and Entente elements in the major centres and the pro-German royalist Greeks occurred. In the streets and shops, in the market-place and the social clubs, this friction, initiated by the pro-Entente element, reached serious proportions. Venizelist Greeks entered the debate siding with the latter, and the exchange of caustic letters in the Greek press was a weekly occurrence.¹⁹

The pro-English public very soon realised that the Greek newspaper was behind the King all the way and continually accused Venizelos of being a useless politician and a serious political obstacle to the advancement of the Greek people.²⁰ The local newspapers received many letters for publication from pro-German Greeks but most did not publish them, fearing a repetition of the serious anti-German riots.²¹ The English-speaking newspapers in all centres of the Union openly declared their anti-royalist feelings, and this was something that many Greek royalists could not tolerate. One of them, D Tsalavoutas from Pretoria, sent two letters to the Rand Daily Mail, the most venomous of all the newspapers regarding the Greek royal family, but the paper did not publish them.²²

Following this negative attitude of the local press towards the Greek King, and realising as a sharp political observer that Constantine preferred to remain neutral, Nicolaides tried his hardest to impress upon all Greeks and foreign public opinion that, in the end, Greece would join the Entente forces in their fight. In two powerful editorials he called upon all Greeks to join forces in order to defeat the central powers and to fight for the Motherland.²³ He accused everyone who claimed that Constantine Bulgaroctonus ("Slayer of the Bulgars") was a

Germanophile of being out of touch with reality, and called upon every Greek patriot in South Africa to volunteer to fight under his leadership.²⁴* Previously, he had called all immigrants to "flock back and fight" because that was the only way to recapture Constantinople.²⁵ The Rand Daily Mail, however, by the end of November stated that the King was ready to lead Greece in the war, together with the Central Forces, and maintained that the Greek element in South Africa would face many problems because of the philo-Entente attitude of the general public of the Union.²⁶

The public outcry against the local Greeks was expressed openly in the form of letters to the press to which the Greek community promptly replied.²⁷ Certain English-speaking persons also defended the Greek case, accusing the other side of making a noise about nothing and creating a hostile situation against the local Greeks.²⁸ The leaders of the Greek community had already realised that the public attitude towards them had changed radically. Through the initiative of President Stamatopoulos, an ardent supporter of Venizelos,²⁹ about 150 Venizelists gathered on 8 November 1915 in the Orthodox Church in order to plan alternative strategies to fight the deadlock facing Greeks in South Africa, because of the ambiguous political situation in the Motherland. The meeting was chaired by the president who explained that the main objective of the meeting was to send a cable to the government in Athens expressing the views and sentiments of the local Greeks.³⁰ The Greek Consul, J Jeppe, also spoke, explaining that circumstances had changed for the worse and that something should be done immediately before the situation became unbearable.³¹

*The name Bulgaroctonus was given to Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976-1025), after he defeated the Bulgars, when they attempted to revive a Bulgarian Kingdom under Samuel. By using this name for King Constantine, Nicolaides was referring to the latter's successes during the Balkan wars. For information on Bulgaroctonus, see the classic works of G Ostrogorski, *History of the Byzantine State*, 1956; and A Vasilief, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Second Edition, 1958.

The speeches of the two men were not designed to scare their audience. The vocal attacks on Greek shopkeepers were on the increase, while the police were not prepared to protect them against violent attacks,³² and were followed by more serious measures taken by prominent mine companies against the Greek miners. According to the president of the Greek community and Jeppe, who, because of his position within the Johannesburg business community, was well aware of the situation, several mine-owners were sacking Greek miners because of their nationality.³³ This allegation was never challenged by the mine-owners concerned.³⁴ With powerful oration, Jeppe and Stamatopoulos expressed the gratitude that South African Greeks had for England and pointed out the liberties and advantages enjoyed by those living under the British flag. Stamatopoulos concluded:

Our national aspirations have always been bound up with liberty, justice and civilisation, and this is the cause for which Great Britain and her allies are fighting. ... We, Greeks in South Africa, are with them heart and soul.³⁵

After the closing remarks a unanimous decision was taken to send a cable to the Prime Minister of Greece. The protagonists of the meeting were the prime movers (Stamatopoulos in Greek, and Jeppe in English), and the cable expressed their strong devotion to their Motherland and the desire to do all in their power to support the elected government in its efforts to maintain the country's national aspirations, and to assist Great Britain and her allies for righteousness and civilisation.³⁶ The cable was circulated to all national newspapers.³⁷

The internal rift amongst the Greek community was to continue long after that meeting, and prominent members of the same community exchanged accusations through the columns of the Greek newspaper (i.e. there was serious tension between the two leading figures of Pretoria Hellenism, Papageloutsos and Golfinopoulos, the latter being an ardent royalist and the former a Venizelist, strongly

advocating the Entente cause).³⁸ The Johannesburg press did not take seriously that gesture of the Greeks in the city, and continued to publish articles denouncing Greece and its politicians for not entering the war.³⁹ At the same time, however, the newspaper asserted that it regarded the Greek people as a nation betrayed by its political leaders, mainly King Constantine. This was made evident in a cartoon which depicted the Greek people welcoming the English soldiers and their allies and a dog (King Constantine disguised) trying to stop them. The English asked the Greek people to tie down the dog and to enter the war.⁴⁰

The small Greek community of Durban also dispatched a cable to Venizelos, in which they stated that they desired to convey to his government and the Greek nation an expression of their loyalty and devotion to Greece, and assured him of their desire to render every possible assistance during the present great crisis in Europe. They further expressed the fervent hope that Greece would prove true to her national aspirations and assist Great Britain and her allies.⁴¹ The similarity between the cables sent from Johannesburg and Durban was not coincidental. Jeppe travelled regularly all over the Union to contact the Greek communities and it seems that he was the writer of the immaculate English in which the cables were phrased.⁴² The Durban Greek community, possibly the most pro-Entente in the country, sent a cable to Venizelos personally on the same day congratulating him on his noble stand destined to uphold "the country's ancient dignity and the cause of civilisation. We trust that your policy may ultimately be successful."⁴³

The activities of the Greek communities, led by Venizelist elements, were viewed with suspicion by certain sections of the country's population. Many believed that the majority of Greeks were pro-German and royalists, and there were several Greeks who made known their anti-Entente

feelings.⁴⁴ The officials of the Greek community (dominated by Venizelists) denounced the anti-German elements, reminded the pro-Entente public of its feelings towards England, as expressed in the cables, and praised once more the role that England had played in helping Greece and the Greek people during the dark ages of the Turkish occupation and the liberation struggle.⁴⁵ The feelings of the general public caused severe anxiety amongst the Greek community especially on the Rand where reactions were stronger than in other parts of the Union. This anxiety was reinforced by several moves of well-known market speculators who endeavoured to enrich themselves by impressing upon Greek tradesmen that they should rather sell out at a sacrifice than lose everything if there should be a general public outcry against the community.⁴⁶ The newspaper reports stressed the boldness of the speculators who made these proposals and the tremendous sacrifice required by the sellers.⁴⁷

The wealthiest section of the Greek community especially faced serious problems regarding their property rights. An uprising of the pro-Entente public could cause severe damage, or legal measures taken against "enemy aliens" could cause considerable anxiety regarding the future of their properties. Some Greeks, who were under great pressure from market speculators who impressed on them the possibilities of loss of property, business, etc, approached English friends in order to transfer their property rights to them. One wealthy businessman received 12 proposals in one day from speculators offering to purchase his flourishing business.⁴⁸ Some speculators went as far as terrorising Greek shopkeepers in their attempts to make them sell out at very low prices. Commented one of the people interviewed by the Rand Daily Mail:

Another man had had 15 callers per day. They were willing to pay him one-fifth of the actual value of his business. Another, whose stock was worth £300, was approached by a man who said: "Here is £50. Take it. You'd better have the money in your

pocket because you may get nothing if your country opposes the Allies."⁴⁹

Many observers were aware that certain elements could create a new mob law, and many Greeks shared their fears. Generals Botha and Smuts were approached by prominent members of the community to provide police protection for certain Greek shop-owners, and this they promised to do.⁵⁰

The small Greek community of Kimberley followed the example of the other communities and sent a cable to Venizelos expressing their loyalty and devotion to the Motherland and calling on him to join the Entente cause and perpetuate the Greek national traditions.⁵¹

In Cape Town the latest news regarding the attitude of Greece towards the Allies caused consternation among the local Greeks. S Messaris, the chairman of the Greek community, expressed the astonishment of the city's Greeks at the situation. He said that all through the war they had believed that the sympathies of Greece and her government were on the side of the Allies; the regular mail and papers from the Motherland had never hinted at anything to the contrary, but the latest news was alarming.⁵² Cape Town's Greeks were greatly distressed following the news that the King did not accept Venizelos's attitude towards the war, and were worried by the possibility of a future attack against them.⁵³ Messaris stressed the Venizelian dictum that "a Greek soldier will never fire on a Britisher or a Frenchman", and declared that he was certain that Venizelos was expressing the sentiments of the Greek nation, then and always.⁵⁴

Messaris's pro-Venizelian opinion was shared by another well-known member of the community who declared that the latest development (the occupation of Salonica by the Allies) was directed against King Constantine who seemed to have lost his senses. He accused the King of not

knowing where he was going, and strongly advocated his joining the Allied cause as, otherwise, it was possible that a revolution would overthrow him. He concluded by pointing out:

The people of Greece will not stand by and see their beloved country ruined, and unless the King acts in accordance with the wishes of his subjects and supports those two great countries [England and France, E.M.] which have done so much for Greece in the past, his throne will totter to destruction.⁵⁵

The long-awaited meeting of the Greeks in the Cape Peninsula took place on 21 November 1915, when an enthusiastic audience unanimously passed a resolution expressing their conviction that, in the interests of humanity and the liberty of smaller nations, Greece should take her stand alongside the Allies in the war. They pointed out that it was due to England and her Allies that the Motherland was free, and expressed their gratitude to the British nation for the freedom and justice extended to them in South Africa under the British flag.⁵⁶ Stirring appeals for England, France and the Allies were made by the Archimandrite and the president. Maginess, M L A, also addressed the meeting.⁵⁷

On the same day the Greeks of Port Elizabeth associated themselves with the presentation made by the Rand Greeks to Scouloudis, the Greek Prime Minister. The Port Elizabeth Greeks associated themselves strongly with the Allied cause and warned Scouloudis that any antagonistic action by Greece would be denounced as suicidal by Greeks in South Africa.⁵⁸

The abovementioned sentiments expressed by the various Greek communities in the country were shared by a large number of Greeks. But there was another viewpoint. Spear-headed by New Hellas, as we have already noted, the attitude of those holding this other point of view is summarised by Elisseos, one of the leading members of this

section of the Greek population, in his diary:

The newspapers try to ridicule the glorious King of Greece, they attack Greece for her attitude, but our compatriots do not pay attention to such scurrilous attacks. No-one is complaining against our King and his actions to prevent our entry into the war situation. Neutrality has saved Greece from several destructions and it will save our nation once more. Only a few Cretans (in South Africa), who blindly follow Venizelos's programme, wish the entry of our Motherland into the war. They abuse (the fools!) our King and denounce his policies, but they are so few one can count them on his one hand.⁵⁹

Elisseos's feelings were shared by a large number of Greeks but his estimate of the number of Greeks supporting Venizelos's initiatives was highly exaggerated, as we have already seen. Knowledge of what exactly was happening in Greece at the time was minimal although most people received newspapers regularly. It was A Capsopoulos, returning from Greece after an absence of three years, who put the Greek political controversy in a new light. Capsopoulos, once president of the Greek community in Johannesburg and one of its most important leaders, was seen by South African public opinion and Greeks alike as the person most qualified to analyse the situation and spell out the existing controversies.

Interviewed by the Rand Daily Mail on 22 November 1915 Capsopoulos stated that Greece was exhausted by her efforts in the Balkan wars and was on her way to recovery. He stressed that the feelings of the majority of the people were with England and ridiculed anyone who said that there was even one Greek who was pro-German. He pointed out that the nation wanted neutrality mainly because Greeks were not sure what they were going to fight for. Additionally, after the war, enemies such as Turkey would be on their doorstep. In reply to a question as to why, then, had Greece mobilised her forces, he declared that Greece could not trust the Bulgarians because of her past experience with them. Greece mobilised her forces, he said, because

the Bulgarians had done so. He stressed the economic stagnation of Greece, and pointed out that Scouloudis, the new Prime Minister, was on the side of the Allies. He also stated that the situation in the Balkans was very complicated and that was one of the reasons why Greece would not enter the war.

Capsopoulos further mentioned that it was far from true that King Constantine was pro-German. First and foremost he was a Greek, and his politics were "Greece", and that was why the Army idolised him and would do anything for him. Replying to a question on the Queen's ideological/political stance, he said that she had no influence on Greece's foreign or domestic policies. On Venizelos, Capsopoulos said that he was strong and that it was a pity for Greece not to have two of him - the one to help the other, and the one to correct the errors of the other, implying that Venizelos had committed serious mistakes. Capsopoulos stated that he had voted for Venizelos in the last elections, when his policy had been neutrality. His views on the election of 19 December 1915 were that the King wanted the people to vote consciously, now that they knew Venizelos's policy.

He went on to describe Bulgaria as treacherous and pointed out that no Greek government would fight on the former's side and against the Allies. He also accused Italy of not using her military strength to prevent the new developments in the Balkans and the attacks on Bulgaria, and spelled out the backstairs moves of Britain to convince Bulgaria to remain neutral. Capsopoulos described the Greeks' welcome to the Allied forces in Salonica. Stressing the importance of the fact that all cables on the situation appearing in the local press were from Rome, and thus were tinged with Italian policy, he accused those prepared to attack Greeks in South Africa. South African Greeks, he said, were not in any way responsible for the political decisions taken in Athens and, in addition, they

were, almost to a man, in favour of the Allies. He assured the South African public that no Greek would take up arms against the countries of Byron and Gladstone and Victor Hugo. The love of Greeks for England and France as protective powers was once again proved, he said, by the fact that Greek legions were fighting in France and the Dardanelles.

Stressing the ideological significance to every Greek of the Grand Ideal, he said that Gounaris, the Prime Minister who had succeeded Venizelos, had proposed to the Allies to send 300 000 troops through Bulgarian Thrace, and march into Constantinople. But, because Russia wanted the city for herself, the plan was not implemented. In referring to the Grand Ideal, Capsopoulos said:

I need not tell you how every Greek from his boyhood, for five centuries since Constantinople fell, has dreamed of Constantinople as his national ideal. They wanted Greece to fight and go into disastrous and terrible war for a small island - Cyprus. Greece wanted to know what she was going to fight for, and wanted a free hand.⁶⁰

In conclusion, Capsopoulos said that never in history had a nation been in such an awkward position as Greece, but he still hoped that a way would be found for the nation to maintain her neutrality and her policy in favour of the Entente.⁶¹

After the prominence given to Capsopoulos's interview the situation became more complicated than before. Greeks could see that the South African public was eager to have Greece fighting with the Allies and Capsopoulos, a prominent member of the community, stressed the fact that Greece wanted to be neutral. His concluding remarks were, for the local pro-Entente population, a contradiction in terms because, in their minds, neutrality meant pro-Germanism.⁶²

The first indications of violence towards Greeks appeared during the night of Capsopoulos's interview. The

Union Cafe in Benoni caught fire, and the police suspected arson. The cafe was owned by a Greek, M Mitchell (Michalopoulos), and was located at the corner of Bedford Street and Woburn Avenue. All that remained of the shop was a mass of charred matchwood and a heap of twisted metal.⁶³ In the afternoon of the same day the Benoni Chamber of Commerce, taking early cognisance of the Greek situation and its effects on local interests, called a special meeting where two important resolutions were passed. The first was a request to the Minister of Justice to arrange for such measures as may be necessary for the protection of life and property in the event of anti-Greek rioting, since a recurrence of the events of the previous May would not be conducive to the welfare of the country. The second pointed out that a public trustee should be appointed with full powers so that, in the event of Greek subjects being interned, the interests of their creditors would be secured.⁶⁴

It was clear that the trading community of Benoni did not pass that resolution out of affection for the Greeks, but simply because it wanted to secure the class interests of its members. The Chamber appointed a committee to interview Horsfall, the A R M, and to ask him to transmit these resolutions direct to the Minister of Justice, which he agreed to do. The deputation also impressed upon him the desirability of requesting the Minister to issue a special notice stating that any attempt at rioting would be severely punished.⁶⁵ The developments that had put the Greek community in a dangerous position were, strangely enough, not reported in the columns of New Hellas.

While the feelings of Greeks everywhere in South Africa and southern Africa generally were fully behind the policy of entering the war,⁶⁶ large numbers of Johannesburg Greeks had already started training on the Union Ground in order to join the Greek legions fighting with the Allies, "ready to attack the Huns and the despicable Turks, when their government thinks fit ..."⁶⁷ Many Greeks queued

outside the offices of the Greek Consul-General, Nicolaides, the editor of New Hellas, in order to go and fight as volunteers with the Allied forces in Europe.⁶⁸ A steamship of the Castle Line was filled with Greek volunteers in Cape Town. At the annual general meeting of the H C C T, the one hundred members present voted to volunteer as well. Greeks in Bloemfontein also decided to volunteer en masse.⁶⁹

At the same time a deputation of prominent Cape Town Greeks sought an interview with the Minister of the Interior. They were introduced to him by Mr Sampson, M L A, who told the Minister that the deputation represented the great majority of Greeks in the country and that they wished to convey to the government, through the Minister, the sentiment of their compatriots in South Africa which was entirely one of sympathy with the government. The deputation also wished to assure the government that should events in Europe lead to Greece taking part in the war against the Allies they, as a community, would loyally cooperate with the Union government in carrying out any instructions and regulations.⁷⁰ They asked the government for assurances that adequate protection would be afforded them against any public violence. A member of the deputation asserted that certain acts of violence had already taken place, and that Greeks wishing to become naturalised subjects found difficulties placed in their way.

Sir Thomas Watt replied to the deputation saying that the government would endeavour to treat Greeks with as much consideration as possible consistent with its first duty of protecting the state. He added that for the moment he was not in favour of naturalising Greeks until the situation improved. He assured the deputation, however, that the government would use all available means to protect the Greek community from acts of violence.

The year 1915 was generally a difficult one for Greeks in South Africa. Although the tensions amongst Venizelists

and royalists did not reach their peak, the attitude of the general public worsened considerably and sporadic acts of violence occurred. The state, while assuring the leaders that acts of violence would not be tolerated and that protection would be provided for Greeks all over the Union, had very strong objections to Greeks becoming naturalised British subjects. In the meantime within the Greek community nationalism in its various forms, and class interests, were often contradictory, especially in the case of royalists who would be the first to face acts of violence.

With the approach of 1916 Greeks in South Africa expected to face another difficult year, bearing in mind that their position within the country was not only determined by the political divisions in the Motherland but also by their own individual and collective actions.

(D) THE IDEOLOGICAL TENSIONS INTENSIFY: 1916

The year 1915 saw the first manifestations of ideological tensions and divisions amongst Greek nationalists in South Africa and those were, as already mentioned, a direct consequence of the political controversies prevailing in the Motherland. Although in 1915 the Venizelists dominated the debates, the newspaper headlines, and had the largest support amongst local Greeks, the situation changed in 1916. The basic factors leading to this change were:

- (a) the departure of a large number of volunteers to join the Entente forces in Europe, all of whom were undoubtedly Venizelos's supporters;
- (b) the re-entry into the political arena of personalities such as Capsopoulos and Louvis in Johannesburg, and Golfinopoulos in Pretoria. (Louvis was one of the prominent members of the community, and its president for a long time); and
- (c) the continuous support given to the royalist cause by Nicolaides (also very active in the political arena) and his newspaper, and the low-tone criticism of the King in the local English press. (Although the Rand Daily Mail was critical of the Greek king, it did not publish news of his situation for four months.)¹

Capsopoulos's arrival in Johannesburg was "manna from heaven" for the royalists, because his able pen was of a higher calibre than that of Nicolaides and, although there was personal rivalry between the two men (which later led Capsopoulos to establish another Greek newspaper in Johannesburg, "Africanis"), Nicolaides opened his columns to the former.

Following Capsopoulos's previously mentioned interview with the Rand Daily Mail, he sent the first of a series of royalist letters to New Hellas. This letter, which surprisingly enough was a radical departure from his already known ideas on Greek affairs, was an open libel against

Venizelos and an eulogy on the King.² Nicolaides followed suit with a series of eulogistic editorials for Constantine.³ The division between Greeks in Johannesburg and the other centres entered a new phase following the publication of an article in the leading daily Greek newspaper "New Day", that claimed Greeks in South Africa were afraid of a war between Greece and England and were trying to become naturalised British subjects. The newspaper used unusually unfair characterisations against the Greeks in South Africa and the use of the word "traitor" especially was severely attacked by Nicolaides in his newspaper. He replied to the "libellous trash" of the Greek newspaper, pointing out that Greeks would never be traitors in South Africa or anywhere else in the world.⁴

In the meantime, royalists and Venizelists in South Africa started sending anonymous and signed letters to each other, and libellous letters to the Greek newspaper, which created new divisions and arguments in the Greek population. Additionally, the royalists, encouraged by the return of Capsopoulos and the re-entry into the political arena of Golfinopoulos, in Pretoria, openly identified themselves with the King's policies, an event which had very serious consequences.⁵ Meanwhile, taking advantage of the fact that the local English newspapers were not attacking the Greek king, New Hellas gave him good publicity by quoting interviews appearing in Greek newspapers.⁶ In those interviews, the King was adamant that the vision of the Grand Ideal was the most important ideological/political objective of the Greeks, a fact that became obvious from the interview given by Capsopoulos after his arrival from Greece.

The vision of the Grand Ideal as an element of Greek nationalism, and the difference in opinion regarding its form and content, played an important role in manifesting the divisions within Greek society during that period. Venizelos's vision was related to a long-term strategy

based on the internal economic prosperity and the creation of industrial infrastructure and social modernisation. The royalist vision was primarily directed towards a policy of territorial expansion and the leading role Greece could play in the Balkans and the Middle East. Those two tendencies established a political alignment during the victorious Balkan wars, but it was proved two years later that this alignment was not enough. The division was there, and was resurrected during the period we are now examining.⁷

The occupation of Salonica by the Allies and the pressures exercised by the Entente forces against the king played a crucial role in mobilising traditionally liberal middle-class strata towards an anti-Venizelist, philo-royalist political/ideological position. The "traditional" urban middle class and large sections of the peasantry endorsed a royalist ideological attitude, seeing the king not as a person/institution representing the interests of a new imperialism (the Prussian one) but as a fellow Greek suffering with the nation because he did not follow the "instructions" of the protective powers.⁸ This ideology was diffused amongst the South African Greek Diaspora through the usual channels - letters, newspapers and agitation. Many newspapers, especially the royalist ones, were circulating in South Africa secretly because of fear of the censor. There were many instances of Venizelist Greeks showing the censor libellous articles against the Allies appearing in royalist newspapers and urging him to confiscate such issues.⁹

Following the annexation of Kavala by the Bulgarian army, New Hellas initiated a new policy. Observing that the divisions in Greek politics were leading nowhere, and the divisions amongst Greeks in South Africa were reaching new heights, it appealed for Greek unity in Greece and South Africa, advocating an alignment between Venizelos and the King, who could lead the country victoriously to the

war with the Entente forces.¹⁰ The deadlock faced by the Greek newspaper and the Greek community in general was the result of a complicated process that pointed to one major political/ideological factor being mainly responsible: the apparent significance of the diffusion of the ideology of the Motherland amongst the Greeks in South Africa. It was that diffusion that led to the ideological and political divisions taking place within a hostile, foreign environment. The opposing sections of the community endorsed those ideologies (Venizelism/anti-Venizelism) without taking cognisance of the everyday experiences inherent within the South African social formation; and accepted ideologies and political ideas that divided them although these were created under totally different historical conditions and in a country with different ideological and political traditions and values from South Africa.

The deadlock explained in the previous paragraph became evident during the last days of 1916. Following the "November fights" or the "Battle of Athens", when a large number of Venizelists and other liberals were assassinated by the royalist troops in a month of terror after the outcry in Europe and Greece against the king, Nicolaides called upon the king to resign, because

... no-one is entitled to spill innocent Greek blood, especially when it happens to be someone who professes to be the King of all the Greeks. ...¹¹

These new developments sharpened the already existing divisions amongst the Greeks, and created new problems in their relations with the South African pro-Entente population. Two incidents that took place in two days confirmed the seriousness of the situation. On the night of 21 November, about ten Englishmen raided the shop of A Philip-pou in Brakpan, breaking the windows and destroying the merchandise, and assaulting the owner. They told him that this was their revenge for the Greeks "butchered by the king in Athens".¹² On 21 November, a large meeting of

Johannesburg Greeks with Venizelist sympathies was held at the Tivoli Hotel, where the Athens disturbances were discussed. They took the decision to form a Venizelist Commission in order to distribute the view of the Cretan politician amongst the Greeks in South Africa, to hold a memorial service for the Venizelists and allied victims of the Athens massacres, and to collect money for the cause of Venizelos.¹³

Following that meeting the Durban Greeks were the first to re-establish their contacts with Venizelos by sending him a cable congratulating him on the stand he had taken during the recent crisis, and for the recognition that his "government-in-exile" had received from the Allies.¹⁴

On this high note, 1916 ended. While generally it was considered a "peaceful year", it was marked by an increase of the ideological tensions amongst Greeks in South Africa. It was certainly a bad omen for the days ahead.

(E) THE OCCURRENCES BEFORE THE RIOTS

The following year, 1917, started on a high note for Greeks with Venizelist sympathies. Venizelos sent telegrams of thanks to his supporters in Durban and Johannesburg and encouraged them to continue their activities "for the benefit of everyone".¹ The Durban Venizelist Committee made its first financial contribution ten days after the leader's message of thanks. It amounted to £235.15. 6 - a large sum of money from a small community.²

However, those high notes were soon to be substituted in the English newspapers by a series of articles publicising the dark side of the Greek community in South Africa. First of all, wide publicity was given to the case of the "Blue Cross Gang", a group of three Greek males and three Afrikaners (two of them females).³ Such cases were reported regularly in the newspapers as "court cases", but this particular one was given wider coverage. The "gang" comprised ex-sailors who had turned petty thieves and who had never participated in any activities of the Greek community. From the day they were arrested, the Rand Daily Mail followed up the story and gave it a sensationalism that surprised the Greek community. Athanasopoulos explained:

We thought that it was planned from the first moment. No-one knew the people involved in the thefts, they never appeared in the community, and suddenly we saw in the newspapers that they were Greeks. It was sensational for those days, because everything Greek was seen as red is seen by a bull. The community leaders were very disturbed and Cofinas (the court interpreter) explained the case of the thieves to the magistrate, but to no avail. He thought that all Greeks were thieves. Those were the circumstances in those days.⁴

The sensationalism given to the "gang story" in the Rand Daily Mail continued uninterrupted throughout the case until the day of the verdict,⁵ while minor offences committed by Greeks were also given wide publicity during

that period. Cases involving the Shop Hours Act, which did not permit a shopkeeper to serve customers after a certain hour, were given prominent space whenever a Greek was involved.⁶

At this time also the rumours circulating in South Africa advocating unqualified conscription for Greeks and Jews in the country, which had first appeared in 1916,⁷ came to the fore again during the first half of 1917. R H Henderson, an officer in charge of the recruiting committees, declared that the Greeks who had proclaimed themselves enthusiastic admirers of Venizelos, and disowners of the duplicity of their king, were only waiting for a lead. He stated that the policy of modified conscription required no justification beyond the admitted danger to South Africa's national existence, and pointed out the inadequacies of the half-measures adopted in the country in regard to recruiting. He said that the purely voluntary nature of the recruiting left the work of the war to the willing, and the comforts, the wages, and the profit to the shirkers (a serious allegation against both Greeks and Jews who had not joined the volunteer forces). He blamed the ruling powers within the Johannesburg Municipality for that state of affairs, and directed his attacks against the big, medium and small businesses, pointing out that although some firms (presumably English) had sent many of their clerks to the war as volunteers, others had sent none. The crux of his attack was concentrated on the fact that

... some business firms have not an employee at the front while others are giving half or quarter pay to many. In some cases there is even a danger of arteries of business falling exclusively into the hands of aliens, chiefly Greeks and Russians.⁸

He pointed out that no-one in Johannesburg or South Africa at large wanted to see this happen - not even the Greeks and Russians - and he suggested that the only solution was conscription, in a modified form, of all men born in Allied countries and those of Allied descent. He

called for a "monster meeting" or a "monster petition" to be handed to the home government or the union government, He called for an unqualified conscription campaign and for immediate steps to raise a battalion of Greeks and another of Russians. He expressed his confidence that influential citizens of those nationalities were ready to volunteer for the work of organising without delay, and he called for a positive public response to his suggestions. Concluding, he hit again at some "guests" who had not realised their duties and pointed out that they were "hosts" in this country and should not expect only fair words and ceremonies.⁹

Henderson's remarks were unfair. We have previously mentioned that a large number of Greeks had already volunteered to fight with the Allied forces, while the Jewish recruiting committees tried hard to conscript as many Jews as possible. Henderson's remarks were directed at the anti-Greek and anti-semitic circles of Johannesburg that had organised a well-programmed and orchestrated effort to discredit the respective communities in the eyes of the public, hence the new sensational story published in the Rand Daily Mail the day after Henderson's letter. It stated that the police had raided the Greek National Club, entering from the balcony, and had arrested 20 people who were playing cards. The club was housed in a large shop and was a regular meeting-place for discussions, lectures of a nationalist nature, and entertainment.¹⁰ The club started operating in 1914 and, in 1917, had 200 members, each paying £1 per year membership fee.¹¹ Liquor was not available at any time because the authorities had not given a permit, but the club was covered by a general dealer's licence.¹² The newspaper once again had sensationalised a case that, at any other time, would not have even appeared in its columns, and also published fully the derogatory remarks made about the Greeks and their club by the prosecutor and the magistrate. Six of the accused were acquitted of every charge and the remainder were each

fined £2 or £3 for gambling.¹³

The Johannesburg recruitment committee had petitioned the mayor in regard to the conscription of Greeks and Jews in town. In a large audience where soldiers predominated, A S Benson, a leading member of the recruitment committee, conveyed a message from the mayor replying to the petitioners. Benson, using a highly ironical tone, appealed to the people present to stop the nonsense of making inflammatory speeches against Greeks, because Greeks were neither allies nor neutrals - it was difficult to say what they were. Their position in the Union (as well as that of Russians) was under consideration by the Imperial and Union governments. He made a special appeal to soldiers not to dishonour their uniform by attempting by word or deed to ferment public excitement, and said that Johannesburg had to be peaceful without mob oratory and the irresponsible acts that usually were provoked by such talk. His ironic tone was evident as he pointed out that Greek subjects in South Africa did not know where they stood because of the situation in their Motherland.

The British, according to Benson, "should not attempt to remove the mote in their neighbour's eye whilst beholding not the beam in their own". While it was correct that one could not conscript Greeks and Jews by using violence, Benson stressed the point that not every British subject in South Africa had volunteered and enlisted. When and if this occurred then one could talk of conscripting the other "aliens". He concluded by saying that the attitude of the people who were assailing Greeks should be forgiven, because no-one had told them how to react.¹⁴ Benson's sometimes ironic tone was in contrast to his words of sympathy towards the Greeks who had been assaulted; but, on the other hand, he declared that the assailants should be forgiven because they did not know how to show their disagreement with the Greek government.

As was expected, Henderson's recommendations were viewed with a considerable amount of approval from the local population and especially its English section. Letters appeared in the columns of the newspapers asking the Union and Imperial authorities to take "sharp actions" towards the immediate conscription of the "aliens".¹⁵ There were letters pointing out that because Johannesburg had the biggest "cosmopolitan" population in the Union, the "aliens" should immediately join the forces, fighting under the British flag, or be expelled from the country, because "it was a shame for thousands to lose their lives and others to make money here".¹⁶

Most of the letters had a class tone and from that aspect the public's attitudes expressed in them bore many similarities to the anti-Greek and anti-semitic feelings of the poor white population during previous periods, and Henderson's letter was no exception. His letter and recommendations were followed up by certain members of the recruiting committees based in different parts of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban. The same recruiting agents delivered several inflammatory speeches against the Greeks during demonstrations of returning soldiers, and others went out to several Greek shops in order to conscript a compulsory battalion to be sent to the battlefield.¹⁷

Capsopoulos's pen was the first Greek one to reply to all speeches and actions against the local shop-owners. In a letter to the Rand Daily Mail he protested strongly against the behaviour of the members of the recruiting committees and their actions, assuring (in his personal capacity) the non-believers that Greeks had already done and were still doing their share on the side of the Allies, as was exemplified by the thousands who were fighting in Macedonia, besides the 20 000 who were fighting on the Western Front as volunteers. In replying to Henderson's concluding remarks, he pointed out that Greece had fought

valiantly in the two Balkan wars, without appealing to any foreign subjects with businesses in the country to assist in those efforts. The country had depended solely on the patriotism and assistance of her own sons "who, without any fuss or persuasion, eagerly answered their country's call and fought for its glories and traditions".¹⁸ He also pointed out the historical truth that, during the wars of liberty, the rights and properties of all English subjects in Greece, as well as their personal lives, had always been respected.¹⁹

There were several rumours, even before the Rand Daily Mail published Henderson's letter, that certain pro-British elements were planning large-scale riots to smash up all Greek shops in the area, and the police had been notified of those plans.²⁰ However, the British economic establishment in the cities that dealt mainly with Greek shop-owners, and especially wholesalers and insurance companies, tried their best to control the moves against Greek premises, thus providing owners with an unlikely ally in their efforts to secure their properties and individual existence against serious problems.²¹ There were more letters supporting Henderson's recommendations than there were against them, but it was obvious that this had become a class rather than an "ethnic" problem.

It was becoming customary for Englishmen to base their arguments supporting conscription of "alien" Jews and Greeks on the fact that most of the latter were "making money" while "the English nation was losing its best sons at the fronts".²² This argument was followed by one from M I Isaacson, a Jewish merchant, who declared that the main problem was not the Britishers' wish to see the "aliens" volunteering or enlisting for the sake of the Imperial crown but because they themselves had an eye on the commercial field currently dominated by "alien elements".²³

The "boycotting of alien stores" that had been

advocated for a long time by prominent members of the recruiting committees in Johannesburg and Cape Town, began in the first days of 1917, and it was Harry Filmer, a recruiting officer, who stated categorically that he strongly supported such moves. He denied, however, that any member of the recruiting committee had been guilty of inciting the public to mob law.²⁴ He went further and blamed the employers who would not allow their young employees to join the army, and asked the crowd to boycott these businesses together with those of the "foreigners" who, although accepting the protection of the British flag, did not accept the responsibilities when they arose.

Filmer was a fine public orator who could command the crowd and excite it to the full. He was also a hard-line recruiter who could not accept as correct Benson's idea that Britons should be enlisted first of all, before the aliens. Filmer called this outlook absurd because, if that happened, the country would be left to naturalised Germans, the subjects of the Allies, and "aliens" in general.²⁵ He pointed out that although Britain had recognised Venizelos's provisional government and, as he had heard, many Greeks from other parts of the world had joined the Allied forces, very few Greeks had gone from South Africa. He suggested that local Greeks should meet and offer a certain number of fighters as some return for the benefits they had received. He continued by saying that the Greek regiment formed in Johannesburg before the war had disappeared; this regiment at one time had been prepared to offer its services to the British Empire.

He accused the Russian Jews in the same arrogant tone and then, while assuring the audience that his committee condemned mob law, spoke of the "many glaring wrongs" suffered by the Britishers in South Africa and the pandering to naturalised Germans and foreign subjects. The British, treated unfairly in this country, felt "fed up" with the whole state of affairs. He again appealed to the young men

of British extraction to join the forces and thus remove the stigma of shame which was upon them as a result of foreigners saying that "if Britishers cannot do their duty, then foreigners cannot be asked to do theirs".²⁶

Filmer's speech was ambiguous from its first sentence to the last. While he denounced mob law he reinforced the idea of boycott, seen by all as the first step towards the former, as in the case of the anti-German riots in Johannesburg and other centres. Initially he denounced the idea that all Britishers should join the forces, leaving Johannesburg in the hands of Germans and other "aliens", and then called upon all young men in South Africa to join the colours. As regards the Greeks, Filmer lied openly at least twice, thus creating false impressions to his large crowd. As we have already shown, the number of Greeks volunteering to join the Allied forces in Europe was not "very few" as he claimed. In fact, proportionately, the number was as large as the Greek-American or the Australian one. The Greek regiment that Filmer mentioned in his speech, comprising approximately 100 men who had used the Union grounds to drill twice a day at the outbreak of the war, was in Greece at the time fighting with the Allies, having answered the call made by Venizelos when he was Prime Minister.²⁷

The orator's speech was an insult to the city mayor's suggestion that derogatory speeches in front of the town-hall, calculated to excite public feelings, should be terminated. The Greek community felt obliged to publicly thank the mayor, and additionally decided to communicate with the Prime Minister on the matter.²⁸ During a public meeting of the community, the speakers expressed uneasiness at the resignation of Julius Jeppe as Greek consul and felt that because of the difficulties facing the Greek population a replacement was an urgent necessity. They also emphasised that the community was facing these problems because of the political situation in Greece, and that

the chaotic state of affairs could be solved by a meeting with the Prime Minister of South Africa who could suggest new temporary arrangements for official representation of the Greek population on the Rand. The Greek representatives also praised the adequate arrangements made by the authorities to curb anything in the nature of demonstrations or meetings against them.²⁹

The leaders of the meeting (whose names do not appear in the newspaper reports, but who were presumably Venizelists) pointed out that no Greek was unfriendly towards the Allies, and just as South Africa had its political problems so Greece had political sides to take. They accepted that there were divisions amongst Greeks in South Africa, but pointed out that 95% were Venizelists.³⁰ The Greek spokesman said he was very disturbed by the vocal animosity of the local recruiters and returned soldiers. He pointed out that if the government made up its mind to raise a foreign legion, the local public would see the participation of the Greeks who so often, both in public meetings and individual conversations, were denounced as not being loyal subjects. If a government foreign legion became a reality, Greeks would flock to fight for the colours. He concluded by saying that the community certainly viewed the situation with a great deal of apprehension, but was satisfied that the government would use lawful and effective means to see that they would be left in peace.³¹

The resignation of Jeppe was of particular importance because of his good relations with the authorities of the city of Johannesburg and the government generally. He was forced to resign without having any satisfactory communication with Greece. His resignation, and the widespread publicity given to the news appearing in Greek pro-Venizelist newspapers that arrived regularly in Johannesburg and the other centres, created a new tension-orientated atmosphere within the Greek community. The newspaper "Kerex" published in Chania, Crete, and "Macedonia"

published in Salonica; which were the most widely read Greek newspapers in Johannesburg, described the tension prevailing in Athens and accused the king of being "a bloody tyrant", "the vulture of the throne" and "worse than the 30 tyrants rolled into one". He was described as the man who dyed Athens, the city of white marble, with the blood of honest people.³²

The double standards of the recruiting committees were revealed when they turned down a number of Greeks who volunteered to enlist, including the secretary to the Greek Consul. Mayor O'Hara was given the assurance that no Greek would be accepted as a volunteer as long as Major Threlfell was in charge. O'Hara pointed out the hypocrisy of the recruiting committee which used derogatory language against the Greeks from public platforms, but who rejected them when they wished to enlist.³³ The Mayor, bearing in mind the assurance of the management committee of the Greek community that they were eager to help in the Allied effort, suggested the formation of a foreign legion and called upon the recruiting committee's members to decide on this as soon as possible. The Mayor sent the following telegram to General Botha:

I am anxious regarding the possibilities of anti-semitic and Greek disturbances here. Some members of the local R C whom I cannot control are very indiscreet in their utterances on recruiting platforms. I have spoken to most of them and requested them in no way to incite to violence. I am in close touch with the public authorities and strongly urge that strong military pickets be posted in the streets of Jhb to deal with men in military uniform leaving it to the police to deal with the civilian element in case of trouble. I also strongly recommend that no man be allowed to wear the King's uniform who is not actually on active service or on authorised furlough. I intend speaking personally to speakers of the Jewish and Greek communities here at the earliest possible moment. Earnestly recommend severe measures be adopted in case of any outbreak or disturbance.³⁴

O'Hara's telegram was a crucial warning to the state

authorities, expressing the fears of a mayor who could see further than anybody else, and who realised the significance of the existence of large numbers of military troops. The Mayor based his activities on negotiating with the interested parties, but he could see clearly that the fanaticism of the members of the recruiting committee, the returned soldiers, and certain sections of the public against Greeks and Jews was something which could have serious consequences for the city as a whole.

Botha advised O'Hara to meet with the recruiting committee, and conveyed to the latter his strong disapproval of any sort of intimidatory or violent methods. He stressed their responsibility in the event of such intimidatory methods, even if they did not encourage them. He tried to persuade the members of the recruiting committee to dissociate themselves from any violent measures, as they would only bring disgrace and discredit on South Africa.³⁵

Following Botha's reaction, Major Threlfell promised that his action against Greeks who wished to enlist would not be repeated. He pointed out that Greeks were welcome at the recruiting offices, but at the same time he revealed that he had given orders to soldiers and volunteers not to patronise Greek shops. Benson, another member of the recruiting committee, moved a resolution stating that the committee regretted any disturbances caused "against men of Greek and Russian nationality" by certain members, and expressed its sympathy to those who had been hurt by any acts calculated to excite public feelings of animosity towards persons of foreign nationality. The recruiting committee pointed out that it supported wholeheartedly the government's policy on recruitment and denounced any violent act against foreigners. Benson assured the public that it was illogical to call upon foreigners to enlist when the sources of British help had not been exhausted.

Filmer stated that because Britain had recognised the

Venizelist government, Greeks in South Africa should support that government by force of arms. The same feelings were expressed by Frank Brown who rejected the idea of his sons fighting on the battlefield while others, who had the protection of the British flag, were doing nothing for the cause, their only concern being to make money by stepping into the jobs of those going away; and by Greenlees who described the statements supplied by local Greeks to the Mayor as disingenuous excuses and cowardice, and pointed out that Greece had not hesitated to make war upon Turkey in the past and on its own account. Henderson pointed to the correctness of his letter on conscription.³⁶

The Reverend Dr Landau, a rabbi, objected to the identification of Russians and Greeks. He pointed out that Russians would become naturalised and fight for Britain. Filmer asked the meeting if the committee was prepared to put Greeks into "fine linen", then he changed his tone and moved a motion deprecating violence and mob law and calling for the immediate enlistment into the army of all foreign subjects; the motion was passed unanimously.³⁷ This was the attitude of a considerably large section of the white population towards the Greeks. The leading members of the recruiting committee denounced mob law and its consequences but, at the same time, advised the soldiers and the public to boycott Greek shops - a step ultimately leading to mob law.

In the meantime, within the Greek community, the Venizelists formed the most active section, because the royalists felt that the times were difficult for them to appear publicly, especially in the period following the royalist attack on the liberals in Athens. The Venizelist committee led by N Tsirintanis sent a letter to every Greek in Johannesburg and contacted its sympathisers in all other centres to do the same.³⁸ In the letter the committee urged the community to support it financially in order to help the great patriot Venizelos lead the nation to a new

victory over the enemy.³⁹

It was decided by the committee that attention should also be paid to the families of the reservists of the Salonica National Army. A collection committee was set up to contact all local Greeks and invite all those who were sympathetic towards this movement to cooperate in making it a success. The offices of the committee were at the United Café in Harrison Street.⁴⁰ The letter was carefully worded and designed not to show any anti-royalist bias. It appealed to the nationalist Grand-Ideal-orientated feelings of the Greeks, saying that, by helping the fund, the local patriotic Greek would be assisting the struggle against the Turks.⁴¹ After only five days of street collection; the first amount of approximately £300 was sent to Greece.⁴²

During the first days of April, the Greek newspaper in Johannesburg was banned from circulation outside South Africa by the country's censor.⁴³ This was a severe blow for the paper and its editor, Nicolaides, whose financial position as from February of that year was bad due to the fact that the newspaper's expenses had increased from £40 to £48, and there were no Greeks wishing to advertise.⁴⁴ It is difficult to understand why the South African state took such harsh steps against Nicolaides. It was well-known amongst political observers of that time that he had been a royalist all his life, except for the period of the Athens "massacres" as we have already pointed out.⁴⁵

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail, Nicolaides affirmed that he was an ardent Venizelist and that he ran his newspaper as a Venizelist organ, a fact that was not entirely true. He said that he deprecated any action taken by the public against the royalist Greeks. He declared that he was prepared to swear that there were no more than a dozen pro-German Greeks and they were chiefly to be found amongst the ignorant and uneducated. He did not accuse the royalists of betrayal but thought that they were obsessed

with neutrality. He quoted recently-arrived Greek newspapers to show the respect that Greek soldiers had for the Allies, but pointed out that those Greek soldiers were not prepared to surrender their king to the Allies, irrespective of whether he was right or wrong. He calculated that more than 300 Greeks who had been naturalised British subjects in South Africa were serving with the Union's forces in the different theatres of war, challenging the non-believers (presumably the recruiting committee members) to prove otherwise.⁴⁶

Nicolaides made the point that because no Greeks could become naturalised prospective volunteers were anxious as this measure debarred them from enlisting. The mere fact that almost all Greeks in Johannesburg and the Rand generally were well over 30 years of age proved as correct the point made by Nicolaides.⁴⁷ He assured the state authorities that should they decide to naturalise Greeks who were willing to undergo the process, or form a foreign legion, Greeks would offer themselves instantly. He accused public agitators who sought to stir up passions against men who were actually debarred by law from enlisting. He said that Greeks in South Africa were at a loss in facing the public outcry without official representation, and especially a consul; and he added that, because of the political situation in the Motherland, local Greeks were very aware that a Constantine man or a Venizelist politician could be appointed as consul. That fear was shared by many Greeks, declared an anonymous leading member of the community.⁴⁸

Nicolaides's interview with the newspaper answered many questions, especially those concerning the nature of the anti-Greek feelings, and the realities prevailing in that regard. However, his remarks concerning the actual numbers and political significance of the anti-Venizelist royalist section of the Greek population were highly questionable. The communities in Pretoria and Johannesburg were controlled by committees dominated by royalist

supporters (Louvis in Johannesburg and Golfinopoulos in Pretoria) whose presidents were elected democratically by the members; and Cofinas, the local court interpreter, was also a supporter of King Constantine.⁴⁹

These prominent individuals had continuous contacts with the state and legal authorities and used those channels to perpetuate their dominance over the affairs of the Greek community in the same way that Venizelists were trying to improve relations between the Greek community and the general public. Cofinas had continuous correspondence with General Botha regarding the attitudes of the Greek community, maintaining the political support of the Greeks for the South African Party, a fact highly appreciated by the General.⁵⁰

Louvis, as the elected president of the Greek community, had easy access to Mayor O'Hara and used this contact continuously to assure him that Greeks were loyal citizens and were worried about the anti-Hellenic feelings of the population. However, he also stressed to O'Hara that Greek youths would not join the proposed foreign legion because they had taken an oath to be loyal citizens to their king (an opinion directly opposite to that advocated by the Venizelists, as we have already shown).⁵¹

Additionally, the royalists created internal tensions within the community with their insistence on participating in special church services, praying for the royal family and its well-being.⁵² Following the decision of the priest not to officiate at such a service because he saw it as an unnecessary act destined to divide the Greek community, the royalists decided to dismiss him. At a public meeting attended by a large number of Greeks, estimated by Nicolaides at approximately 500,⁵³ a petition was signed by all present agreeing to dismiss the priest as a Venizelist.⁵⁴ The Rand Daily Mail reported that, following this decision, a resolution was passed and confirmed; but the priest (a

personal friend of Venizelos) declared that he had performed his duties in a strictly proper manner and "in accordance with the feelings of a true son of Greece".⁵⁵ The royalists accused him of setting aside a certain decision on ecclesiastical matters but the priest was determined to defend his rights legally. Under pressure, the royalists met again and decided to compromise and to withdraw the dismissal.⁵⁶ Although the leaders of the two factions were hopeful that a permanent peace had been achieved, this was not the case as we will show.

The royalists for once had proved Nicolaides's beliefs to be wrong as far as their real numerical significance was concerned. The Venizelists, on the other hand, realising that their opposition was considerably stronger than previously expected, decided to establish an all-South African Venizelist Party, and urged all Greeks of the same sympathies to join it.⁵⁷ Their first street collections were supported by 34 Greeks in Johannesburg (£200), 13 more in Johannesburg (£13), seven in Germiston (£15), 14 in Pretoria (£27), two in Pietersburg (£7), and another seven in Johannesburg (£14).⁵⁸

While internal disagreements undoubtedly damaged unity amongst the Greek community, the local newspapers, which up to March 1917 had eagerly reported everything relevant to Greeks and anti-Greek opinion and attitudes, ceased to publish material at a time when serious attacks by individuals and groups on Greek shops and businesses were daily taking place.⁵⁹ Nicolaides regarded these attacks as a premonition of more serious future attacks, and called on Greeks all over South Africa to stop discussing and quarreling about politics.⁶⁰

The derogatory or ironic political remarks made about Greeks were used on every level and in every sphere of social life, from the street to public and municipal bodies. During a hearing concerning "kaffir eating houses",

for example, in the Public Health Committee of the Johannesburg municipality, a Greek appeared wanting to sell his business to an Indian. Councillor Nicholas immediately asked him if he was a Venizelist or a royalist, a question hardly relevant to the business of a licence court. The chairman overruled the question but, in the event, transfer was refused without a specific reason being given by the Board.⁶¹

It was reported in Parliament by Mr Serfontein that in a speech made in Pretoria during a recruiting meeting on 15 April, Bishop Furze suggested that all men in the Union who were not indispensable to the public service and private business and who did not go to the front within a week, should be tarred and feathered. He specifically mentioned the "aliens" and "enemy subjects".⁶² Many Greek clerks and shop assistants were fired from cafés and hotels and miners could not find employment.⁶³ The shopkeepers faced a boycott, and the small fruiterers faced financial difficulties.⁶⁴ Every aspect of social life pointed towards a repetition of the process leading to another "anti-alien" mob law. This time, however, it was not against the Germans; it was the turn of the Greeks.

(F) THE ANTI-GREEK RIOTS AND PUBLIC OPINION

As already stated, the anti-German riots in Cape Town and Johannesburg had been carefully planned, although to an outside observer they might have appeared spontaneous. The formation of the anti-German groups, disguised as "consumer alliances", to boycott German shops indicates an organised, well-planned process. The anti-Greek riots started in the same manner.

It was 1 May 1917, Labour Day, and the International Socialist League (I S L), a splinter group of the Labour Party,¹ was celebrating Workers' Day.² The meeting was suppressed by the "patriotic forces" who staged a demonstration against the socialists and the "aliens". The mayor spoke to the crowd and promised to communicate with the government regarding the position of "alien" and enemy subjects.³ Prior to the speech, three tearoom bioscopes belonging to Greeks (two in President Street and one in Rissik Street, Johannesburg) had been damaged and some Greek shops had been visited by soldiers who had intimidated the proprietors.

The recruiting committee had appointed a speaker but he was unable to address the meeting because of the havoc created by the crowd.⁴ While the International Socialists were concentrating in front of the town hall "calling upon the workers to end the war and re-establish the working class International",⁵ and the recruiting committee's speaker had at last started addressing the crowd, a "dark man" was "very badly" beaten. His female companion was beaten, too, during the singing of "God Save the Queen".⁶ This dark man was Ginsberg, a leading member of the I S L, who then tried to reach the speaker's box in order to announce the postponement of the meeting because of the aggressiveness of the organised opposition.⁷ Two men and a woman, fearing attack by the soldiers, called a cab in order to escape but the mob destroyed the cab immediately.

Bunting, a leading theoretician of the I S L was beaten up,⁸ as well as Campbell, a socialist visitor from Durban.⁹

It was obvious from the very first incident that the soldiers and the rest of the crowd had in mind one main target - the Greek shops - and they used the May Day attack as a "warm-up". They invaded the Masonic Hall, where the I S L's social was to take place, and created havoc. Colin Wade, an Internationalist M P C and Germiston town councillor sympathetic to the League, and those present escaped through the side entrance.¹⁰ The crowd broke into the offices of the organisation and destroyed everything. This was only the start, however. They went on to the Elite Cafe where they smashed the seats, glassware and electric lights. They destroyed everything in Popper's Bioscope. The City Bioscope suffered the same fate, while more and more people joined the crowd. The Rand Daily Mail reporter covering the latter incidents pointed out, the next day:

The destruction here was on much the same lines as elsewhere, but it was accomplished before most of the audience had got away, and there were shrill screams of women and children who were frightened by the splintering of glass and the sudden bursts of blue which announced the fusion of electric wires. The cafe was wrecked. The purpose of the crowd was so obvious that law-abiding people at the Elite Bioscope wondered why police protection was not earlier given. (Emphasis added.)¹¹

This was one of the crucial factors associated with those attacks against the socialists and Greek business premises. The police were not prepared to take risks against the attackers and seemed reluctant to protect individuals and properties, thus making a mockery of the State's assurances to the contrary. It was two hours later that they acted as protectors of property, when they stopped the mob from attacking another four Greek cafes.¹² The crowd pulled back to the town hall, where one of the speakers of the recruiting committee warned the government that, because of its sympathetic attitudes towards "enemy

subjects" and "aliens", it could not expect men to enlist as long as Germans were not interned and both Greeks and Germans were allowed to trade while Englishmen had to fight.¹³

One of the leaders of the crowd was Captain McIntire (a member of the Labour Party) who, having played an important part in breaking up the I S L meeting and smashing the Greek shops, attempted to get the crowd to sing "The Red Flag"; instead they started calling him a "traitor".¹⁴ The Afrikaner policemen constantly approached their superiors to allow them to clear up the mob but the latter openly restrained them from doing that.¹⁵

It was only the International that saw the real reason behind the attacks on the Greek premises and firms that Mayor O'Hara called a "disgrace to the city".¹⁶ The International pointed out the class nature of the disturbances. As we have noted, one of the major questions raised in the recruiting meetings was the domination by "alien firms" of the market and especially the distributive trade and commerce. The International clearly pointed out the class links of many members of the recruiting committees with the British commercial bourgeoisie that was in competition with "foreign" firms such as "Russian" and "Greek" ones.¹⁷ The newspaper also revealed the ambiguous role played by the police force in never stopping the crowd from beating up the socialists and destroying certain Greek business premises, but who acted immediately to stop the crowd when it attacked certain other premises. The "hooligan" element increased dramatically as time passed.¹⁸

The next day there was another recruiting meeting, preceded by a large demonstration of soldiers. Captain McIntire with approximately 200 men tried to keep the crowd away from disturbances, but 12 soldiers started inciting the public to violence against the nearby Greek business premises. A large number of civilians followed their lead,

while the police had already arrested several of them. The crowd turned on the policemen, attacking them and accusing them of protecting "alien" and "enemy" premises.¹⁹ Part of the crowd attacked some policemen who were holding two soldiers and one policeman was seriously wounded. According to the press, approximately 8 000 people participated in the demonstration.²⁰

From the platform, Filmer told the crowd that until certain matters in Johannesburg were cleared up it was futile to appeal to men to calm down. He urged the police to free the people who had been arrested during the demonstration and the attacks on the shops.²¹ Several political elements within the crowd tried unsuccessfully to push their parties' lines amongst the demonstrators. A Labour Party spokesman read out to the demonstrators a telegram from his party stating that its leadership was very worried that new disturbances might take place and appealed to its followers to abstain from new mob law. The party maintained that it deprecated violence, which would only harm and not help anyone. The injury of innocent people was too often the result of such demonstrations that "furnish a handle" to those sections ready to oppose every measure intended to help in the war.²²

The Labour Party had once again found the opportunity to hit back at its Socialist rival, the I S L, but its telegram was met with considerable indifference from the public, as was the one sent by the Unionist Party. Unionist members of parliament expressed the wish that influential citizens would prevent disturbances that always injure innocent people; they should not grant the opportunity to those opposed to the war and the Allies to discredit and damage the cause for which so many young men were fighting,²³ The crowd was not impressed with the telegrams of the parliamentary parties; and the only mediator likely to succeed in calming the tension between police and demonstrators was the mayor. O'Hara appealed to those present to send a

deputation to Cape Town to talk to their parliamentarians. He appealed to the police for the release of those previously arrested.

After consultations, the arrested were released and the crowd felt it was time for more action. The demonstration re-started immediately, and the first Greek shop to feel the wrath of the mob was a small fruiterers opposite the Empire and next to the National Bank in Commissioner Street.²⁴ Another Greek shop, next to the Gladstone Hotel, was smashed completely, while the demonstrators turned to the University Café, next to the School of Mines, which was also destroyed. The Triple Alliance Café was viciously attacked, but then the demonstrators found out that the owner was not Greek and turned their attention to the United Café in Harrison Street, where they met with another surprise. While they were smashing the windows of the café its proprietor, J Fasulatos, came out and made known that his café was the headquarters of the Venizelist committee and that his two brothers were fighting in the front with the Allies.²⁵

The demonstrators continued on their way and smashed everything inside a small Greek fruiterers, throwing away the fruit and chocolates, and breaking the chairs and the plateglass windows. Their activities continued uninterruptedly until the police arrived on the scene an hour later.²⁶

While in Johannesburg the demonstrations were creating havoc, in Cape Town Sir Abe Bailey of Krugersdorp, immediately after the transaction of formal business in the House of Assembly, asked the Prime Minister to make a statement regarding events in Johannesburg. The Prime Minister read out the telegram sent by Mayor O'Hara explaining that the populace was dissatisfied with the appearance of the "war on war" faction of the labour movement, i.e. the I S L, which had disrupted their meeting. O'Hara mentioned the

large numbers of the Johannesburg public participating in the disturbances and then proceeded to examine the outcry created against the Greeks and Germans.²⁷ He concluded his telegram by recording his promise to the crowd that if they dispersed he would represent them and request the Prime Minister to take immediate action to intern all enemy subjects. O'Hara expected a clear answer from the government on that matter.²⁸

Botha then read out the telegram he had sent in reply stating that he regretted the riots. He pointed out that the government had given full effect to the policy of interning all able-bodied enemies as well as naturalised British subjects of enemy origin against whom there were reasonable grounds for supposing them to be a danger to the State. Regarding the Greeks, he said that he failed to understand the attitude of the public, because Greeks were subjects of a neutral power and were entitled to be treated as such. He called on all reasonable and loyal citizens of Johannesburg to assist the government in maintaining law and order and made it clear that the latter would do its best to take measures protecting the property of all peaceful citizens. All disturbances could have serious consequences and could damage the cause of the Empire and the Allies.²⁹

Another viewpoint on the disturbances and the behaviour of the police was contained in a telegram sent to the Minister of Justice by the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria. According to the Commissioner, the disturbances in Johannesburg occurred because of the Socialist meeting. He pointed out that after the meeting nothing further had happened and the police had left the City Hall under the impression that the trouble was over. Later, he continued, disturbances started again and some damage was done. Most of the mob were uniformed soldiers, whom O'Hara had tried to calm down without success. He claimed that the police had asked the military pickets to deal with the soldiers.³⁰

This communication is worth mentioning for its inaccuracy and naivety. Firstly, there was an interval between the time of the postponement of the Socialists' meeting and the initiation of the disturbances and attacks on the Greek shops. The mob attacked the Greek shops after they had destroyed the Socialists' offices and the meeting had been postponed, as we have already shown, and the inaccuracy of the police statement in that instance is unquestionable. Also the question of "how much damage" was a pertinent one. The police had declared that there was "some damage"; we will show later that it was more than that.

Hertzog put the Nationalist Party's stamp on the question. He read out a wire, presumably sent by Johannesburg party sources, in which it was laconically stated that there had been a great demonstration, led by soldiers, against the Greeks and Jews. Three people had been assaulted and windows broken. The question of a strike was also considered. Hertzog analysed the question in the Nationalist perspective, maintaining that there were only a few agitators who were responsible for the disturbances, and accused the government of poor communication techniques. He pointed out that disturbances had taken place in Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth, but no-one had heard about them, not even the government. He called on the newspapers to act more responsibly and give publicity to such events and questioned the role of the police and their inability to cope with the incidents. Accusing the soldiers of being primarily responsible for the disturbances, he urged the government to appoint more special constables to cope with the situation. In conclusion he asked the Minister of Justice if the House could be assured that the police were able to prevent violence and damage to property.³¹

The Minister of Justice made clear the fact that the government had heard the news by twelve and when the censor

had asked whether he should keep the information from the newspapers, he had been given a negative answer. He called on the different parties to deprecate the acts of violence and to disapprove of what had taken place in Johannesburg. He referred, indirectly, to the anti-German riots pointing out that the greatest trouble ensued simply because a large number of influential people did not make themselves heard. He assured everyone in the House that the police had been issued with the strictest instructions to take strong steps to protect property and people, and he said that they could be trusted to do so. As for the soldiers, he pointed out that the Defence Force had been instructed to keep them under strict control and he thought they were able to do this. He accepted that soldiers were the protagonists of the disturbances but pointed out that their different backgrounds and the lack of military discipline were the chief reasons for their behaviour.³²

Duncan of Fordsburg said that the government would have his party's unqualified support against any unlawful behaviour. He pointed out, however, that there were other places where inflammatory resolutions were being put forward. He hoped that those gentlemen responsible for this would take heed; and he hoped further that the government would do something to show people whose feelings had been roused that it was prepared to fearlessly carry out the law. Botha started his reply by praising Duncan for his clear and sympathetic speech and then proceeded by saying that the government had displayed the greatest patience in the matter of the disturbances. He said that it was discouraging to see this kind of action taking place and he was sorry that his appeals to the populace had not been successful. He pointed out that some of the English inhabitants of South Africa were excited, and he said that this excitement could easily lead to disturbances and violent outbursts. But he maintained that it was the duty of the government to guarantee law and order in the country and that was why he personally had made sure that drastic

action had been taken against the demonstrators, as such a state of affairs could not be tolerated. He called upon all men with influence to exercise it to the full in order to secure peace and to avoid hatred, division, bitterness and strife.

Botha went on to say that such disturbances had not taken place only in Johannesburg, but also in the House of Assembly. He accused certain Members of Parliament of disloyalty, saying that several speeches had caused a good deal of harm. He was obviously referring particularly to speeches made in the House by Sir Charles Crewe who, a month before the disturbances, had accused the King and royalists in Greece of being traitors, and who clearly did not see much difference between the "German subjects" and "Greek aliens"; and Mr Rockey of Langlaagte who had pointed out during the same discussion that the disquiet of the people in Johannesburg and their disappointment with the government lay in the fact that the latter had not put a stop to "enemy" and "alien" trading. He asked that magistrates in every district be given authority to deal with such cases.³³

Continuing, Botha said that the newspapers were to be blamed for the state of war existing between sections of the community. He urged the press to be moderate in order to avoid more tears and further bloodshed. He also said that leaders in the House should watch their words and set a good example. He regretted that uniformed soldiers were in the forefront of the troubles owing to lack of discipline, but he accepted that the military authorities had been unable to exercise control over them because they were on leave.³⁴

Creswell of the Labour Party expressed his agreement with the Prime Minister and urged all parties to endorse the views of moderation and to denounce the bloody events that had taken place. He also agreed with Duncan that

certain sections of the population were excited and that they should be patient. He disapproved of their activities and called upon them to refrain from further incidents.³⁵

Sir Thomas Smartt concluded the proceedings by saying that he agreed with Creswell, and paid tribute to the soldiers fighting for the Allied cause. He said that he realised the frustration the soldiers felt towards those (the I S L) opposing the war, and hoped that the government would take steps to have such meetings banned. He pointed out that law and order had to be maintained at all costs, and called upon the government to remove every individual who was a danger to the country.³⁶

There was a unanimous feeling amongst all parties in the House that law and order had to be maintained, that police action had to be taken immediately after the initiation of trouble, and everyone pointed out the inadequacies of the police force in its efforts to combat the disturbances. However, these unanimous agreements on main issues were overshadowed by certain remarks such as that made by the Prime Minister that the role of the press was very questionable, and also the speeches made in the House by certain members, mainly those representing the English interests. Smartt's point that every "enemy alien" who could be considered a danger should be removed could be seen as a prime example of the kind of speech that Botha had referred to previously.

The South African press paid considerable attention to the disturbances. The Rand Daily Mail in an editorial wrote that the disturbances were not serious and that only a few windows had been smashed, a point in direct contradiction of the same newspaper's report on the incident. Additionally, the paper congratulated Botha on his statement in Parliament on the unnecessary nature of the arrests made by the police and accused the Nationalists of trying to capitalise politically on the disturbances.³⁷ The

former point raises a number of questions, especially the one concerned with the "hooligans" who saw the disturbances as a vehicle for destruction. The newspaper openly advocated the immediate release of all those arrested and pointed out that mob law was the worst weapon to be used by the English section because it would politically alienate the immigrants.

The editorial went on to accuse certain members of the recruiting committees of agitating against the "aliens", thus opening the way to mob law. It was clear, the newspaper concluded, that the public of Johannesburg was in the hands of bad leaders.³⁸ With the exception of the Star, the other newspapers (including the Dutch ones and those published in Natal and the Orange Free State) did not editorially cover the disturbances. The Star stated that it was against every mob law which disturbed law and order, and agreed with the speeches of the party leaders in the House of Assembly. It condemned the leaders of mob law and continued:

Greeks of course belong to a neutral nation and it is quite out of the question to suggest that they should be compelled to fight. They have been allowed to settle and trade amongst us and as long as they conform to the law, they are entitled to its protection. If any individual offends by failing to observe the spirit of neutrality it is always open to his customers to mark their disapproval by boycotting his business.³⁹

For the first time in such a controversy two left-wing publications entered the debate on mob law. The South African Review pointed out that such disturbances were calculated to assist the foes of the Empire and, as such, should be condemned in every possible way. The journal endorsed the telegrams sent by General Botha and Mayor O'Hara and the position of all parties in the House of Assembly, and added that such mob law always gave satisfaction to the enemy. The interesting feature of the article was that it referred only to the disturbances and

attacks against the "war on warites" and enemy subjects, without specifically mentioning the Greeks. Referring to Botha's assurance that the government had given full effect to the policy of 'interning all able-bodied "enemy subjects", as well as naturalised British subjects of enemy origin who there were reasonable grounds to believe were a danger to the State, the journal sarcastically pointed out that not only "able-bodied aliens" should be interned, for many were not able-bodied but possessed able tongues and did much mischief.⁴⁰

The International's editorial and its main reports were also on the events. The newspaper paid more attention to the postponement of the I S L's social and meeting and its reporter pointed out at the end that the little children of the comrades were disappointed at being deprived of their evening's entertainment, but the members and sympathisers of the organisation had gone home feeling that they had not neglected their duty to the working-class International, and that the big scale on which the opposition was organised was testimony to the fear with which the warmongers regarded May Day.⁴¹ In its editorial, the International correctly pointed out the already mentioned fact that the police paid more attention to protecting certain properties (but not Greek properties) and were apathetic towards violence against persons.

Obviously the newspaper supported the "hard-line", "no war" policy of the League, and accused the crowd of "hooliganism", pointing out that mob law was the last alternative for a dying system (the capitalist) trying to survive against the proletarian revolution. It claimed that the workers had not participated at all in the disturbances and accused the "shopkeeping recruiting committee junta" of being in the forefront of the cowardly attacks and intimidation (a clear insinuation that the recruiting committee's motives were against "enemy aliens" but were advocated by class interests opposite to those hit by the "hooliganism").

At the end the newspaper accused the recruiting committee of intimidating the Socialists and other individuals (the word Greek did not appear in that editorial either), and expressed the opinion that this did not point to the impregnability of the present system, but only to its tottering weakness.⁴²

New Hellas accused the different political factions within the Greek community of being partly responsible for the riots, pointing out that the disturbances were a direct result of the pro-royalist, pro-German feelings expressed by a certain section of the community.⁴³ It also accused the pro-German faction of publicising its feelings by sending letters to the newspapers (the majority of which were not published anyway), and called for united action.⁴⁴

The damage to Greek businesses was considerable. The shops of D Sikiotis, N Pippas, I Blassopoulos, and D Maroudas were totally destroyed. N Rossolymos's café was partly damaged and the shops of the Stathakis Brothers (Eloff Street), J Fasoulakis (Bree and Harrison Streets), the Tountas Brothers, K Loukas, P Heraclides and E Florias had their windows smashed.⁴⁵ The financial aspect of the damage was estimated at £3 000. None of the victims was insured because no insurance company was prepared to undertake such a risk.⁴⁶ Following the disturbances many English companies, such as the Central Palace Hotel, the Grand National Hotel and several import-export agencies, fired all their Greek clerks.⁴⁷

That was the situation in Johannesburg after the disturbances and the mob law that shook the Greek community in town for two days. The fact that such disturbances did not take place in other centres indicates that unity movements should be formed to secure a "Greek united front" against the hostile attitude of the general public. In the aftermath, Greeks realised that ethnic and class interests called for unity as a necessary step forward.

(G) THE AFTERMATH OF THE RIOTS

The Greek community viewed the disturbances as a clear manifestation of the increasing hostility towards them of the pro-Allied section of the population and as a threat to them in two ways: They were aware that the hostilities were directed against them as an ethnic group whose Motherland kept a neutral position in the war; and also as a group of commercial agents whose relatively successful share in the local market was a threat to certain sections of British and other immigrants whose economic and social positions had deteriorated during the war. The Greeks soon realised that they would have to protect their personal existence and their businesses and properties against any future hostilities, and recognised the need for unity across both ethnic and class lines as of primary importance.

It was the Venizelist committee that first rose to protest against the disturbances by pointing out that half of Hellenism was fighting alongside the Allies in Macedonia, under the direction of the Nationalist government led by Venizelos. The committee stressed that most, if not all, shops attacked during the disturbances were occupied by prominent Venizelists. It said that the Allies had recognised and honoured Venizelos's government, and drew attention to the tortures that they, as Venizelists, were still suffering in Greece at the hands of the royalists because they would rather fight on the side of the Allies against their hereditary foes. The committee continued its appeal to the demonstrators by saying that the shopowners who had been attacked during the riots were represented in the war effort by brothers and other relatives and had financially helped the Venizelist government. Recognising and appreciating the liberal sentiments of the British people in the midst of whom they lived, they appealed to the government and loyal citizens to accept those facts, pointing out the tremendous efforts made by the committee in maintaining its

links with Venizelos and in the collection of funds for the Allied cause.¹

The leaders of the Greek community approached the chief magistrate and appealed for law and order,² while the conflicting factions (Venizelists and royalists) immediately after the disturbances met at the Tivoli Hotel to discuss measures to combat future disturbances.³ This meeting, planned to be based on class rather than ethnic lines, appointed a committee consisting of 17 members, whose main objective would be to avoid future disturbances.⁴ At the meeting the Venizelist members outnumbered the royalists and speeches were made in defence of the Greek politician's stand in the war. It was argued that a cable should be sent to him requesting the appointment in the Transvaal of a representative of the Venizelist National government, as had been done in Australia and other parts of the British Empire.⁵ (In Khartoum, for example, the Greek community endorsed Venizelos's stand towards the war and appointed as its representative the Consul of Cairo, A Sachtouris. The same community had already sent approximately 30 volunteers to fight in Macedonia and had, since 1916, contributed large sums of money to the Venizelist government.)⁶ It was suggested that the representative should be a local prominent citizen chosen by the Greeks in town.

The speakers expressed their regret for the riots and pointed out that in future the public would recognise and appreciate the services rendered to the Entente by their compatriots in Europe and use their influence for the protection of Greeks and Greek properties. The Greeks in Johannesburg, they maintained, were entitled to be respected and to have the same rights as any other ally fighting at Britain's side for the liberty of the world.⁷ Those present voted unanimously to elect the editor of the Rand Daily Mail as their representative.⁸ In its editorial,⁹ New Hellas celebrated the establishment of the "joint committee",

but the latter was destined to fail. There was the potential for the committee to play a very important role within the Greek community as the body which could liaise with the State authorities. The Greek community, dominated by the royalists, was non-existent¹⁰ and so the role of the committee would have been to secure Greek representation in its public appeals, as both an ethnic and a class body representing certain economic interests. The committee lasted only two weeks, however, because the different political/ideological affiliations of its members led to its abolition.¹¹

The Johannesburg public became sympathetic for a few days when it was revealed in the court case against Danie Niepage (18 years of age), W McEwan (22 years) and Harry Norman (16 years), who were accused of destroying Greek shops, that the leader of the demonstrations, a certain Private Ralph Montgomery, had been in a lunatic asylum for a number of years.¹² This sympathy, however, was short-lived for, on the morning of 6 May, a Greek café in Germiston was violently attacked and the windows smashed by a man who had been refused the loan of a sovereign.¹³

Until 20 May, everything appeared peaceful and the provocative tone of the recruitment meetings had changed. It was the events of 21 May that indicated once again that anti-Greek feelings were still alive and well. A speech was made by the mayor at a meeting of the Johannesburg recruiting committee in which he said that Botha regarded the Greeks as neutrals, as did the Imperial government, and thus he was obliged to protect them with all means at his disposal. But, at the same time he (Botha) was negotiating with the Greek authorities with the object of making it possible for those with Venizelist sympathies to enlist if they wished to do so. O'Hara pointed out that the Prime Minister had denounced some speeches made by recruiting committee members against the Greeks.¹⁴

A S Benson was the next speaker. A powerful orator and demagogue, he commenced by saying that it was silly to ask the government to enlist people whom the mob wanted to burn out. He said that in a private conversation with a leader of the Greeks in Johannesburg, he had been solemnly assured that, out of 1 000 Greeks in town, one could count the Venizelists on the fingers of both hands. They did not want to recruit spies, Benson said, and therefore they should leave the Greeks out. The crowd cheered the speaker.¹⁵ Benson was the most powerful orator of all and his venomous attacks against the Greeks were very popular with the crowds.¹⁶ His violent attack against Greeks as spies was calculated to create new disturbances, and it was certainly unlikely that his alleged conversation with a Greek leader had ever taken place, since he was avoided by the Greeks, and a leading member of that community would surely not have made remarks calculated to harm his compatriots.¹⁷ Benson was in a position to know very well that the number of Venizelists was at least equal to, if not higher than, that of the royalists. In addition, his remarks about Greeks being spies were both venomous and inaccurate. In accusing Greeks of being spies, he followed the same pattern as that used by Sir Thomas Watt two months before. Watt, in one of his "anti-spy" speeches in the House of Assembly, had accused the government of not imposing any restrictive measures on German subjects who became British citizens in order to spy in the Union.¹⁸

However, he was not the only one to act in such a provocative manner. Regarding Allies and neutrals, the Director of War Recruiting stated that subjects of neutral countries could not be recruited, but that Greek subjects who supported Venizelos could be enrolled subject to confirmation by the Consul or the Provost Marshall.¹⁹ The Greek community felt anger and disillusionment towards the individuals and bodies, representing a substantial number of people within all sections of the Johannesburg community, who expressed these new attitudes. Nicolaidis openly

accused Benson of being a dangerous demagogue whose speeches were calculated to create new disturbances, and a liar for stating that the number of Greek Venizelists was so small.²⁰

When another Greek shop was destroyed and its proprietor claimed damages of £250,²¹ Capsopoulos took the responsibility to answer the serious allegation made by Benson. In a letter to the Rand Daily Mail the Greek leader, himself a leading royalist as we have seen, stated that most of the Greeks were Venizelists and questioned the truth of Benson's accusations. He asked him to point out where and when Greeks who were fighting with the Allies had produced a spy and what other country could claim the honour of being represented by thousands of its sons fighting with the Allies, although officially being neutral. He said, further, that not all of those fighting were followers of Venizelos, and challenged Benson to prove that even a single individual Greek had turned spy. He assured Benson and the Johannesburg public that Greeks who were aware of the situation in the Motherland could not exactly combine either Venizelism with pro-Ententeism or anti-Venizelism with pro-Germanism.²²

Three days prior to Capsopoulos's letter, the South African Review, the prominent pro-labour periodical of Cape Town, published a full-page article under the title of "Who betrayed Venizelos? Was the House of Lords concerned in it?", in which an illuminating, though far-fetched, analysis was presented. Quoting New Europe, the journal pointed out that Venizelos was disappointed with both the King and the Allies. Venizelos was quoted as saying that he knew that Constantine was an agent of the Kaiser, but he expected that the Allies would help him in his endeavours. He was disappointed with the Allies because they did not save his own followers from being massacred by the royalist forces, and they forced him not to take an "anti-dynastic" stand. The article accused the Russian Court and the Allies

who protected Constantine and muzzled Venizelos, and called upon them to think of these things after their victory, and to leave Venizelos alone to restore the reign of liberty to the country that had been so grossly betrayed.²³ The article was eulogistic towards Venizelos and showed the actions of the King in a very bad light, so one might think that it played an important part in mobilising more support for Venizelos amongst the local Greeks, although the Cape Town community was already very strongly pro-Venizelist.²⁴

Capsopoulos did not waste time following the publication of his letter in the Rand Daily Mail and, together with two other ex-chairmen of the Greek community and prominent royalists, A Botsis and T L Baraktaris, formed a committee to raise funds from the Greek community for the Governor-General's Fund; he pointed out that in the past the Greeks had contributed towards the fund individually, but that now it was time to donate money as a community, in order to show their gratitude to Britain in a practical way.²⁵ In the meantime, Capsopoulos was involved in the distribution of a circular drawn up by the local administrative committee of the H C J, asking local Greeks to offer prayers for King Constantine at a special church service. The Venizelist committee, knowing well that the administrative committee of the H C J was dominated by royalists, themselves distributed a circular urging the local Greek population to stay away from the church service because such prayers would not be proper in view of the disaster which the policy of the King had brought on Greece. They stated in their circular that further measures would be taken should their advice be disregarded.²⁶

The royalists, however, participated in the service, which took place in the Greek church, but without a priest. The Venizelists, asserting that the gathering was convened for the purpose of offering prayers for King Constantine, did not participate at all. The royalists declared that the service was in celebration of St Constantine's Day

(which is observed by Greeks all over the world because it symbolises the recognition of the Orthodox Greek religion as the official religion of the Byzantine Empire by Emperor Constantine the Great and his mother, Helene), and claimed that every loyal Greek community prayed for the royal family of Greece. Despite the absence of the priest the service was held and was attended by a crowd estimated by the Rand Daily Mail to be 400 strong.²⁷ Addresses were delivered by A Capsopoulos who spoke of the Pan-hellenic movement and expressed the belief that King Constantine would, at the right moment, lead the Greeks to further triumphs over their hereditary enemies, the Turks and the Bulgars. He expressed the gratitude of the Greek community to the local authorities in a trying period. He called for three cheers for the British government, which were given, at the end of his speech. Louvis, the chairman of the administrative committee of the H C J spoke at another meeting where no Venizelist was present.²⁸

The controversy surrounding that quasi-religious, quasi-nationalist, quasi-political and wholly royalist meeting lasted for a long time. The most important features of its success could be attributed to the participation and contribution of Capsopoulos. The man who had a week previously pointed out that the vast majority of the Greeks were Venizelists (leaving the reporter with the false impression that Capsopoulos himself was one of them), and who had two days previously, together with two other prominent Greek royalists, formed a committee to collect money for the Governor-General's Fund, and had tried during that time to calm down local public opinion, suddenly exposed himself and the Greek community generally to the unnecessary danger of new disturbances. Was that political naivety on his part, or something deeper that he wanted to prove or achieve?

There is no contemporary record giving answers to these questions, but what Capsopoulos definitely achieved

was new anti-Greek feelings amongst the public as we will see in the process. Possibly Capsopoulos wanted to determine the real support that King Constantine enjoyed amongst local Greeks, and from that point of view he should have been satisfied with the crowd present at the service. The Venizelists, however, felt uneasy about the situation and took immediate steps to secure their defence against the royalists; N Saridakis, the honorary secretary of the Venizelist committee, sent a letter to the Rand Daily Mail protesting against the service for King Constantine held in the Greek church. Saridakis pointed out that he and the other members of his committee assumed that because there was no Venizelist Greek newspaper in South Africa (an open insinuation against the philo-royalist sentiments of Nicolaidis), the Rand Daily Mail was the only newspaper read by Greeks that could publish his letter. He stressed that it was the treacherous attitude of the King that had created such a bad name for the Greeks amongst the British public. He accused the Greek committee of activities that were against the common interests of the Greek community. He stated that the King had handed parts of Greece to the most fanatical enemies of Greece (the Bulgars) while the Serbians, with whose help those parts had been conquered, were treacherously left to their fate. (That part of the letter bore many similarities to the one appearing in the South African Review, but without the portions accusing the Allies of betraying Venizelos). He stressed the fact that his committee and the Venizelists in Johannesburg did not participate in the service because their leader was fighting for liberty, while Constantine massacred the liberals in Athens.²⁹

The letter from the Venizelists did not stop the royalists from announcing through their official mouthpiece, the committee of the HCJ, that they would close the Greek church until another priest with royalist views had arrived, because the priest had refused to officiate in the special service on account of his Venizelist views; they also

sent a cable to the King in Athens asking him to appoint a Consul-General in Johannesburg.³⁰ The Venizelists declared that they would not accept either of them in the city. Their committee also announced, in one of its special meetings, that they had collected £50 and unanimously decided to hand it over to the editor of the Rand Daily Mail towards the Governor-General's Fund.³¹

The tensions increased dramatically in the next few days when John George, a sweetmaker, sued the priest for assault during the day of the service. George collected money from the royalist faction to pay the court expenses, and initiated a petition demanding the dismissal of the priest.³² The court case was another embarrassment for the leaders and members of the Greek community because of the strong language and abuse used by both sections. George led the abuse because, according to witnesses, he called Venizelos and all Venizelists (including the priest) "traitors"; he said that Cretans had no Greek blood in their veins and that they were Turks; and that Venizelos was an anti-Christ.³³ The priest, on the other hand, seemed more controlled and analysed the divisions amongst the Johannesburg Greeks. He pointed out that the leaders of the community were royalists and that was the basic reason that he was dismissed and the church had been locked and barricaded by the royalists. He defended his stand not to perform the service on religious and national grounds. He was acquitted of all charges.³⁴

The court case described above was not an isolated phenomenon as we will see. It was based on a plan of the royalist faction to attract as many supporters as possible by any means. The fact that George collected money to sue the priest, and collected signatures for the petition, indicated renewed intensified royalist propaganda directed at the disillusioned or politically confused Greeks. It is doubtful, however, if the royalists' objective was fulfilled because the publicity given to their cause was

always negative and even their stalwart supporter, *New Hellas*, was now publishing all the news of the Venizelist committee. Although the newspaper wrote an eulogistic article on King Constantine when he resigned in favour of Alexander, following the pressures of the Allies,³⁵ and two months later predicted that the new King was the one to fulfil the destiny of the "Greek race" by recapturing Constantinople,³⁶ it publicised extensively the Venizelist meetings and collections of money which indicated a serious counter-propaganda and activities on the part of that section against the royalists.

The Greeks of Rhodesia who had from the beginning of 1917 started collecting and sending money to Venizelos under the leadership of their Venizelist committee headed by P Babiolakis,³⁷ were the ones who presented a challenge to those in Johannesburg. Although they were but a handful of individuals, their financial contribution to the cause they believed in superseded, in comparative terms, that of Johannesburg. Their latest contribution was £277. 1. 6d collected in Salisbury and Umtali.³⁸ The new drive of the Venizelists in the Transvaal led to the collection of £236 (63 contributors) in Johannesburg, £7 (six contributors) in Germiston, £3 (one contributor) in Bethal, £2 (two contributors) in Benoni, £28 (14 contributors) in Pretoria, £7 (two contributors) in Pietersburg and £3 (two contributors) in Potchefstroom.³⁹

In the meantime, however, the activities of royalists and Venizelists did not stop with the collection of signatures and funds for their respective causes, but also resulted in court cases that created unnecessary publicity and provoked the local public. In a case in Maritzburg, a prominent Greek resident appeared with an exemption badge and openly expressed his anti-Venizelist, pro-German attitude. He assured the court that he had dismissed a Greek employee from his restaurant, when the latter had endeavoured to collect signatures for an anti-German petition.

He also caused considerable harm and annoyance amongst local Greeks because of his pro-German attitude. The local Greeks successfully persuaded him to leave Maritzburg as he was harming the good relations between the different sections of the community. In another case, the man accused of assaulting Christophides was fined only 10s because the court accepted his plea that he had been provoked by the complainant.⁴⁰ The other court case that received extensive publicity was one in which the priest and seven others proceeded against Louvis (chairman of the H C J) and five others.

The case started on 24 July and was postponed twice. During that period the Orthodox church was closed.⁴¹ New Hellas did not give the case any publicity; in actual fact it did not even mention it. But the vast majority of Greeks in town had soon realised that the case was further negative publicity for them, and a serious obstacle to future unity and action.⁴² The position of Nicolaides was spelt out by a contemporary as follows:

Nicolaides was a good man, a centrist; he had the good of the Greeks at heart and although ideologically he was a royalist, he could see his King's mistakes; he was not blind as the rest of them [the royalists]. The King was their God, they did whatever he said without questioning it - it was the Absolute Truth - but not Nicolaides. In the case of the priest and the others, he did not take sides; he thought it better to stand in the margin. He thought that this was the only chance to save the unity, not the present unity which did not exist, but the future unity. He also thought that many Greeks in other parts of Africa who were receiving New Hellas should not be aware of the situation, because they would feel that unity was something backward, and he did not want to report the case at all. We all thought that he was right.⁴³

The case was a political one, but the main accusation against the committee of the H C J was based on religious grounds. The priest maintained that the committee had no right in barricading the church and keeping the keys because

the church was not their individual property. Their main reason for keeping the church locked was that the priest was a Venizelist, and their principal argument against him was that he was too much involved in politics, when he should have been concentrating on his religious duties.⁴⁴ The committee confirmed the fact that the church was barricaded from 4 June because the priest had not officiated at the service for King Constantine's Name Day. It stated that a settlement between the two parties had to be ruled out.⁴⁵ The magistrate, however, ruled that all Greeks (including the Venizelists) should have the right to use the church and demanded that the key should be handed to the priest.

Two days after this ruling, the Johannesburg Venizelists held a special service in the church to celebrate the third anniversary of the war. Priest Economos spoke strongly in favour of the Allied cause and applauded the entry of the Motherland into the war against "the Barbarians".⁴⁶ In the court case it had been revealed that, according to the constitution of the H C J, the rights of the minority were not secured, and the magistrate came to the conclusion that the petitioners were entitled to the redress claimed. The committee of the H C J was ordered to cover all court expenses and to hand over the key to the priest who was the person responsible for religious matters.⁴⁷

The publicity given to the case created new problems for many Greeks living in remote areas and one of them, Manolis Soares, was attacked and stabbed by four Europeans in the Booyens Reserve four days after the verdict.⁴⁸ In Cape Town, the influential journal, South African Review, backed the Venizelist cause and openly accused the Johannesburg Greek royalists of creating anti-Greek feelings with their circulars, special services for Constantine, and court cases. The journal stated that pro-Germanism and its influences could be very harmful to the Greeks' relations

with the other sections of the population, and expressed the opinion that such a movement would not be tolerated in Greece by the dictatorial King. It called on the authorities and the State to put a stop to such a movement because it was "absolutely insulting" to every loyal Britisher that Greeks in South Africa were allowed to offer prayers to the treacherous King, and the pro-German culprits should be kicked out of the country whose hospitality they were abusing in wartime.

The journal concluded by saying that although it had abstained from insulting Greeks, it was high time that this "slimy" and "insidious" pro-German propaganda, started by a certain section of them under the guise of religion, should be stopped by the government. The writer of the article also called for their internment under the Public Welfare Act, in the interests of public order and safety.⁴⁹ He commented on the court case referred to above, taking the side of the priest who was prosecuted by the royalists. He accused the royalists of blatant political intrigue and said that they should be treated as a Venizelist priest would be treated in Germany. The journal called on the government again to put the pro-German Greeks into the internment camp without further delay.⁵⁰

Cape Town and the other centres had no serious problems of political tensions because the majority of Greeks there were Venizelos supporters. The main problems were on the Rand.⁵¹ Julius Jeppe once again became Consul-General for Greece and with his usual skill tried to bring the two conflicting factions together. He partly succeeded, but it was the notification of a general Greek mobilisation that put a definite stoppage to the problems of the Greeks, at least temporarily. The mobilisation order (appearing in Appendix 10) called to the Colours all Hellenic subjects in South Africa whose years of birth were 1896 and 1897, with the exception of those whose orders had been suspended, all naturalised Greeks up to the end of June 1917, those

who had not been trained and those who had served less than three months, born in 1884-1895, including those of Old Greek origin. It also included Greeks of Macedonian, Epirus and Thassos origin born in 1884-1895, and those of origin of the Islands of Imbros, Tenedos, Crete, Mitylene, Chios and others born in 1884-1895. These and other Greek subjects were requested to report to the Consulate within 14 days from the publication of the mobilisation order to obtain their military passports.⁵²

The order re-established the links between the two factions that had been broken for such a long time, because the political situation in Greece was calling for a re-evaluation of the relations between all Greeks. The hardships created amongst members of the Venizelist committee regarding malmanagement of the collection of funds was settled amicably⁵³ and, led by New Hellas which was publishing reconciliatory notes on Greek affairs in South Africa, the Greek community and its leaders hoped that 1918 and the future generally would be rosier.⁵⁴

The internal tensions within the community, however, that had resulted in so many hardships still hung in the air and their consequences on every aspect of Greek life in South Africa were far-reaching, as we will examine shortly.

(H) CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE TENSIONS: 1915-1917

The tensions and hardships amongst and against Greeks in South Africa during the period 1915-1917 have been described in considerable detail, and the unquestionable influence of the diffusion of the ideology of the Motherland as one of the primary and major reasons for the intra-ethnic conflict amongst Greeks, as well as its significance in determining to a certain extent the anti-Greek riots, has been stressed. It has also been pointed out that the traditional nationalist/national unity amongst Greeks, a trade mark of the community from the first day of its existence, was broken, and it was becoming obvious that although Greece had at last entered the war on the side of the Allies, the shadows of the problems that had arisen during that period were very difficult to disperse.

We have, however, paid attention to only one aspect of the problem, i.e. the importance of the diffusion of the ideology of the Motherland and its domination over the intra-ethnic conflict, the role of the press in creating certain anti-Greek feelings, the attitude of the public, and the results of the disturbances taking place during that time. It would be superficial, however, to assume that it was only the provocation of Greek pro-Germanism or the attitude of certain individual members of the recruiting committee and the press that were the main determinants of the riots and the consequent anti-Greek feelings of the public.

This part of the work will concentrate on two aspects of the tensions created during that period. Firstly, I will try to show that the ideology endorsed by certain sections of the Johannesburg population that led them to take specific political actions against the Greeks, both individually and collectively, was based predominantly (but not exclusively, as shown earlier) on the socio-economic material conditions prevailing in Johannesburg

during that time. Secondly, I will spell out briefly the effects that the tensions had on the Greek community.

While the cost of living had climbed dramatically during the war years (the price index had risen from 1 000 to 2 249),¹ wages had been stabilised and in many cases had dropped. In building, for example, the average weekly wages of Europeans had dropped to £4. 9. 9d in 1917, as compared to £4.17. 0d in 1910 and £4.12. 5d in 1914; in engineering, the respective weekly wages were £4.15. 5d in 1917, as compared to £5. 3. 9d in 1910 and £4.15. 5d in 1914.² Additionally, the retail prices of basic foodstuffs increased considerably: bread by 50 per cent, flour by 60 per cent, clothing by 70 per cent, and sundries by 70 per cent. The price of sugar had risen by 100 per cent, meat by 60 per cent, eggs by 50 per cent and cheese and butter by 80 per cent.³

On the basis adopted by Owen Smith's "Cost of Living Commission" of 1916, the relative monthly expenditure of a family of five on basic subsistence commodities had increased by 50 per cent during two years.⁴ Those indications of increasing economic hardships for the Johannesburg working classes, together with the increasing number of unemployed workers resulting from the economic problems facing many industries because of the war,⁵ indicate the frustrations of a large number of the Johannesburg proletariat. The lower middle classes (small shopkeepers, shop assistants, etc) faced the same problems because of the economic situation, and they also participated in the riots (the class dimension of the attitude of certain sections of the English population against the Greeks has already been mentioned).

A member of the Greek community who lived through that period and had a firsthand experience of the hardships of the lower middle class and the unemployed, commented on the situation thus:

There were thousands of people wandering around the streets, doing nothing. Many shop assistants were out of work because business was very bad indeed. Together with the soldiers, these people were the most regular audiences of the recruiting committee's meetings. Sometimes the recruiters distributed bread and soup, and that was the main reason for the crowds to attend and cheer. The soldiers were wandering around town, doing nothing; many of them were looking for jobs, but without success. The crowd that looted and destroyed the Greek shops was a mixture of unemployed, thugs, and soldiers, but I must say that unemployment was so high and people were starving to such an extent because of the increase in the cost of living that they would look around for only two things: food and a scapegoat. In other periods, Jews made the best scapegoat, but in 1917 it was our turn.⁶

The economic frustrations of the unemployed and the man in the street were expressed graphically by a Greek shop assistant who found himself unemployed because of the financial difficulties of his Greek employer and the anti-Greek feelings of his British one.

Because of the war I could not find a job, but I was not alone - there were plenty of us, Greeks and foreigners. There were some Greeks who helped me open a bakery in Germiston. I specialised in English cakes and things like that, but because of the poverty around us and the competition of bigger manufacturers [of cakes, E M] we very soon closed. Our small capital was not enough to compete with the big capital, so I found myself unemployed once again.⁷

It was revealed in the court case of those arrested in connection with the riots that the real cause of public unrest was the economic conditions facing the poor and unemployed of Johannesburg. All of those arrested were unemployed youths who participated in the recruiting meetings not from patriotism but because they had nothing else to do, and there was always the hope of securing some food after the meeting and the riots.⁸

Another important dimension relating to the public's attitude towards the Greeks was given by another Greek survivor of those years:

It is a fact that the role of the royalists in provoking the philo-Allied public was important. Also the economic factors, such as unemployment, cost of living, and inadequate housing were problems that were related to the disturbances. There was another aspect, however, that I think played an important role as well. The Greeks, being at that time a shopkeeping class, were seen by many people as a part of the circle of war profiteers, a group of people mainly in the wholesale and retail trades who took advantage of the war situation and became rich in a short period of time. As far as I know, there was not one single Greek amongst them, and it is interesting that the crowds could create such an image, a stereotype, for Greeks as war profiteers. The rapacity and greed of those people were beyond description and in many cases they manipulated the prices in the market in such a way that their mark-up was over 150 per cent.⁹

This dimension is an interesting and important one. The high prices of the necessary subsistence commodities and the high rate of unemployment, coupled with articles depicting Greek shopowners as war profiteers, could have created a "wealthy Greek pro-German" stereotype. As shown in a previous chapter, this stereotype (commonly featured for both Greeks and Jews) had played an important part in perpetuating the myth of the "alien" who had made his fortune by exploiting the indigenous population, and especially in the war years.¹⁰

As already pointed out, Johannesburg was the only centre where anti-Greek public feelings and disturbances took place. What then of the other centres? They were obviously hit by the same economic hardships, higher cost of living, and unemployment; in short, they faced the same material realities as prevailed in the Transvaal. We have already mentioned, however, that the economic situation and reality was a major determinant (cause) of the disturbances but not the only one. The press of the other centres did not editorialise the anti-Greek attitudes or the violent attacks against Greek premises in Johannesburg; Greek-pro-Germanism was absent (or was not expressed publicly as in Johannesburg); the public image of the Greek community was

protected by the united activities of its leaders and members, and stereotypes of war profiteering rapacity were absent.

Having explained in brief the causes of the anti-Greek disturbances and the importance of the economic and social conditions prevailing in Johannesburg during that period, we will now turn to an examination of the effects of those tensions in relation to the Greek community as a whole. They certainly created many problems, having far-reaching consequences for the community's future.

The most important aspect of the problems was definitely the position of the church. In Cape Town and Pretoria the priests were not involved in any political controversy but, in Johannesburg, Economos, the priest of the Greek community, was the cornerstone of controversy. Thus, the representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church which, as already shown, was the strongest bond of nationalist unity amongst Greeks, was, in that case, the cause of serious tension between two ideologically and politically different factions of the same community. The damage done to the Greek community from that involvement had far-reaching consequences for its future in South Africa. To enter into the controversy as to whether the priest or the royalists were right is not necessary here, because each side of the story has its pros and cons; thus we will proceed to an analysis of the serious consequences those tensions had for the Greek organic communities and their members.

As pointed out already, Durban and Cape Town were predominantly Venizelist and from that aspect did not face serious individual or property threats and disturbances against them from the pro-Allied public. It was Pretoria and Johannesburg that faced the most important and serious problems. Both communities were led by royalist committees and it seems that Pretoria was predominantly royalist

judging by the small contributions made to the Venizelist fund.¹¹ In addition, the Pretoria community was more pre-occupied at that time in saving its church from auction due to the tough financial problems faced by the community.¹² Although it appears that the number of royalists was larger than that of the Venizelists, internal tensions started in 1915 when the executive committee of the community declared bankruptcy "because of the internal disagreements and rifts within our community".¹³ Since the main concern of the Pretoria leaders was to save the church, their appeals for financial aid had no political overtones at all. A letter was sent to Prime Minister Gounaris in 1915 asking him to help the community financially,¹⁴ as well as one to Venizelos, a year later, signed by Nicolaides himself, for the same reason.¹⁵

The royalist sentiments of the Pretoria Greeks could be partly explained by the fact that at least two-thirds of the city's Greek inhabitants came from Peloponnesus, a royalist stronghold.¹⁶ This homogeneity was not apparent in Johannesburg, however, where a large number of Cretans and other islanders were living, hence the problems arising during that time.

A careful study of the regular contributors to the Venizelist fund reveals their places of birth as follows:

TABLE NO 3

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF CONTRIBUTORS
TO THE VENIZELIST FUND (17)

Crete	59
Ionian Islands	10
Peloponnesus	13
Asia Minor	8
Aegean Islands	12
Non-identifiable	15
Total	117

It is obvious, from the table, that the vast majority of contributors to the Venizelist cause were Cretans, while the Peloponnesians, although constituting a large group in Johannesburg, did not support the cause to any great extent. Of course, this table is only an indication of that division and does not purport to explain the problem in all its depth. The Peloponnesians were a large group in Cape Town, for example, but did not cause any hardship within the community, probably because they felt that open pro-Germanism and royalism could lead to disturbances and victimisation against anyone holding a Greek name, and not only those supporting Greece's neutrality, or the King. In other words, the Greeks in Cape Town preferred to keep their ideology to themselves, instead of exposing their pro-royalist sentiments and attitudes publicly, because they felt it would damage their individual safety and property.¹⁸

As we have seen, this attitude did not prevail in Johannesburg where the royalists, led by Capsopoulos and Louvis (both Peloponnesians), defended their ideology and political loyalties to the maximum. This fact among others, however, led not only to the May Day disturbances but also to community disorganisation and disfunction. The problems within the community started in May 1915, when the first open conflict amongst royalists and Venizelists occurred. The Venizelists declined to vote, or even to participate in the annual general meeting of the H C J because the latter was dominated by the opposite faction. Nicolaides called upon everyone to participate in order to alleviate the bad situation in which the community found itself - but to no avail.¹⁹ The Venizelists were determined to boycott the H C J elections and general meetings, while the royalists could not mobilise their forces to participate in the community functions. Nicolaides accused both factions of boycotting the community, a fact that led to the latter's decomposition and destruction.²⁰ The boycott led to financial difficulties. The £750 overdraft

could not be paid and the creditors demanded £150 immediately. The community's treasury was empty.²¹ The annual general meeting of the community was postponed four times between May and July 1915 because of poor attendances.²²

Not even cultural activities were left out of politics. When the "Greek Actors", a cultural group consisting of young actors, performed Moliere's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme", photographs of Venizelos and the King were sold outside the theatre.²³ Approximately 400 theatregoers enjoyed the play, whose main character was played by Costa Elisseos, the leader of the group of mainly young shop assistants and unemployed.²⁴ The group was a pioneer one in the Greek Diaspora and seems to be the second drama group in its history, the first having been established in Chicago in 1904 by C Economou. The second drama group in the United States was only established in 1919 in Boston, while the Johannesburg group had started in 1916.²⁵

The whole of 1916 passed without an annual general meeting taking place, and with the royalists under Louvis still controlling its affairs,²⁶ while the separate efforts of a number of individuals to start a Greek school met with indifference from the community leaders. Christophides, a qualified teacher from the University of Athens, started a school which functioned on an irregular basis and separately from the community which was reluctant to take such a responsibility. The school opened with 28 children, 25 boys and three girls, but it did not last long. Not all parents sent their children to school and of those who did some were not prepared to pay the small fee.²⁷ Christophides then offered his valuable services to the community to teach English to the newly-arrived immigrants.²⁸

It was the disorganisation of the community and its inability to represent the interests of the community as a whole that resulted in the creation of the "emergency committee of common interests", to protect the interests of

the Greek shopowners after the May Day disturbances.²⁹ The non-existence of an organisational nucleus that would lead the community was made more serious by the fact that the H C J's constitution was totally outdated and did not provide alternative measures to be taken in the event of the community's inability to act.³⁰

Louvis, as the elected chairman of the committee of the H C J, found himself in a difficult position. On the one hand, he could mobilise his royalist supporters only in cases of absolute emergency, or for special services for the King, but could not convince them to become regular contributors to the financial and other needs of the community. On the other hand, the Venizelists did not participate in the functions of the community at all, because it was dominated by royalists. In mid-1917, Louvis decided that it was high time for action. He sent a circular to all members and ex-members of the community in Johannesburg and Pretoria requesting them to attend a very serious discussion on every matter affecting the community.³¹ Nothing came out of this effort. The Venizelists wanted to control the community through the Venizelist committee, and that was impossible, while the royalists were more preoccupied with the Greek priest than with the situation of the community.³²

In contrast to the disorganisation and disfunction of the Greek community in Johannesburg, the Cape Town community presented a picture of political unity amongst its members and leaders, which was mirrored in the uninterrupted functioning of the H C C T during the same period. In 1915 there were seven meetings with most members present and two committees were democratically elected under the leadership of Socrates Messaris, the dominant figure of the time. At the first meeting, nine members were elected to the committee.³³ There was another meeting in May when Messaris was again elected president,³⁴ while the community played an important part in mobilising public opinion regarding

the government's legislation on shop opening hours.

In collaboration with an ad hoc committee of shop-owners (E Georgeou, N Mamacos, J Trampas, N Maratos and J Gianellos), the H C C T committee petitioned the authorities on behalf of the Greek shopkeepers.³⁵ All serious matters of a social, economic and religious nature were discussed democratically within the community organisation and the best solutions were sought. Religious matters were especially carefully examined and the relations between the community and its priest were not disturbed by political or ideological controversies.³⁶ The pro-Venizelist and pro-Allied sentiments of the Cape Town community were confirmed in one of the biggest meetings ever held by the community in church, on 20 November 1915, when those present unanimously voted for a telegram to be sent to the Zaimes government pointing out that the Cape Town Greeks wholeheartedly supported Britain and her Allies in the war. The resolution was also passed unanimously by the members of the committee of the H C C T.³⁷

The community and its leaders enthusiastically assisted the financial drive of the Pretoria Greek community planned to save the church from auction. Golfinopoulos and Nicolaidès, the Pretoria leaders, came to Cape Town in June 1915 and asked the committee of the H C C T to assist in the collection of funds. The committee agreed and an ad hoc support group was organised (S Messaris, A Pouloupoulos, E Trisevgenos, G Clainos) to help the visitors fulfil their objective.³⁸

Messaris was once more elected president, in February 1916,³⁹ and again in April in the mid-year elections.⁴⁰

The effects of the tensions in Johannesburg were to be felt within the Greek community of the city for many years. At the same time the more politically and ideologically homogeneous communities of Cape Town and Pretoria

were advancing economically and socially without having to face the burning problems created by "intra-ethnic" ideological and political conflicts and the attitudes of the wider public towards "aliens" and "enemy subjects" generally and Greeks in particular.

CHAPTER 6

GREEK PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL POLITICS: 1902-1918

The national and worker consciousness of the Greek mineworkers and shop assistants, as well as the nationalist ideology as manifested during the period 1902-1917, has already been studied in great detail, and it is the intention now to complete this picture by examining Greek participation in South African politics during the same period.

The Greeks' contribution to South African national politics cannot, of course, match that of the Jews for many reasons. Unlike the Jewish people, for whom South Africa was a permanent home, Greeks mainly saw the country as a temporary place of residence. For this reason many of them did not acquire permanent residence and few were naturalised. The only existing naturalisation figures for Greeks show that between 1902 and 1908, 61 Greeks were naturalised in the Cape Colony (five in 1902, eight in 1903, two in 1904, 11 in 1905, 14 in 1906, 10 in 1907 and 11 in 1908)¹ There are no naturalisation figures for the other provinces during that period. Other naturalisation figures will be shown later.

There are several other reasons why Greeks kept away from national politics especially during the early period of their residence in South Africa. Possibly the most important were the dominance of Greek nationalism, fear of assimilation, and lack of time. Considerable space has been devoted to the dominant role played by Greek nationalist ideology and politics in the life of the Greek community. Together with the fear of assimilation, it was the primary reason that kept Greeks from participating in

national politics.

Nationalism and nationalist and other institutions, such as the Greek communities and the Orthodox Church, served primarily to directly effect the cohesiveness and unity of the Greek immigrants, and in the eyes of the older generations political participation in the affairs of the host country would lead not only to social integration but gradually to acculturation and assimilation.² It is accepted that resistance to assimilation is higher where the immigrant group possesses a strong set of institutions and a large measure of control over the kinds of resources which contribute to group autonomy,³ and in the case of the Greeks, as already shown, the communities and the church played a very important part in keeping the early immigrants within their group.

The important role played by ethnic voluntary and religious organisations in maintaining the existing ethnic ties has been stressed by Radecki amongst others. Examining and comparing 640 ethnic organisations in Canada, he concluded that the majority of those organisations maintained allegiance to their ethnic and national identity and values.⁴ This was also the case with the Greek institutions in South Africa, as we have already seen. Greeks played an active part within the host society, and especially in its economic sphere of circulation, but the fear of assimilation and the discrimination faced by the host population were not the best incentives for them to participate in local or national politics. The arrival of new immigrants infused new life into the already existing organisations and renewed the relations between the older immigrants and the Motherland.

Some other reasons were spelt out by two contemporaries. Said the first:

Most of us did not have time to participate, we did not even have time to talk about it. Politics

was always fascinating to Greeks, but mainly Greek politics. Greek politics seemed fascinating, South African politics so boring. Many of us could not read, anyway, and it was difficult to follow. We talked about the Boer War, yes, and many of us had seen [General] Botha when he was alive; he was very impressive and a serious politician.

Most of us did not participate in political party meetings, only some mine workers during May Days. We did not have time, especially the shopkeepers and shop assistants, and the miners did not have time either, because they were working overtime. We also preferred to go around together and read only Greek newspapers and talk Greek politics.

Later, some became members of parties and liked to participate in meetings, etc. One of them disappeared from our [Greek] club; he had become a member of the South African Party. He disappeared for a long time, probably three months. He was a shopkeeper. One day we were playing cards and he came in, very upset. He sat down and did not say a word. We were talking and joking and playing cards. He did not participate and we asked him what the problem was. He said he came from a party meeting where he had participated. They had asked him to express an opinion on a very secondary matter and he made a little speech. He felt that some of those present were laughing behind his back because of his accent. He sat down and the leader of the group thanked his "continental friend" for his opinion.

After the meeting one of the members ironically called him "continental" and our Greek friend retaliated by saying that the party could not afford such divisions because it was a party for all people. "Yes, sure" responded the other member, "our party even accepts bloody Greeks." Needless to say the South African would prefer not to have said those words because in a matter of minutes he was carried to hospital badly hurt.

Our Greek friend never participated in the South African Party's meetings or other functions again and he definitely preferred to worship Venizelos rather than Smuts.⁵

A Cape Town interviewee added a new dimension to the question:

We did not have time, we were working hard, yes, but how did we manage to talk and argue about Greek politics? Those who say that there was no time are partly correct. Time was limited, especially

for family men. We were very Greek in those days; we wanted to keep alive our language and traditions, and that is a major reason for not participating in South African politics. But, to my mind, there was another very important reason - fear. We were afraid of the State, of the press, of the people. We had problems with the newspapers that accused us of selling at high prices; with politicians who did not want foreigners; with the people who did not want Greeks. How could we join a party? We were afraid of the consequences.

Let us assume that some of us made a decision to join one of the existing parties and this became known, because Cape Town was small and everything was known to everyone. What would have happened then? The one party would accuse us of joining the ruling party because we wanted to be on good terms with the rulers, and when the other party came to power we had to pay. It was easier to find a scapegoat those days - Greeks, Jews, Indians. It was not indifference that kept us apart from South African politics and Christodoulou, the cigarette-maker, was a notable manifestation of this. But we were afraid of the consequences, and this was the major problem.⁶

The same attitude towards non-participation in the political controversies of the host country were adopted by Greek immigrants in the United States of America where "the absorption of the overwhelming majority of Greek-Americans with the politics of the old country, their comparative short residence in the country, and the failure of most of them to become citizens, meant that American problems had less appeal than Greek problems."⁷

The Christodoulou brothers were the first to participate in local politics and their activities, as we have already seen, were quite unique and contributed substantially to the progress and development of trade unionism in the Cape Colony, and especially in creating a labour unity across colour and ethnic lines. Their contribution was significant enough, but only on a local level.

It was the action of an individual, however, that led the Greeks towards their first quasi-organised support for

a South African political party on a national level. He was Theodore Mavrogordato, a Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department (C I D) and Deputy Commissioner of Police. He was born in Constantinople⁸ and started his career in the Cyprus Service in 1881; he became an Assistant Inspector in the Cyprus Military Police in 1883, and Inspector in 1884. He took over the Directorship of the Special Police Force in 1895 and, during the same year, became Assistant to the Commissioner, Governor of Prisons, and Deputy Coroner. In 1897 he was acting Commissioner of Papho and in 1900 Commissioner in Lamassol.⁹

In October 1901 he was asked by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to become an Assistant Commissioner of Police in Johannesburg on a year's probation at a salary of £625.¹⁰ Conditions of employment included passing a very strict medical examination and, if selected, applying to the War Office for a passage to South Africa on a transport ship. Should he relinquish his appointment within the year for any reason other than mental or physical infirmity he would be expected to repay the Crown Agent of the Colonies for his ticket. He was to receive half pay from the day of embarkation and full pay from the day of his arrival in the Transvaal.¹¹ Mavrogordato accepted all these conditions¹² and left Southampton on the steamship "Dunera" on 4 November 1901.¹³

In August 1908 he became Deputy Commissioner of the Transvaal Police, in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department.¹⁴ Mavrogordato was a protégé of Kitchener and ideologically a "greater jingo than Chamberlain himself", according to an acquaintance.¹⁵ His influential position within the Johannesburg C I D did not alienate him from the Greek community. He was a regular contributor to the Pretoria Orthodox Church Fund,¹⁶ and he participated in most Greek nationalist functions.¹⁷ He supported the "English cause" until Union, and later was a paid-up member of the South African Party until he left the country in 1912.

He died the following year after an unsuccessful operation in London.¹⁸

Mavrogordato's career in Johannesburg was full of controversies. In 1908 he called on the Rand Liquor Commission not to allow women to work in tearooms because they attracted males to the adjoining bars, and he proposed that a bar licence should be separate from that of a tearoom.¹⁹ His most controversial statements were made before the passing of the Police Bill in early 1911. He pointed out that the inadequate salaries paid to policemen and detectives left them open to bribery. He said that the tariffs for protection varied from £50 from a wholesale liquor dealer, £40 from a brothel keeper, and £20 from an ordinary prostitute. He claimed that the police could easily recruit men as detectives at low salaries because they could make £1 000 per year out of bribes. Police detectives were paid 5/-d a day at that time.²⁰ General Hertzog moved him to Pretoria in spite of unanimous protests from the people of Johannesburg. As a result of his transfer criminal activities in Johannesburg increased alarmingly.²¹

Mavrogordato's relations with the Greeks of Johannesburg and Pretoria were close. Because of his influential position he could help individuals and the community in many ways. It was easy for him to obtain licences for small shopkeepers and café-owners, or canvass for financial assistance for the Greek Orthodox Church in Pretoria. Being a policeman, he could not publicly show his political preference, but during Greek meetings he was always supportive of the South African Party, and urged Greeks to support Smuts as Smuts himself had supported them on several occasions. Mavrogordato knew that few Greeks could vote, and always tried to persuade others to become naturalised, believing that this was their duty. He disagreed with the opinion that participation in the politics of the host country would lead to assimilation, and supported the view that discrimination against Greeks was the result of

their apathy towards the political situation in South Africa.²² He appealed to Greeks to participate in the meetings of the South African Party and to use their position as traders to spread the party's principles and policies amongst the general public.²³

It was during this same period that General Smuts contributed substantially towards Greek causes such as the erection of the Pretoria Orthodox Church, and participated as an honorary member of the Collection Committee;²⁴ his popularity amongst the Greeks was at its peak. Smuts's relations with the Greeks was cordial although he knew that very few of them were citizens and even fewer would cast their votes in a South African election. Another factor that played a significant part in attracting Greeks to the Smuts' camp was the support the General's party received from Nicolaides and his newspaper, New Hellas. Nicolaides pointed out that the majority of Greeks who had a vote in South Africa would support the Smuts government, mainly because the Nationalists did not view foreigners favourably.²⁵ Smuts even gave an election speech in Pretoria before an all-Greek audience in the Greek Community Hall. Nicolaides was in the chair, and the main speaker was Roth. Smuts's speech lasted for one hour and he was accorded a standing ovation at the end. The General publicly thanked the Greek community and Nicolaides personally for the reception.²⁶

Nicolaides's support for the South African Party continued during the period of the ideological tensions amongst the Greeks (1916-1918). Although he mainly covered the political situation in the Motherland and the reactions and activities of the Greek community in South Africa, his support for Smuts's party was used possibly for two reasons:

- (a) To show the public and the government that large numbers of Greeks supported Smuts's policy which was that of alliance with the Entente forces, and
- (b) to show the public and the government that Greeks in South Africa had, through the years, retained a

considerable interest in South African politics.

Nicolaides, who, because of his position as the editor of the only Greek newspaper, was regarded as the official spokesman of the Greek community, continued to publish articles showing that the Greeks in South Africa cared about the political situation in the country, and he continued to support the South African Party. In an editorial in August 1915 Botha was described as the real leader of the people, putting the country on its right path, that of "freedom and dignity", and the Greeks were urged to mobilise their forces "behind the glorious Generals".²⁷ Smuts and Botha once again visited the Greek community of Pretoria and spoke in the Greek Community Hall in September. Both received standing ovations and Smuts, at the end, thanked the community for its support for him personally and his party in general.²⁸

Although Nicolaides had opened his newspaper to an anonymous libellous article in which all parties were accused of enforcing the interests of certain sections of the population,²⁹ he was the moving force behind the decision of the Greek community to send a cable of congratulations to General Smuts on his electoral victory.³⁰ The article accused all political parties (including the South African Party) of being irrelevant and its author declared his support for a "new type" government (non-party government) having a close cooperation between "English and Dutch"; he further accused all politicians of creating total chaos.³¹ In celebrating the electoral victory of the South African Party in 1915, Nicolaides pointed out that had the Nationalists and the Labour Party won, chaos would have prevailed because all the capitalists would have left the country taking their money with them. Smuts sent a cable thanking the Greek community for the support it had given him and his party and for its good wishes to him.³²

The position adopted by both Smuts and Botha during 1915 and 1916, when the public started looking down on the

Greeks in South Africa because of the King's attitude towards the Allies, strengthened the ties of the South African Party with the Greek community.³³

In an attempt to show that the Greeks in South Africa were a law-abiding community which felt uneasy with the "extreme" viewpoints expressed by the Nationalist Party and Malan, its leader, Nicolaides cautioned Greeks to look with suspicion at the policies of this party. He urged them to take a "clear stand". This stand should be twofold. First, Greeks should be loyal citizens of South Africa, following the leadership of the government; and they should not participate actively in politics and should keep apart from the struggle between the South African Party and the Nationalists. He stated that Greeks came to South Africa because they knew that the country and its government were civilised, and that immigrants of every nationality could prosper here. They came, he stressed, because they wanted to live well and make capital, but their eyes were always turned towards the Ideal, the Motherland, and everyone within the community should do his best to help Greece become strong and prosperous again. By having a neutral political stand in regard to South African politics, Greeks would be seen as loyal citizens by both parties and thus their property and business would be respected by all.³⁴

Nicolaides's viewpoint was ambiguous. On the one hand he called upon Greeks to support the government and the party in power and, on the other, he urged them to be neutral and stand apart from political controversies; but this was not the only time that the controversial community leader had taken a middle-of-the-road path. This was probably the crux of the whole matter. He urged Greeks to stay away from political controversies because that was the only way their private property and business would be respected by all. The "fear" of political activity, so strongly illustrated by the pioneer immigrants previously, was a fear for the loss of private property and business;

and obviously the anti-Greek riots during 1916 and 1917 were another strong reminder.

The trade union activities of the Christodoulou brothers in Cape Town and of Pournaras and Kutsolis in Johannesburg, as well as the Greek Miners' Association, have been dealt with, as have the connections of the Greek community with the South African Party. We now turn to another neglected aspect of some Greek individuals who participated in the early activities of the South African socialist movement. South African historiography has seriously neglected this aspect of the country's history and the standard works do not mention at all the Greek participation and contribution.³⁵

Besides the Christodoulou brothers, three other Greeks were sympathetic towards the trade union movement. One of them was Jim (Dimitri) Bletsos, a shoemaker of 105 Loop Street, on the corner of Church Street. He was born in Limni, Evias, in 1887, and came to Cape Town in 1902.³⁶ He was an active member of the Greek community and participated in all its functions and served on its administrative committee for a number of years.³⁷ He was a Socialist but did not join any of the political off-shoots of the period because he did not trust the labour leadership of the Cape Colony.³⁸ However, he participated actively in the 1911 Cape Town printers' strike by contributing financially to the cause and advertising in the strike newspaper, The Cape Town Herald.³⁹ In later years and until his death in 1943 he was an active member of the South African Labour Party.⁴⁰ Bletsos started as a cobbler and shoemaker, and in 1919 became a restaurateur,⁴¹ he died a wealthy man.⁴²

Two other Greeks participated actively in the printers' strike by collecting and contributing money to the cause and by advertising in the Herald. One was G Apergis, also an active member of the Greek community,⁴³ who was proprietor of the British India Hotel in Keerom Street;⁴⁴ the

other was G S Dedousey, then proprietor of the Imperial Hotel. Dedousey came to South Africa in 1888 and quickly established himself as one of the most prominent members of the Greek community. Soon he had bought the Imperial Hotel and later the Portsmouth Arms, one of the best hotels in town, situated at 33 Bree Street.⁴⁵ His sympathy towards the printers' strike was expressed with financial aid and the following advertisement:

STRIKE? YES, STRIKE! Customers should strike when they cannot get the right thing, but I guarantee everything!⁴⁶

The financial contributions of these individuals as well as their advertisements in the strike newspaper should be seen in perspective. It has been established that of the three only Bletsos was a conscientious socialist. There is no evidence suggesting that either of the others ever participated in socialist or other progressive movements. However, the fact that in 1911, one year before the recession of 1912-1914,⁴⁷ they supported a strike that was directed not only against a group of newspapers but was a challenge to the monopoly of ruling class political interests and ideologies, suggests that they participated consciously in the struggle of the printers against their employers.

The strike (one of the most controversial in the history of South African trade unionism) started on 18 March when the Cape Times' printers demanded that, in accordance with the regulations of the South African Typographical Union, only card-carrying members should work as printers. The Cape Times employed a well-known strike-breaker who declined to become a member of the union, and this action prompted the Cape Town printers to strike.⁴⁸ The strike went from strength to strength and was supported by the backbone of the Cape Town "guild" unions.⁴⁹

The demands became more insistent as time passed, and the daily newspapers faced serious problems in their production;⁵⁰ the strike-breakers could not solve the problems because there were so few of them and they were inexperienced.⁵¹ The picketing of the strikes continued all through that period until it was stopped by the police.⁵² The strike continued for eight weeks and ended on 29 June when a ballot was taken at which 174 strikers voted for returning to work, 77 voted against, and five papers were spoilt; 139 members of the "strike list" did not vote at all.⁵³

Although the strike was badly organised in many ways (for example, the machinery of the major newspapers was operated during the whole period of the strike by unionised engineers and the newspapers were distributed by unionised railwaymen),⁵⁴ the militant action of the Cape Town printers presented the city's public with a genuine workers' challenge to the monopoly of news. The Cape Town Herald published several revolutionary articles promoting class consciousness and the unity of the working class.⁵⁵ In addition, it brought the struggle of labour against capital into prominence and compelled the mouthpieces of the employers to commit themselves by devoting much space to denouncing the actions and rising consciousness of the workers.

These features of the strike emphasise the significance of the participation of those Greeks. Possibly some observers would say that an advertisement in a strike newspaper would increase the business scope of the advertiser. This assumption could not be taken seriously for several reasons; for example, the limited circulation of the strikers' newspaper in comparison to its daily contemporaries and, more importantly, the financial resources of those reading the respective papers. As shown, however, the Greeks who advertised in the Herald also participated actively by contributing to and collecting money for the

strikers, and this action alone puts beyond doubt any question concerning their conscientious participation. The strikers and their newspaper thanked those advertising through their medium for their most valuable help as the production costs of the paper were very high.⁵⁶

Another Greek hotel owner who contributed financially to the Pretoria Socialist Society and advertised in the Socialist newspaper, Voice of Labour, was J G Patronas, owner of the Grand Hotel in Boksburg.⁵⁷ No other details are known about this individual. However, the backbone of Greek Socialist thinking and action was Arthur (Athanasios) Pournaras and his brother, Antonis.

Arthur Pournaras came to Johannesburg as a young man in 1904 and worked for a year on the Rand mines. He was born in Peloponnesus and received a good education in Greece. There is no evidence as to how Pournaras became a Socialist, but it seems that his work on the mines and the exploitation taking place there, as well as the efforts of Spanos before him, were the main factors influencing him.⁵⁸ He was a founder member of the Greek Miners' Association and was active within the organisation until Ananiades took over. The emphasis put by the latter on Greek nationalism rather than working-class attitudes was possibly a reason why Pournaras did not participate in the activities of the association with the same vigour as in the early days.⁵⁹

After opening a small shop in Rissik Street, Pournaras became a labour agent. He called his agency International (possibly in reminiscence of the newspaper of the same name, the official organ of the International Socialist League - the I S L - a revolutionary group that split from the Labour Party in 1914, following a war-on-war tactic and strategy.)⁶⁰ Although several books and articles have dealt with the basic principles, policies and strategies as well as the activities of the League,⁶¹ the vital importance of that organisation to this thesis

requires a brief historical review.

The I S L was the first revolutionary organisation whose policy was based on a broad Marxist ideological and political framework. Although De Leon's syndicalism was prominent during the early period following the establishment of the organisation and its weekly newspaper, *The International*,⁶² the organisation's leadership soon adopted a Marxian line on every political question in the country. Although its social composition was an amalgamation of middle-class individuals of various political and ideological backgrounds and active trade unionists,⁶³ its policy was soon crystallised, at least as regards the main ideological and political directions. The Labour Party leadership was dismissed as being composed of middle-class opportunists not only because of their pre-war stand but also because of their political tactics and strategy;⁶⁴ and because it did not see the black proletariat as an ally in the struggle for Socialism.

Although there were several internal discussions and arguments as to the nature of the alliance of black and white workers within the South African economy,⁶⁵ the I S L always proclaimed that the struggle for equality between white and black workers was a priority of every Socialist in South Africa.⁶⁶ The connections of the organisation with African political organisations and trade unions became the first priority of its leading members, and their efforts were met with initial success.

Many meetings took place where black workers and white socialists, members of the I S L, discussed the theoretical and practical problems of the ongoing struggle.⁶⁷ Although the League did not achieve any representation in Parliament (all its parliamentary candidates having been soundly defeated), it established international contacts with the British Labour movement and later with the Communist Party of Great Britain.⁶⁸ The

organisation fully endorsed the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and one of its leaders, W H Andrews, held talks in London with Litvinov, the official representative of the "country of the Soviets".⁶⁹ Soon the organisation saw itself as the representative of the "international", "Marxist-Leninist", or "Bolshevik" movement in South Africa.

Pournaras became a member of the organisation when it was called the "War-on-War League". He was never a member of the Labour Party because he always considered that party to be "useless, petty-bourgeois, social-patriotic nonsense".⁷⁰ His firm, situated in central Johannesburg, was the centre of discussions on Socialism and, because of Pournaras's connection with the black working class (he recruited cooks, workers, shop assistants, waiters and kitchen boys), several black members of the I S L had been recruited by him; and, since the shop was situated very near to the railway station, it was one of the major sellers of the International. A friend of Pournaras provided a picture of the activities taking place at The International:

It was a fairly large shop and many people, black and white, came to find jobs. They wrote down their names and addresses and their skills, and Pournaras would find a job and call them back. The newspaper [International] was lying on the floor as one entered the shop. In order to enter their names in the books they had to pick up an International. They bought it if they could afford to; otherwise it was given to them.

Some of them became members of the League and this was probably because of Pournaras's persuasiveness. I am not saying that his bureau was a front for his Socialist activities, because it was not. I will not say that he made a lot of money either. He knew the business well and his knowledge of early Johannesburg and the people residing in it was phenomenal. He could find a cook, or a Greek shop assistant for a Greek shopkeeper in a matter of minutes, and this is no exaggeration. He knew where the cooks gathered, the printers and the shop assistants, even the miners. His helpers did the hard work, though; he was very involved in the movement. He was not a money man, he was not interested in big profits, and this was appreciated

by both the unemployed and the employers. He only charged the employers, never those who found jobs through him; that was a principle never abused. Some of the employers called him an idiot because of this tactic, but the men [the unemployed] worshipped him, and this was the opinion he cared for.

He was very much respected amongst the League's members. Bunting, Andrews, and many Jewish tailors came and had discussions with him. The shop was open fifteen hours a day, and many people thought that because of it Athanasias was not a good family man. They forgot, however, that his house was next to the shop; actually it was so close that it seemed one and the same thing. His English wife, a lovely lady from Birmingham, and his three kids were always around the shop, playing with people and cheering them up with their Greek accent when they spoke English, and their English accent when they spoke Greek.⁷¹

Pournaras was an intellectual whose theoretical talents were recognised by the League. He was a regular lecturer at ISL meetings, his favourite subject being the "Trusts" and their role in a capitalist society.⁷² He also acted as chairman at a number of the League's meetings.⁷³ He was a subscriber to all Greek Socialist newspapers and magazines and contributed articles on the Greek situation to the International, especially during the period 1915-1918, analysing the position of the Greek Socialists in the war years.⁷⁴ In one of these articles he stated that the situation in Greece was uncertain and that there were expulsions from the Socialist Party, without making clear which side (the pro-warite or the anti-warite) was the stronger.⁷⁵

It was impossible for Pournaras to know exactly what was happening in Greece during that period because the Socialist movement in the country was divided into small but active groups holding different viewpoints on the war. Drakoulis, one of the first Socialists in Greece, and his group supported the policy of Venizelos and demanded the immediate entry of the country into the war.⁷⁶ A large number of Drakoulis's followers, however, and the majority of Greek Socialists opposed Venizelos's position and took

an anti-war stand.⁷⁷ The Federation of Salonica, the most active and numerically strong Greek Socialist group, comprised mainly of Jewish artisans and intellectuals in Macedonia, also took an anti-war stand, although in the 1915 elections it participated with the pro-royalist party. During the elections, while clearly the winner, Venizelos's party was defeated heavily in Salonica, and two members of the Federation were returned to Parliament.⁷⁸ Other small Socialist groups, such as the Socialist Centre in Athens, demanded the country's participation in the war.⁷⁹

This situation confused Pournaras who did not understand the logic behind the existence of so many Socialist groups and organisations. In another article on the Greek Socialists and the "Manifesto of 700" - a document signed by 700 members of the German Socialist Party, full of anti-militarist rhetoric and anti-war slogans - it was pointed out that "the small bands of Socialists in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria have all valiantly protested and fought against this orgy of militarism and brute passion."⁸⁰

Pournaras was a member of the Johannesburg branch of the League, as was J Vituli, a Greek Jew for whom no other details are available, who played a significant part in the League's progress. He was one of the regular speakers at I S L meetings and an expert on Socialism and its critics.⁸¹ He was also a secretary of the Johannesburg Central branch, and organiser of the open-air meetings of the League.⁸²

New Hellas kept an ambiguous attitude towards Socialism and Greek Socialists. In November 1915 Nicolaides, although a South African Party supporter, wholeheartedly endorsed the Labour Party's candidate, Mary Fitzgerald, who was a founder member of the Independent Labour Party in 1905, an ardent Socialist in the period 1910-1912, a contributor to the Voice of Labour, and an executive member of the Labour Party with strong left-wing leanings, and wife of arch-reformist trade unionist Archie Crawford.⁸³

This endorsement, however, was not of an ideological or political nature but one of convenience.

It was a period when Greek shopowners found themselves not only in the middle of a political controversy because of the situation in Greece, but also in a controversy over the plans of the government to stop the sale of spirits in non-liquor outlets. Many Greeks supported the measure⁸⁴ but there was a large number who believed that if Greeks involved themselves in the controversy new anti-Greek feelings would be created amongst the big merchants and wholesalers, and that the illegal activities of the liquor industry would increase with disastrous results.⁸⁵ The position of the Greek shopkeepers became controversial on that issue from 1915, and the endorsement of Fitzgerald was nothing more than the result of a careful plan that would help to keep them out of the controversy.

From 1914, the Johannesburg Municipality took a very tough attitude towards Greek shopkeepers, mainly because of their ambiguous attitude towards the liquor question and the political situation in Greece, and many fines were imposed on them for alleged malpractices.⁸⁶ Nicolaidis pointed out that, if elected, Mary Fitzgerald would stop the municipality's persecution of the Greek shopkeepers because "she regarded the Greek class [of shopkeepers] as good and characterised by its hard work, and that was why she should be supported by all."⁸⁷ New Hellas also ran an extensive advertising campaign supporting the candidature of Bob Miller, a Labour Party sympathiser, as Mayor, noting that Mary Fitzgerald, "that Goddess of the Labour cause and the working people" had suggested him as a first-rate candidate.⁸⁸

There is no historical evidence that Greeks participated in the activities of the South African Labour Party. Pournaras who had very good relations with Nicolaidis⁸⁹ would not support a Labour candidate, nor Mary Fitzgerald

for that matter, thus the only reason for Nicolaides's publicity of the Labour cause would have been the protection of the economic interests of the Greek shopkeeping class. This class had earlier started organising itself as an interest group, but considered as vital the creation of an association after the 1917 anti-Greek riots, as already shown. The establishment of such an association took place much later but the foundations had already been laid during the period under examination.

While the Greek shopkeepers tried to protect their interests in the manner described above, another class of Greeks involved in the circulation sphere, i.e. the shop assistants, started organising. An invitation from an ad hoc committee to all Greek shop assistants to attend a meeting on Sunday 23 August 1917 at three o'clock in Athanasis Pournaras's bureau at 93A Rissik Street, in order to start a Greek shop assistants union, appeared in the columns of New Hellas.⁹⁰ More than 20 Greek shop assistants participated in the meeting and decided to form a union, the aims of which would be the betterment of the cultural and economic interests of its members.

Pournaras was the main speaker, analysing the conditions in which Greek shop assistants were exploited by employers under the capitalist system. Some other members also spoke in favour of the establishment of a union. They elected a committee with A Pournaras as chairman and treasurer, C Elisseos (whose diary has been a primary source of extreme historical importance and has been used in this thesis) as secretary, and P Messinis, G Gabriel and E Lindakis as committee members. A subscription of 2/6d a month was decided upon.⁹¹

The newly-established union, under the leadership of A Pournaras, started organising Greek shop assistants, not only in Johannesburg but all over the country. The following appeal was made:

TO ALL GREEK SHOP ASSISTANTS IN THE UNION
OF SOUTH AFRICA

Brothers,

Now is the time to cooperate, come together and unite. Only if we organise will we be able to struggle against the irrational greed and the unjustified neglect. Come and join immediately the newly-established Greek Workers' Association of South Africa, whose aim is great and the (financial) sacrifice of its members very small. Monthly subscription 2/6d. Letters should be addressed to:

A Pournaras
P O Box 1401
Johannesburg

The Executive Committee (Temporary)⁹²

The name Greek Workers' Association was preferred to that of Shop Assistants and, after a lengthy discussion, was adopted unanimously, together with a provisional constitution of the organisation at a meeting held at the Northwestern Hotel where many new members were enrolled.⁹³

The association continued its activities in 1917 and 1918. Lectures were organised with speakers such as Pournaras, Archimandrite Nikolopoulos of Pretoria, a progressive priest, Nicolaides, and several leading members of the I S L, including Bunting and Vituli.⁹⁴ The participation of active Socialists did not enthuse Nicolaides who declined to include the associations appeals and functions in his newspaper.⁹⁵ However, he asked Pournaras to contribute regularly to the paper and in early 1918 approached him to write an article on the Bolshevik Revolution and the conditions prevailing in Russia.⁹⁶ Pournaras wrote the article which appeared as an editorial on 23 March 1918. The writer pointed out that Greeks all over the world viewed with great excitement the political and social changes in Russia, because the role of the Tzars had not always been friendly towards the Motherland. He wrote, amongst other things, that the popular appeal of the Bolsheviks would democratise Russia and that friendship would prevail between the Greek and Russian masses.⁹⁷

Nicolaides, however, inserted certain sentences in the article which altered its content radically. He added that the fall of the Tzar and the restoration of a people's democracy would give impetus to the historic dream of Hellenism to recapture Constantinople, and he printed the article unsigned.⁹⁸ Pournaras reacted instantly. He accused Nicolaides of changing the content of the article and sought legal advice in order to take the editor to court. His lawyers convinced him that he was fighting a lost cause and persuaded him not to proceed. The cordial relationship between the two men was re-established a few months later on an even firmer foundation.⁹⁹

Pournaras continued to dominate the radical scene in the Greek community during the following years. His determination to obtain for Greek shop assistants a better deal with both Greek and foreign employers led the association from strength to strength, as will be shown later. In the meantime, the Greek shop owners realised that their economic interests would be better served through a united body or association and initiated moves to establish the association as a permanent organisation.

The evidence suggests that the majority of Greek voters in South Africa supported, in one way or another, the South African Party, and that the personal relationships of Generals Smuts and Botha with certain members of the Greek community was one of the main reasons for this. Some shopkeepers supported Labour candidates in municipal elections but this was a choice of convenience rather than an ideological commitment. In the meantime, the leading Socialist figure in the Greek community, Pournaras, led another class-orientated trade union that was destined to play a significant role in the years to come within both the Greek and the wider communities.

NOTES

on Chapter 5

Section (A)

- 1 See especially Victor Papacosma, "Venizelos and the problem of democratic regime without monarchy", in T Veremis and O Dimitrakopoulos, Studies of Venizelos and his Period, op cit.
- 2 See George B Leon, Greece and the Great Powers, 1914-1917. Salonica, 1974.
- 3 See Papacosma, op cit, page 487.
- 4 Op cit, page 489.
- 5 Leon, op cit. Papacosma, op cit.
- 6 For a comprehensive and illuminating analysis of the politico-ideological divisions amongst Greeks in the USA, see Theodore Saloutos, The Greeks in the United States. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964, pp 138-210.
- 7 Op cit, pp 153-157.
- 8 For a formalist view of Greek nationalism, see especially D Tsakonas, On Greekness (in Greek). Athens, 1970.
- 9 See I Dragoumis, My Hellenism, My Hellenes. Athens, 1927.
- 10 A D Smith, Theories of Nationalism. London: Duckworth, 1971, page 158.
- 11 Op cit, pp 158-161.

Section (B)

- 1 See "Religions of Europeans", classified according to official languages spoken in rural and urban areas of the Union - Union Census, 1916.
- 2 Nicolaides, op cit, page 443.
- 3 Nicolaides, op cit, page 445.
- 4 See Rand Daily Mail, 6 November 1915.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 See New Hellas of 6, 20 and 27 February 1915, leading editorial praising the King.
- 7 See The Times History of the War. Vol IV. London: The Times, 1921, page 85.
- 8 See Cape Times of 10, 11 and 12 May 1915.
- 9 See S C 7-1916 on "Incendiarism", set up to investigate the anti-German riots and the reaction of the public against "enemy aliens".
- 10 See Cape Times and Argus, 13 May 1915.
- 11 See editorial in Cape Times, 12 May 1915.
- 12 See Cape Times, 14 May 1915.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 S C 7-1916, evidence of Colonel Gray.
- 16 Op cit, evidence of Inspector Stuart.
- 17 Cape Times, 15 May 1915. See also S C 7-1916, evidence by Colonel Gray.
- 18 Elisseos's diary, op cit.
- 19 See House of Assembly Debates, 24 March 1916.
- 20 Government Gazette Proclamation No 111, 21 July 1916.
- 21 Interview with a Greek immigrant who came to South Africa in 1912 and participated in the activities of that period. The interviewee, who became a very prominent member of the Greek community, died in 1980. He was interviewed in November 1977 and wished to remain anonymous. The interview was in Johannesburg.
- 22 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 23 Elisseos's diary, op cit.
- 24 This part was completed when the writer became aware of an Honours thesis dealing specifically with the anti-German riots during that period. Although there are minor similarities in this thesis and the present analysis, the former covers the subject in more

detail. See A Hunter, "The anti-German riots 1915-1916." Unpublished Honours thesis in History, University of Cape Town, 1980.

Section (C)

- 1 See his editorial "Greece enters the war!!" in New Hellas, 12 December 1914.
- 2 See their nationalist poems in New Hellas, 16 January 1915 and 6 March 1915 and 13 February 1915 respectively.
- 3 Main article, "The Arlequine of the Balkans", New Hellas, 23 January 1915.
- 4 New Hellas, 20 March 1915.
- 5 See Elisseos's diary, op cit, and New Hellas, 27 March 1915.
- 6 New Hellas, 15 May 1915, 15 June 1915, editorial.
- 7 The letter appeared in New Hellas, 13 March 1915.
- 8 See Rand Daily Mail, 6 May, and New Hellas, 8 May 1915.
- 9 New Hellas, 15 May 1915.
- 10 See C Vergopoulos, Nationalism and Economic Development (in Greek). Exandas, 1978, page 109.
- 11 This vision could be understood in C Palamas's poems, "The King's Flute" (in Greek). Athens, 1910; and "A Hymn to Athens"(in Greek). Athens, 1889, See 12 below.
- 12 See Palamas's poem in All Palamas's Works (in Greek), Vol V, pp 142-143.
- 13 New Hellas, 15 June 1915.
- 14 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, one of the leading Venizelist supporters at that period.
- 15 New Hellas, 15 June 1915.
- 16 New Hellas, editorial, 26 June 1915.
- 17 New Hellas, 10 July 1915, article "What a shame!"
- 18 See the report of the celebrations in honour of the Holy Mother in August, when every single home and shop displayed a Greek flag, in New Hellas, 14 August 1915.
- 19 See six letters in New Hellas, 11 September 1915, where three royalists and three Venizelists exchanged opinions and ideas in a caustic way.
- 20 New Hellas, 11 September 1915, article "The great problem".
- 21 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 22 See letter of 11 September 1915 from D Tsalavoutas to New Hellas.
- 23 New Hellas, 9 October 1915, article "Everything for the Motherland!"

- 24 New Hellas, 23 October 1915, editorial.
- 25 New Hellas, 2 October 1915, "A call from the Motherland!"
- 26 New Hellas, 20 November 1915.
- 27 See letter from J Walker in the Rand Daily Mail, 17 November 1915, and reply from the Greek community to him, in Rand Daily Mail of 19 November 1915.
- 28 See letter from J Hasking defending the South African Greek population, in Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1915.
- 29 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 30 Rand Daily Mail, 9 November 1915; New Hellas, 13 November 1915.
- 31 New Hellas, op cit.
- 32 See reports in New Hellas, 13 November 1915, where drunken Englishmen and soldiers had attacked Th Botsis among others while the police who had been called did nothing to help the Greek shop-owners.
- 33 Rand Daily Mail, 9 November 1915; New Hellas, 13 November 1915.
- 34 New Hellas, 20 November 1915.
- 35 Rand Daily Mail, 9 November 1915.
- 36 Rand Daily Mail, 9 November 1915; New Hellas 13 November 1915.
- 37 New Hellas, op cit.
- 38 See Papageloutsos's letter in New Hellas, 25 July 1915, where he attacks Golfinopoulos's and Comminos's letters which had appeared in New Hellas, 18 July 1915.
- 39 Rand Daily Mail, 16 November 1915.
- 40 Rand Daily Mail, 17 November 1915.
- 41 New Hellas, 20 November 1915; Rand Daily Mail, 16 November 1915.
- 42 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 43 Rand Daily Mail, 16 November 1915.
- 44 Rand Daily Mail, 18 November 1915.
- 45 Op cit, letter signed jointly by the leaders of the Greek communities of Johannesburg and Durban.
- 46 See report on such moves appearing in Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1915. Also interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 47 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 48 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 49 Anonymous interviewer, as quoted in Rand Daily Mail, op cit.

- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1915; New Hellas, 20 November 1915.
- 52 Cape Argus, 19 November 1915; Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1915.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Anonymous prominent Cape Town Greek, as interviewed by the Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 56 Rand Daily Mail, 22 November 1915.
- 57 H C C T Minute Book. Report on general meeting of 20 November 1915.
- 58 Rand Daily Mail, 23 November 1915.
- 59 Elisseos's diary, op cit.
- 60 Rand Daily Mail, 23 November 1915.
- 61 The interview appeared in the Rand Daily Mail, 23 November 1915.
- 62 See Rand Daily Mail editorial, accusing Greek policy of "shilly-shallying", 24 November 1915.
- 63 There is a report of the fire in Rand Daily Mail, 23 November 1915.
- 64 See Rand Daily Mail, 23 November 1915.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 See telegram from Salisbury Greeks to the Greek Prime Minister maintaining their hope that the nation's government would ally itself with the Entente forces "in their fight for the cause of liberty", Rand Daily Mail, 25 November 1915.
- 67 See letter from a "Well-informed Greek", in Rand Daily Mail, 22 November 1915.
- 68 See New Hellas, 9 October 1915, "Everything for the Fatherland!", editorial.
- 69 New Hellas, op cit.
- 70 See report "Greeks ask for protection", in Rand Daily Mail, 4 December 1915.

Section (D)

- 1 See Rand Dail Mail, January to April 1916.
- 2 See Capsopoulos's letter dated 7 December 1915, in New Hellas of 11 December 1915.
- 3 See editorials in New Hellas, 8 January and 19 and 26 February 1916.
- 4 See New Hellas, 25 March 1916.
- 5 New Hellas, 1 April 1916.
- 6 Op cit, 13 May 1916.
- 7 On the tendencies of the Grand Ideal, see Vergopoulos, Nationalism and Economic Development ..., op cit, pp 108-109.
- 8 See Moschöff, op cit, pp 383-385.
- 9 New Hellas, 30 September 1916.
- 10 See editorials of 2 and 9 September 1916.
- 11 See editorial in New Hellas, 23 December 1916, "The King should resign!".
- 12 See New Hellas, 23 December 1916.
- 13 Rand Daily Mail, 22 December 1916.
- 14 Rand Daily Mail, op cit; and New Hellas, 30 December 1916.

Section (E)

- 1 See New Hellas, 6 January 1917.
- 2 Op cit, 20 January 1917.
- 3 For a complete story of the "Blue Cross Gang", see Rand Daily Mail, 10 January 1917. The sensational title of the article was "Blue Cross gang - Accused who took remarkable oath".
- 4 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. What he said is in absolute agreement with the Rand Daily Mail coverage of the court case. Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 5 See Rand Daily Mail, 23 February 1917.
- 6 See the case of Spiros Psarros of Krugersdorp in Rand Daily Mail, 24 January 1917.
- 7 See Rand Daily Mail, 12 and 13 December 1916.
- 8 See Rand Daily Mail, 6 March 1917, letter from R H Henderson.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos, who was a regular at the club.
- 11 See Rand Daily Mail, 7 March 1917.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 See Rand Daily Mail, 14 March 1917.
- 14 Rand Daily Mail, 8 March 1917.
- 15 See Rand Daily Mail, 8 March 1917, letters from "Returned Soldier" and "Veteran".
- 16 See letter from "Veteran" in Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 17 See Rand Daily Mail, 8 March 1917.
- 18 Letter from Mr Capsopoulos, "Conscription in South Africa?", Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 New Hellas, 16 March 1917; Rand Daily Mail, 8 March 1917.
- 21 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 22 Letter from "Returned Soldier", Rand Daily Mail, 8 March 1917.
- 23 See letter from M I Isaacson, Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 24 See report of his speech in the Town Hall, in Rand Daily Mail, 9 March 1917.
- 25 Ibid.

- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos. See also Rand Daily Mail, 16 March 1917.
- 28 Rand Daily Mail, 9 March 1917.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Rand Daily Mail, 10 March 1917.
- 33 Rand Daily Mail, 13 March 1917.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 New Hellas, 24 March 1917.
- 39 Rand Daily Mail, 21 March 1917.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 New Hellas, 31 March 1917.
- 43 New Hellas, 7 April 1917.
- 44 See the appeal of Nicolaidis to advertisers and potential contributors to come forward because the newspaper was in a dramatic financial situation, New Hellas, 3 February 1917.
- 45 He was always the main speaker at royalist functions in Johannesburg and Pretoria, and especially at the religious masses dedicated to the king. See New Hellas, 12 June 1915, and his editorial of 5 June 1915.
- 46 Athanopoulos estimated that many more than 300 participated in the war - interview with Mr Athanopoulos.
- 47 Athanopoulos confirmed that fact. Op cit.
- 48 Rand Daily Mail, 16 March 1917.
- 49 New Hellas, 24 March 1917.
- 50 See their correspondence as appeared in New Hellas, op cit.
- 51 See New Hellas, 24 March 1917.
- 52 See Rand Daily Mail, 16 March 1917.
- 53 New Hellas, 3 March 1917.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Rand Daily Mail, 16 March 1917.
- 56 Ibid.

- 57 Ibid.
- 58 New Hellas, 14 and 21 April 1917.
- 59 New Hellas, 21 April 1917.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Rand Daily Mail, 26 March 1917.
- 62 House of Assembly Debates, speech of Mr Serfontein, 24 April 1917, in Cape Times, 25 April 1917.
- 63 Elisseos's diary, op cit.
- 64 Ibid.

Section (F)

- 1 On the I S L see E A Mantzaris, "The vision of the impossible revolution: The case of the Industrial Socialist League in Cape Town 1918-1921", in Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol 4, pp 145-173.
- 2 See The International, 4 May 1917.
- 3 Rand Daily Mail, 2 May 1917; The Star, 2 May 1917; Argus, 2 May 1917.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 See The International, op cit.
- 6 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 7 The International, op cit.
- 8 The Star, op cit; Argus, op cit.
- 9 The International, op cit.
- 10 Rand Daily Mail, op cit. See also The Star, op cit; Argus, op cit.
- 11 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 The International, op cit.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 See his speech during the mob night as quoted in Rand Daily Mail, op cit, and The Star, op cit.
- 17 See The International, op cit, page 4.
- 18 Rand Daily Mail, op cit; The Star, op cit.
- 19 Rand Daily Mail, 3 May 1917; Argus, 3 May 1917; The Star, 3 May 1917.
- 20 Rand Daily Mail, op cit; The Star, 3 May 1917.
- 21 The Star, op cit; Argus, op cit; Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 22 Rand Daily Mail, op cit; Argus, op cit.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 The Star, op cit; Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 25 Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 House of Assembly Debates 1917-1918, S A P L, photocopied proceedings of the House. Also Cape Times, 3 May 1917 and Argus, 3 May 1917.

- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Cape Times, op cit. Also see Argus, 3 May 1917.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 House of Assembly Debates, op cit.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 House of Assembly Debates, 27 March 1917; Cape Times, 28 March 1917.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Rand Daily Mail, editorial of 3 May 1917.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 The Star, editorial of 3 May 1917.
- 40 South African Review, 4 May 1917.
- 41 The International, 4 May 1917, "Mob law on May Day", pp 3-4.
- 42 Op cit, "Hooliganism, the last ditch", page 1.
- 43 New Hellas, 26 May 1917.
- 44 Op cit, 12 May 1917, editorial.
- 45 Op cit, 5 May 1917.
- 46 Op cit, 12 May 1917.
- 47 Op cit, 21 May 1917.

Section (G)

- 1 See letter of Venizelist committee to Rand Daily Mail, 4 May 1917.
- 2 New Hellas, 5 May 1917.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Rand Daily Mail, 5 May 1917.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 See Evangelides, op cit, pp 146-147.
- 7 Rand Daily Mail, 5 May 1917, op cit.
- 8 New Hellas, 5 May 1917.
- 9 New Hellas, 12 May 1917.
- 10 Op cit, 5 May 1917.
- 11 Op cit, 26 May 1917.
- 12 Rand Daily Mail, 5 May 1917.
- 13 Op cit, 6 May 1917.
- 14 Op cit, 22 May 1917.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 House of Assembly Debates, Cape Times 20 March 1917.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 New Hellas, 26 May 1917.
- 21 Rand Daily Mail, 24 May 1917.
- 22 Letter from Capsopoulos to the Rand Daily Mail, 28 May 1917.
- 23 South African Review, 25 May 1917.
- 24 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 25 Rand Daily Mail, 31 May 1917.
- 26 Op cit, 1 May 1917.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 New Hellas, 9 June 1917; Rand Daily Mail, op cit.
- 29 Rand Daily Mail, 4 June 1917.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June 1917.

- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 New Hellas, 23 June 1917.
- 36 Op cit, 11 August 1917.
- 37 Op cit, 19 May 1917. See also, Mantzaris, "Greek farmers in Southern Rhodesia", op cit.
- 38 New Hellas, 21 July 1917.
- 39 Rand Daily Mail, 2 August 1917.
- 40 Op cit, 11 July 1917.
- 41 Op cit, 25 July 1917.
- 42 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Rand Daily Mail, 3 August 1917.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Rand Daily Mail, 6 August 1917.
- 47 Op cit, 11 August 1917.
- 48 Op cit, 17 August 1917.
- 49 South African Review, 3 October 1917.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 52 The mobilisation order appeared in South African Review, 5 October 1917.
- 53 See the letter from Kriaras, Pantelidakis, Samiotakis, Papasitakis, Pergiodakis, Tsoupakis, Apostolakis and another 25 contributors to the Venizelist War Fund, in which it is stated that £130 were missing, New Hellas 23 November 1917; also letter from Kriaras, New Hellas 4 December 1917; and the subsequent reply from N D Saridakis, secretary of the Venizelist committee, which settled the matter, New Hellas 15 December 1917.
- 54 See editorial by Nicolaides in pro-Venizelist and conciliatory tones, New Hellas 5 December 1917.

Section (H)

- 1 See S van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*. Oxford University Press, London, 1941; U G 14-'26, Economic and Wages Commission, Table VIII, "Movement of Prices and Wages in the Union 1910-1925".
- 2 U G 14-'26, "Movements in certain industrial occupations in the Union 1910 to 1924", page 209.
- 3 U G 55-'18, "Cost of Living Commission", "Retail prices of basic foodstuffs", page 33.
- 4 Calculation based on U G 55-'18 and Smith's report on "Cost of Living Committee", Johannesburg 28 August 1916. See also E A Mantzaris, "Another victory for trade unionism: The 1918 Cape Town musicians' strike", in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Vol 3. History Department, U C T, 1980: pp 114-130.
- 5 On unemployment and the problems of unemployed, see consecutive issues of *The International*, 1916 and 1917.
- 6 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 7 Elisseos's Diary.
- 8 Rand Daily Mail, 5 May 1917.
- 9 The interviewee has since passed away. He wished to remain anonymous.
- 10 See, for example, *South African Review*, 6 August 1912, article entitled "A tragical comedy: Illustrating the little ways of the Greek shop syndicates", page 7; *The International*, 18 January 1918, article by Pedagogus, "On jingoism"; and *Cape Times*, 19 October 1918, letter on Greek "profiteering".
- 11 See note 39 of previous chapter.
- 12 See the detailed analysis on the problem presented in the chapter on religion.
- 13 See undated circular in H C P A, 1915.
- 14 Letter to Gounaris, 19 May 1915, op cit.
- 15 Letter to Venizelos, 1916 (no date), op cit.
- 16 See Nicolaides, op cit, pp 574-579.
- 17 The table was drawn up after a comparison was made between the lists of distributors as appearing in the Greek and foreign press and from Nicolaides, op cit.
- 18 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 19 *New Hellas*, 22 May 1915.
- 20 See his article, "Community's decomposition", in *New*

- Hellas, 3 July 1915.
- 21 New Hellas, 10 July 1915.
- 22 Op cit, 5 June 1915.
- 23 Op cit, 11 September 1915.
- 24 Op cit, 11 September 1915. See also Elisseos's diary, op cit.
- 25 See N Rozakos, "Unknown Greek dramatists in America", in "Krikos", July-August 1956, No 67-68, pp 109-113.
- 26 New Hellas, 8 July 1916.
- 27 Op cit, 12 August 1916.
- 28 Op cit, 24 June 1916.
- 29 Op cit, 21 April 1917.
- 30 Op cit, 26 May 1917.
- 31 Circular signed by D Louvis (no date) to be found in H C P A. It is assumed that it was sent in mid-1917 because it is kept in the 1917 file.
- 32 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 33 See Minute Book, 14 February 1915, in H C C T A.
- 34 Op cit, 2 May 1915.
- 35 See report of the special general meeting of the committee and the ad hoc group, op cit 18 July 1915.
- 36 See op cit, 3 October 1915.
- 37 Op cit, 21 November 1915.
- 38 Op cit, 10 June 1915.
- 39 Op cit, 20 February 1916.
- 40 Op cit, 30 April 1916.

NOTES

on Chapter 6

- 1 Cape of Good Hope Censuses for 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908, "Naturalisation of aliens".
- 2 See Breton, "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 70, 1964, page 196; "The Chinese community of Calgary." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 3 (1 June), 1971, pp 43-55. Also E A Mantzaris, "The increasing assimilation of the Greek new petit-bourgeoisie in South Africa." Unpublished paper presented at the 8th Annual Congress of the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa (ASSA) in Kwaluseni, Swaziland, 1977.
- 3 See, for example, F G Vallee, "Regionalism and ethnicity: The French Canadian case," in B Y Card (ed), *Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism*. University of Atlanta, 1969, pp 19-27. Also F G Vallee and N Shulman, "The viability of French groupings outside Quebec," in M Wade (ed), *Regionalism in the Community*. University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp 83-88.
- 4 H Radecki, "Ethnic voluntary organisational dynamics in Canada: A report," in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 17, 1976, pp 275-284.
- 5 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 6 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 7 T Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, page 183.
- 8 Nicolaides, *op cit*, page 466.
- 9 This biography is based on South Africa's *Who is Who*, 1908.
- 10 Letter from H Bertram Cox dated 21 October 1901, to Mavrogordato. Gov. 6, 318/01, 36469/1901.
- 11 *Op cit*.
- 12 Letter from T E Mavrogordato to the Under Secretary of State, 22 October 1901. *Op cit*.
- 13 Letter From Cox to Mavrogordato, 31 October 1901. Gov. 6, 318/01, 38038/1901. See also South Africa's *Who is Who*, *op cit*.
- 14 South Africa's *Who is Who*, *op cit*.
- 15 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 16 See Greek Community of Pretoria Cash Books for 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909.
- 17 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 18 Nicolaides, *ibid*, page 466.

- 19 South African News, 17 November 1908.
- 20 South African Review, 24 March 1911.
- 21 Op cit, 21 February 1913.
- 22 Interviews with Mr Athanasopoulos and Anonymous, Pretoria.
- 23 Op cit.
- 24 Greek Community of Pretoria, Cash Books for 1911 and 1912.
- 25 New Hellas, 2 October 1915.
- 26 Op cit.
- 27 Op cit, 14 August 1915.
- 28 Op cit,
- 29 Op cit, 25 September 1915.
- 30 Op cit, 23 October 1915.
- 31 Op cit, 25 September 1915.
- 32 New Hellas, 23 October 1915.
- 33 Ibid, 20 November 1915.
- 34 Ibid, 7 April 1918.
- 35 I am referring to the pioneer works of E Roux: Time Longer than Rope. Madison, 1972; and Rebel Pity. Collings, 1970. D Ticktin, "The origins of the South African Labour Party 1888-1910," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, History Department, U C T, 1973; R K Cope, Comrade Bill, op cit; and H J and R E Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1960. Penguin African Library, 1969.
- 36 Maitland Greek Cemetery. Also interviews with Mr Dimitrakakis and Mr Efstratiou.
- 37 See H C C T Archives, Minutes of 1905, 1906, 1907, and meetings of the Executive Committee for 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1916.
- 38 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 39 See Cape Town Herald, 14 June 1911.
- 40 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis. Also Maitland Greek Cemetery.
- 41 See Juta's Cape Town Directory, 1919 and 1924.
- 42 Interview with Mr John Bougas, Cape Town, November 1980.
- 43 H C C T Archives, Cash Books for 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1910.
- 44 Juta's Cape Town Directory, 1910. See also his advertisement in the Cape Town Herald, 19 May 1911.
- 45 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 506.
- 46 Cape Town Herald, 22 May 1911.

- 47 See Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, *ibid*, pp 107-109.
- 48 See Cape Town Herald, 10 May 1911.
- 49 *Ibid*, 11 May 1911.
- 50 See The Argus, 12 May 1911; Cape Times, 11 May 1911.
- 51 See Cape Town Herald, 12 May 1911.
- 52 See The Argus, 21 June 1911.
- 53 Cape Town Herald, 29 June 1911.
- 54 See Voice of Labour, 7 July 1911, "Lessons of the strike".
- 55 See, for example, articles such as "The liberty of the subject", 13 May 1911; "The fight for trades unionism", 17 May 1911; and "Capitalism and trades unionism", 26 May 1911.
- 56 Cape Town Herald, 29 June 1911.
- 57 See Voice of Labour, 17 May 1912.
- 58 Interviews with M Maropoulos who was working as an assistant at Mr Pournaras's shop.
- 59 *Op cit*.
- 60 See Cope, Comrade Bill, *op cit*, pp 162-173. War-on-War Gazette, 19 September and 24 October 1914.
- 61 Cope, *op cit*; Simons and Simons, Class and Colour ..., *op cit*; S W Johns, "Marxism-Leninism in a multiracial environment: Origins and early history of the Communist Party of South Africa 1914-1932," unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Political Science, Harvard University 1965. Also S W Johns, "The birth of the Communist Party of South Africa" in the International Journal of African Historical Studies, IX (3) 1976, pp 371-400.
- 62 See International, 10 September 1915.
- 63 See Johns, "The birth of the Communist Party of South Africa 1914-1932", *ibid*, page 373.
- 64 See consecutive issues of International 1915-1924.
- 65 See Johns, "Marxism-Leninism ...", *op cit*, pp 124-140 and 180-192.
- 66 See International, 14 January 1916.
- 67 See Department of Justice File 3/527/17, correspondence of various black infiltrators within the I S L with the Commissioner of Police.
- 68 See International, 2 August 1918.
- 69 *Op cit*. See also Cope, Comrade Bill, pp 191-192.
- 70 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 71 *Op cit*.
- 72 See International, 14 June 1918.

- 73 International, 7 June 1918.
- 74 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 75 International, 8 October 1915.
- 76 See G B Leontaritis, The Greek Socialist Movement in the First World War (in Greek). Exandas Publications, 1978, pp 63-64.
- 77 Ibid, pp 66-67.
- 78 See A Benaroja, The First Course of the Greek Proletariat. (In Greek) Olkos Publications, 1975.
- 79 Leontaritis, ibid, page 72.
- 80 International, 15 October 1915.
- 81 Ibid, 28 June 1918.
- 82 Ibid, 9 August 1918.
- 83 See Cope, op cit, page 97.
- 84 See report in New Hellas, 21 October 1916.
- 85 New Hellas, 14 October 1916.
- 86 Ibid, 20 October 1916.
- 87 Op cit.
- 88 Ibid, 21 October 1916.
- 89 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 90 New Hellas, 16 September 1917.
- 91 Ibid, 29 September 1917.
- 92 Ibid, 13 October 1917.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 New Hellas, 23 March 1918, editorial.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.

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PART FIVE

CHAPTER 7

THE GREEKS: 1918-1924

FROM STRATIFIED ETHNIC COMMUNITY TO "MIDDLEMAN MINORITY". THE FORMATION OF A "PEOPLE CLASS"

The aftermath of the anti-Greek riots in Johannesburg and the hostile attitudes of a large section of the South African population found the Greeks in a position of vigilance. On the one hand they realised once more that their progress in the trades and in commerce was looked upon with envy by certain circles within both the commercial capital and the working classes; and, on the other hand, they saw that the ideological divisions and political tensions amongst them weakened their position within the host society as an ethnic group and as an economic class. The alternatives were tighter organisation and further strengthening of ethnic and class allegiances, and an increasing effort to survive as an ethnic group and as an economic class.

As from 1918, however, a major economic and occupational change took place amongst members of the Greek ethnic group which led to the formation of a "people class". In the next few pages we will show that the disappearance from the scene of the Greek miners, and the upward mobility of certain sections of the middle class, resulted in the Greeks becoming a "people class" or a "middleman minority". These concepts are crucial to our understanding of the subsequent political and ideological attitudes of the Greeks in South Africa in the period under examination.

(A) "PEOPLE CLASS"

The concept of "people class" was introduced 40 years ago by Abram Leon in his book "The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation".¹ It was introduced to show how an immigrant minority in the midst of a host population has survived with its particular religious, linguistic and cultural traits by virtue of its specific social and economic functions. In short, "people class" could be any ethnic group that fulfills specific social and economic functions within a given historical period. We can compare Leon's interpretation of "people class" with the Weberian term "pariah capitalism", used to describe the capitalism of socially ostracised marginal traders who fulfilled economically necessary but morally impugned functions.² Leon analysed the transformation of the Jews into a "people class" as a process and not as a static phenomenon³ and his illuminating periodisation of Jewish history will serve as a useful guide to illustrate our perception of the formation of the Greek "people class".

Several other theorists have used this concept or a similar one to describe or analyse social phenomena. Milton Gordon, for example, uses the term "eth class" to analyse social groups which feel comfortable together because of the similarity of their life-styles. He used examples from the American experience to illustrate his point, mainly concentrating on Protestants and Irish Catholics. Gordon is essentially a primordialist and used the concept class in the Weberian sense (meaning, actually, status group), and his groups are not economic or political interest groups in any sense.⁴

The concept "ethnic class" has been used in a totally different way in the controversies surrounding the Canadian social and political structure. It was a dominant theme in the sociological literature of Quebec. Several sociologists such as Dumond, Rioux and Dofny argued that there are

dichotomies between social class/ethnic class and social consciousness/ethnic consciousness.⁵ These sociologists, and especially Dumond, believed that the nation resulted from the pure subjectivity of the individuals who were part of it.⁶ Rioux established the dichotomy between ethnic consciousness and class consciousness by giving prominence to the relationships existing at the level of consciousness without analysing or even exploring the economic structure of French Canada.⁷

Rioux and Dofny went even further by declaring that, while social classes existed in Quebec, Quebec itself "could be considered to be an ethnic class within Canada".⁸ The crux of the position of those sociologists was that the French-Canadian "socio-cultural entity" played the same role within Canada as a social class, in other words they tried to equate the concepts of national community and social class.⁹

Leon periodised Jewish history based on the concept of people class, and used it as a pivotal analytical tool in order to explain their survival as a distinct community from the precapitalist era to the imperialist stage. His wide knowledge of Jewish history and sociology led him to the conclusion that the formation of the people class was the result of a historical process. Leon's conclusions and analysis were shared by Salo Baron, a historian of a different political persuasion, in his multivoluminous "Social and Religious History of the Jews".¹⁰ In his analysis, Leon also equated the concepts of national community and social class but his conceptualisation of this equation was different from that of Rioux and Dofny. They introduced the term "ethnic class" which has the same connotations as that of "people class".

Although these theorists were correct in drawing the distinction between ethnic and class conflict, their assumption that social classes were much less important

than the national collectivity was based on the false premise of the existence of a separate ethnic consciousness and different class consciousnesses. Such an assumption led these writers to ignore or neglect the existence and role that economic and political factors played in the development of both class and national consciousness.¹¹

Leon's concept of "people class" could easily apply to small immigrant groups whose members occupy the same class position within a host society, such as the gypsies in Germany, Yugoslavia or Greece; the Armenians living in Turkey and Greece; the Indians in Burma, etc.¹² It has been used however to describe not only middle-class ethnic groups. Oppenheimer, for example, has developed a "nation class" conception of the black marginal working class in America,¹³ and Yancey, et al, have shown that ethnic solidarity is linked to a concentration of the working class in particular occupations and categories.¹⁴ Geschwender used the term "nation class" in a loose way in order to allow for class differentiations within oppressed ethnic groups. He used the example of blacks who may be differentiated by class, but within each class they also experience national oppression.¹⁵

Greeks in South Africa up to 1918 formed a small immigrant group with common national, religious and cultural traits. Through a continuous process of economic and political developments and circumstances they were transformed into a "people class" or, to be more specific, a "middleman minority". This is the concept to be examined next.

(B) "MIDDLEMAN MINORITY"

Theorists of "middleman minorities" have dealt at length with a particular class of ethnic phenomena, i.e. groups which, during different historical periods, specialised in trade and commerce and were thus concentrated in the middle class. Blalock was the first to touch on the

problem on the theoretical level.¹⁶ Although he concentrated only on the case of peasant-feudal types of societies, his theoretical formulation and conceptualisation has been used extensively by contemporary sociologists and historians of ethnic relations.¹⁷ Blalock made some important comments concerning the numerical strength of the middleman minorities and their relationship to the "elites" and "the masses", and pointed out that often (but not always) the middleman minorities are numerically small.¹⁸ He also made some useful theoretical propositions (which he did not support with empirical evidence) concerning the possibilities of the middleman minority playing the role of a scapegoat in periods of social unrest. He dealt with the political alliances of "elites" and "masses" with that minority from the point of view of a triadic relationship, and with the efforts of the middleman minority to develop and perpetuate a cultural heritage involving a high degree of ethnocentrism and adaptive skills which improve or maintain its competitive resources.¹⁹

Based on Blalock's definition (although she questioned its applicability) Bonacich re-worked and elaborated on the theory of middleman minorities.²⁰ Her conceptualisation and findings will be used as a guide in order to show how, from the early 1920s, Greeks in South Africa became a middleman minority.

We have already shown that Greeks in South Africa were a stratified ethnic community comprising a middle class and a working class, at least until 1919. The Greek railway workers and cigarette-makers (which we refer to as occasional labour) followed the common trend of the mid-1910s and became either independent artisans or shopkeepers. By 1915 there were no Greek railway workers or cigarette-makers. Even the Christodoulou brothers, leaders of the Greek cigarette-maker strikers during 1906, became small traders, while the Yaxoglou brothers had returned to Greece by 1912.²¹

The Greek miners faced different problems. As we have already shown, most of them died of miners' phthisis and those who survived had either retired or returned to Greece by 1920.²² The final public appearance of Greek mineworkers and their organisation, The Greek Mineworkers' Association, was reported on 23 July 1918 when they laid a wreath in the cemetery to commemorate the victims of the accident in the Meyer and Starlton mine.²³ It was reported that the few remaining Greek miners were working at Meyer and Starlton mine and that it was expected that all would resign because of the non-existence of security measures for the miners.²⁴

There were several additional factors, however, that forced Greeks to abandon their mining jobs. Although during the inflationary period 1914-1918 Greek workers employed in the mines had received "war bonuses" and "cost of living allowances" that amounted to a wage increase of approximately 55 per cent,²⁵ the world recession that hit South Africa during the following period had tremendous consequences for the mining industry, the main one being unemployment. It was reported that unskilled labourers could not find jobs in the mines,²⁶ while the expired contracts of many skilled European workers (including Greeks) were not renewed.²⁷ Additionally, the imposed wage cuts and withdrawals of other concessions from white wage-earners as from 1920²⁸ was another financial step that convinced Greek mineworkers to leave their jobs and concentrate on small trading.²⁹

During the hearings before the 1918 Commission of Inquiry on Miners' Phthisis, McPheil, the government adviser to the mines, said that Greek miners were very susceptible to miners' phthisis and, because of the fact that they were affected by the disease after two or three years, he asked the committee to recommend that no further Greeks be employed by mining companies,³⁰ contrary to the claims of other expert opinions on the durability of Greek miners,

already mentioned. These reasons, together with the reluctance of the mining companies to employ Greek workers for fear of an eruption of anti-Greek feelings during the war years because of the social tensions against them, as we have already shown,³¹ forced the Greek miners to abandon their jobs in the mines. Some returned to Greece, but others settled in the Transvaal mainly as small shopkeepers or property owners.³²

"One of the principal peculiarities of the middleman minorities," wrote Bonacich, "is the economic role they play. In contrast to most ethnic minorities they occupy an intermediate rather than low-status position."³³ A careful look at Appendices 4-6, where the division of labour of Greek immigrants appears, shows that the majority of them, in 1924, can be classified as members of the "intermediate class". In the Transvaal, for example, there were 257 general dealers and fruiterers, 206 café and restaurant owners, eight furniture dealers and 17 farmers. In the Cape there were 110 general dealers and fruiterers, 42 café and restaurant owners, and eight bakers, while all other professional categories can be classified as "intermediate". The same applied to the Greeks in the Orange Free State and Natal. Most of them played the role of the middleman between producer and consumer and their economic activities were centred around that role (shopkeeper, café owner, etc).

We have already seen that the concentration of Greeks in those professions was the result of a process of discrimination against them. The anti-alien agitation, the pressure exercised upon them during the 1906 Cape Town "hooligan riots", the press outcry against them during the period 1915-1917 and the subsequent anti-Greek riots in Johannesburg, and the mining management's reluctance to employ Greeks, were some of the reasons forcing them to turn to the "corner shop" and to create their ethnic organic unities (churches, nationalist organisations and communities), to help them overcome the hardships and

handicaps.³⁴

Another social factor that played a major role in the process of the Greeks becoming a middleman minority was their wish to return to the Motherland as soon as they had collected sufficient capital. Bonacich pointed out:

An empirical generalisation can be formed about all the middleman groups we have examined: they begin as sojourners in the territories to which they move. They are immigrants who do not plan to settle permanently ...³⁵

The desire of the Greeks in South Africa to return to the Motherland and consequently the temporary nature of their settlement in the country was stressed sufficiently by Nicolaides; it was actually the motif of his book. He did not condemn it, he actually admired this "nationalist" feeling of the pioneers.³⁶ He pointed out, however, that the idea of going back did not allow them to look beyond their economic tasks and thus many serious problems arose: They could not enlarge their business circles, because of the fear of losing the capital already made; they would not enter into marriage as they wanted to get married in the Motherland; and, most important, they did not see the need to establish a Greek school because they thought their children would learn the language in the Motherland after their return.³⁷

The opening of their shops for long hours showed their desire to accumulate capital as quickly as possible. Considering themselves as temporary immigrants, Greeks selected occupations which would not tie them to the country for long periods. Although several had started small manufacturing businesses, i.e. Yaxoglou in cigarette-making, Paitakis and Manolis in aerated water, it was soon realised that capital employed by a small shopkeeper or general dealer was a safer short-term investment than that used by industrialists and manufacturers.

Wilmott's analysis of the Chinese community in South-

East Asia would aptly explain the position of the Greeks in South Africa as a middleman minority. He wrote that the intent of every emigrant was to work abroad in order to remit to China sums of money that would enrich his lineage when invested in his home village. He (the emigrant) intended to return home in order to enjoy the fruits of his labours during his old age. This desire motivated the emigrants to enter a profession that would involve a minimum of fixed investment in the host country and a maximum of liquid assets that could be returned to China.³⁸

Sojourning was another reason that strengthened the national and cultural bonds of the Greeks in South Africa, although the political differences found in the Motherland caused the ideological/political problems already analysed.

The Greek immigrant experience in America illustrates further the vital role of sojourning and economising. In 1910, for example, Canoutas calculated that 12 000 Greek immigrants had sent to their families in Greece approximately \$1 200 000.³⁹ Moskos has indicated that the intent of the overwhelming majority of immigrants was to return to Greece with sufficient capital to enjoy a comfortable life in their home village.⁴⁰ As to saving, a point that Bonacich has stressed sufficiently,⁴¹ Canoutas gave the following advice to prospective immigrants to America:

The richest American millionaires did well because of their temperance and economising. By those terms, we mean that the immigrant should avoid any form of excess, i.e. gambling, drinking and lack of sleep. In other words, all thoughtless spending. People who do not follow these instructions will fall sick and will spend all their money on doctors and medicines ...⁴²

Bonacich goes further in analysing the hostility of the host towards middleman minorities. She quotes the riots and pogroms, exclusion movements and expulsion that immigrant middleman minorities have faced during different historical periods. She attributes those conflicts to the fact that elements in each group have incompatible goals,

and points out that these conflicts arise mainly over economic matters. She stresses the fact that in this case middleman minorities conflict with three classes, i.e. clientele, business and labour. As we have already seen the conflict of the Greek middleman minority took place with two of those classes, i.e. business and labour. In the first case we have seen the hidden reasons behind the "anti-alien" agitation, led by the big merchants and their political allies, and later their efforts to secure the passing of the General Dealers' Act and the Shop Hours' Act, in order to destroy the small shopkeepers. In the second case, we have seen the negative attitudes of the British shop assistants towards their Greek counterparts and the anti-Greek agitation of the organised labour movement and organisations.

The social mobility of the Greeks during the period under examination and their new economic position within the South African social formation had several effects on their political and ideological attitudes, and our next task is to examine these more closely.

(C) GREEK NATIONALISM

Greek nationalists in South Africa soon realised that the tensions created during the years 1915-1917 were harmful for the Greeks whose old image of "alien" and "dirty Mediterranean" amongst the local population was replaced by that of the "enemy" or "neutral" subjects. On the economic level the Greeks could see that the competition of the local merchant capital with or without the aid of the authorities (municipal or other) would stiffen in the process, and that the jingoist ideology of certain sections of the South African population which was perpetuated by the anti-Greek reports of several newspapers, and the activities of the above-mentioned merchants, would have to be curbed.

The first objective would be achieved by reviving the united Greek nationalist front composed of all political persuasions and by the establishment of ethnic schools that would ensure the survival of the national language; and the second would be achieved by uniting under a professional front of Greek shopkeepers who would fight for their rights. (It must be remembered that the Greek Workers' Association was already in existence.)

In this part we will deal not only with the exact Greek population in all provinces, but also the efforts of the community leaders to alleviate the position of the group which was in a bad state after the anti-Greek riots in Johannesburg. The nationalist efforts of the community will be stressed as well as the new "a-political" attitudes of the Greek youth who maintained that culture rather than political activities would solve the burning problems of the community. The attitudes of the Greeks, as well as the local press, towards the situation in the Motherland will also be examined.

Before looking at the developments that took place

within the community, let us concentrate briefly on the demographic picture of the Greeks in South Africa during the period under examination. As has been shown already, a large number of Greek males left South Africa as volunteers during the first world war. Many of them, however, together with several new immigrants, returned to South Africa later. Thus, in 1918, there were 1 399 males and 201 females (a total of 1 600) who had been born in Greece. The males constituted 0,19 per cent of the total male population of the country and the females 0,003.¹ As compared with 1911, there was an increase of 1,82 per cent in the Greek male population (+25 persons), and 120,88 per cent increase in the Greek female population (+110 persons), and the total increase was 9,22 per cent.²

Once again, however, these figures are incomplete since there were 138 persons born in Turkey (95 males and 43 females), a loss of 417 or 75,14 per cent of the respective numbers in 1911.³ As shown earlier the absolute majority of these persons, with few exceptions, were Greeks who had come from areas occupied by Turkey. Most of the Greeks were living in the urban areas.⁴

The table on the following page shows the urban sex division of Greeks in all the provinces. It can be seen that the vast majority of Greeks were living in the Transvaal, the Cape Colony having the second largest Greek population. Another major characteristic of the table is the obvious fact that males outnumbered females by a large margin, the ratio being 1 female to every 8 males, indicating, amongst other things, an absence of intermarriage.

On this point, Nicolaides wrote:

This desire (to collect as much money as they can) is a very serious obstacle in their plans to marry in South Africa. They hope that they will get married in Greece when they return. Therefore most of them stay unmarried, they grow old, and returning to Greece is a chimera because, although they hope they will return, they do not. The few

TABLE NO 4: SEX DIVISION OF ALL GREEKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PROVINCES: 1918⁴

Cape of Good Hope		Urban Areas												TOTAL		
		Natal			Transvaal			Orange Free State								
Born in Greece (1)		(1)			(1)			(1)			(1)					
M	F	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	Male	Female	Total
341	38	27	3	30	890	134	1	0	24	81	14	95	1	339	189	1 528
Born in Turkey (2)		(2)			(2)			(2)			(2)					
M	F	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	Male	Female	Total
13	7	7	2	9	41	24	65	14	7	21	75	40	115			
(1)		(1)			(1)			(1)			(1)					
18	0	10	3	13	26	4	30	6	5	11	60	12	72			
(2)		(2)			(2)			(2)			(2)					
5	0	0	1	1	11	1	12	4	1	5	20	3	23			

that do soon realise that winter has covered their hair, and they are unable to bring back the lost years.⁵

The ratio of males to females amongst the Greek population showed a better picture in 1921. In that year there were 1 549 male and 542 female (a total of 2 091) members of the Greek Orthodox Church. The proportion by sex was 74,08 per cent and 25,92 per cent, respectively, the ratio being 1 female to every 3 males.⁶ There were 360 males and 114 females in the Cape (76,11 and 23,89 of the total number, respectively), representing 0,07 per cent of the Colony's population, showing a 5,96 per cent decrease over the figure for 1911.

In the Transvaal there were 1 073 males and 387 females, a total of 1 460, or 0,27 per cent of the total population, an increase of 16,15 per cent over the 1911 figures. The proportions by sex were 73,49 per cent males and 26,51 per cent females.

In Natal there were 42 males and 17 females, a total of 59, or 0,04 per cent of the total population. The sex proportions were 71,19 per cent males and 28,81 per cent females, and there was an increase over the 1911 figure of 26 per cent, or 13 persons.

In the Orange Free State there were 74 males and 25 females, a total of 99; and a sex proportion of 74,75 per cent males and 25,25 per cent females, constituting 0,03 per cent of the total population.⁷

Of these new arrivals in South Africa, 20 had come in 1918; the same number in 1919; 56 in 1920, of whom 29 were females and 27 males; and 74 in 1921, of whom 52 were males and 22 females.⁸

In addition to those numbers it must be pointed out

that, according to the official 1921 census, there were 195 or 98 "non-European" members of the Greek Orthodox Church. The figures given under the heading "Religions of the European and Non-European Population in each Province of the Union" gives the numbers of non-Europeans as 31 in the Cape, 6 in Natal, 19 in the Transvaal and 42 in the Orange Free State (total 98),⁹ while under the heading "Religion" the number of non-Europeans is given as 195.¹⁰

Between 1922 and 1924, 176 Greeks entered South Africa. Of these, 37 (26 males and 11 females) entered in 1922, 55 (20 males and 33 females) entered in 1923, and 84 (64 males and 20 females) in 1924.¹¹

New Hellas re-started its national crusade for new morals amongst Greeks in the first months of 1918. Nicolaides realised that Greeks should not only be good nationalists, but also of high moral character. He pointed out that the anti-Greek riots were mainly the result of the unfortunate political situation in Greece, but he stressed the point that the behaviour of several immigrants was far from moral. He accused them of being gamblers and heavy drinkers, and immoral in more ways than one. He published an editorial in his newspaper in the strongest language ever used (the heading was "Destroy the petty Greeks"):

They are satyrs, alcoholics, obscene, degenerated, not worthy of their nationality and religion. We all ask ourselves where are we Greeks heading in this country? Let us not forget we are civilised Europeans.¹²

Nicolaides's comments were ill-timed and ill-informed. They came at a time when the Greek community needed to be united in order to protect its interests and not allow new anti-Greek feelings to emerge. In addition, Nicolaides's remarks were directed at anonymous "alcoholics" and were mainly based on rumours and not on facts. The most serious rumour concerning Greeks during that period was the alleged involvement of several Greeks in a plan for "running"

illicitly bought gold to Delagoa Bay. Although the Sunday Times kept the story in the headlines for some time and accused certain Greeks of being the principle agents of this illegal operation, it never released names and accepted that no evidence existed for such accusations.¹³ The alleged "plot" was never uncovered but the report had already damaged the image of the Greeks in South Africa to an even greater extent.

Nicolaides accused the Sunday Times of publishing a "fake story",¹⁴ but he was guilty of the same deed, that of basing reports on rumour, and not on actual facts. He accused Greek nationalists and the community leaders of keeping a passive attitude towards the obscene accusations of the Sunday Times. He added that active participation was needed and it was high time that Greeks responded dynamically to unfounded accusations.¹⁵ The reason behind these "moral awareness" articles soon became apparent. There was no political representation of the Greeks in South Africa generally, and in Johannesburg in particular, and Nicolaides considered that he was the right person to fulfil the position, hence his continuous attacks on the leaders and the alleged "ill-tempered" members of the Greek community.¹⁶

The Greek leaders, however, responded to both Nicolaides's articles and the reports of the general press with a commendable temperance and patience. They started in 1918 with a "mammoth" National Day celebration in the Popular Bioscope in Pritchard Street, where all participated in a "memorable Day of Remembrance" for the heroes of the 1821 Revolution. Children dressed in colourful Greek costumes distributed programmes, and the celebrations continued until the early hours of the next day.¹⁷

Although the occasion was a call for unity amongst all nationalist factions of the Greeks in South Africa, the division of Venizelists and Royalists still existed, the

former being the more active.¹⁸ In July 1918, a house-to-house collection was made, initiated by the Venizelist Committee, and £350/18/9d was collected and sent to Greece. Venizelos addressed a letter to the committee stressing the importance to the country of the material aid received from the Greek Diaspora and pointing out that the struggle of the nation against its enemies was based on the heroism of its soldiers and the contributions of everyone, whether in Greece or abroad. He thanked the committee and the contributors on behalf of the Greek people. Money to be sent in the form of material aid was also collected in Pretoria, where Golfinopoulos led the campaign.¹⁹

The participation of the Greek army in the French Front was covered significantly by the local press,²⁰ and Nicolaides found another opportunity to editorialise the "heroic attempts of the children of Alexander the Great" who fought gallantly against militarism and despotism, and were ready to materialise the national visions of recapturing Constantinople.²¹ While celebrating the end of the war and the triumph of the Greek army against the Bulgarians, Nicolaides again referred to the political divisions which existed amongst the Greeks in South Africa;²² but again his writings did not cause any concern to the Greek community whose unity was stronger than ever. Their regular nationalist meetings were attended by large numbers of people, where money was collected for the Motherland, and where the speeches were characterised by moderation.²³

Nicolaides's appeals to the Allies to return Thrace, Asia Minor, and Constantinople to Greece were looked upon by the majority of Greeks as unattainable goals, and their only real concern was that the Motherland would be able to live peacefully after the war.²⁴ An attempt by several members of the community to raise old questions on the Venizelos/King controversy²⁵ was treated with indifference by the majority of Greeks who could now claim a "national unity".

In Cape Town, following a direct appeal to the community by the returning crippled Greek soldiers, a large gathering of all members decided to collect money for this "Holy Aim".²⁶ N Adeline was chairman; the vice-chairman was G Stavropoulos, a merchant from Olympia, Peloponnesus, who had come to Cape Town in 1902;²⁷ and D Bletsos, G Vasiliou, A Lainis and N Aggouras were committee members.²⁸ The Cape Town community sent generous contributions to Greece all through 1918. Twice Venizelos sent letters and cables of thanks for their donations of 2 445,20 francs and £350/1/0d, respectively.²⁹ Adeline, in a proud letter to New Hellas, declared that Cape Town Greeks were the pioneers of nationalism in the country, with unparalleled contributions to the cause of helping the Motherland. He added that the latest collection of the community was £328/13/0d.³⁰

At the beginning of 1920, Advocate Emile Nathan became Consul-General for Greece. A barrister, born in Graaff-Reinet in 1859 and educated in London, Nathan was a member of the Legislative Assembly for Von Brandis from 1910. He was a local member of the South African Mutual Society, a Whip for the Unionist Party in the House, and a distinguished member of the Johannesburg Jewish community.³¹ His acceptance of the position was viewed by Greeks all over the country as useful in two ways: First, it would bring the two groups closer; and, secondly, the influence and social position of the new Consul-General in Johannesburg would guarantee an additional degree of respectability for the Greek community.

Nathan and Nicolaides set up "a programme for action" to alleviate the position of the Greek on the Witwatersrand in many ways but it seemed to be the Cape Town community who kept up the nationalist work. The "Cape Town Greek Community Fund for the Crippled in the Wars" collected an amount of £438/16/0d in only two months in a door-to-door collection,³² and the Greek ladies in town held a sale of

handiwork in Adderley Street which realised £30 in two hours.³³ In one month another £215 was collected and sent to Greece for the same purpose.³⁴

The Johannesburg community held a "social and patriotic" function in order to collect money for the Greek crippled soldiers and £455/7/10d was collected.³⁵ Approximately five hundred Greeks participated with their wives and children and heard a new rising community leader, Sklavounos Michalopoulos, glorifying the contribution of Greece to the civilisation of mankind. He periodised Greek history and his powerful oration kept the audience silent for one-and-a-half hours. Michalopoulos, while stating that Johannesburg Greeks were good nationalists, pointed out that their political affiliations and sympathies to parties in the Motherland were a very serious obstacle to the development of their nationalism in South Africa. He stressed that party affiliations created divisions and hate, and called upon every Greek to develop Greek nationalism in this country.³⁶

The assassination attempt on Venizelos in Paris in July 1920 alarmed Greek nationalists in South Africa. It was felt that this could lead to a new dangerous situation and division within the community whose unity had been strengthened by the Greek army's continuous victories in Asia Minor and by the Sebres Agreement.³⁷ A member of the Venizelist Committee, writing in the editorial columns of New Hellas, applauded the victories of the Greek army in Asia Minor, and paid tribute to Venizelos who had inspired them, and he cursed the would-be assassins.³⁸

The Pretoria Greek community leaders organised a special religious service attended by all members to pray for Venizelos's survival, and a telegram was sent to him expressing the joy felt by the community at the failure of the attempt.³⁹ The Greeks of Kimberley and Rhodesia, celebrating Venizelos's survival, collected £215 each which

they sent to Greece.⁴⁰

The opening of a Greek bookshop by Nicolaides gave new impetus to Greek nationalism. The shop stocked books on ancient Greek literature and philosophy and other historical books on Greece and Greek nationalism, and it soon became the centre for all Greeks interested in nationalist affairs and culture. It did not stock Greek newspapers or magazines.⁴¹ Book titles included "Rigas Phereos", "Arkadion", "Lord Byron", "O Kapetan Kalogeros", "Constantinople", "Constantine Peleologos", etc.⁴²

Following the defeat of Venizelos in the 1920 elections, Greek royalists in Johannesburg took the opportunity to glorify the King and belittle the ex-Prime Minister. Thus, Spyridon Contominas, a leading royalist speaking in the Greek church, referred to the King as a star in the sky of Greece, and claimed he was the Leader who would recapture Constantinople. The speech did not arouse any hard feelings, but indicated that the different political ideologies amongst the Greeks in Johannesburg still existed.⁴³

Nicolaides himself kept an ambiguous attitude concerning the political situation in Greece. His sympathy at this particular conjuncture was with Venizelos. He attacked the Allies very strongly for their alleged indifference towards the problem facing Hellenism, and the new Greek government for doing nothing to alleviate the sufferings of the Greek nation. "The forthcoming destruction of the Greek nation" he alleged "would be solved only if Venizelos becomes active again."⁴⁴

A new "Greek Youth Association" was established in April 1921, and its committee stated that it would be purely nationalist in nature, and no political party affiliations would be discussed. The association would cater for all Greek nationalists, both Venizelists and royalists,

who would be prepared to forget their political affiliations as soon as they entered the front door of the association's premises.⁴⁵

Major Steward from Krugersdorp formed a volunteer regiment to fight the Turks in Asia Minor and fifty members of the public registered on the first day, many of them non-Greeks.⁴⁶ The Greek leadership did not take a stand regarding this initiative which soon became a dead letter.⁴⁷ The Venizelists in Johannesburg continued to collect money for the Greek army and, in Pretoria, Costas Manolas started to reorganise nationalist meetings (mainly attended by the supporters of Venizelos) and to collect funds for Greece. Manolas also sent an open letter to all supporters of the Liberal Party (Venizelos's party) in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo to contribute financially to the "fighting heroes".⁴⁸

New Hellas also supported Venizelos in its editorials, although emphasis was given to Greek nationalism in a general, abstract way. Trying to stop the tensions still existing between the royalist and Venizelian factions within the Greek community, Nicolaides advocated cooperation between the King and the Liberal leader, pointing out the inadequacies of the new government then in office,⁴⁹ while letters participating in the discussions were received from all over southern Africa.⁵⁰ Despite the fact that the newly-established Greek Youth Association banned all political discussions on its premises, its members and visitors always participated in heated discussions on the Greek political situation, and a letter was sent to New Hellas pointing out that the association was a moral and cultural one with an emphasis on nationalism, and that no political discussions should take place on its premises.⁵¹ The association appealed to all Greeks to support it financially by paying £2 per month for the hiring of its premises, noting that "even the Chinese and the Indians had their own clubs".⁵²

The young people involved in the association were the main force behind new moves to collect funds for the Greek soldiers; this resulted in an amount of £352/16/0 being collected in July,⁵³ and £615 in August.⁵⁴ From Rhodesia the Greeks of Umtali sent £106/8/0 to Greece⁵⁵ and other cities, such as Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gadzema and Hartley followed suit.⁵⁶ Cape Town participated with £284/9/0⁵⁷ and Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Kimberley all collected money for the "soldiers in the front borders".⁵⁸ In Krugersdorp £86 was collected,⁵⁹ and in Benoni £278/8/6.⁶⁰ The Pretoria branch of the Greek Liberal Party, which was more of an informal organisation, collected £402/18/0 in a period of one-and-a-half months; the Greek Prime Minister, Kountouriotis, congratulated them on their endeavours.⁶¹

The 1922 Asia Minor destruction brought a new dimension to the social relations of the Greeks in South Africa. The defeat of the Greek army and the subsequent political instability in Greece further strengthened the unity between the political rivals in South Africa. As early as May 1922 Nicolaides, who as a careful and intelligent observer of politics realised and foresaw the forthcoming destruction, called on all Greeks in South Africa to avoid the "messengers of hatred and division" and to unite within the communities and the church.⁶² Branches of the Panhellenic Committee of London, founded to safeguard the rights of Greece and to collect funds for the "returning soldiers", were established in Pretoria, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Rhodesia, Boksburg, Benoni, Germiston and Pietersburg.⁶³ This was used as an "umbrella" body bringing together all nationalist individuals who wished to have firsthand news from the front. It seems that there was no central committee guiding the organisation as no documentary material of the organisation exists.

News from the Asia Minor front was published very regularly in New Hellas and also in the local press.⁶⁴ The

Cape Town Greek community which first organised a branch of the Pan-hellenic Committee sent another £500/1/0 for the fighting Greek army, in July 1922;⁶⁵ while the Johannesburg branch of the association sent the same amount in the same year.⁶⁶ The defeat of the Greek army was reported in a bitter manner. Nicolaides asked for the immediate substitution of the "mediocre elements" that led the Greek nation to destruction, and cursed the "traitors".⁶⁷ Venizelos was, according to New Hellas, the "symbol of the revolutionary spirit of Greece whose electoral defeat helped Gounaris to government and the Nation to destruction." Gounaris, according to Nicolaides, did not possess the talent of leadership, and was incapable of securing a bright future for Greece. His mistakes made him a tragic figure in Greek politics and "the blood of the slaughtered heroes of Asia Minor would follow him and his associates all their lives."⁶⁸

The local press took a very sympathetic attitude towards the Asia Minor tragedy, in both Cape Town and Johannesburg.⁶⁹ A pro-Turkish letter that appeared in Cape Town's Argus newspaper⁷⁰ was duly answered, and discussion on the matter ended there.⁷¹ The Greeks in Cape Town felt bitter about the destruction. Although those questioned by a newspaper reporter were not very talkative, one said that in his opinion there was "treason" behind the story, and that Greece was in a revolutionary period and anything could happen. Another member of the Greek community commented that no-one in South Africa could exactly understand the Greek situation which was very bad. According to him, Greece "was used by others and now the price had to be paid". Both of these prominent Greeks declined to give their names to the newspaper.⁷² The military coup d'état that followed the Asia Minor destruction was seen as a movement of hope, and three editorials in New Hellas were dedicated to it, stating that it was the last chance for the survival of the Greek nation.⁷³

The news of the Asia Minor destruction prompted the Greeks in South Africa to a new economic mobilisation. The amounts of money collected were again large, and party politics once more took a back seat. The Greek Red Cross congratulated the Greek community of Pretoria for its contributions to the Refugees' Fund,⁷⁴ while Cape Town Hellenism, in less than one month, collected and sent to Greece £500 for the refugees.⁷⁵

Angelo Flokos was the man behind a rigorous drive to collect funds in both Cape Town and Pretoria. He was born in Limni, Evia, and came to Cape Town in 1902, having spent years in Russia as a shop assistant for a wealthy Greek merchant. He volunteered for the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 and returned to Russia until 1901. In Cape Town he succeeded his brother as a trader at 81 Waterkant Street. He was one of the stalwarts of the Greek community and a committee member of its executive for a number of years.⁷⁶ His initiative in the collection of funds for the Asia Minor refugees was unique. He was possibly the only Greek in South Africa who closed his shop to devote days to the collection of funds for the cause.⁷⁷ He also collected money for the Pretoria Fund, which he posted to Golfinopoulos.⁷⁸

For the most of 1923 the government change in Greece was greeted with headlines and editorials. Nicolaides even called for the "Revolutionary Government" to close parliament for as long as one hundred years because Greek politicians were the destroyers of the nation;⁷⁹ and the speeches of Plasteras (the leader of the coup d'état) were given prominence.⁸⁰ But, at the end of that year, Venizelos was asked to return to Greece from his self-exile in Paris because the nation needed his leadership.⁸¹ Venizelos's return to Greece and his victory in the elections brought new hope to South African Greeks who were more united than ever. A contemporary remembered:

We were sitting in one of the two or three National Clubs, I do not remember which one, and waiting for

someone who was working as a printer in the Rand Daily Mail to bring us the news. The atmosphere was tense and no-one touched the cards - a good sign. He came up the stairs and looked at us; he did not know any of us except for one, so he did not know which party we supported. He was really scared, because he had heard about Greeks and politics. His friend talked to him in a friendly way and promised that nothing would happen to him; we only wanted to hear the results of the elections. He was not convinced but he took a piece of paper from his pocket and started reading. His Greek friend took it immediately, looked at it, and started screaming and dancing. We started screaming and dancing, too, because we knew that it was him, Venizelos, who had won. We started drinking, singing, celebrating until the early hours of the morning. Our wives knew that if we were back by ten Venizelos was beaten; if we returned home the next morning he had won. Of course the neighbourhood did not sleep at all that night, but they were used to it, it was not the first time.⁸²

Venizelos returned to Greece triumphant; he became Prime Minister for a short while and then resigned. Many succeeded him. In October, G Michalakopoulos, the last Democratic Prime Minister of the period, was sworn in. The Greeks in South Africa were at a loss to understand the situation. Venizelos had won the election yet was forced to resign after two months; then Prime Ministers were sworn in and resigned in a matter of days. Still the Greek nationalists in South Africa worshipped Greece and still collected money for the refugees.⁸³

Nicolaides seemed to be in total confusion over the Greek political situation and avoided political commentaries on Greek matters for the first time in the history of his newspaper. The unity of Greek nationalists was then a fact based on common historical experiences in a foreign land; it seemed that political and ideological divisions in Greece at that particular stage were of no real concern to Greeks in this country. Their unity was manifested by their common functions, collection of funds and open discussions. The division between Royalists and Venizelists

created by political fanaticism in the Motherland was a ghost of the past.

While in South Africa Greek nationalists looked towards the future united as ever, in Greece a dictatorship took the place of democracy - in the land which had given it birth.

(D) THE PROBLEM OF THE GREEK SCHOOL

It has already been pointed out briefly that no proper Greek school existed in South Africa before 1914. The circumstances prevailing in South Africa during the period 1914-1918, already analysed, also made impossible the establishment of a school; but, after the war, new hopes were raised for such a move. The realisation that the new generations of Greek children born in South Africa could be assimilated and absorbed into the host society prompted the leaders of the Greek community to seriously consider their attitude and to take steps towards establishing Greek schools in all centres of the Union. These steps also strongly indicated that many Greeks saw the attainment of the dream of returning to the Motherland to be more difficult than they had anticipated.

Nicolaides calculated that there were approximately 250 Greek children in the Transvaal alone in 1922.¹ His estimation was possibly accurate, as the only official statistic showing the fecundity and relative fecundity of married women in South Africa according to birthplace gave the number of Greek women as 157 and the children born as 427 for the whole of South Africa. Twenty-one mothers had given birth to one child, 18 to two, 29 to three, 21 to four, 19 to five, five to six, two to seven, three to eight and four to nine. There were 35 women with no children. The average number of children per mother was 2,74.²

Nicolaides called for a proper school where all Greek children, poor and rich, would learn to read and write Greek and be taught Greek history and philosophy. He pointed out that £10 000 or £15 000 was not a difficult target to aim for. There was the fund of £1 500 from two anonymous donors in 1914, which could be used. The school, according to Nicolaides, should be built in Johannesburg, where most Greeks lived, and in a number of years it could

attract large numbers of pupils from all over southern Africa. He called on everyone to contribute money towards that end.³ Schools and Greek language were always an integral part of the nation's culture, and one of the basic elements of Greek nationalism. It was the "cryfa scholia" (secret schools), operated all over Greece by monks and priests during the 400-year occupation of Greece by the Turks, that had kept alive Greek nationalism and the desire for freedom. They perpetuated Greek culture and tradition (national and religious) and constituted a nucleus of future young fighters. It was the wish to preserve Greek culture and traditions that kept alive the desire for the creation of a Greek school in all major centres in South Africa.

In 1916, Christoforides, a young Greek teacher helping the new Greek immigrants in their endeavours to learn the English language, established a school. It opened in early June⁴ with 28 pupils (25 males and three females) but closed down two months later because of lack of interest from parents who also did not pay the fees.⁵ The establishment of an Indian school in Johannesburg following a collection of £10 000 from the Indian community made editorial news in the Greek paper in February 1918. The editor wrote that even the Indians, whose children numbered less than one hundred, had collected the money for a school and the Greeks had not thought of doing such a thing, leaving their children without Greek culture and the opportunity of learning the national language. He stressed the comparison between the two communities and urged the Greeks to start collecting money immediately.⁶

In an appealing comparison Nicolaidis warned the Greeks that if a school was not started immediately their children would be absorbed as easily as those of the Huguenots. He warned them that the Sunday schools were of a more religious nature and were not the final solution.⁷ Early in 1919 Mavrogordato, the Archimandrite of Johannes-

burg, decided to restart a regular school for Greek children but his efforts were as unsuccessful as those of Christoforides.⁸ Collections of money on an irregular basis started in the same year. Sklavounos Michalopoulos was the leader of the movement. We have already given a short biography of Michalopoulos, but his zest and devotion are worth another mention. According to Nicolaides, the "activities, vision and ideology of the man were the major determinants that helped the evolution and success of the Greek community and the Greek national name".⁹ His efforts which concentrated not only on the Greek school and nationalist politics but also on relief work were appreciated by the Greek community. Michalopoulos (Michael to the South Africans) was involved with the Greek nationalist movement from its early days, but became a prominent member of the school committee in early 1915. In 1920 he became chairman of the administrative committee of the Greek community in Johannesburg, and was the chief architect of every movement for the erection of the Greek school.¹⁰

In Cape Town a collection was initiated in 1920 in order to buy the plot next to the church which cost £325. The ultimate aim of the Greek community was to build a hall that could be used as a school for the children. Members of the committee were Archimandrite Katsis, S Messaris and Stavropoulos.¹¹ The money was collected in a short space of time and the plot in Roodebloem Road, Woodstock, was purchased by Michael Harinbrook.¹²

In Pretoria, Archimandrite Nikolopoulos, preaching in church, pointed out that the danger of absorption of the younger generations was imminent and the only way to stop this process was the immediate establishment of Greek schools. Nikolopoulos, who was the first to introduce into South Africa the institution of Sunday schools, pointed out that the Greek school as a socialiser was of equal importance to all Greek young people in South Africa. His speeches were published in three articles in New Hellas.¹³

At approximately the same time Michalopoulos, speaking at a nationalist gathering of Greeks in Johannesburg, stressed that only the creation of Greek schools could guarantee the continuance of Greek nationalism in South Africa. Greek nationalism could not exist without the Greek language, and the Greek language could not exist without Greek schools, he said. In the schools the children would learn Greek traditions and the customs of the Motherland, as well as "the hereditary hate and wish for revenge against the abominable tyrant as had the children of the secret schools during the Turkish occupation". The schools alone would teach the younger generations to love and respect their parents and sacrifice even their lives for the Motherland and its freedom.¹⁴

The establishment of the bookshop was another stepping-stone towards opening a school because the wealth of books was used only by the older members of the community.¹⁵ The new nationalist Youth Association tried, without success, to do something constructive as well but it was obvious that the only organisation that could maintain the functions of a proper school was the community. Michalopoulos realised this fact and tried to mobilise community resources by calling regular meetings at his newly-acquired hotel, The Majestic. These gatherings were neither crowded nor very enthusiastic, but Michalopoulos was confident that the school would be ready in record time.¹⁶ The most important obstacles to Greeks donating money or participating actively in the movement for the erection of the school were their financial contributions towards, firstly, the "crippled heroes" and, later, the Asia Minor refugees. In addition, shopkeepers and shop assistants were actively involved in their own economic struggles (which will be examined in due course).

In Pretoria the Hellenic community, at its annual general meeting, decided to open a proper Greek school under the guidance and instruction of Archimandrite

Nikolopoulos. The school would be open between four and five o'clock in the afternoons, and all Greek parents were asked to send their children.¹⁷ The school started with five children (two females and three males) of whom only one was of school age. It was open only once or twice in four months, and in the next weeks no-one attended.¹⁸

In 1924 once again the debate on the school arose, and three main features predominated:

- (a) It was stressed that the schools would be the only weapon with which the Greek community could preserve its ethnic identity. At present the children could not follow and participate in the Greek Orthodox Church liturgy, and many could not even speak or understand Greek.¹⁹
- (b) The teachers should be well-qualified adults who would help the children to master the Greek language in a short space of time, as there were children of eight to 22 years of age who could not understand or speak Greek.²⁰
- (c) The Archimandrites could only be considered as a last resort as they had failed to run the Sunday schools properly. It was argued that their serious attempts were appreciated but their lack of correct pedagogical method was an obstacle for the correct running of a school.²¹

In November 1924, another professional teacher from Greece, D Deligiannis, called upon all Greeks in Johannesburg to send their children to him. He advised that the fees were very logical and everyone should send his children to school.²² But no children came to him.²³ The Greek community had realised that the only solution to the ever-increasing linguistic and social assimilation of its children was the establishment of a properly organised and housed school. However, it was some time before the Greek communities accomplished this aim and were thus able to perpetuate their language and culture within South Africa

when they established Greek schools in Johannesburg and Cape Town in the early thirties.

Having examined Greek nationalism and the efforts to establish a Greek school, let us now take a look at the struggles of the Greek shop assistants and socialists in South Africa during that period, and the reaction of the Greek press and middle class towards them. We will conclude by outlining the overall political attitudes of the Greeks in South Africa during the same period.

CHAPTER 8

THE GREEK SHOP ASSISTANTS AND SOCIALISTS: 1918-1924

(A) THE SHOP ASSISTANTS

Different sections of the same class react differently in given historical conjunctures. The middle classes, occupying an intermediate position between the exploiting and exploited classes, are unstable and unreliable in their ideological and political alliances because they are pulled in opposite directions by the classes occupying the positions above and below them. The different political actions taken by the petty bourgeoisie in the French Revolution, by the class of petty tradesmen in the 1848 German Insurrection, and by the middle-class intelligentsia in the Bolshevik Revolution, confirm this, but the crucial question of what determines these actions is left unanswered. To illustrate this point, two sections of the same people class will be examined, i.e. the Greek shop assistants and the shopkeepers.

The explanation for the different political activities lies primarily in the fact that the latter were employers whose main objectives were the maximisation of their small profits and their desire to compete on equal terms with the big commercial capitalists. The former were wage-earners whose exploitation was based not on an extraction of surplus value but on overtime. Although both, in different periods, faced severe economic problems because of the difficult economic and social circumstances prevailing, it was the shop assistants and not the shopkeepers who took radical steps organisationally and politically. The economic

element played the major role in this.

The shop assistants, as employees, had to organise against the ruthlessness of the employers and the only way to do it was by establishing a union. The shopkeepers faced several problems related to the unequal competition posed by the big commercial capital and they had to organise too. The Greek shopkeepers were the vanguard of this organisation. Both sections of the Greek people class organised themselves to protect their (class and ethnic) interests, and in both cases the economic element was the major determinant of their actions. Let us elaborate on the subject.

We have already shown that from 1917 a Greek Workers' Association existed under the leadership of Pournaras and, in 1918, had 40 members.¹ One of its major struggles was for the recognition by employers of the Weekly Half-holiday Act and the Shop Hours' Act which were continually being violated by them. It was a fact that the half-holiday was suspended during a week in which there was a public holiday, and two half-holidays were suspended in the case of Christmas and New Year,² but the shopkeepers kept their shops open all week, thus ignoring the Union legislation.³

The leadership of the Shop Assistants' Union was unable to resolve the question of the exploitation of its members by employers or to canalise their grievances in a proper trade-union manner. Its leadership was attached ideologically and politically to the South African Labour Party and, in May 1918, the union decided by 161 votes to 21 to affiliate to the South African Industrial Federation,⁴ a primarily "collective bargaining" body led by A Crawford, a leading ex-socialist and champion of class collaboration in later years.⁵ In many areas of the country, shops were kept open every day until 11 o'clock, with the result that extra profits were made for the shopkeepers, while the assistants had to work continuously or face possible dismissal.⁶

The Greek Workers' Association negotiated with Greek and other shopkeepers to improve the working conditions of its members and to avoid the malpractices of the employers; it also negotiated for better wages which had not increased despite the fact that the cost of living had continually risen since the war.⁷ Following the joint announcement of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Rand Shop Assistants' Union, whereby a minimum standard of pay for "qualified" male shop assistants was decided upon,⁸ the Greek union took the following steps:

The actual increase in wages came up to approximately £18 per month, plus 25 per cent wartime increase, in other words approximately £22.10s. per month. Our Union thought that many problems existed in that agreement. Most of us were happy because we qualified for the increase, but the problems were there and had to be solved. Pournaras drew up a very detailed questionnaire for the Shop Assistants' Union; I think Bunting helped him with it. Serious questions were put to the Union, such as the problem of exploitation of female shop assistants, the qualification of male shop assistants, the working hours problem. The idea behind the questionnaire was to challenge the wisdom of the shop assistants in negotiating with the Chamber instead of confronting it, and the challenge of Pournaras and our Union was never answered. The questions were crucial and demanding and based on solid, scientific grounds. Why, for example, a Johannesburg-only agreement and not a nation-wide agreement? Why not nation-wide Wage Boards? Why differentiate between qualified and unqualified shop assistants? What were the criteria for this classification? These were major questions, never answered.⁹

The questionnaire submitted to the Johannesburg Shop Assistants' Union by Pournaras, on behalf of the Greek Workers' Union, was, according to Maropoulos, one of the more challenging documents ever to appear in the history of the shop assistants' struggles for better working conditions and wages. The situation of the Johannesburg shop assistants (those who were classified as "male" and "qualified") was certainly improved, but the assistants in other towns such as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and East London, did not gain any wage increases and their working

conditions were as bad as ever.¹⁰ Additionally, no measures were taken to improve the wages and working conditions of the female workers, and there was no clause in the agreement between the union and the Chamber of Commerce settling, once and for all, the question of working hours.¹¹ In other words, the Greek Workers' Union challenged the "bargaining" power of the Shop Assistants' Union in a serious manner especially on the question of female employees whose exploitation by shopkeepers caused the South African Review to comment on the ignorance of the plight of the female shop assistants shown by their male-dominated union:

We see how girls are turned into potential thieves, potential prostitutes, by the inexorable demands of hunger and necessity. We see employers shrugging their shoulders ... while a female shop assistant said that if a girl gets, say, £6 a month she must get more money from somewhere.¹²

The challenge went unanswered. The Johannesburg Shop Assistants' Union and the Federation did not pay any attention to the problems of these wage earners. In mid-December a shop assistants' union was formed in Maritzburg with one hundred members, while in Durban a union that had started in 1917 with 26 members, re-organised itself in 1918 with a membership of approximately 250. The shop assistants in that city did not follow the classification of those in Johannesburg and they asked for a minimum wage of £22.10s.0d for a man with five years experience. In their conference with the employers the assistants settled their grievances in a much more satisfactory and firm way than had been done in Johannesburg.¹³ However, they did not settle the question of wages and working hours of the female workers, some of whom worked for 80 to 90 hours per week, for a monthly wage of £3.¹⁴

The demands and questions of the Greek Workers' Association were fairly similar to those made by the Maritzburg and Durban branches of the Shop Assistants' Union, with the emphasis laid on a nationally-based minimum wage, a working

hours schedule, and the necessity for the creation of a National Wage Board which would fix wages for female labour and shop assistants under 18 years of age.¹⁵ The latter problem was a serious one for Greeks as some of the members of their union were under this age - Mallios from Peloponnesus, Repoulias from the Island of Corfu, Dimitropoulos from Messinia, Peloponnesus, and several others.¹⁶

The validity of the position and question posed by the Greek Workers' Association was proved very soon. Despite the agreement between the Transvaal Chamber of Mines and the Shop Assistants' Union, the employers did not pay the agreed wages to their assistants, and although the latter union entered into negotiations with other Chambers of Commerce for a minimum wage for shop and tearoom assistants, clerks and typists, no result was achieved. In Cape Town, R Stuttaford, president of the town's Chamber, reminded employees that asking for too much would mean a stern reaction from the employers. He tried to impose on them scale wages, fluctuating according to the years of service and skill. He pointed out that a minimum wage would mean more inflation and a subsequent rise in the cost of living.¹⁷ The Greek assistants' union pointed out that there could be no differentiation on the score of skill as any person working for a sufficient number of years in a shop could easily acquire the necessary skill. The memorandum and questions of the Greek union dismissed the differentiation of wages based on a sexual division of labour. It was pointed out that "to say that a girl is doing a different job from a male shop assistant who has more appropriate skills than she is wrong" and the memorandum called for the payment of "a living wage to all shop assistants irrespective of sex and nationality".¹⁸

It soon became evident that the questions asked by the Greek union were based on a rational analysis of the situation, and the fact that all Chambers of Commerce in South Africa soon felt that there was no need to negotiate any

more with the existing unions and the Federation, proved the analysis of the union to be correct.¹⁹ There were cases where females were paid 5s for a week of 60 to 70 hours. Their tram fares amounted to 3s and they were left with 2s. The shopkeeper's official explanation was that the girls were "learning the trade".²⁰

The economic crisis of 1920-1924, which was marked by an intensified struggle between labour and capital, the 1922 insurrection, unemployment, and a rise in the cost of living, created new problems for the shop assistants. The Wage Board Bill which passed through the House of Assembly, but not the Senate, in 1921 and "probably would have been introduced in the 1922 session but for the effects of the strike" according to Davies, was a dead letter.²¹ Exploitation was intensified because employers could so easily recruit new staff from the ranks of those coming in from the country.

Pournaras and his union found out that it was difficult to operate a union of 40 to 50 members, isolated within an intensified struggle between labour and capital. The union did its best to establish good relations between Greek shop assistants and Greek and foreign employers and, at the same time, realised that an isolated struggle would lead nowhere in the long run. The role of the union as a vanguard organisation of employees cannot be ignored. Its "left" criticism of the reformist and out-of-touch Shop Assistants' Union in Johannesburg gave rise to very pertinent and serious questions in the years that followed, posed by all progressive democratic unions and organisations. The dilemma of the leadership, however, was the limitation of a "pure economic struggle" or a struggle for better working conditions, separated from political activities. Pournaras and Macrides, another Greek shop assistant from Germiston and a member of the I S L, realised that the association was heading in the wrong direction.²²

The final economic struggle of the association was the result of the passing of the Apprenticeship and Young Person's Act of 1918. At a meeting of the association, it was pointed out that Greek shop assistants rejected the Act because of its "ruthless character". According to the Act, the wage of the shop assistants was determined by their age and years of experience. This led shopkeepers to employ as many persons as possible from the younger age groups, and fewer from the older groups. In addition, when a shop assistant attained an age and the years of experience which would entitle him or her to an increase in wages, he or she was in a precarious position because the employer could dismiss him or her and take a younger person to fill the place.

The Greek Workers' Association thought that the only solution to the problem was the establishment of a nationally-based Wage Control Board, the abolition of the scale of wages, and a fixed minimum wage for assistants over the age of 18. The association pointed out that girls and women should receive equal wages for equal work with the men. The Greek shop assistants accused the Johannesburg branch of the Shop Assistants' Union of being "useless" and called for a nationally-based union on the lines of the English unions, whereby only members could work as shop assistants. They stated that it was the lack of organisation of the shop assistants' movement in Johannesburg that had led to the establishment of their trade union, which was organised to fight inequalities in the profession.

Pournaras accused the commercial capitalists of trying to keep the shop assistants in ignorance of the actual struggle and said they had succeeded in many ways because the assistants' unions were reactionary and passive. The Greek shop assistants came together, he said, not only because they shared the same progressive culture and traditions, but because they needed a united organisation to fight for the rights of their members who were both Greek

(and proud of it) and shop assistants.²³

The association however could not solve the problems of the shop assistants, both male and female, mainly because it lacked the broad outlook of a nationally-based trade union and because the ruthlessness of employers in places such as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London could not be controlled and exposed. Day by day the open exploitation of male and female shop assistants was exposed in the newspapers but the authorities and trade unions were unable to stop it. Shopkeepers were fined for not complying with the regulations of the Wages Board and the Shop Hours Act, but continued to exploit their assistants. "Clerics accused them every Sunday in the Churches", commented the South African Review bitterly, "but economic conditions and hunger for bigger profits created wholesale immorality."²⁴

The Greek Workers' Association reached an ideological and political deadlock during the 1922 Rand Rebellion. Pournaras, then a leading member of the Communist Party, saw the revolt from a different perspective than that of his fellow Greek unionists who were not Socialists. From the first day of the rebellion the South African Communist Party, which had already affiliated to the International, denounced Crawford and his Industrial Council as irrelevant reformists and asked the workers to fight capitalism with all the means at their disposal, and saw the strikes as leading towards workers' rule.²⁵ The scabs were violently attacked by the International, and the workers were urged to organise as a class to fight capitalist corruption.²⁶

The strike committee was supported wholeheartedly by the Communist Party²⁷ whose members were called to work within the masses.²⁸ Although the famous slogan "Workers of the world unite and fight for a white South Africa" came under critical attack from the official sources of the party, the same sources urged the workers to fight together

with the strikers.²⁹ The Communist Party soon realised that the State would control the movement and, in its desperation, even appealed to policemen, as workers, to join forces with their brothers for social liberation.³⁰ In short, the Rand Rebellion was one of the most controversial and bloody incidents in the history of the South African labour movement. Even though the members of the Greek Shop Assistants' Union played an important role both within the Greek community and the wider community, their workers' consciousness was not developed to such an extent as to participate in an incident such as this.

Although it has since been established that the actions known as the Rand Rebellion were nothing more than a manifestation of an economic struggle led by the radical "Action Committee",³¹ at the time such activities "in the eyes of the simple Greek shop assistants were related to a radical take-over of the State by the forces of Bolshevism".³² Pournaras had convinced a small number of shop assistants to become subscribers to the International and to support the policy of the I S L, but the majority kept away from Socialist activities, preferring to attend a Greek function rather than the closed lecture room or the sophisticated open-air meetings of the League.³³

The fate of the 1922 Rand Revolt is well known. Although the strike commandos, bodies of armed men consisting of "poor whites" and white miners, had some initial successes in attacking black workers who were going to work and various "scab workers", they were themselves attacked by approximately 7 000 State troopers, artillery, and bomber planes. About 200 were killed and between 500 and 600 were injured, and the struggle was soon over.³⁴ Many of the Greek shop assistants helped the State authorities, as will be shown later, while Pournaras did not participate directly in the armed insurrection but was in constant consultation with Bunting.³⁵

Following 1922, the association was a dead letter. Pournaras isolated himself from the I S L because of continuous harassment from the police and just before the end of the revolt he destroyed all his personal correspondence, the minute books of the Greek Workers' Association, and all photographs of it. A contemporary explained the reason for these actions:

He was very concerned about the well-being of others. He did not care a bit about himself although he had a wife and three kids to look after; he cared for the others, however. His action in destroying all evidence that could damage the other members of the association was commented upon by them with great respect and affection. Although the police knew that the association had nothing to do with the I S L and its policies, Pournaras felt that to destroy all evidence was the best thing. He even destroyed the family pictures of members taken at picnics, and their flag. His relations with ex-members of the association were still cordial, although he felt that all contacts should be cut because he was afraid for them. He thought that even their contact with him could be dangerous, and he avoided their company. They knew it and many of them appreciated his honesty and consideration. They went to his restaurant, and the weekly picnics were on again, until his brother's accident and his own death.³⁶

A car hit Antonis Pournaras in 1924 and Athanasios sold his tearoom on the corner of King George and Noord Streets but kept the New Exchange Restaurant in Smal Street. Both had been bought in 1921.³⁷

The development of the Greek Workers' Association manifested the dual allegiance of its members, i.e. ethnic and class allegiance. They were Greeks and they were wage earners, trying to survive within the South African society as both. They conducted their meetings in Greek and were proud of their culture and heritage, but at the same time were not prepared to relegate their class allegiance in favour of their Greek one.

Their first press release and their constitution were clear on the point that exploitation had no nationality,

and called upon all Greek shopkeepers to fight against it. Although they participated in the economic struggles of that period the lack of "revolutionary consciousness" did not permit them to play a vanguard role on the political level. Their attitude towards the Shop Assistants' Union and the South African Industrial Federation, and their position regarding equal pay for male and female shop assistants especially, was a really revolutionary one for that period. Their questions posed to the Federation and the Johannesburg branch of the Shop Assistants' Union proved to be correct during the period 1923-1924, when the Chamber of Commerce withdrew from the agreement because it was revealed that most employers, both attached and not attached to the Chamber, paid their assistants less than the scale. According to the Chamber, wages had to be cut by all employers concerned in order to have a universal figure.³⁸

Thus the prediction of the Greek Workers' Association some years previously, that the interests of the country's shop assistants and especially those in the Rand were not protected by their unions and the Federation, was fulfilled. The irony of the situation, however, was that the trade unions and the Federation were alive and well while the Greek Workers' Association had died an inglorious and premature death.

(B) THE SOCIALISTS

It is a fact that the number of Greeks who considered themselves Socialists and actively worked for socialism in South Africa during the period under examination was small in comparison with that of the Greeks who attached themselves to the more established political parties in the country, mainly the South African Party. However, serious socio-historical research cannot ignore the roots and activities of individual Greek Socialists in South Africa for the same reason that it cannot ignore the Greek Orthodox religion, communities, trade unions, and education, i.e. historical objectivity.

The several attempts by Pournaras to establish Greek trade unions along broadly defined "class lines" have been referred to earlier. First and foremost, however, Pournaras was all his life a devoted Socialist and member of the International Socialist League. Having examined his activities up to 1918, let us once more concentrate on his social background and sketch his activities up to the time of his death. He could not be considered a working-class individual, a proletarian; on the contrary, though not wealthy, he was a small businessman whose thorough knowledge of the market made him successful in more ways than one. After selling his labour agency in 1919 he bought a house with eight plots of land and a well, on the corner of Nelson and Webb Streets in Booyens.¹

His activities amongst the Greek shop assistants and mineworkers had gained him high respect for his intellectual and leadership qualities, but his efforts to attract Greeks to the Socialist cause were not successful. Said one contemporary who knew him intimately:

He was keen to attract as many Greeks as he could. He was a good speaker, his use of the Greek and English languages was impressive, and everyone who met him respected him. The major problem was that Greeks were not keen on his ideas. They liked him and respected him as an individual and most of them admired him for his beliefs, because it was

not an easy thing to be a Socialist and an anti-militarist in those days, but they did not follow him. I remember that their group consisted of approximately eight to ten people, Athanasi and Antony Pournaras, Apostolos Kapsiotis from Ioannina, a shop assistant, a Mr Carabelas from Peloponessus, John Mazis from Athens, a bootmaker, and one or two more whose names I do not remember. They gathered at Pournaras's shop or house and talked and talked for hours. Then they all left with newspapers and pamphlets. They never drank wine or spirits, they never played cards; some called them purists. They were not purists. I think they believed in some things very strongly. The shop assistants of Greek origin were quite keen on Socialist and Labour Party policies, but the 1922 revolt was too much for them; they became very scared.

Many of the Socialists came to Pournaras's house for supper and to talk; I was invited many times and participated. The main question was the relationship of their party with the blacks. Pournaras had a very progressive mind, he believed that the blacks were equal to us and at one stage he started learning their language in order to translate pamphlets for the International. The other Greeks agreed with Pournaras because they thought that everything he said was correct. After 1922 they were scattered all over the place. I saw one of them in 1926 in Germiston, still a Socialist, but a Labour Party man then. He had a nice hotel and liquor store and a restaurant; the Communist Party was too left wing for his lifestyle.²

How can one explain the endorsement of the Socialist principles by a man of the social background of Pournaras? It seems that his work on the mines and the realisation of the exploitation taking place in the mining production process, as well as his work as a labour agent bringing him face to face with unemployment and destitution, were the main reasons. Pournaras, a well-educated and sensitive individual, was welcome within the ranks of the International Socialist League which, although claiming to represent the working class, was a predominantly white organisation consisting of middle-class ideologues and intellectuals.³ Middle-class intellectuals were a very welcome addition to the working-class membership of the League as

it was expressed graphically in the International:

The political movement of the working class opens its doors not only to wage-earners but to the ideal elements from all the other classes who, satiated with the deceits and shams of capitalist conventions and morals, find accommodation in the working-class movement. ... Therefore all non-wage-earners come into the working-class movement contributing and serving the working class as the instrument of deliverance, and helping in its political propaganda; but also learning from it a world of higher conduct, and new canons which har-binger the blue sky of the great society that is to be.⁴

Those were the primary functions of the "organic intellectual" of the I S L, to teach and learn from the working class and this is what Pournaras was doing. Additionally, however, he tried to proselytise as many Greeks as he could to the vision of Socialism, although he knew that this was a very difficult - if not impossible - task.

In an editorial in March 1919 he dealt with the workers' revolution and gave a very complete and knowledgeable picture of the workers' revolution in Russia, and pointed out that a similar revolution had taken place in Greece in 1897. (The historical truth concerning the latter "revolution" was that it actually started and ended as a riot of disillusioned soldiers and unemployed in Athens following the defeat of 1897 and the resurrection of the Cretan people under Venizelos during the same year.)⁵ Pournaras analysed the capitalist relations of production based on quotations from Tolstoy, Lassale, Owen and Hugo. He pointed out that capitalism was characterised by the continuous struggle between labour and capital and that this struggle would inevitably end with the triumph of the workers. The article concluded as follows:

The enjoyment of the huge profits produced by the sweat of the workers should be shared not by individuals but by all. ... Because, otherwise, the workers' uprisings will never end. Peace will not sit on Her Throne for long. Workers Revolution will always shake the foundations of Society.⁶

Seven days later, however, Nicolaides attacked the "Bolshevik menace" as the leading force behind the strike of the municipal employees. He called on the government to stop the actions of the Bolsheviks who were involved with the black workers and wanted to have a "Russian-type" revolution in South Africa. The black workers were agitated by white intellectual Marxists/Leninists/Trotskyists who should be dealt with, with the "iron hand" of the government before it was too late.⁷ Anti-Bolshevik attacks were a regular feature of the newspaper as we will see soon.

Pournaras never accepted a high position within the I S L, but another Greek, M B Macrides, who lived in Geduld township in Springs,⁸ became the treasurer of the Springs branch in late 1919.⁹ Together with Kimmelman and J J Hornstein, a leading member of the I S L, he established the Springs branch of the League at a crowded meeting in a private house,¹⁰ and played a leading part in the League's activities in the East Rand. His house was a regular meeting-place of members of the branch,¹¹ and he was chief organiser of all social functions of the branch.¹²

In 1921, Macrides was elected acting secretary of the Springs branch of the I S L.¹³ He was an outspoken social critic and his ideological internationalism and anti-militarism did not combat his Greek nationalism. In 1917 he was one of the contributors to the Venizelist Committee funds;¹⁴ while in 1919 he offered to fight a duel with D Ivor Jones, the secretary of the League, because the latter wrote that Greek mercenaries were fighting the Bolsheviks in Ukrania.¹⁵ Jones used erroneous characterisations for the Greek troops such as "poor devils that found themselves transported hundreds of miles away to a foreign land" and equated their participation with that of French negro mercenary regiments.¹⁶

Macrides demanded a public apology from Jones,¹⁷ but the latter wrote and explained the reasons that had made

him use the word "mercenaries" instead of another one. He stressed that his remark was not meant as an insult to Greek workers who fought capitalism, and mentioned that Byron and Shelley, two great English poets, had paid tribute to the heroism of the Greek people. He explained, however, that unemployment in Greece could force Greek workers to become mercenaries. He accused the Property System as the major reason for the creation of mercenaries and Greek workers were no exception to that rule.¹⁸

The editor of the International wrote to Macrides saying that all international socialists should denounce the present system of capitalist exploitation even in countries with a glorious past such as Greece.¹⁹ It seems, however, that it was only the way Jones wrote about the Greek troops and the stylistic expressions he used that had prompted Macrides to reply and offer to fight a duel with him.

Pournaras added a new direction to the discussion when he wrote to the International pointing out that the policy of the Tsar towards Greece had always been treacherous and that every Greek who loved freedom ought to lift up his voice and demand the withdrawal of all Greek troops from Russia where the Bolsheviki were not only gaining their freedom but were also fighting to free the world from the rotten system of capitalism.²⁰ It was only in July that Macrides's view was justified and it was proved that no Greek "mercenaries" fought against the Bolsheviki. It was only a Greek regiment that was sent by the Venizelist government which, after several defeats, was called back.²¹

The International pointed out that Greece was forced by the Entente to send her troops against the Bolsheviki and the Greek workers appeared in the President's House with the flags of the Red Army, joining forces in the celebrations of the Russian people.²² There is no information on Macrides's activities during the 1922 period

and its aftermath. Pournaras continued to write articles for New Hellas, on Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution of 1917, and there are no indications that he paid to have them published.²³

It is incomprehensible how Nicolaides, a devoted anti-communist, allowed Pournaras to publish articles in his newspaper but, nevertheless, in the first days of 1920, an editorial by Pournaras was published which applauded the decision of the English government to re-start its trading links with Russia. In the article, Russia was described as the new "Workers' Republic" where the existing inequalities had ceased and the whole of the working class supported the Bolshevik leadership.²⁴

Pournaras was regularly harassed by the police but he continued his activities. At one stage he decided that he could not live under the continuous harassment, and informed the Greek community that he planned to return to the Motherland. He put his business and house up for sale.²⁵ The whole Greek community, irrespective of political sympathies, tried to persuade him to stay; but it was the promise given by George Panayides, a Greek senior member of the C I D, that Pournaras would not be harassed further, that persuaded him to stay.²⁶

The International continued to publish material on the Greek political scene and the items published were all supplied by Pournaras.

When Venizelos promised to put half a million soldiers into the field at Smyrna, the paper pointed out the inaccuracy of such statements and stressed the fact that the country was bankrupt and that another six months of war would bring her to the verge of a catastrophe.²⁷ This article highlighted Pournaras's knowledge of Greek affairs, his analytical mind and his fear for the total destruction of his Motherland due to the political mistakes of its leaders. The latter element was of special interest.

Pournaras was a self-confessed internationalist and such sentiments could be regarded as "social patriotic". Maropoulos put the record straight when he said:

Pournaras was an internationalist, make no mistake. He was a humanist and he believed in the brotherhood of man and in an ideal society without borders. He believed in the international brotherhood of man, the classless society. Deepdown, however, he could not hide his deep Greekness. He was a Greek, he felt a Greek and was treated by all as a Greek, his friends, his business associates, his comrades. He was not a part of any Greek nationalist organisation - he thought they were a waste of time; he preferred a Greek Socialist Society with discussions, functions, etc. Their group was too small to be regarded as an organisation. The shop assistants could not be controlled by his group, neither could the miners. He met Greeks socially very regularly and was a keen observer of the Greek political scene. He could think analytically, dialectically; the others only read their party's newspaper and could not think - they only talked. Nicolaides had asked him many times to analyse Greek political situations, but he only wrote articles on the October Revolution; this was his main passion, not Greek politics.

The International was read by a large number of Greeks during that period primarily because of Pournaras's and Macrides's efforts, and the latter's exchange of comments with D Ivor Jones increased the newspaper's circulation.²⁸ Following the Greek attack in Asia Minor in 1920, an anonymous Greek correspondent wrote to the newspaper claiming that Venizelos's attack was justified by the fact that this part of Asia had been Greek territory for two thousand years, and declaring his support for the Greek army's attempts to recapture the area. The editor replied that such claims obscured the real struggle between labour and capital and national differences and distinctions were harmful and dangerous to the cause of the workers, and retarded the forthcoming Bolshevik revolution.²⁹

There is no historical evidence showing any formal links existing between the International Socialists and the Greek Socialist Labour Party (S E K E) which was

organising anti-militarist groups within the Greek army and playing a very important role in the class awakening of the Greek working class.³⁰ Nevertheless, the International used the services of Pournaras and Macrides in order to give its Greek and other readers a clear picture of the news of its Greek fraternal organisation. The Greek Socialists translated long articles from the S E K E newspaper "O Ergaticos Agon" ("Workers' Struggle"), and large parts of them were published in the I S L organ. The longest article concerned the struggle of the Greek Socialists against the "yellow syndicates" who rejected political action. The International praised the revolutionary attitude of the Greek "comrades" who were represented in the Greek parliament by two congressmen "who were sent there not to reform the capitalist State, but to dig up its foundations and destroy it".³¹

Pournaras was the main translator of the Greek newspaper articles, as he was a subscriber to four Greek papers, two of them Socialist.³² He was also a theoretician of significance as his Greek articles show, and there is a question as to why he was not a regular contributor to the International. He was certainly assisting in the editorial preparation of the paper in all stages of its existence and possibly some anonymous comments and short articles were written or co-written by him,³³ but he cannot be regarded as a major theoretician of the organisation such as people like Bunting, Andrews and C F Glass.

There was an article in New Hellas, however, that could explain the lack of prominence of Pournaras as a theoretician of the I S L. On 4 December, he wrote an article entitled "The Giants of the Bolshevik Revolution" in which he examined Lenin and Trotsky. The analysis of their personal and intellectual backgrounds and life shows the writer's deep knowledge of the subject, and it is clear that Trotsky came out as the real leader of the Revolution. Lenin was considered as the intellectual giant

he took a neutral stand towards the strikers, pointing out that the losers were the South African economy, capitalists and workers.⁴¹

Reports on the strike appeared in every issue of the newspaper without comments,⁴² but after Smuts and his army suppressed it Nicolaides attacked the labour leadership, the South African Labour Party, and all others involved, calling them "anarchists with red flags". He pointed out that all of them had been arrested and that the movement which had been inspired by Lenin and Trotsky had been smashed because the South African people did not wish to live in an evil society like Russia under the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, he said, the only people who would suffer because of the failure of the strike were the workers who would be hit by unemployment and starvation.⁴³

In another article on the 1922 strikes, New Hellas shared the opinion of the major South African newspapers that Bolshevism in South Africa was led by "Russian Jews and Irish cannibals" whose diabolical propaganda was directed towards the creation of a State where chaos would predominate. According to the writer of the article, the Bolsheviks wanted to take over the State power and create a political system characterised by "theft, massacres, and blood", a system whose living example was the "Russian horror".⁴⁴

All Greek Socialists were arrested by the police, together with many other Greeks who had nothing to do with the strikes, but all were acquitted later.⁴⁵ There is no evidence showing how active the Greek socialists' participation in the 1922 rebellion was, but Pournaras had disappeared from his house and work during the period of the uprisings. His assistants were in charge of the business during that time.⁴⁶

The vast majority of Greeks in the Transvaal were

against the strikes and a large number joined Smuts's militia to fight against the armed strikers. Thus, according to Nicolaides, they felt jubilant after the "anti-social and criminal plans of the Bolsheviks were smashed".⁴⁷ There was an armed Greek "regiment" fighting together with the police and army against the strikers from the beginning of the "rebellion".⁴⁸ The Greek community and a large number of prominent Greek leaders formed a committee to raise funds for the families of the officers killed in the Rand Rebellion. The committee worked hard towards "fulfilling its aim and succeeded in collecting a large amount of money" (no specific details being given as to the exact amount).⁴⁹

The last article concerning the Bolshevik cause was published by New Hellas days after the defeat of the Smuts government by the alliance of the Labour Party and the Nationalists. The Labour Party was accused of being Bolshevik in ideology and principle and would, it was feared, nationalise everything and turn South Africa into a Communist State; and the same applied to the Nationalists. Nicolaides pointed out that Smuts had paid for his mistakes made in 1922 and prophesied that no capital would be allowed into the country, and that this would have disastrous consequences for all population groups.⁵⁰

Pournaras's last contribution to the International was a thorough description of the State's attack on the Greek Communists and the Greek workers' strikes. The article was based on descriptions given by the Greek Socialist press. It concluded by accusing the Greek "Mussolinis" who tried to destroy the country's labour movement and added that such a movement, based on solid Socialist ideology and principles, and having the solidarity of the Greek trade union movement, would ultimately succeed in its aim - the Socialist revolution and the overthrow of the capitalist system.⁵¹ Pournaras did not live long enough to see his dream come true. He died under mysterious

circumstances in 1927, in Johannesburg, while all his friends and comrades scattered all over the Transvaal, and some left for Greece after 1922.⁵²

The Greek Socialists never achieved a mass base capable of playing a role both within the wider society and in Greek community affairs, such as the pro-Communist furriers' union in New York which played an important part in Greek-American life.⁵³ Nevertheless, the zest of a handful of members and their dedication to their cause made them a vital link between the radical ideas as expressed by the visionaries of Socialism, and by the Greek community. The articles of Pournaras in the Greek newspaper made the ideas of workers' revolution and internationalism widely known to all Greeks whom the newspaper reached, and the vigorous Greekness of Macrides made his socialism more acceptable to Greek Nationalists. The death of Pournaras was the final blow to Greek Socialists in South Africa, who appeared on the map once again many years later. The mark made by Greek Socialists in South Africa during that period was overall not very significant, but history is not written only for the victors.

(C) ANTI-COMMUNISM AS AN IDEOLOGY

The coverage of the Greek Socialists and their ideas by the only Greek newspaper in South Africa has been examined in considerable detail in other sections of this thesis. Pournaras, as already noted, was on friendly terms with Nicolaides and their mutual respect allowed the former to make known his Socialist ideas in the Greek language through the latter's paper. Nicolaides was careful, however, to keep a fair balance between opposing views. As already stated, he published the viewpoints of both Venizelists and Royalists during the period 1915-1917 and later his newspaper's columns were open to other conflicting points of view.

Pournaras's articles on Socialism did not contain material that could be offensive to the Greek "holy triad" of "Patris, Thriskia, Oikogenoia" (Motherland, Religion, Family). He did not touch on subjects such as the Socialists' internationalism, the Marxian materialist conception of history and its rejection of God, or the role of the family in a Communist society. He analysed, as already shown, the struggle between labour and capital, the role of the victorious October Revolution in the international Socialist movement, etc.

Nicolaides, however, did not let Pournaras's idealism pass unchallenged. He realised that an equally qualified anti-Communist should be found to provide this challenge to the Socialist commentator. Nicolaides was an experienced journalist and a shrewd observer of the significant economic and social changes that had taken place within the occupational structure of the Greek community over a number of years. He also realised that, as a supporter of General Smuts and his policy of "law and order", he should look for someone of at least the same calibre as Pournaras who would be the ideologue of "law and order", an outside observer who could analyse contemporary Bolshevism in a sophisticated

way, using an exact opposite perspective from that adopted by Pournaras. The person who was trusted to carry this burden was Agisilaos Karabasis, a farmer in Tanga in the Tanganyika Territory,¹ who used the pseudonym of Michael Psellos. Psellos, a famous philosopher, had lived in Constantinople during the reign of the Emperor Basil the Second (976-1025).²

The first anti-Bolshevik article published in April 1918 was a Greek translation of one which had appeared in the Swedish newspaper "Social-Democraten", published in Stockholm, and written by Nils Horney. It analysed the bureaucratic nature of the Soviet regime and criticised Lenin and Trotsky as political bandits and anarchists.³ The second article, several months later, which was anonymous, described the "chaotic condition" of Russia after the revolution and blamed atheism as the major factor behind the droughts and the "faction fighting amongst the Bolsheviks".⁴ The third article, also anonymous, prophesied that the death knell of Bolshevism was very near.⁵

The first eponymous article written by Karabasis (or Psellos) appeared on 28 February 1920, under the title "Bolshevik orgies". It analysed the destructions, murders, and killings taking place under the Bolshevik regime and accused it of being one of the bloodiest regimes in the history of mankind.⁶ (A careful scrutiny of the style and content of the latter article suggests that Psellos was the author of previous anonymous articles.) The newspaper supported the anti-Bolshevik article with others criticising the strikes taking place in South Africa during that period, asserting that they were organised by local Bolsheviks. Commenting on the strike of the tramwaymen in May 1920, Nicolaides wrote that they went on strike not for serious reasons but because of the agitation of the international Socialists, and stressed the fact that, due to the strike, the social peace within the city had been

disturbed. He also made several gloomy predictions for the future of the already tense relations between the workers and the public.⁷

There was no organised Greek anti-Bolshevik organisation or association as such and there were no anti-Communist discussions amongst Greeks during their regular meetings in the community halls, churches, and cafés.⁸ Nevertheless, two persons spearheaded the anti-Communist campaign amongst Greeks during that period: George Panayides, a C I D detective, and D Louvis, the Royalist ex-president of the Greek community of Johannesburg. Panayides was born in Ktima, Paphou, in Cyprus and came to South Africa in 1895.⁹ He became a protégé of Mavrogordato and was an ardent supporter of the South African Party. In 1918 he contracted influenza and tendered his resignation, which was turned down by the Department.¹⁰ Panayides was an ardent Greek nationalist with strong royalist sympathies which he expressed by means of very amateurish poetry.¹¹ He played an important role in the developments of the period 1915-1917, when he became an intimate friend of Louvis, president of the Greek community at the time.

Louvis became very popular amongst the pioneer Greeks in Johannesburg for a number of reasons. At the end of the Anglo-Boer war when 14 Greeks who had fought with the Boers were sent into exile by the English, Louvis petitioned the authorities to free them. He was successful because of Kitchener's admiration for the ancient Greek civilisation.¹² He and Mavrogordato dealt with every problem faced by the pioneers - problems in connection with immigration, residence and naturalisation problems.¹³ He was a leader of both the Royalists and the Greek community and played an important part in the 1915-1917 crisis. He petitioned the Johannesburg Mayor and corresponded with Botha as already mentioned. He was awarded the Gold Star medal of the French Democracy, for unknown reasons.¹⁴

Panayides and Louvis shared the same ideas, and were the only ones who tried to create a genuine feeling of anti-Communism within the Greek community. Their success was not overwhelming. Greeks preferred to discuss and argue about things they knew well, such as the orthodox religion, Greek nationalism, the small shopkeepers' struggles, "tavli" (backgammon), or a game of cards. In addition, Pournaras, one of the friendliest, most successful and better educated Greeks, was a Socialist, and not many wanted to face him in open discussion because they knew that their knowledge of the subject was very limited, if not non-existent. This is why Nicolaides called upon "every Greek" to see the motion picture "Bolshevik" showing at a central Johannesburg bioscope. He pointed out that it was a very important movie to watch because it taught the principles and strategies of Lenin and exposed his weaknesses. He also said that by watching the movie one could understand why there was no Bolshevism in South Africa.¹⁵

There were several reasons for the persistence of the editor of New Hellas for diffusing an anti-Bolshevik ideology amongst the Greeks. He felt that, as an ethnic minority that had had a relatively quick upward social mobility, the Greeks should conform to the existing social order. They should be politically educated in all aspects of South African history and play a part in the political scene of their host country.¹⁶ The question of upward mobility was a very serious one. According to a careful observer there were in 1925 in greater Johannesburg alone approximately 100 Greek individuals possessing immovable property, valued at £250 000.

There were individuals whose rapid upward mobility was phenomenal. George Petousis from Crete came to Johannesburg in 1913, having first worked as a shop assistant in Egypt. In a period of less than 10 years he owned two tearooms, and employed a staff of 25.¹⁷ Panayotis Stathakis from Neapolis Vion was the sixth of 10 children.

Having lived in Piraeus for several years, he came to Johannesburg in 1910, and in 1920 was the proprietor of four tearooms, of which the "Balcony" was considered one of the most luxurious on the Rand.¹⁸ S Michalopoulos, who has already been mentioned, after 20 years in Johannesburg was the proprietor of a hotel and two tearooms.¹⁹ Constantine Phitides from Paphos in Cyprus came to Johannesburg in 1896, and in 1922 he was the owner of two general stores and two buildings.²⁰

In Durban, D G Frangos who came from Ithaka in 1898 ran stall No 31 in the Durban fruit market and by 1920 was a general merchant, property owner, and director of Whyte Brothers Limited.²¹ In Pretoria, Golfinopoulos and Papageloutsos were regarded as two of the most successful businessmen in town, and the same was true of S Messaris and N Adeline in Cape Town.²² These businessmen were not the only ones who prospered during the period under examination. The rapid and steady rise in profits at that time led to the betterment of the economic position of many small shopkeepers²³ who started accumulating on a small scale after the war.²⁴

This upward mobility was seen by Nicolaides and other educated Greeks as the first step towards the recognition of the Greek community's contribution to South Africa in all spheres (commercial, political and cultural). This recognition, however, required a thorough knowledge of the country's political structures and a negative attitude towards ideologies and policies that were regarded as subversive and dangerous to the wellbeing of both Greeks and South Africans. This was the major factor behind Nicolaides's exposition of Bolshevism. The articles against the ideology and politics of the leadership of the Russian Revolution were written in order to educate the Greek people class and show that its class position was tied to Smuts and his South African Party and against those who propagated a radical transformation of South African society.

The Orthodox religion, a common ideological bond between Greeks and Russians, was stressed by Karabasis in his articles in his efforts to expose "Bolshevik anti-atheist" principles. In February 1921 he appealed to Greek Orthodox believers all over the world to supply clothes and food for Orthodox refugees from Russia. He also urged the Greek government to shelter the victims of Bolshevik atrocities.²⁵ In another "religious" article Psellos compared the Orthodox religion, Rasputin "the Satan", and Bolshevism. Orthodox religion was hailed as the supreme religion that had survived although the new Rasputin, i.e. Bolshevism, was trying to destroy it.²⁶

One has to admit that although Karabasis seemed to be an educated and level-headed political analyst, several of his articles published in New Hellas were either sympathetic to dictatorship or full of class and race hatred. In a series of articles on Greece and South Africa, he showed his negative attitude towards all political parties, accusing them of conspiring against their rivals, and of opportunism, and he called any society governed by a political party a "sick society".²⁷ This can be seen as a pioneer article advocating a military government which, as already stated, came to power in Greece after the 1922 Asia Minor destruction. In his "For the inequality of opportunities in life", he pointed out that a "yellow Asiatic" or a "barefooted Indian" could not understand European civilisation and standards of living. He also stressed that a black Muslim should never have the same opportunities in life as a European scientist. He concluded thus:

Is it fair for a barefooted Chinese or Indian to wed a young, educated, kind and sensitive European woman? The European works hard, while the Asiatic is always a slave of the flesh." Can we say that a Turkish bandit and an innocent, civilised, honest Christian have the same rights in life? Can we say that a Chinese and a wise American scientist, or a Venizelos and a stevedore in Piraeus have the same rights in life?²⁸

For several reasons it is hard to understand why Nicolaides insisted upon publishing such articles in his otherwise liberal paper. Karabasis lived in a country where the blacks, according to Nicolaides who travelled through Tanganyika in 1920, were hard-working, clean and civilised, and where there were no political parties.²⁹ Karabasis's articles on the Greek political situation were studious and well-researched, but his ideas on international affairs and African life were old-fashioned and did not pass unchallenged by Greeks in South Africa. He received a very large number of letters from his compatriots in the southern African territory challenging his writings and several used abusive language against his ideas, as stated in one of his letters to Nicolaides.³⁰ It would seem that Nicolaides had no other journalist to use in his anti-Bolshevik campaign and thus settled for Karabasis's stories.

Following the 1922 Rand Rebellion the attitude against the Bolshevik regime became more explicit, as already shown. In April 1922 an article appeared describing the starvation and turmoil in Russia, adding that a grandfather and father had eaten the youngest of their children because they were starving.³¹ Such stories were very common in many newspapers and journals all over the world and New Hellas was no exception.

Soon the paper followed the new trend in international public opinion and started exposing the efforts of the Bolsheviks towards world domination. The first step, according to New Hellas, was the signing of an agreement between Russia and Bulgaria³² and later Turkey.³³ These articles and several later ones were planned to expose the unholy alliances between the Bolsheviks and the "old enemies" of the Greek people to conquer the Motherland and destroy the Orthodox religion.³⁴ Many of these articles were challenged by Greeks in South Africa, and years later Karabasis remembered that a certain woman had been very

critical and supportive of Bolshevism and he "had no alternative but to use strong language against her in order to make her denounce her ideas". She did not stop writing to him and accusing him of ignorant bias until 1926.³⁵

While the situation in Russia was dramatised, the newspaper supported wholeheartedly the anarchist insurgents during the period 1922-1923, an attitude also adopted by the leading foreign newspapers of the period.³⁶ Article after article denounced Russia and its Bolshevik regime as inhuman,³⁷ while Karabasis continued his anti-Communist diatribes by asserting that it was impossible for human beings to become Bolsheviks, and he attacked the Communists in Greece and everywhere because they had the audacity to publish articles and books by Marxist writers in the Greek language.³⁸ He also challenged Marxist orthodoxy based on Goethe, Heller and the Christian faith.³⁹ His articles reflected the new strong anti-Communist values that predominated in the Greek people class. Upward mobility and primary accumulation resulted in a more conservative political and ideological outlook regarding South African politics, and the wish for stronger "State action" against the "subversive Bolshevik elements" was expressed in many ways. The desire of the Greek people class for "law and order" and a strong State capable of smashing any revolutionary movement was evident in every single copy of New Hellas all through the period following the Rand Rebellion.

The victory of the Labour Party and the Nationalists in 1924 was seen by Nicolaidis as a threat to the economic, political and social survival of the South African middle class in general, and the Greek people class in particular.⁴⁰ Karabasis proved more realistic, however, because he saw no Bolshevik threat in the coalition. Instead he continued to fight the "Bolshevik menace" with the same vigour with which Don Quixote had tried to kill the innocent windmill.

(D) THE GREEKS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL POLITICS:
1918-1924

It has been shown that most Greeks during the period up to 1918 supported, in one way or another, the South African Party of Smuts and Botha. Several reasons, such as Smuts's ties with prominent members of the Greek community, his appearances before Greek audiences, and his position regarding the anti-Greek riots, accounted for this support. Other reasons, such as the support given to that Party by New Hellas, as well as the diffusion of the ruling class ideology of the party amongst the Greek population, also played an important role. One of the major reasons, however, that made this diffusion possible was the economic position of the Greeks during that period; the majority of them were involved in the small shop business which could survive and flourish under "peace and stability" and "civil order". The individual security of the "business" was of paramount importance to the small shopkeeper and this could not be guaranteed under a Labour or Nationalist government. The "opportunities" for advancement could be realised only under a government which would guarantee a "rule of law", a steady supply and demand of commodities, and the stability of the market forces and structures.

The support enjoyed by the Smuts party among the Greek people class did not stop this class from organising itself on "craft union" lines when economic circumstances called for such organisation. This will become evident in the analysis of the establishment of the organisation of the Greek shopkeepers which was a result of economic difficulties and hardships. So will the "radicalisation" of the Greek shopkeeping class facing the economic competition resulting from the alliance of the State and the big merchant capital. The necessity of allying themselves with the "upper classes" did not stop the Greek shopkeepers from challenging the State and big merchant capital by means of "lobbying", without of course forming a "front" with the

working classes. Let us however periodise the involvement of the Greek people class in the South African political scene as from 1918.

One of the most interesting things that changed the face of the involvement of Greeks in the South African political life was the tendency to become naturalised and to register on the voters' roll. Although this would have been regarded by the older immigrants as a first step towards assimilation, immigrants arriving after 1914 started to become naturalised. There are no figures available for the years 1916 to 1919, but 14 Greeks were naturalised in 1913, 17 in 1914, 17 in 1915, 39 in 1920, 34 in 1921, 21 in 1922, and 19 in 1923.¹ This attitude of new immigrants was not welcomed by the older generations who considered such a step unnecessary for a Greek.

Athanasopoulos remembered:

In 1911 I made application to become naturalised and to register on the voters' roll. No-one had instructed me, I did it because I felt that because of my knowledge of politics I could make a good democrat in South Africa. Very few of us had the courage to do such a thing. The older immigrants did not speak to us, they called us "Southafrikanakia" (little South Africans), and sometimes the discussions became very nasty. I remember an old man, Stavro; he was about 80 years old in 1910; he had come down from Mozambique. He said to me, "Don't be stupid, what do you need that piece of paper for anyway? You're Greek; if Greece is in a war you'll fight, so why do you take the paper? Don't you know that these things are cursed? You lose your Greekness and Greece loses you with these damned papers." I did not take any advice. I applied, I got it, I could vote, and I could talk South African politics. I must say Smuts was not as good as Venizelos, but I voted for him. Once I voted for the Nationalists as well, but I preferred Smuts.²

Nicolaides was one of the most fervent supporters of Smuts and his party, but he opened the columns of his newspaper to all viewpoints especially those regarding the South African political scene. Thus, in the first months

of 1919, an anonymous columnist, in analysing in a rigorous manner the political programmes of all South African parties, pointed out that the Nationalists formed a dynamic, democratic party ready to lead the country. He concluded:

The Boer element is one of the most progressive in the country and South Africa owes a great deal to those proud, sincere and lovable men and women.³

Possibly it was the same commentator who pointed out in an editorial that the Nationalist policy calling for a United Republic was very similar to the position of the Greeks during the Great War of Independence in 1821. He stressed that the Boers were oppressed by English Imperialism, as Greeks had been by the Ottoman rule, and expressed the wish that this "proud race" (the Boers) would gain their freedom and Republic through peaceful channels (elections or referendum).⁴ These articles show that at least several Greeks were sympathetic towards the Boer cause mainly because they felt that Afrikaners were oppressed under British rule and endorsed their struggle for "national emancipation".

Nevertheless the internal contradictions existing within the Nationalist Party were exposed at the Party conference in Bloemfontein, and Nicolaides saw the opportunity to glorify the Smuts-Botha alignment once again. He pointed out in an editorial that the Greeks could understand the Boers' wish for a Republic, but stressed that Smuts was the only true and loyal South African politician. He was the only solution for the country and especially for the Greeks who, as small traders in the market, needed law and order to enable them to survive financially. According to the newspaper, Smuts was the only politician who could guarantee "law and order" in the Union. On the other hand, Greeks in South Africa should not forget what England had done for the betterment of their Motherland, and Smuts was the man who had led the country in the war alongside England. He stressed the possible danger of a

civil war in the event of a Nationalist victory, because the British Empire would not surrender South Africa with its minerals to the Boers without a fight. He quoted, as similar examples, Ireland and Egypt and called upon Greeks to vote for Smuts if they wanted peace and prosperity.⁵

Nicolaides's message was ideologically clear. Knowing that the Nationalists were the main rivals of Smuts, he used his best ideological weapons to persuade the Greeks to vote for Smuts. The Greeks did not represent a large number of voters, and Nicolaides's appeal showed the mobilisation of the Smuts electoral machine at all levels. Nicolaides knew that the Nationalist Party and the Afrikaner people would not fight against Britain, and vice versa, and the use of such logic in his article shows that the Greek editor was possibly instructed to use this rhetoric in order to mobilise the small Greek vote behind Smuts.⁶ The rhetoric was planned in such a way that it pinpointed all sensitive areas of Greek middle-class ideology, and especially the wish for "law and order" versus "anarchy and civil war".

Smuts's party however went even further in its efforts to mobilise the Greek voters. It put an advertisement in New Hellas pointing out that the progress and further development of new countries such as South Africa depended upon the wish of its "European" inhabitants to help it to take its place in the civilised world. It stressed the point that there were several lower classes of labouring men who wanted the country to be kept at a lower level of civilisation. These people represented the enemies of all progress. The glory of Ancient Greece and the power of Rome meant nothing to them. There was another section of the population however which was based on the broad co-operation between Dutch and English people and which supported civilisation and progress. The advertisement was concluded as follows:

Descendants of those who advanced Art and Science to a maximum are welcome in this latter section. The Greeks in South Africa as an element contributing to progress, arts and the commercial wealth of the nation will find support only in the party headed by General Smuts.⁷

Another advertisement that appeared a few months before the election was in the same ideological mould as Nicolaides's editorials and, additionally, it included the element of "ancient Greek glory". The emphasis was laid on "civilisation and progress" as opposed to "anarchy and chaos" represented by the "lower classes" of the "labourers" (a direct reference to the South African Labour Party). The economic position of the Greeks as a commercial element contributing to the wealth of the country was stressed, together with the "ancient glory", and Smuts's party was the only guarantee for the preservation of civilised standards in South Africa.

The electoral pact of the Unionists with Smuts was another factor that mobilised the Greeks behind him because of the participation in the elections of their Consul-General, Emile Nathan. Nathan was a very popular political figure amongst the Greeks in Johannesburg and his influence was apparent in gathering support for his party.⁸

Another advertisement by Smuts's party in New Hellas completed the picture of the party's organised effort to gain the political support of the Greek voters. In the new advertisement it was pointed out that in earlier elections the various candidates had called on their supporters not only to vote for them but to support them morally as well. A small group minority, such as the Greeks, with approximately 12 voters in every district, could play a very important role in the elections of 8 February because they could communicate with all classes of citizens due to their place in the market. The advertisement continued by saying that if they (the Greeks) wished to have a strong

government which could guide the further expansion of trade and commerce, they should help Smuts and his allies who supported free immigration, while Hertzog and his allies wanted immigration to stop as "they disliked immigrants" who they regarded as enemies. Freedom and extension of trade and commerce were dependent on the victory of General Smuts.⁹ Once again the economic role of the Greeks was highlighted in the advertisement, as well as the previously untouched problem of immigration.

The Greeks generally voted for Smuts's party during the elections and New Hellas celebrated the crushing defeat of the Nationalists. Nicolaides predicted that the dream of the Afrikaner leadership for a Republic was shattered because of Smuts's policy to bring as many Britishers as he could into the country. This fact, according to the Greek editor, would be the final blow to the Afrikaners' hopes because, in the next elections, the Nationalist Party would simply not exist as a political force. Concluding his editorial Nicolaides pointed out that Greeks should be glad that Smuts had won the election because now their existence as a European minority in the country was safe.¹⁰

There were rumours amongst the Nationalist ranks in the Transvaal and the Cape that the Greek voters would support their party and, according to Nicolaides, several articles appeared in Nationalist papers claiming that the Greeks would vote for them.¹¹ (Extensive research in the Transvaal Nationalist newspapers of that period did not reveal any information on this claim.) The reports and rumours reached Smuts who was approached by Nicolaides himself and several other leaders of the community who assured him of the support of the Greek voters and the Greek community as a whole. New Hellas was shown to him, with its editorials in support of his party, and Nicolaides sent a cable assuring him that all the rumours and reports in the Nationalist newspapers were lies. Smuts replied on 14 January 1921 thanking Nicolaides for his support.¹²

When Smuts travelled to the Geneva Conference in 1922, all the Greek communities and prominent personalities in South Africa sent him letters asking him to protect the interests of Greece at the Conference. They reminded him that their support for him and his party had been unanimous during the previous elections.¹³

It was during the period under examination that the first significant steps towards the organisation of the Greek shopkeepers were taken. The major factor leading to this development was the signing of an ordinance by the municipal authorities according to which café and tearoom proprietors could not sell cigarettes, tobacco or cigars after 6 o'clock.¹⁴ The restriction, however, did not apply to hotels and bars.¹⁵ The problem was not a new one. It had been initiated in 1915 when the municipal authorities in all major centres passed ordinances forbidding the purchase of these commodities after a certain hour. The restrictive character of these ordinances was challenged by those involved, and even the South African Review took the unusual step of supporting the Greek café owners in their attempts to have this legislation scrapped.¹⁶

The new step taken by the municipality in 1920 alerted the Greek café and tearoom owners to the realisation that this move was organised for the combined interests of the liquor trade and the tobacco manufacturers and wholesalers in order to boost their profits by selling cigarettes, tobacco and cigars after 6 o'clock through hotels and bars only. This meant that people who attended bioscopes, concerts or other entertainment in the central areas of all towns were unable to purchase these commodities except in bars and hotels.¹⁷

The new move was initiated by certain tobacco merchants and municipal councillors who established a committee aimed at drawing up an ordinance allowing the tearooms and cafés to sell only tea, coffee, and minerals, but not

cakes, sweets, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes. New Hellas voiced its disapproval of the proposed legislation and called on every Greek shopkeeper and tearoom proprietor to stand firm and defend his interests. Nicolaides called a meeting of all Greek shopowners which would lead to the establishment of a committee ready to fight the case.¹⁸ The existing Association of Tearoom Proprietors was not supported by the Greeks because it was dominated by English elements but Nicolaides, who attended the association's committee meeting at the Grand National Hotel, assured the meeting that Greek shop owners would register as members in the near future.¹⁹

In the meantime, however, the Greek café owners had made their own decision to form an entirely Greek organisation, as they could not trust the official body because of its close ties both with big commercial capital and the main wholesalers in the city.²⁰ Thus they established a committee and hired a lawyer who advised them to join forces with the Tearoom Proprietors Association.

In Germiston, the Greek café owners formed a Tearoom Association immediately after they heard the rumours of the alliance between the liquor interests and merchant capital interests. Their association elected a committee whose members were all Greeks with one exception, Mr I Stalfield, who was a Jew. The committee members were M Comminos from Atsiki, Lemnos Island, owner of the Station Tearoom at 20 Railway Street;²¹ Ch Papamichael, secretary; George Christellis from Panagia, Imvros Island, owner of Apollo Café at 43 Knox Street;²² and Th Dimitriou and A Manolas from Condias, Lemnos, proprietors of Rhodes Tearoom at 99 Knox Street.²³ These committee members and all who were present at the meeting paid a subscription of 16s, thus collecting an amount of £16. They petitioned the municipal committee to accept them as witnesses at its sitting, and later sent a letter to the Anglican Dean of Pretoria, signed by Ch Papamichael as acting secretary of The Tearoom

and Restaurant Proprietors' Association,²⁴ in which they pointed out that they were aware that the law to debar the sale of cigarettes and tobacco in tearooms and restaurants was under discussion. They appealed to him, as a prohibitionist, hoping that he would do his utmost to stop this Act being passed, for it would only mean that the people who bought their tobacco from these places would, under the Act, have to resort to the canteen, the hotels, or the filthy bars. They felt certain that this would be very detrimental to the Anglican Church's cause, as well as to the community in general.

This "organisational fever" of the Greek shop owner class bore the major characteristics of a traditional middle class that had sided all the time with commercial capital but had suddenly woken up from its lethargic dreams and realised that its relatively safe position in the market was in danger because of the expansion of liquor and big commercial interests. In the first place, their desire to fight "the big interests" was realised through the organisation of their associations (that functioned as "craft unions" or "interest groups"); in other words they established an "anti-capitalist" block. On the other hand, this organisation isolated itself from the other struggles against capital; it did not seek allies within the exploited classes which could lead to a superior form of struggle and thus based itself in a middle-class spontaneous activism that led nowhere.

Nicolaides was sent to Pretoria to organise the Greek tearoom owners there, while in Benoni another £19 5s 0d (from 23 contributors) was collected.²⁵ The activities of the Greek tearoom and restaurant owners continued, and their next step was to petition the Wholesalers' Association and ask for its members' solidarity. This association was at first reluctant but Port, one of its more prominent members and the main distributor of commodities to Greek cafés, supported the Greeks' cause in the

governmental committee.

At an enthusiastic meeting of all Greek committees in the Rand (Pretoria, Benoni, Boksburg and Johannesburg), it was planned to keep a clear and dynamic attitude in front of the government committee. Three prominent members of the committees - George Mentis from Kalamata, Peloponessus, a prominent café owner and property owner;²⁶ P Paxinos from Benoni; and D Mylonas from Johannesburg, owner of two grillrooms in Market Street, who came to Johannesburg in 1902,²⁷ - appeared before the committee in Benoni. Papamichael pointed out that the law, if passed, would be detrimental to the morality of the city because everyone would buy cigarettes from the bars and hotels were all alcoholics gathered. He also appealed to the government committee to cease using the term "Greek shops" when referring to restaurants and tearooms because not only Greeks but other immigrants were owners of such shops.²⁸

The case of the Greek shopkeepers was heard with sympathy by the government commission whose members felt that the grievances of the restaurateurs and café owners were justified to a certain degree, but appealed to them not to sell grocery commodities illegally. One member of the commission pointed out to Mylonas that he had bought spirits from a tearoom, a serious offence.²⁹ The debate on cigarettes in tearooms and restaurants continued for another six months without serious developments. The Greek committees coordinated their efforts and met regularly in order to discuss the problem and to plan a strategy, but their unorganised manner and their reluctance to take a political stand on the matter only obscured the situation.

Nicolaides, a leading figure behind the associations and a tireless individual for the rights of Greeks in South Africa, was politically aligned with Smuts's party, and his allegiance to the South African Party made him sure that the State and the government led by Smuts would not allow

such a thing to happen. The Greek shop owners did not petition Smuts himself on the problem, but their ideological attachment to the "fair opportunity for everyone" policy of the South African Party led them to believe that their case would be won in the long run. In short, the Greek shopkeepers viewed the State as neutral, a democratic institution that would support their rights, especially as they felt that their political allegiance to the ruling party was a given fact. This is the reason why, in the first months of 1921, they started sending petitions to the government to stop the signing of the ordinance.³⁰

The committees were re-organised in all major centres in the Transvaal, and New Hellas called upon all Greek shopkeepers to sign the petitions in order to collect many thousands of signatures. The editor called on every shopkeeper to collect petition forms from the newspaper's offices, and urged them to start collecting money immediately to pay the high legal fees.³¹ A new committee was formed in Pretoria and the petitions were circulated in every centre of the Transvaal while the Greek committee of the Café and Restaurant Proprietors held regular meetings and directed the campaign. The daily papers attacked these efforts but the committee did not find it necessary to reply to these attacks.³² The collections realised £21 (from 46 contributors) in Johannesburg; £11 (28 contributors) in Germiston and Boksburg; £11 (29 contributors) in Krugersdorp.³³

The efforts of the Johannesburg Greek shopkeepers and restaurateurs were unsuccessful, but showed clearly the political and ideological functions of a people class surrounded by the competitive powers of big commercial capital, and the limitations of its own political and organisational efforts. The organisation of the Greek small shopkeepers and restaurateurs on the lines of a "craft union" ready to fight to protect its own interests, was something new in the history of the Greeks in South

Africa but, as appeared obvious from the beginning, its defeat in the long run by the big interests led to its demise. Additionally, their belief in Smuts and his government as an impartial institution that would play a neutral role in sustaining a society of "free market competition" did not permit them to change their spontaneous activism and seek new paths of activities and alignments.

The same problems were faced by the Cape Town small shopkeepers and retailers during the first months of 1922. The proposed introduction of a Sales Tax led to an organisational fever amongst Greek small traders who, although having played a prominent part in the Retail Traders Association of Cape Town, thought that a separate organisation working in close collaboration with the said association could prove successful. Adeline played the major role in trying to form it, but the initial response was minimal.³⁴

The Retailers' Association started a vigorous campaign because they realised that effective resistance to the measure was of great importance. The House of Assembly was already discussing giving power to the Provincial Council to impose such a tax without defining its provisions.³⁵ Adeline alerted the Greeks who finally formed an association called the Greek Retail Traders' Association which was an integral part of the Cape Town Retail Traders' Association.

The meetings of the Greek shopkeepers took place at different shops,³⁶ where it was stressed by their leaders and the leaders of the Cape Town retailers, that the shopkeepers had to act immediately before the Administrator moved the second reading of his ordinance in the Council.³⁷ The Greek branch of the Retailers' Association realised that the agitation against the measure should concentrate on pressure on the Assembly not to pass such legislation. The branch's recommendations were not accepted by the governing body of the Cape Town retailers.³⁸ The idea

behind the suppression of the Sales Tax was that it would undoubtedly be a heavy burden on the small and struggling shopkeeper. In actual fact it was passed as a "non-observable" tax and the Cape Administrator was callous enough to admit it.³⁹ The tax was another blow for the working class who, during the period under examination, was involved in one of its most serious uprisings in South African history. (In Cape Town, workers went on strike in sympathy with their Johannesburg colleagues, and the unemployed created several demonstrations all over town.)⁴⁰

The retailers were destined to be only the collectors of the tax which would then be passed on to the government, but the wholesalers were excluded from that duty although the Administrator favoured their inclusion in it. His proposal was vetoed by the cabinet, which regarded the wholesalers as privileged persons.⁴¹ This fact was challenged by the retailers who felt that the "labouring classes" were hit hard enough by customs, and could not bear the burden of a new tax, while at the same time land was exempted from proper and sufficient taxation.⁴²

The activities and efforts of the Cape Town Retailers' Association and its Greek branch continued until 1924, but they were unable to solve the problem that was introduced several weeks before the elections of those years. The nucleus of the Greek Retailers' Association continued functioning but, as an active organisation, did not appear on the scene again. Later, in the thirties, the already existing nucleus established close co-operation with the newly-established Greek Shop Owners' Association in Johannesburg.⁴³

Greek "individualism", a characteristic related to a relative advancement both economically and socially within a market economy by middle-class elements, was transformed into a spontaneous, sometimes well-organised, unity. Commercial associations, created along the lines of "craft

unions", were short-lived, as were their alliances with other and similar organisations. Such organisations were not unknown amongst Greek shopkeepers in America. The Greek Fruiterers' and Bakers' Association in Chicago, and the Greek Bakers' and Flowersellers' Association in New York, were well-organised and played an active role in the life of the Greeks in America.⁴⁴

The spontaneity of the Greek unions, their ardent belief in the impartiality of the State, and their alliances with groups and associations with sometimes contrasted interests (such as the wholesalers in the case of the cigarettes), led to their defeat. At the same time, once the problems that had united the Greek small shop-keeping class ended, the associations were substituted once again by the individualist's burning ambition for further upward mobility and economic and social advancement.

NOTES

on Chapter 7

Sections (A) and (B)

- 1 Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*. Pathfinder Press, 1974.
- 2 See C W Mills and H Gerth, *Character and Social Structure*. New York, 1964, pp 216-217. Also "Introduction" to Leon's book, by N Weinstock, *op cit*, page 37.
- 3 Leon, *op cit*, pp 82-84.
- 4 M Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life ...*, *op cit*, pp 51-52.
- 5 See G Bourque and N Laurin-Freuet, "Social class and nationalist ideologies in Quebec 1970-1970", in *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, by G Teeple, *op cit*, pp 186-187.
- 6 *Ibid*, page 187.
- 7 *Ibid*.
- 8 *Ibid*.
- 9 See S B Ryerson, "Quebec: Concepts of class and nation", in G Teeple, *op cit*, page 223.
- 10 See S Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. Vol IV. New York, 1957, page 150.
- 11 See Bourque and Laurin-Freuet, *ibid*, pp 188-189.
- 12 N Weinstock, "Introduction", *op cit*, page 36.
- 13 M Oppenheimer, "The sub-proletariat: Dark skins and dirty work." *Insurgent Sociologist* 4, 1974, pp 7-20.
- 14 L W Yancey, E P Erikson and R N Juliany, "Emergent ethnicity: A review and reformulation." *American Sociological Review* 41, 1976, pp 391-403.
- 15 See J Geschwender, *Racial Stratification in America*. Iowa: William Brown, 1974. See also E Bonacich, "Class approaches to ethnicity and race." *Insurgent Sociologist*, *op cit*, page 22.
- 16 H M Blalock, *Towards a Theory of Minority Relations*. New York: John Wiley, 1967, pp 79-84.
- 17 See, for example, G Hamilton, "Pariah capitalism: A paradox of power and dependence." *Ethnic Groups* 2, 1978, pp 1-15. Also R Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations*. New York: Random House, 1970.
- 18 Blalock, *op cit*, page 81.
- 19 *Op cit*, page 84.
- 20 E Bonacich, "A theory of middleman minorities." *American Sociological Review* 38, 1973, pp 583-594.

- 23 See New Hellas, 27 July 1918.
- 24 New Hellas, 20 July 1918.
- 25 See Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa 1900-1960, op cit, page 146.
- 26 Op cit, page 149.
- 27 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 28 Davies, op cit, pp 152-154.
- 29 Nicolaides, op cit, page 442.
- 30 New Hellas, 24 August 1918.
- 31 See also New Hellas, 26 May 1917 and 17 August 1918.
- 32 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 33 Bonacich, "A theory of middleman minorities", op cit,
- 34 For a useful theoretical conceptualisation of this process, see M Kurokawa (ed), Minority Responses. New York: Random House, 1970.
- 35 Bonacich, op cit, page 584.
- 36 Nicolaides, op cit, page 445.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 W E Wilmott, "The Chinese in South-East Asia." Australian Outlook 20, 1966, as quoted in Bonacich, op cit, page 585.
- 39 Canoutas, Greek American Directory, op cit, page 180.
- 40 C C Moskos, Jnr, Greek Americans: Struggle and Success. Prentice-Hall, 1980, page 9.
- 41 Bonacich, op cit, page 585.
- 42 Canoutas, op cit, page 134.

Section (C)

- 1 Based on calculations of data appearing in "Birth Places of Immigrants", in U G 32-1920.
- 2 Based on calculations of date appearing in U G 32-1920.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Nicolaides, op cit, page 445.
- 6 Calculations based on "Comparative Statement in numerical and percentage distributions and sex proportions by denominations", in U G 39-1923.
- 7 Calculations based on data in U G 39-1923.
- 8 Official Census of the Union of South Africa, 1921, "New Arrivals".
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Calculations based on 1921 and 1926 National Censuses, "New Arrivals (Europeans) excluding 'in transit'".
- 12 New Hellas, editorial, 9 March 1918.
- 13 Sunday Times, 30 June 1918, "Greek gold gang: Big plan to rob mines".
- 14 New Hellas, 6 July 1918.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 See New Hellas, 8 January 1919.
- 17 Ibid, 23 March 1918.
- 18 Ibid, 6 July 1918.
- 19 H C P A, letters dated 1 March 1918 and no date.
- 20 See Rand Daily Mail, 6 and 7 September 1918; Cape Times, 7 September 1918.
- 21 New Hellas, editorial, 7 September 1918.
- 22 See editorial "The nation in struggle", New Hellas, 28 September 1918.
- 23 Interviews with Mr Athanasopoulos and Anonymous, Pretoria.
- 24 See New Hellas, 23 November 1918.
- 25 See letters from L Mirianthis, Nisiotis, Houlis, Mastorakos, in New Hellas, 18 January 1919.
- 26 See report on the Special Annual Meeting of the H C C T, 24 August 1919, Minute Books 1919 H C C T A.
- 27 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 509.

- 28 H C C T Minute Book. Report of meeting of 31 August 1919.
- 29 See letters from Venizelos dated 29 March and 17 July 1918, addressed to the Greek community in Cape Town.
- 30 See letter from Adeline to New Hellas, 27 September 1918.
- 31 See The Citizen magazine, 5 December 1919. Also The South African Jewish Yearbook 1929. Johannesburg: The S A Jewish Historical Society, page 361.
- 32 New Hellas, 1 May 1920.
- 33 Ibid, 8 May 1920.
- 34 Ibid, 29 May 1920.
- 35 Ibid, 7 August 1920.
- 36 Ibid, 31 July 1920.
- 37 See Introduction, highlighting Greek history.
- 38 New Hellas, 21 August 1920.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid, 25 December 1920.
- 42 For a complete title selection, see New Hellas, 8 January 1921.
- 43 New Hellas, 22 January 1921.
- 44 Ibid, 26 February 1921.
- 45 Ibid, 30 April 1921.
- 46 Ibid, 21 May 1921.
- 47 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 48 New Hellas, 21 June 1921.
- 49 Ibid, 9 April 1921.
- 50 See letters from A Savvides from Hartley, Rhodesia, and D Paxinos from Johannesburg, dated 27 March and 9 April, respectively, in New Hellas.
- 51 Ibid, 26 March 1921.
- 52 Ibid, 23 April 1921.
- 53 Ibid, 9 July 1921.
- 54 Ibid, 27 August 1921.
- 55 Ibid, 9 July 1921.
- 56 Ibid, 23 September and 3 July 1921.
- 57 Ibid, 13 August 1921.
- 58 Ibid, 27 August 1921.
- 59 Ibid, 17 September 1921.

- 60 New Hellas, 24 September 1921.
- 61 Ibid, 2 December 1921.
- 62 Ibid, 5 May 1922.
- 63 Ibid, 12 May 1922.
- 64 See The Argus, 30 June 1922; Rand Daily Mail, 29 June 1922; and Cape Times 30 June 1922.

- 65 New Hellas, 14 July 1922.
- 66 Ibid, 21 July 1922.
- 67 See editorial in New Hellas, 8 September 1922.
- 68 See editorial, 15 September 1922.
- 69 See The Argus, 4 October 1922, "The outlook in Thrace"; also Cape Times, 5 October 1922 and Rand Daily Mail, 8 October 1922.
- 70 Letter from "Kismet" in The Argus, 16 October 1922.
- 71 See reply from J Rudolfe in The Argus, 19 October 1922.
- 72 See The Argus, 30 November 1922.
- 73 See editorials of 24 November and 8 and 22 December 1922.
- 74 See letter from the Greek Red Cross to the Greek community of Pretoria, dated 24 August 1922.
- 75 New Hellas, 6 February 1923.
- 76 See Nicolaides, op cit, page 78, Part Two.
- 77 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 78 See his letter to the H C P, 21 August 1922, H C P A Letter Box 1921-1923.
- 79 New Hellas, 1 June 1923.
- 80 Ibid, 9 November 1923.
- 81 Ibid, 7 December 1923.
- 82 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 83 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.

Section (D)

- 1 Nicolaides, op cit, pp 445-448.
- 2 U G 32-1923, Census 1921. Fecundity - Relative Fecundity of Married Women according to birthplace, Part IV.
- 3 Ibid, pp 447-448.
- 4 New Hellas, 17 June 1916.
- 5 Ibid, 12 August 1916.
- 6 Ibid, 9 February 1918.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid, 6 February 1919.
- 9 See Braby's Transvaal and Rhodesia Directories 1917, 1918.
- 10 See Nicolaides, ibid, pp 584 and 98-99.
- 11 H C C T Archives, Report of Annual General Meeting 24 September 1920.
- 12 Ibid, Annual General Meeting 10 July 1921.
- 13 New Hellas, 1, 7 and 14 August 1920.
- 14 Ibid, 31 July 1920.
- 15 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 16 New Hellas, 7 May 1921.
- 17 H C P Archives, Letter Box 1921, letter dated 30 November 1921.
- 18 Ibid, letter from Nikolopoulos to Nicolaides, 10 April 1922.
- 19 New Hellas, 12 September 1924.
- 20 Ibid, 26 September 1924, letter from "Concerned Greek".
- 21 Ibid. See article by "Anonymous", 24 October 1924.
- 22 Ibid, 7 November 1924.
- 23 Ibid, 21 November 1924.

NOTES

on Chapter 8

Section (A)

- 1 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 2 Half-holiday Act, Section 7, as quoted in South African Review, 2 January 1918.
- 3 Interviews with Mr Maropoulos and Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 4 See Labour World, 31 May 1918.
- 5 On the role of Crawford and his Federation, see papers by E A Mantzaris: "Syndicalism on the shop floor. The Denver shop-stewards strike, Transvaal, November-December 1919", presented at the University of the Witwatersrand conference; "Capitalist penetration in the Transvaal", February 1981; and "Another victory for trade unionism: The Cape Town musicians' strike" in Studies in the History of Cape Town, Volume 3, pp 114-131.
- 6 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 7 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 8 See South African Review, 23 August 1918, "Shop assistants and their struggle".
- 9 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 10 South African Review, 23 August 1918.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Quoted in *ibid.*
- 13 See South African Review, 20 December 1918.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 17 South African Review, photocopied page, 1919 (full date obscured), shown to me by A Lombaard, "Wages of shop assistants: Mr Stuttaford on the minimum wage".
- 18 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 19 Based on South African Review referred to in Note 17 above.
- 20 South African Review, 14 March 1919.
- 21 See R Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.
- 22 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 23 The report is based on a private interview with Mr Maropoulos who was present at the meeting referred to.
- 24 South African Review, 7 July 1922.

- 25 See International, 13 January 1922.
- 26 Ibid, 20 January 1922.
- 27 Ibid, 27 January 1922.
- 28 Ibid, 3 February 1922.
- 29 Ibid, 10 February 1922.
- 30 Ibid, 3 March 1922.
- 31 See R Davies, op cit, page 156; Cope, Comrade Bill, op cit, pp 244-245; Simons and Simons, op cit.
- 32 Those were the exact words of Mr Maropoulos in an interview.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Davies, op cit, page 156; see also Simons and Simons, op cit.
- 35 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 See New Hellas, 12 September 1924.
- 38 Ibid, 27 October 1924.

Section (B)

- 1 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 See Simons and Simons, op cit; also International, where the names and occupations of the organisation's leadership are shown.
- 4 See International, 16 June 1916, "Socialism and the middle class".
- 5 For more details, see Moschoff, Prolegomena ..., op cit, page 196.
- 6 New Hellas, 22 March 1919.
- 7 Ibid, 5 April 1919.
- 8 International, 16 April 1920.
- 9 Ibid, 28 November 1919.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid, 12 December 1919.
- 12 Ibid, 16 April 1920.
- 13 Ibid, 25 March 1921.
- 14 See Rand Daily Mail, 2 August 1917, "The Venizelist War Fund".
- 15 See International, 11 April 1919.
- 16 Ibid, 4 April 1919.
- 17 Ibid, 11 April 1919.
- 18 Ibid, 18 April 1919, letter by D Ivor Jones to Comrade Macrides.
- 19 Ibid, 11 April 1919.
- 20 Ibid, 25 April 1919.
- 21 See Moschoff, op cit, page 417.
- 22 International, 18 July 1922.
- 23 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 24 New Hellas, 31 January 1920.
- 25 Ibid, 3 January 1920.
- 26 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 27 International, 30 July 1920.
- 28 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 29 International, 30 July 1920.
- 30 See Moschoff, op cit, pp 418-419.

- 31 International, 26 November 1920. See also *ibid*, 3 December 1920.
- 32 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 33 *Ibid*.
- 34 New Hellas, 4 December 1920.
- 35 See International, 1919-1921.
- 36 *Ibid*, 2 September 1921.
- 37 *Ibid*, 14 October 1921.
- 38 New Hellas, 27 January 1922.
- 39 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 40 New Hellas, 3 February 1922.
- 41 *Ibid*, 10 February 1922.
- 42 *Ibid*, February-March.
- 43 *Ibid*, 17 March 1922.
- 44 *Ibid*.
- 45 *Ibid*.
- 46 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 47 New Hellas, 17 March 1922.
- 48 *Ibid*.
- 49 New Hellas, 24 March 1922.
- 50 *Ibid*, 20 June 1924.
- 51 International, 28 September 1923.
- 52 Interview with Mr Maropoulos.
- 53 See C Moskos, Greek-Americans, *op cit*.

Section (C)

- 1 See Pachticos, Greeks in Africa ..., *ibid.*
- 2 See Costas Kalokerinos, History of the Byzantine Empire and the Middle Ages 1446-1453. (In Greek) Athens, 1965.
- 3 New Hellas, 12 April 1919, "Bolshevism is a distortion of Socialism".
- 4 *Ibid.*, 20 September 1919.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 25 October 1919, "Towards the end of Bolshevism?"
- 6 *Ibid.*, 28 February 1920, "Bolshevik orgies".
- 7 *Ibid.*, 8 May 1920.
- 8 Interviews with E Maropoulos, Dimitrakakis, and Athanasopoulos.
- 9 See Nicolaides, *op cit*, page 585; also New Hellas, 18 December 1920.
- 10 New Hellas, 4 October 1919.
- 11 See his poem, To Our King. New Hellas, 11 June 1921.
- 12 New Hellas, 24 July 1920.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 See letter of G Panayides in New Hellas, *ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, 16 October 1920.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 4 December 1920.
- 17 Nicolaides, *op cit*, pp 100-103.
- 18 *Ibid.*, page 104.
- 19 See Donaldson and Braby Directory under "Fraskati Restaurant".
- 20 Nicolaides, *ibid.*, pp 94-95.
- 21 Donaldson and Braby Natal Directories 1904 and 1920 under the name D G Frank.
- 22 Nicolaides, *ibid.*, pp 74-76.
- 23 See U G 1-1919. Cost of Living Committee, evidence by H R Eaton.
- 24 See Nicolaides, *ibid.*
- 25 New Hellas, 12 February 1921, "The victims of Bolshevism".
- 26 *Ibid.*, 9 July 1921, "Rasputin, the Satan".
- 27 *Ibid.*, 5, 12 and 19 November 1921.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 18 June 1921.

- 29 Nicolaides, *ibid*, pp 81-83.
- 30 See his letter to *New Hellas*, 30 January 1925.
- 31 *Ibid*, 21 April 1921, "A picture of Russian hell".
- 32 *Ibid*, 10 May 1922.
- 33 *Ibid*, 17 May 1922.
- 34 *Ibid*, 14 July 1922.
- 35 *Ibid*, 5 November 1926.
- 36 *Ibid*, 29 September 1922.
- 37 *Ibid*, 2 March 1923.
- 38 *Ibid*, 17 October 1924.
- 39 *Ibid*, 31 October 1924.
- 40 *Ibid*, 20 June 1924, editorial.

Section (D)

- 1 See Union of South Africa, Census for the year 1911: Naturalisations.
- 2 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 3 New Hellas, 1 March 1919.
- 4 Ibid, 8 March 1919.
- 5 Ibid, 5 February 1921.
- 6 Interview with Mr Athanasopoulos.
- 7 New Hellas, 29 January 1921.
- 8 Ibid, 22 January 1921.
- 9 Ibid, 5 February 1921.
- 10 Ibid, 12 February 1921.
- 11 Ibid, 8 February 1921.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid, 14 April 1922.
- 14 New Hellas, 8 May 1920.
- 15 See South African Review, 17 August 1917.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 New Hellas, 8 May 1920.
- 19 Ibid, 15 May 1920.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Nicolaides, op cit, page 589.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid. See also New Hellas, 22 May 1920.
- 24 New Hellas, ibid.
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- 26 Nicolaides, op cit, page 584.
- 27 Ibid, page 577.
- 28 New Hellas, 12 June 1920.
- 29 Ibid, 19 June 1920.
- 30 Ibid, 5 February 1921.
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- 34 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 35 South African Review, 17 February 1922.
- 36 Interview with Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 37 South African Review, *ibid.*
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- 40 See Cape Times and Argus, January-March 1922.
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- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 Interview with Mr Efstratiou and Mr Dimitrakakis.
- 44 See Canoutas, *op cit*, pp 379 and 335, respectively.

S U M M A R Y A N D C O N C L U S I O N S

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was pointed out in the Introduction that ethnic and national solidarity are socially created phenomena, although they call upon primordial sentiments and feelings based upon common ancestry, language, religion and culture.

The experience of the pioneer Greek immigrants in South Africa proves the correctness of such a hypothesis. The anti-alien sentiments of certain sections of the South African population, evident during the period examined, which culminated in anti-Greek articles in the leading newspapers in the country and the anti-Greek riots in Johannesburg in May 1917, strengthened the national unity of the Greeks in the country. The establishment of Greek Orthodox Churches, nationalist and benevolent associations and the Hellenic communities all over the country, demonstrated the willingness of the Greek community to unite against these anti-Greek sentiments and indicated its desire to resist assimilation.

Although national and ethnic unity predominated at the time (with the exception of the period 1916-1917 as we have seen), class factors also played an important role in the life of the early Greek immigrants. The establishment of a Greek trade union amongst the miners on the Rand and the participation of several Greek "occasional labourers" in the early working-class struggles in the Cape Peninsula demonstrates the class dimensions of their activities.

In the case of the mineworkers, this activity indicated their determination not only to preserve their class interests, but also to fight against the hostile attitudes of the white workers' labour aristocracy in the mines and

the trade unions. The Greek mineworkers' material and moral aid for the victims of miners' phthisis and their efforts towards the realisation of the establishment of the "Phthisis Men's Union", which played an important part in maintaining financial contributions towards the phthisis sufferers, indicates their class roots and labour consciousness. These roots were also evident in the participation of the Cape Greek "occasional labourers" in the struggles of their fellow workers of other nationalities, resulting from a common experience in exploitation within the production process.

The action of both strata of the Greek "intermediate" class, i.e. the shop assistants and the shopkeepers, also points to the validity of the hypothesis on the importance of the "class factor". The shopkeepers united in an effort to resist the greed of big merchants, wholesale concerns and liquor merchants, and established an organisation that fought to protect their economic interests against them. The Greek shop assistants established their ethnic trade union to fight exploitation.

The absence of antagonistic social relations amongst the different strata of the Greeks resulted in the absence of intra-ethnic class conflict. The Greek miners who formed an integral part of the white working class, were a relatively privileged economic group working for the big mining houses owned by non-Greeks.

The cigarette-makers in Cape Town were mostly skilled workers and those who were employed by fellow Greeks were also relatively well paid. Most of the shop assistants during the period of their grievances and the formation of their union were not working for fellow Greeks. These details show why intra-ethnic conflict was absent at the time.

Evidence of the important role played by the

ideologies and politics of Greece in the life of the early Greek immigrants is apparent throughout this analysis. Starting from the establishment of the "Hellenismos" branches in South Africa, the collection of vast amounts of money during several periods and the diffusion of the ideologies that predominated in the Motherland at that time were a vital part of the life of the early Greek immigrants.

The existing political and ideological divisions in the Motherland during the period of the First World War, diffused in South Africa, nearly destroyed the existing unity amongst the Greek communities in South Africa. For the first time in the history of the community these divisions threatened the existing ethnic and national solidarity of the Greeks, but the realisation of the fact that the destruction of their solidarity would jeopardise their position within South Africa restored unity at a later stage.

The attitudes of different social forces such as trade unions, political parties and economic interest groups within South Africa contributed to the Greek individual's and social groups' political responses. The sympathy expressed by the South African Party during the anti-Greek riots and the appearance of Smuts and his colleagues before Greek audiences in Pretoria, as well as their financial contributions towards the erection of the Greek Orthodox Church in Pretoria, persuaded many Greek voters to support his party.

On the other hand, the negative attitude of the Transvaal Miners' Association and the Shop Assistants' Union towards the respective Greek unions shaped the latter's attitude towards them; and the same occurred in the case of the Greek shopkeepers towards wholesale and other big merchant capitalists.

The significance of class and ethnicity as determinants of the political and ideological attitudes of the Greek community in South Africa is unquestionable and no one put this fact better than the Committee of the Deputy Commissioners of the South African Police, who held a meeting in Pretoria in October 1923. They agreed unanimously that the standards of living and morality prevailing amongst many Greeks who kept small cafes and fruit-shops were very low. They considered that further immigration of Greeks into South Africa "was not in the interests of the Union".¹ (My emphasis - E M.)

As the Pact government came to power in 1924 the Greek community in South Africa, united as ever, was ready to challenge the ideology and political practice underlying such statements.

NOTES

on Summary and Conclusions

- 1 See Justice File 289, 3/127/20. Letter from the Commissioner, South African Police, to the Secretary for Justice, Pretoria, 25 October 1923.

A P P E N D I C E S



APPENDIX 2

CAPE PROVINCE GREEK ORTHODOX POPULATION 1904

Town or Suburb	Greeks	Other Greek Orthodox
Beaconsfield	5	-
Cape Town	459	74
Claremont	29	-
Green and Sea Point	20	-
Mowbray	25	2
Rondebosch	13	1
Woodstock	106	1
Wynberg	43	1
De Aar	2	-
East London	80	-
Graaff-Reinet	1	-
Kingwilliamstown	2	-
Kimberley	18	8
Kalk Bay and Muizenberg	7	3
Grahamstown	3	1
Kokstad	1	-
Mafeking	1	1
Middleburg	11	-
Paarl	14	2
Oudtshoorn	1	-
Port Elizabeth	45	-
Simonstown	18	41
Stellenbosch	4	-
Somerset West/Strand	2	1

(The number of Greeks appearing in this table does not correspond to that given in the text (page 55). Both figures, however, were quoted directly from the Cape Census of 1904.)

APPENDIX 3

DIVISION OF LABOUR OF GREEKS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA:
1905-1924

Occupation	1905	1910	1918	1924
General dealers and fruiterers	139	89	83	110
Tailors, cutters, drapers, etc	5	1	3	0
Outfitters	0	0	0	2
Shoemakers	1	1	3	5
Import/export, commercial agents, insurance	0	1	3	3
Liquor industry	0	0	1	0
Farmers	0	0	0	1
Butchers	0	0	0	2
Cabinet-makers and other furniture workers	0	2	0	0
Engineers, mechanics, plumbers, blacksmiths	0	0	1	2
Bakers	2	4	5	8
Hairdressers	1	1	3	4
Hotel and boarding houses	12	14	8	9
Clerks, shop assistants	19	21	26	20
Professionals (doctors, lawyers, accountants)	2	3	0	4
Building industry workers (carpenters, painters)	2	3	0	3
Manufacturers	7	10	4	4
Travellers, hawkers	1	3	0	1
Tobacconists	25	10*	1	1
Restaurant and tearooms (cafés)	46	39	60	42
Railway workers	60*	25*	0	0
TOTAL	322	227	201	221

* Estimated

APPENDIX 4

DIVISION OF LABOUR OF GREEKS IN THE TRANSVAAL: 1905-1924

Occupation	1905	1910*	1918	1924
General dealers and fruiterers	58		220	257
Tailors, cutters, drapers, etc	6		6	2
Furniture dealers	0		2	8
Shoemakers	3		14	4
Import/export and general agents	2		13	0
Liquor industry	6		5	17
Butchers	0		5	0
Cabinet-makers and other furniture workers	4		3	0
Engineers, mechanics, plumbers, blacksmiths	2		2	0
Bakers, confectioners	14		21	38
Hairdressers	3		14	24
Hotel and boarding houses	1		5	45
Clerks, shop assistants	51		48	50
Professionals	1		8	15
Building industry	7		3	0
Manufacturers	0		3	0
Travellers, hawkers	1		5	0
Tobacconists	7		3	12
Tearooms and restaurants	43		175	206
Miners	100**		20**	0
Farmers	2		9	17
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	311		584	695
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>

* Not available

** Estimated

APPENDIX 5

DIVISION OF LABOUR OF GREEKS IN NATAL AND THE ORANGE FREE STATE: 1905-1924

NATAL

Occupation	1905	1910*	1917	1924
Restaurant and tearoom	12		10	6
General dealers	2		4	6
Tailors	1		0	0
Hotel	4		2	2
Hairdressers	0		1	0
Farmers	6		1	1
Miners	1		0	0
Professionals	2		2	1
Engineers, etc	1		0	0
Goldsmiths	1		0	0
Shop assistants	0		2	0
Bakers	2		5	12
Manufacturers	2		0	0
Stevedores	2		0	0
Artisans	3		4	0
Builders, etc	3		2	1
	—		—	—
TOTAL	42		33	29
	—		—	—

ORANGE FREE STATE

Occupation	1905	1910	1918*	1924
Tearoom and restaurant	15	11		25
General dealers	11	17		14
Hairdressers	0	1		1
Hotel	0	3		0
Bakers	0	1		0
Millers	0	0		1
Outfitters	0	0		1
Clerks	0	0		1
Professionals	0	0		2
Electricians	0	0		1
Farmers	0	0		1
	—	—		—
TOTAL	26	33		47
	—	—		—

* Not available

TABLE 1: PLACE OF BIRTH OF GREEK MINeworkERS WHO DIED DURING THE PERIOD 1902-1934

Area	Number
Peloponnesus	4
Asia Minor	2
Macedonia	1
Epirus	1
Cefallinia	2
Ithaka	4
Lesbos	2
Lemnos	2
Samos	3
Chios	1
Thasos	1
Crete	6
Evia	2
Neopolis Vion	17
Cyprus	2
Milos	4
Kithera	1
Kasos	1
Unidentified	18

TABLE 2: AGES OF GREEK MINERS AT THE TIME OF DEATH

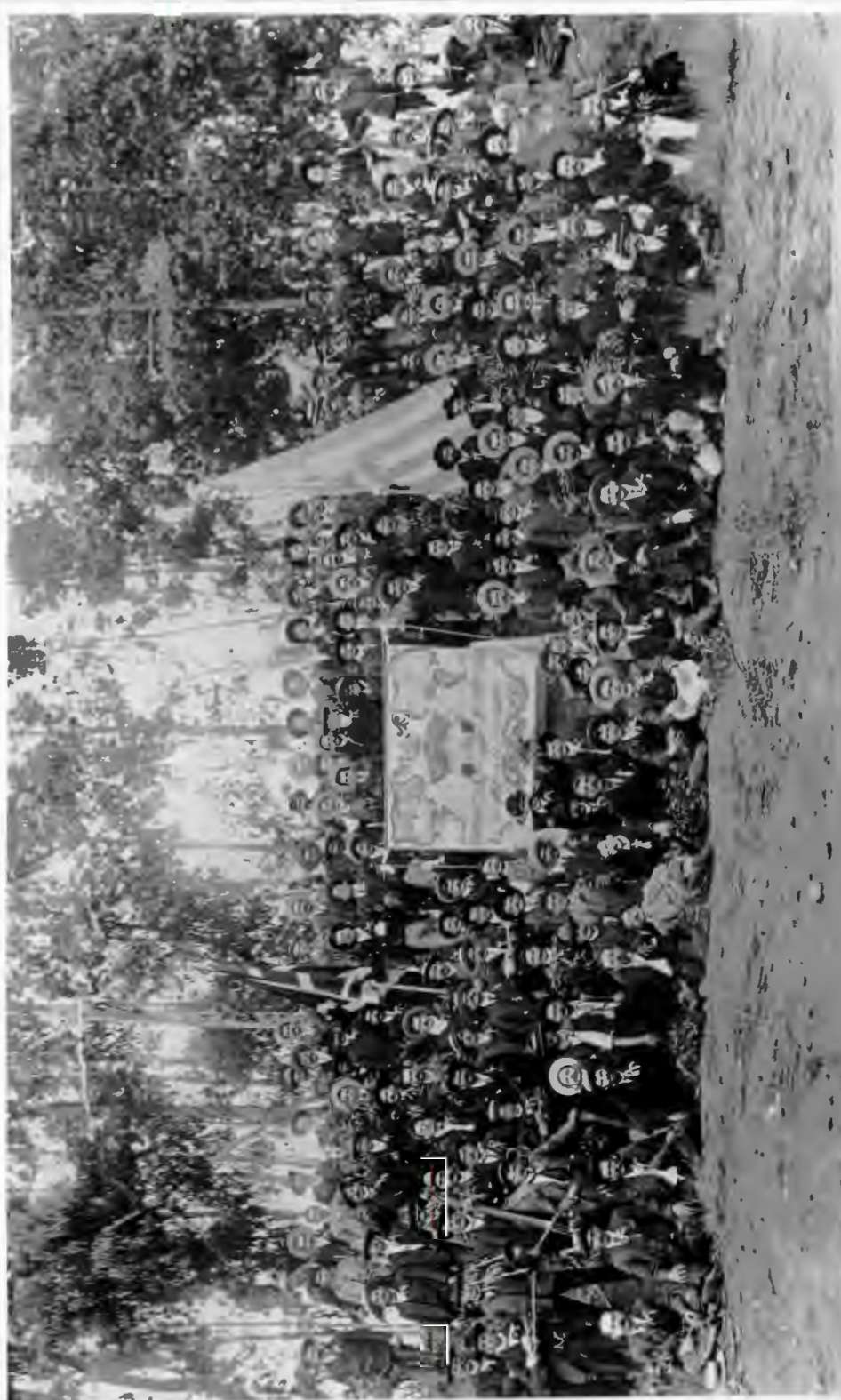
Age	Number
20 - 25	2
26 - 30	3
31 - 35	13
36 - 40	9
41 - 45	7
46 - 50	6
51 - 60	9
Unidentified	25

TABLE 3: YEAR OF DEATH OF GREEK MINERS

Year	Number
1910	1
1915	5
1916	5
1917	7
1918	10
1919	1
1920	3
1921	4
1922	3
1923	1
1924	5
1925	2
1926	3
1927	6
1928	7
1929	2
1930	2
1932	1
1934	1
Unidentified	5

TABLE 4: MARITAL STATUS OF GREEK MINERS AT THE TIME OF DEATH

Status	Number
Married	29
Unmarried	15
Unidentified	30



No. 530

No. 530

THE

HELLENIC COMMUNITY OF CAPE TOWN.

Issue One Thousand Debentures of One Pound each
for the completion of the Greek Orthodox Church, at Woodstock.

This is to Certify that Mr. _____

is the Registered Proprietor of _____ Debentures

fully paid up, numbered from _____ to _____ in the
Greek Orthodox Church. The Debentures are transferable only on
the books of the Community on the surrender of the Certificate,
accompanied by a duly executed transfer form.

Kaple Jomn, 1904.

J. Mitchell
President.

S. Drostes
Secretary.

Treasurer.



GREEK ORTHODOX POPULATION (EXCLUDING "COLOUREDS") IN ALL PROVINCES, ACCORDING TO AGE: 1916

	0-	5-	7-	10-	15-	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60+	Unspec*	Total
Male	152	47	67	106	91	85	137	174	198	196	163	121	51	76		1 664
	134	54	62	91	62	52	81	71	51	29	14	14	6	19		740
Male	27	9	13	24	26	20	31	39	38	48	47	37	11	23		393
	38	17	18	19	14	14	20	18	13	7	3	6	0	6		193
Male	8	3	4	10	2	1	4	3	6	9	8	4	3	3		68
	10	3	2	6	5	1	3	6	2	1	0	2	1	1		43
Male	102	30	45	67	59	59	87	127	141	130	101	74	37	50		1 109
	75	31	40	65	41	31	52	40	34	20	10	6	4	11		460
Male	15	5	5	5	4	5	15	5	13	9	7	6	0	0		94
	11	3	2	1	2	6	6	7	2	1	1	0	1	1		44

* Unspecified

GREEK MOBILISATION.

NOTICE TO HELLENIC SUBJECTS IN S. AFRICA.

By Royal Decree, 4/17 August, are called to the Colours :

FIRST : Classes 1916 and 1917 (years of Birth 1896 and 1897) with the exception of those whose orders have been in suspense.

SECONDLY : Those whose military position is not in order and deserters of Macedonian and Cyclades origin belonging to the classes mobilised and who have been granted amnesty by decree of law of 22nd June, 1917.

THIRDLY : All naturalised Greeks up to the end of June, 1917.

By Decree 8/21 August are as well called to the Colours :

FIRST : Those who have not been trained and those who have served less than three months, born in 1884-1895, including those of Old Greece origin.

SECONDLY : Those of Macedonian, Epirus and Thassos origin born in 1884-1895.

THIRDLY : Those of origin of the Islands of Imbros, Tenedos, Crete, Mitylene, Chio and others born in 1884-1895 inclusive.

FOURTHLY : Naturalised Greeks before 1895 entered in registers recruited under years of birth 1884-1895 inclusive not having served at all or having served less than three months.

By Decree 8/21 August are also called to the Colours the Sergeants and Sergeant-Majors belonging to the classes 1913 to 1913b and 1914.

By Decree 19th August old style, the call of those of Epirus origin belonging to the above-named categories has been postponed until further orders. Those of Chios, Crete and Mitylene origin are also included in the classes mobilised.

Hellenic subjects called to the Colours are hereby requested to report themselves to this Consulate or to the Consulate, Johannesburg, within 14 days from publication of this Mobilisation Order, to obtain their Military passports.

J. JEPPE,

Consul General for Greece.

Cape Town, September 30th, 1917.

BUY YOUR HOUSE

INSTEAD OF PAYING
RENT.

We have enabled hundreds of

TENANTS

to become

OWNERS

Why Not You?

THE WAY to do so is easy, simple and straightforward.

THE PAYMENTS—Less than your rent.

THE LOAN—Free of Interest.

Have you an irksome bond on your property? Consult Us.

Write NOW for Full Particulars to

The United Provident & Assurance Association,

P.O. Box 102, Cape Town.

ESTABLISHED 1903.



ΟΔΗΓΟΣ

ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΩΝ

ΤΗΣ ΝΟΤΙΟΥ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΣ

ΠΕΡΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝ:

Γεωγραφικά, Τοπογραφικά, Ιστορικά, Στατιστικά και άλλας σημειώσεις και περιγραφάς τῶν χωρῶν: Βελγικοῦ Κόγκου, Τανκανίκας Χώρας, Ζανζιβάρης, Πορτογαλικῆς Ανατολικῆς Ἀφρικῆς, Ροδαίσις και Νοτιοαφρικανικῆς Ἐνώσεως. Ἐπίσης πλείστα ἀφορῶντα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις ταύταις Ἕλληνας, ἤτοι τὴν ζωὴν τῶν, τὴν θέσιν των, τὰς ἔργασίας των, τὰς διευθύνσεις των. Ὁσαύτως εἰκόνας και βιογραφίας ὁμογενῶν κτλ.



ΥΠΟ

Κ. Γ. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΟΥ

διδάκτορος τῆς Νομικῆς και δημοσιογράφου.



ΤΥΠΟΙΣ

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ «ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ»

EN JOHANNESBURG (TRANSVAAL).

1923.

Νικόλαος Π. Ἀναγνώστου, ἀπὸ Παπάδων, Μυτιλήνης, ἑτῶν 29, ἔμπορευόμενος, 152 Prinsloo St., δ. 12.

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου, Alek Alexandrou, ἐκ Πολυχνίτου, Λέσβου, ἰδ. ἐστιατορίου Ἰθαγενῶν, 102 Sheiding St. δ. 13, τηλ. 728.

Βασίλειος Ἀντζῆς, ἐκ Στεμνίτης, Πελοποννήσου, ἰδ. ἐστιατορίου Ἰθαγενῶν, 418 Potgieter St.

Σπύρος Δημ. Βλάχος, S. D. Vlachos, ἐκ Νεαπόδων, Βοιῶν, ἰδ. Fountain Tea Rooms & Grocery Stores, 50 Harmony St., δ. 13, τηλ. 0204.

Ἀδελφοὶ Βογιατζῆ, ἐξ Ὀλύμπου, Κάρπάθου, ἰδ. Tea Rooms εἰς τοὺς σιδηρ. σταθμοὺς Πραιτωρίας καὶ Τζοχάννεσμπεργ. τηλέφωνα 1182 Πραιτώρια καὶ 6115 Τζοχάννεσμπεργ.

Ἀδελφοὶ Βουργαρέλη. (Ἰωάννης ἑτῶν 25 καὶ Εὐστράτιος ἑτῶν 19), ἰδ. εἰς δύο Tea Rooms, 100 Vermeulen St., τηλ. 1393.

Ἰωάννης Βολῆς, ἐκ Βαθέος, Σάμου, περιοδεύων παραγγελιοδόχος τοῦ Central Cold Storage, δ. 12, τ. κ. 228, τηλ. 797.

Κωνσταντῖνος Α. Γκολφινόπουλος, ἐκ Κοντοβαζαίνης, Γορτυνίας, ἔμπορος καὶ κτηματίας, 215 Pretorius St., τ. κ. 215, δ. 19.

Γεώργιος Α. Γκολφινόπουλος, ἐκ Κοντοβαζαίνης, Γορτυνίας, ἔμπορος, 215 Pretorius St., τ. κ. 215, δ. 17.

Διονύσιος Ι. Γεροντιῆς, ἐκ Ζακύνθου, λογιστῆς καὶ διερμηνεὺς τῶν δικαστηρίων, δ. 20, τηλ. 796.

Ἀδελφοὶ Γεωργίου, (Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος), George Bros, ἐκ Κυθραίας, Κύπρου, συνιδ. εἰς τὸ American Restaurant, 297 Market Street.



H. W. Sawyer.

S O U R C E S

SOURCES

The most important primary sources used in this thesis were undoubtedly the records of the Hellenic communities in Pretoria and Cape Town. These records not only reveal very important details concerning the membership and leadership of the communities and their financial position, but mirror every aspect of the activities of the pioneer Greek immigrants. Unfortunately there are no existing records of the period for the Hellenic community of Johannesburg, while the other Greek communities in South Africa became formal organisations much later and there are no records of their early activities.

As regards the division of labour of the pioneer Greek immigrants, the research was based mainly on the professional directories of the time, the columns of *New Hellas*, and the existing records of the communities. Oral evidence was also most vital in this aspect of the research.

Nicolaides's pioneering book, written in 1923, was a constant companion and invaluable guide, without which the role of the researcher would have been much more difficult, if not impossible.

Trips to Pretoria and the Union Building Archives were rewarded with some excellent primary material which was used in the present thesis and also extensively in academic publications during the period of the research. As most Greek nationalist and other organisations did not keep records, or their records have disappeared, the writer had to rely heavily on oral evidence as well as newspapers of that period. The *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Cape Argus* and the *Cape Times*, as well as the labour and socialist or trade

union newspapers, such as the International, The Voice of Labour and the Cape Town Herald, were invaluable in this respect. The periodical South African Review and the newspaper South African News not only broadened the writer's views on the prevailing material conditions in South Africa, but also proved to be major sources of information.

Last but not least the discussions held with many individuals (fellow researchers and contemporaries), who are acknowledged elsewhere, were very valuable and added to the writer's knowledge and understanding of both the early Greek immigrants and the social environment and conditions in which they lived and worked.

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