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Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community': Australian Attacks on Greeks and the 'Secret Census' in 1916

YIANNI CARTLEDGE  & ANDREKOS VARNAVA 

After attacks on Greek-Australian businesses early in 1915 and as a pre-emptive measure if Greece, hitherto neutral in the Great War, joined the Central Powers, the Australian authorities conducted a 'secret census' of Greeks and Greek establishments in 1916. Lists were prepared containing the names, addresses, professions and ages of individuals and businesses. The purpose was to intern these individuals if Greece entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. Adapting the theory of the 'suspect community', this article shows how Australian authorities, driven by questions of Greek loyalty, considered the Greek community 'suspect' and prepared for its internment. This indicated an underlying racism and distrust in both the Australian public and Australian authorities. This article investigates the attacks on Greeks and issues of naturalisation, challenges claims regarding the number of Greeks in Australia, and explores the 'secret census' using South Australia as a case study.

On 15 June 1916, W.H. Raymond, Commissioner of Police for South Australia (SA), ordered his inspectors/sub-inspectors to

obtain confidential information as to the number, residence, and occupation etc., of Greeks resident in the State of South Australia as nearly as can be ascertained, and that any rendezvous such as Cafes, clubs etc., frequented by Greeks should be kept under observation and the names of proprietors, managers and nature of such establishments furnished.¹

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¹ W.H. Raymond, Commissioner of Police SA, to inspectors/sub-inspectors of SA, 15 June 1916, National Archives of Australia, Canberra, (hereafter NAA), A385/10B/65706.

Within two weeks, the South Australian police had submitted a list with 178 names and 18 establishments. The Inspector General's Office of the Commonwealth government, on behalf of the Special Intelligence Bureau, had issued such orders to every Australian state. The result was a 'secret census' of the Greek Australian population. The secret census was a sequel to an earlier step in November 1915 in which the Australian government had categorised Greeks as 'enemy aliens' for the purposes of naturalisation, only considering applications from those aged 60 and above. Through these two measures, Greeks were actively discriminated against even though Greece was not an 'enemy' country.

This article is divided into four sections. First, by examining the secret census and naturalisation papers post 1915, we challenge the accuracy of the existing literature on Greek Australian history which relies on the public census data to describe the numbers of Greeks in Australia at the time of World War I. Second, the article considers the secret census in the context of attacks on Greeks during the period, drawing from newspaper reports as well as some archival sources. We argue that such attacks were linked to events in Greece and to the war itself. Third, we use documents from the Home and Territories Department to better understand the 1915 suspension of the naturalisation of Greeks that treated them as though they were 'enemy aliens' and 'undesirable'. Once Greece had joined the Allies, however, the Australian authorities agreed to the Greek consul vetting naturalisation applications of Greeks resident in Australia to avoid, as the Greeks believed, their Greek military service, adding yet another layer to the discriminatory treatment. Fourth, we return to the secret census, using South Australia as a case study. Our closer look at the evidence further shows the racist attitudes underlying the monitoring of Greeks.

The so-called 'secret census', as Hugh Gilchrist has termed it, counted the number of Greek residents and the number of businesses run by Greeks in each state.² This census was ordered because the Australian government expressed doubts about the loyalty of the Greek Australian community towards the Allied war effort. Although the Greek government was neutral at the time, it was considered sympathetic to the Central Powers, specifically to Germany, because the King of Greece, Constantine I, was married to the Kaiser's sister, and many army officers had trained in Germany.³ The Australian government considered Greeks' loyalty to their home country to be a risk to support for Australia's national commitment to British imperial forces in the war.

The secret census of Greeks in Australia was part of Australia's broader effort to monitor migrant groups considered 'suspect' during times of war. The war gave new expression to Australians' longer standing racist antipathies towards southern Europeans (among others). While the Commonwealth government's census may

² Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Vol II: The Middle Years* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1997), 16–19.

³ George Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers 1914–1917* (Salonika: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973); Joachim G. Joachim, *Ioannis Metaxas. The Formative Years 1871–1922* (Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2000).

have been motivated by concern about national unity in wartime, Greeks had previously received explicitly racial abuse and physical violence from xenophobic Australian communities. 'Bloody foreigners' were suspected of taking Australians' jobs, and of threatening the viability of Australian businesses.⁴

Historians who have previously discussed the Greek secret census have approached it primarily as a source revealing Greek Australian history. One of the ways that the secret census is a valuable source is that it challenges our understanding of the size of the Greek community. Most authors who have focused on Greek Australian communities living in Australia before World War II have accepted the figures provided in the 1911 and 1921 censuses, leading them to believe that few Greeks had migrated to Australia pre-WWII. They have not noticed, therefore, discrepancies between the published version of the census and the information contained in the secret census. Yet, as we argue, this discrepancy provides important context for the Australian government's wartime concerns that led to the monitoring of the Australian Greek population in the first place.⁵

* * *

Hugh Gilchrist first uncovered the secret census in the National Archives of Australia in the 1980s, and offered a general account of it in his 1997 book on Greeks in Australia, drawing attention, in particular, to what it revealed about the occupations of Greeks in the context of the Great War.⁶ According to Gilchrist, this 'was one of the very few secret censuses taken in Australia during the war', and while 'no official use appears to have been made of the information', of the more than 2000 persons listed, 'only seven were deemed to harbour disloyal sentiments'.⁷ Several others have noted that a secret census was undertaken, but its analysis of the Greek population added little to their account.⁸ Alexakis and Janiszewski placed the secret census in the context of anti-Greek riots in Australia.⁹ They also paid attention to the numbers produced by the secret census, comparing the book *H Ζωή Εν Αυστραλία* (*I Zoi En Afstralía* – 'Life in Australia'), which listed 50 Greeks in Brisbane in 1916, to the secret census, which listed around

⁴ As was the case in Britain and Europe. See Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain* (London: Little, Brown, 2004); Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

⁵ Christos N. Fifis, 'The Pre-World War II Greek Community of Australia: Class Divisions and Trends', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 30, no. 2 (2004): 57–83, 65.

⁶ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Vol II*, 16–19. Gilchrist's typed out and annotated version of the 'secret census' can be found in his collection at the National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007.

⁷ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Vol II*, 17.

⁸ Fifis, 65; Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 166–67.

⁹ Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image: Greek Australians* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1998), 17; James Vassilopoulos, 'Greek Australians: Beyond the Stereotypes', *Green Left*, 354, 24 March 1999.

200.¹⁰ Applying a more critical approach to the practice of information gathering deployed in the secret census, Andonis Piperoglou has argued that the ‘quality of information’ suggests that ‘a number of Greeks may have acted as informants for various police officers’ given the latter typically spoke only English.¹¹ However, Appleyard and Yiannakis have argued that in Western Australia where that community was routinely portrayed as a ‘threat’, the secret census ‘was based on information obtained by police officers without the knowledge of the subjects’.¹²

In this article we will view the secret census through the larger history of police surveillance of ‘suspect communities’. Paddy Hillyard first used the term ‘suspect communities’ to describe the heavy policing of the Irish community in Britain during the 1970s–80s.¹³ Others have historicised the term in several recent studies to describe the actions of authorities against other groups.¹⁴ One of the earliest examples of secret surveillance against a specific migrant community was that of the Cypriots in London during the interwar years, when they were considered ‘suspect’ because of their alleged criminal activity and deviant politics.¹⁵ In their introduction to a recent special issue of *Immigrants & Minorities* titled ‘Undesirables’, the editors, Varnava, Marmo and Smith, used the term ‘suspect communities’ to explain the creation of ‘undesirable’ migrant communities and their subjection to various forms of control and exclusion in the UK and Australia, including Italians in inter-war Australia and Cypriots in postwar Britain and Australia.¹⁶ This article seeks to further historicise the idea of ‘suspect communities’ by attending to the case of Greeks in Australia in which surveillance took the form of a secret census and changes to the process of naturalisation.

¹⁰ Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, 58; Ioannis D. Kominos, *Η Ζωή Έν Αυστραλία* [*Life in Australia*] (Sydney: Afstrasias, 1916).

¹¹ Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Greek Settlers: Race, Labour and the Making of White Australia, 1890s–1920s’ (PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 2016), 141–44.

¹² Reginald Appleyard and John N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia* (Perth: University of WA Press, 2002), 70–01, 89, 241–42.

¹³ Paddy Hillyard, *Suspect Community: People’s Experiences of the Prevention of Terrorism Acts in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Christina Pantazis and Simon Pemberton, ‘From the “Old” to the “New” Suspect Community: Examining the Impacts of Recent UK Counter-Terrorist Legislation’, *The British Journal of Criminology* 49, no. 5 (2009): 646–66.

¹⁵ Evan Smith and Andrekos Varnava, ‘Creating a “Suspect Community”: Monitoring and Controlling the Cypriot Community in Inter-War London’, *The English Historical Review* 132, no. 558 (2017): 1149–81.

¹⁶ Andrekos Varnava, Marinella Marmo and Evan Smith, ‘Border Control and Undesirables in Britain and Australia’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 40, no. 1–2 (2022): 1–12; Evan Smith, ‘Shifting Undesirability: Italian Migration, Political Activism and the Australian Authorities from the 1920s to the 1950s’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 40, no. 1–2 (2022): 106–31; Andrekos Varnava, ‘Border Control and Monitoring “Undesirable” Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945–1959’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 40, no. 1–2 (2022): 132–76. Two of the contributions explored cases from the Great War in Australia, one on ‘undesirable’ women and the other on Syrian and Greek naturalisation: Rachel Bright, ‘Rethinking Gender, Citizenship, and War: Female Enemy Aliens in Australia during World War I’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 40, no. 1–2 (2022): 13–58; Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Migrant Acculturation via Naturalisation: Comparing Syrian and Greek Applications for Naturalisation in White Australia’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 40, no. 1–2 (2022): 59–78.

Although both the Australian authorities and the broader Australian community saw the Greek community as 'suspect', they did so for slightly different reasons. The Commonwealth government was focused on preparations to intern Greeks living in Australia if Greece entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. Although, as argued here, there was undoubtedly a racial dimension to this targeting, the official motivation fell into line with the broader practice of interning wartime 'enemy aliens'.¹⁷ At the same time, the surveillance of Greeks in Australia differed from the surveillance of most migrant communities, in that not only foreign nationals but also Australian nationals of Greek heritage were among Greeks being monitored in urban settings. Few other groups were monitored in this way or to this extent, and no other persons from a neutral country were monitored. In undertaking the secret census of Greeks in Australia, the government treated this group of people as if they were 'enemy aliens' en masse. In the government's monitoring of other migrant groups during and following WWI, only names, sex and addresses were noted, far less than the breadth and depth of information recorded in the secret census of Greeks.¹⁸ This level of detail was absent even from the 'secret list' of Turks compiled in 1918, despite the Ottoman Empire being an enemy state, having joined the Central Powers in November 1914.¹⁹ According to Karen Agutter, the government recorded only basic data about Italians forcibly repatriated during the war, while Germans and Austro-Hungarians, being 'enemy aliens', were overtly monitored and, in many cases, interned.²⁰

A question of numbers

We know that Greek numbers recorded in the 1911 census were lower than their actual numbers in the population in 1916. This fact can be deduced through

¹⁷ Kay Saunders, 'The Stranger in Our Gates': Internment Policies in the United Kingdom and Australia during the Two World Wars, 1914–39', *Immigrants & Minorities* 22, no. 1 (2003): 22–43.

¹⁸ This included: all foreign passengers inward and outward from Darwin in 1915–16; Italians in 1917–18; military-age French men in 1918; Turks in 1918; Russians, Russo-Poles, Russo-Finns and Finns in Victoria in 1919; Bulgarians in 1920; Czechs and Slovaks in 1920–21; Austrians and Hungarians in 1920–21; Yugoslavs in 1921; Swiss in NSW in 1921; and Dutch in 1922–25. See: NAA/A385/1–6, 14–20. This is compared to the monitoring of Greeks in 1916 recorded in NAA/A385, 7–13.

¹⁹ *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol II, 380; NAA/A385/18/65714, 1918–22.

²⁰ Karen Agutter, 'Italians Deported – Australians Next': Italians, World War I and the Labour Movement', in *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. P. Deery and J. Kimber (Melbourne: Leftbank Press, 2015), 157–76; Karen Agutter, 'Belligerent Broken Hill Fighting the Forced Repatriation of Allied Aliens During World War I', *History Australia* 8, no. 2 (2011): 42–65; Karen Agutter, 'Captive Allies: Italian Immigrants in World War I Australia', *Australian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 1–20. See also: NAA/A11803/1914/89/247/349498, 1916; NAA/MP367/1/592/4/658/360597, 1918; Evan Smith, 'The Bureaucratic Limits of a National Security Agenda: The Winding Road of Alien Registration in Interwar Australia', *Australian Historical Studies* 54, no. 1 (2023): 24–43.

comparison with the number of applications for naturalisation in that year (~3000 in 1916) and with the number of persons and businesses listed in the 1916 secret census, which first took place in New South Wales (NSW), Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, and then followed later in 1916 in the Northern Territory. Estimating the actual number of Greeks in Australia gives a better understanding of why the secret census was instigated and why violence against Greeks took place.

Although the 1911 census collected data on birthplace, nationality, and religion, these questions masked the self-identities of those being counted. Greeks, better described as those of a Greek-speaking and usually Eastern Orthodox background, encompassed a range of national, cultural, religious, political, and socio-economic identities in Australia during this period. The most notable were Greeks (from the Kingdom of Greece), who also had Greek nationality; Greek speakers from the Ottoman, British (via Cyprus and Egypt), and Italian (Dodecanese) empires; and those from autonomous or briefly independent islands (including Crete, Ikaria, and Samos).²¹ Also, the Ionian Islands had been part of the British empire until 1864 and many who lived outside Greece maintained their British status as well as identity, including those who had emigrated to Australia.²² The majority of 'Greeks' in Australia during this period were Greek islanders and Ottoman subjects who had lived between multiple administrations. These complex sets of identities are not captured in the census.

The census in 1911 listed six discernible birthplaces associated with Greeks (Table 1): Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, and Samos. The inclusion of the Cretan State and the autonomous Principality of Samos (which was considered 'Asiatic' because of its former Ottoman status and proximity to Turkey) testified to the diversity in Greek 'nationalities'.²³ Turkey (i.e. Ottoman Empire) was counted as a European country, likely because Ottomans in Australia were mostly Christians as opposed to Muslims. In total, the census noted as many as 2325 persons that we could now call 'Greeks' and who were then seen as 'Greek' by Australian authorities.

Additionally, the 1911 census also categorised by religion (Table 2). Interpreting this data enables a more nuanced picture of Greeks in Australia than the data on birthplace. The main categories noted in the Census were Greek Catholic (Total), Greek Catholic (as a sub-branch), Greek Orthodox Church,

²¹ For more on the various identities of Greek migrants see: Yianni Cartledge, 'Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919–1939: Emigration, Settlement and Community Building', in *South Australia, 1919–1939*, ed. C. Adams and B. Dickey (Adelaide: Professional Historians Association, SA, 2022), 175–95.

²² Sakis Gekas, 'Colonial Migrants and the Making of a British Mediterranean', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 19, no. 1 (2012): 75–92; Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 24–26, 65–69, 157–59, 180–81, 252–53, 258–59, 272–73; Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).

²³ At first, it was presumed to be a possible typo, although it is separate from 'Samoa' and any other place with a similar name.

Table 1. Australian population by birthplace, Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911.^a

Birthplace	Males	Females	Total
Greece	1693	105	1798
Turkey (other European countries)	254	68	322
Egypt	100	47	147
Cyprus (European British possessions)	20	6	26
Crete (other European countries)	24	0	24
Samos (other Asiatic countries)	8	0	8
Total	2099	226	2325

^aCensus of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2–3 April 1911, 'Part II: Birthplaces', 116–17, <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/2112.0> (accessed 29 November 2023).

Table 2. Australian population by religion, Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911.^a

Religion	Males	Females	Total
Greek Catholic (total)	2172	474	2646
Greek Orthodox Church	1223	241	1464
Greek Church	461	72	533
Greek Catholic	390	126	516
Greek Church of Russia	19	7	26
Greek	19	6	25
Greek Universal Catholic Church	15	1	16
Total – not including Greek Catholic (Total)	2127	451	2580

^aCensus of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2–3 April 1911, 'Part VI: Religions', 767–70.

Greek Church, Greek Church of Russia, 'Greek', and Greek Universal Catholic Churches. The Greek Catholic (Total) category encompassed all other categories, as well as the Russian Church and 'Others' categories. The term 'Greek Catholic' itself is loaded with complexities; however, most scholars acknowledge that it was a misnomer that denoted Eastern Orthodoxy more broadly, as well as 'Eastern' denominations not in communion with Rome.²⁴ 'Greek Catholic' does not denote Ukraine's Rusyns (known as Ruthenians or Greek Catholics) or Greece's Catholic minority, as they did not have notable presences in Australia. The birthplaces of Greek Catholics (Table 3), included Greece being the largest portion at 1365, followed by Australasia at 394, Russia at 273, and

²⁴ Charles Price, ed., *Greeks in Australia* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975), 8–10; V.R. Anastastios Bozikis, Mario Baghos, and Chris Baghos, 'The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia', in *A Short History of the Orthodox Church in Australia*, ed. Christine Chaillot (Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2021), 28–29; James A. Athanasiou, 'Greek Orthodox in Australia – The Big Picture', *Religious Education Occasional Papers* (April 2019): 11; Paul Robert Magocsi, 'Greek Catholics: Historical Background', in *Churches In-Between: Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe*, ed. Stéphanie Mahieu and Vlad Naumescu (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2008), 35–37.

Table 3. Birthplaces of Greek Catholics, Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911.^a

Birthplace	Males	Females	Total
Greece	1295	70	1365
Australasia (Australia and New Zealand)	217	177	394
Russia	201	72	273
Austria-Hungary	19	3	22
Italy	10	0	10
Other European countries	173	24	197
Syria	146	105	251
Other Asiatic countries	25	3	28
Africa (including Egypt)	19	6	25
The Americas	7	1	8
Polynesia	2	0	2
Unspecified	58	11	69
Born at sea	0	2	2
Total	2172	474	2646

^aCensus of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2–3 April 1911, ‘Part II: Birthplaces’, 116–17.

Syria at 251. The total number of Greek Catholics was 2580 (not including the Russian Church and ‘Others’), which was higher than those listed under ‘birth-places’ (Table 1). The higher figure probably includes Australian-born children of Greek immigrants, as well as Orthodox people from other nations, alongside those listed in Table 1.

While the 1911 census lists 1798 Greeks, the secret census gives a different number. According to Gilchrist it listed 2398 Greeks in Australia (Table 4), excluding the Northern Territory, which took its own register of Greeks and Maltese in November 1916.²⁵ When we add the NT numbers, the total is in the range 2518–2662. However, the secret census under-enumerated, as it did not count all the women, children, Australian-born Greeks, or Greek land-owners. Some non-Orthodox Greeks were also missing from the count. Then in 1916, around 3000 Greeks applied to be naturalised, as discussed below.²⁶ Given how many were applying for naturalisation in 1916 (~3000), compared to the secret census, the latter did not count all Greeks. If 3000 Greeks were applying to be naturalised, we must also consider how many already had been. We therefore estimate that between 1911 and 1916 there were 3500–4000 Greeks, and that this difference from the 1911 Census was not the result of a mass settlement between 1911 and 1916, although turmoil in the Aegean did contribute to an extent, especially the Balkan Wars (1912–13) which pushed many Ottoman and islander Greeks to emigrate. The number applying to be naturalised (~3000) is in addition to the already naturalised Greeks in Australia, and to the Australians born of Greek heritage. From all these sources, we

²⁵ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol II, 16–19.

²⁶ NAA series: BP4/3, PP14/3 & MT269/1.

Table 4. Number of Greeks listed in the 1916 secret census and in the Northern Territory.^a

State	Total
Victoria	461 ^b
Queensland	567
New South Wales	900
South Australia	178
Western Australia	285 ^c
Tasmania	7
Total (without NT)	2398
Northern Territory (Gilchrist Estimate)	120–350
Northern Territory (Alien Registrations 1916–17)	~264
Total (with NT)	2662

^aSee Greeks – Victoria – Particulars of, 1916–20: NAA/A385/12/65708; Greeks, Queensland, Particulars of, 1916: NAA/A385/9/65704; Return of Greek Residents, New South Wales, 1916: NAA/A385/7/65703; Greeks, SA, Resident in Metropolitan Police Division, 1916: NAA/A385/10B/65706; Greeks, WA, Particulars of, 1916: NAA/A385/13/65709; Greeks, Tasmania, Particulars of, 1916: NAA/A385/11/65707.

^bThe Victoria number is uncertain, due to multiple versions held by the NAA and Gilchrist. See: *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007; Greeks, Victoria, Particulars of, 1916–20, NAA/A385/12/65708.

^cSome estimate as high as 1000 in WA in 1916. See: NAA/A11803/1914/89/150.

conclude that the 1911 census was inaccurate. Perhaps 'ship jumping' contributed to this inaccuracy.²⁷ Another factor could be the transient nature of Greek labourers in Australia.

The Northern Territory, which was left out of the secret census, eventually took its own list of both Greeks and Maltese, beginning in November 1916. Only men of service age were asked to visit the Military Registrar's Office by 17 November 1916.²⁸ While it is unclear where the record for this register is held, the National Archives of Australia (NAA) gives the impression of at least 264 Greeks being registered as aliens between 1916 and 1917 in the NT.²⁹ Gilchrist estimated there were between 120 and 350 Greeks in Darwin in 1916.³⁰

Questions of birthplace and religion were asked again at the next 'Census of the Commonwealth of Australia', in 1921. There were 3654 persons born in Greece (though only 2817 retaining Greek nationality), 362 born in Egypt

²⁷ Alexander Kitroeff, 'Ship Jumpers: An Unspoken Chapter of Greek Immigration to the United States', *Pappas Post*, 16 April 2020; Leonard Janiszewski and Effy Alexakis, 'Greek Currents in Australian Waters: Greek-Australians and the Sea, 1810s–2013', in *Reading, Interpreting, Experiencing*, ed. M. Tsianikas, G. Couvalis, and M. Palaktsoglou (NZ: Modern Greek Studies Association, 2015), 73–96.

²⁸ Government Notice (hereafter GN) 458.16, *Northern Territory Times & Gazette*, Darwin, 9 November 1916, 14; GN 458.16, *Northern Territory Times & Gazette*, Darwin, 16 November 1916, 12.

²⁹ NAA series: BP4/3 & MT269/1.

³⁰ *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007.

(1 considered 'Egyptian' and 12 'half-caste Egyptian'), 185 born in Turkey (with 98 of Turkish nationality, and only 14 of those being considered 'Asiatic Turks', and 15 'half-caste Asiatic Turks'), 8135 born in Italy (which included around 920 Greek speakers from the Italian Dodecanese), and 192 born in 'Other British Possessions in Europe' (which included Cyprus).³¹ There were 1257 'Greek Catholics' born in Australia and 4095 born outside Australia (with a further 20 who did not state their birthplace, totalling 5372).³² These numbers are more in line with a larger estimate of Greeks in Australia during the decade from 1911 to 1921, as proposed here (Table 5). However, we do not know how many Greeks in Australia were already naturalised, and nor do we know the number of those born in Australia to Greek parents.

The larger number of Greeks in Australia was corroborated by the Greek community in 1919, when it was claimed in the *Northern Territory Times & Gazette* that there were over 2000 Greeks from Kastellorizo alone in Australia.³³ In reply, one reader questioned the nature of Kastellorizians' ethnicity, and denoted them 'Asiatics', perhaps because the island is 2 km off Anatolia. This same 'Asiatic' question was applied to Greeks from a range of locations, especially the Aegean and Anatolia. This echoed Australian fears over Asian immigration, as the reader stated that the Kastellorizians 'loaf under verandahs and in cook shops ... God help us if these men are considered specimens of good settlers and citizens. We cannot forget how our troops were murdered by the Greeks when the Allies went to their assistance'.³⁴ These comments stemmed from the same loaded questions of loyalty, race, and labour that sparked the secret census two and a half years earlier, feeding into the racial dynamics underpinning the attacks. However, the secret census did count Kastellorizians, Anatolians, and other Aegean islanders as 'Greeks', hinting at a broader understanding of who was Greek by Australian authorities, which was defined by language and religion.

Attacks on Greeks in Australia

To understand the secret census, it is important to also understand the wider attacks on the Greeks, since the motivation for both was racial and linked to

³¹ The number of Greek speakers born in Italy is taken from Charles Price, who estimated 4600 Greeks in Australia in 1921, with 20 per cent being from the Dodecanese: Price 4. For the other numbers, see: Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, 'Part II: Birthplaces', 49–50, <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/2111.0> (accessed 29 November 2023); Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, 'Part III: Nationality', 209; Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, 'Part V: Race', 295. Andrekos Varnava, 'Cypriot Emigration, 1820s to 1930s: Economic Motivations within Local and Global Migration Patterns', in *Bridging Boundaries in British Migration History*, ed. Marie-Jose Ruiz (London: Anthem Press, 2020), 95–122.

³² Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, 'Part VI: Religions', 351–52.

³³ *Northern Territory Times & Gazette*, 29 March 1919, 3.

³⁴ *Northern Territory Times & Gazette*, 5 April 1919, 14.

Table 5. Number of Greeks in Australia in 1911, 1916, and 1921.

	Greeks born in Greece	Greeks born outside Greece	Greeks in Australia seeking naturalisation	Total
1911 Census	1798	527	NA	2325 (birthplace) 2580 (religion)
1916 'Secret Census'	NA	NA	~3000	2662 ('Secret Census') 3500–4000 (estimate) ^a
1921 Census	3654 (only 2817 retaining Greek nationality)	1500–2000 (estimate) ^b	NA	5500 (birthplace, estimate) 5372 (religion)

^aOur estimate factors in naturalisation numbers and accounts for all women, children, and Australian born Greeks.

^bEstimate when accounting for Greeks born in other nations, including Egypt, Italian Dodecanese, Turkey and other, as well as 1257 'Greek Catholics' born in Australia.

wartime perceptions of loyalties. The attacks had a class dimension, as Joy Damousi illustrates in her account of attacks against Greeks living in Newcastle and Kalgoorlie from late 1915 into 1916.³⁵ The most common targets were urban Greek businesses and factory workers, the same groups that dominated the secret census, rather than wealthier or 'landed' Greeks living in rural areas.

In 1915–16 many anti-Greek riots and demonstrations took place around the country. This was despite many Greek communities, such as in Port Pirie, SA, publicly declaring their allegiance to the allies.³⁶ These attacks were generally aimed at small businesses run by Greeks in cities and rural towns, and factory workers in rural townships. In NSW, attacks on Greeks occurred in Sydney, Glen Innes, Haymarket, Manly, Newcastle and Liverpool during November and December 1915. In Sydney and Haymarket, Greek businesses (and nearby shops) were targeted by Australian soldiers. Michael Casimaty's oyster saloon near the Town Hall, Miss McEwan's millinery shop, and Serba Bros' shop were attacked by the rioters, who smashed windows with 'large lumps of concrete' and 'blue metal'. The police drew their batons and both rioters and police were injured. Eight soldiers and additional civilians were arrested.³⁷ Similarly, at Manly a Greek restaurant and Italian (or Greek) fruit shop were targeted, and 23 soldiers and two civilians were charged with having disturbed the peace.

³⁵ Joy Damousi, "'This Is Against All the British Traditions of Fair Play': Violence Against Greeks on the Australian Home Front during the Great War', in *Australia and the Great War: Identity, Memory and Mythology*, ed. Michael J.K. Walsh and Andrekos Varnava (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2016), 128–45.

³⁶ *Recorder & North Western Mail*, 22 October 1915, 2.

³⁷ *Richmond River Express & Casino Kyogle Advertiser*, 17 December 1915, 8; *Mcleay Argus*, 17 December 1915, 3; *Bendigo Independent*, 14 December 1915, 5.

While they attacked the Greeks with stones and pipes, and fired a revolver, the mob shouted: 'We want those Greeks'.³⁸ Few rioters were ever prosecuted.³⁹

These mostly soldier-led attacks were generally sparked by questions of Greek loyalty to Australia. This is despite the fact that at least 80 Greek Australians served overseas in the Australian forces during WWI, compared to only seven found disloyal by the secret census.⁴⁰ This question of disloyalty surfaced in a riot in Glen Innes in December 1915, where members of the public requested that an image of Lord Kitchener be removed from a window in a Greek shop, because they were upset that these ostensibly neutral Greeks were displaying what they perceived to be fake loyalty. The mob of 500–600, led by a returned Russian soldier, demanded the picture from the shop or threatened to destroy it. When the Greeks refused, they were attacked with stones, breaking three windows. A police sergeant convinced the Greeks to surrender the picture. The incident forced the closure of other Greek businesses.⁴¹ Interestingly, only 11 Greeks were recorded in Glen Innes according to the secret census, a surprisingly small number to spark such hatred.

These and other attacks on Greek Australians and Greeks in Australia at the end of 1915 were inspired by multiple factors. At one level, there were expressions of racial prejudice and of concerns that jobs were being taken by migrants. But especially by late 1915 they were sparked by the shifting position of Greece in the war. In October that year, the British government had offered Cyprus to Greece on the condition that it enter the war on the Entente side and immediately aid Serbia. The Greek royalist government rejected the offer and Bulgarian forces overran Serbia.⁴² This was widely reported in both metropolitan and rural Australian newspapers, with Greece severely criticised for its stance against the Entente.⁴³ Upon the outbreak of the Great War, Greece remained neutral despite its treaty with Serbia, and King Constantine's pro-German position forced the pro-Entente Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos to resign in December 1915. Additionally, in November 1916, Entente and Venizelist efforts to persuade the royal government in Athens to abandon its neutrality and join the Entente failed, and relations irreparably broke down during the Noemvriana, when Entente and Venizelist troops clashed with royalists in the streets of Athens.⁴⁴

³⁸ *Examiner*, 14 December 1915, 6; *Richmond River Express & Casino Kyogle Advertiser*, 26 November 1915, 8; *Tweed Daily*, 24 November 1915, 2; *Gilgandra Weekly*, 26 November 1915, 10; *Riverine Grazier*, 23 November 1915, 2; *Register*, 14 December 1915, 6.

³⁹ Damousi, 100–11.

⁴⁰ Steve Kyritsis, *Greek-Australians in the Australian Armed Forces: World War I & World War II* (Melbourne: Steve Kyritsis (SK) Publishing, 2012), 9.

⁴¹ *Gilgandra Weekly*, 17 December 1915, 6; *North Western Advocate & Emu Bay Times*, 17 December 1915, 3.

⁴² Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 261–66; Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers 1914–1917*.

⁴³ *Argus*, 25 October 1915, 7; *Bundaberg Mail & Burnett Advertiser*, 25 October 1915, 2; *Daily Telegraph*, 27 October 1915, 9; *Border Morning Mail & Riverina Times*, 28 October 1915, 2; *Laverton & Beria Mercury*, 30 October 1915, 1; *Queenslander*, 6 November 1915, 38.

⁴⁴ Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers 1914–1917*.

In Western Australia the violence continued throughout the following year. In 1916, the Greek community in WA numbered around 1000 (despite only 285 being listed on the secret census), with the 'great majority from Aegean Islands', which supported Greek Prime Minister Venizelos and the Entente.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, large-scale violent anti-Greek riots broke out at Kalgoorlie and Perth in late 1916, because they were 'being treated ... as actual enemies'.⁴⁶ Greek Australian community leader Peter Michaelides had appealed to Venizelos for support. Venizelos, who was taking the matter up in London, had advised Greeks in WA to request protection from the Governor-General. Michaelides wrote to the Governor-General on 20 December 1916, claiming that

for more than a year past people here and the Press have misunderstood the position and a belief exists that all Greeks are treacherous and must not be tolerated ... with the result that the majority of our shops have been repeatedly smashed the contents looted and nothing is left undone to make our living here impossible.⁴⁷

The matter was serious because they 'live in continual terror now even of our lives', he continued, even though they supported Venizelos and the 'emancipation of enslaved peoples'. He demanded that 'immediate steps' be taken to protect them.⁴⁸ Similarly, the Honorary President of the Greek Community of NSW, J. Comino, led a deputation to the Acting Greek Consul expressing sympathies with the allies, and asking him to convey these sentiments officially and to the press.⁴⁹ In 1920, compensation was sought by the Greek community of WA, but, although this request was backed by the Consul, the Australian government rejected the claims the following year.⁵⁰ Gilchrist put the mob violence down to 'chauvinistic sentiments' and stated that 'soldiers on leave from training camps, sometimes the worse for liquor, played a prominent part'.⁵¹ However, it is clear that anti-Greek sentiments derived from deeper racially motivated ideologies and paranoias already at work within Australian society and exacerbated by the perception that Greece's neutrality was in fact a posture and that Greeks were hostile to the Entente and thus to the British Empire.

This racial aspect included the question of 'foreign labour', which also dominated articles in the newspapers. One from January 1916, titled 'Greek, Maltese, and Egyptians: Their Value as Workers', echoed these discussions. Such articles

⁴⁵ See NAA/A11803/1914/89/150.

⁴⁶ *Huon Times*, 19 January 1917, 6; *Argus*, 12 January 1917, 8; *Barrier Miner*, 7 December 1916, 2; NAA/A11803/1914/89/150.

⁴⁷ Telegram, Peter Michaelides to Governor-General, 20 December 1916, NAA/A11803/1914/89/150.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Telegram, Samuel Cohen, Acting Greek Consul, to Private Secretary, Governor General, 4 September; Secretary, Governor-General, to Acting Greek Consul, Sydney, 12 September 1916: NAA/A11803/1914/89/150.

⁵⁰ Damousi, 107–09.

⁵¹ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol II, 19–29.

made racialised comments about Mediterranean work ethics, portraying 'the Greeks as powerful, lazy fellows. Four of them about equals one average Australian trench toiler'.⁵² Protests against foreign workers had been frequent during the early 1910s, with anti-immigration demonstrations organised by the British Immigration League in 1911 and 1914 in Port Adelaide, and in 1913 the Amalgamated Miner's Association Union protested against foreign miners working for BHP.⁵³ Port Pirie experienced further targeted attacks on Greeks and Greek businesses in 1917, with rocks being thrown, gunshots fired and race-motivated chanting.⁵⁴ Hyslop noted that in the 1910s, 'white labourism' was a prominent ideology among the working class in the British empire, with 1914 seeing the largest British labour demonstration of the early twentieth century in Hyde Park, London, and a white workers' general strike in Johannesburg.⁵⁵ There were also anti-Greek riots elsewhere in the Anglosphere, notably in South Omaha, Nebraska, in 1909 and Toronto in 1918, and Ku Klux Klan attacks on Greeks in Utah during the 1920s.⁵⁶ These ideologies, coupled with Australia's founding race laws, especially the White Australia Policy (1901) and Immigration Restriction Act (1901), culminated in a disdain for Mediterranean workers from much of working-class Australian society, and tropes of 'cheap foreign and dark labour' remained a theme into the interwar period.⁵⁷ Coupled with the public perceptions of Greek disloyalty, these intertwined race and labour prejudices influenced the decision to begin monitoring Greeks in Australia.

Greek naturalisation

To be socially accepted and included, and to combat societal prejudices, many Greek citizens applied for Australian naturalisation. Naturalisation demonstrated allegiance to Australia and Britain and offered security. Being naturalised gave

⁵² *Brisbane Courier*, 4 January 1916, 4.

⁵³ *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miner's Advocate*, 20 October 1911, 4; *Advertiser*, 20 October 1911, 11; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1914, 10; *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miner's Advocate*, 14 June 1913, 5.

⁵⁴ *Barrier Miner*, 22 December 1917, 4; *Chronicle*, 29 December 1917, 10; *Woorroora Producer*, 3 January 1918, 3; *Advertiser*, 22 December 1917, 8.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself "White": White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 12, no. 4 (December 1999): 398–421; see also: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1914, 10.

⁵⁶ John G. Bitzes, 'The Anti-Greek Riot of 1909 – South Omaha', *Nebraska History* 51 (1970): 199–224; Thomas W. Gallant, Michael Vitopoulos, and George Treheles, *The 1918 Anti-Greek Riot in Toronto* (Toronto: Thessalonikeans Society of Metro Toronto, 2005); Jim Karygiannis Hansard, 'The 1918 Anti-Greek Riot in Toronto', House of Commons, Parliament 38(1), 120, Canada, 21 June 2005; Helen Zeese Papanikolas, 'Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah', *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 158, 178–81.

⁵⁷ Evan Smith, Andrekos Varnava, and Marinella Marmo, 'The Interconnectedness of British and Australian Immigration Controls in the 20th Century: Between Convergence and Divergence', *The International History Review* 43, no. 6 (2021): 1354–74; Phil Griffiths, 'The "Necessity" of a Socially Homogeneous Population: The Ruling Class Embraces Racial Exclusion', *Labour History* 108 (2015): 123–44; see also: *Bunyip*, 25 January 1929, 6.

an answer to the wider public on the questions of Greek loyalty to Australia. The Naturalisation Act (1903) required migrants to have lived continuously in Australia for two years, and prohibited the naturalisation of anyone who was 'an aboriginal native of Asia, Africa, or the Islands of the Pacific, excepting New Zealand'.⁵⁸ Some Greeks, such as Anatolians, Kastellorizians, and Samians, were occasionally labelled as 'Asiatic', which put them in a marginal situation during the naturalisation process. Until 1915, each application was referred to the police; if they reported favourably the applicant could be naturalised. In 1915, however, a Department of External Affairs memorandum proposed to suspend the processing of all applications from Greek citizens 'in view of the doubtful attitude of Greece, in regard to the International situation'.

Under the memorandum, a note stated that the Cabinet had decided on 30 October 1914 that all 'enemy subjects, over sixty years of age, might be naturalised', and that this would apply also to the Greeks.⁵⁹ When Cabinet approved the 1915 referendum Greeks under 60 years of age were denied naturalisation although they were not enemy aliens. As with the attacks on the Greeks late in 1916, this decision was precipitated by events in the Mediterranean, as Athens rejected the British offer to cede Cyprus to Greece in return for Greece immediately aiding Serbia, which was shortly overrun by Bulgarian forces.⁶⁰ In comparison, male Italians of military age (under 40), members of an enemy country, would not be barred from naturalisation until 1917.⁶¹ Around 3000 Greeks had applied for naturalisation in 1916 and 1917.⁶²

After King Constantine I abdicated on 11 June 1917 and Venizelos returned as prime minister of a reunified Greece that officially joined the Allies, the Home and Territories Department reconsidered the restrictions on Greek naturalisation. Noting that 'when it was seen that the attitude of Greece was that of a potential enemy, it was decided that naturalisation of Greeks should be suspended', the Department recommended reverting to the previous practice of obtaining a police report on each applicant, since Greece, 'if not practically an ally, is a neutral'. A few weeks later, the government lifted the suspension.⁶³

By 1918 the Venizelos government was trying to mobilise Greek forces more fully. In keeping with similar efforts across the British Empire, it ordered its

⁵⁸ Naturalisation Act 1903, No. 11 of 1903, Commonwealth Government, 13 October 1903.

⁵⁹ Department of External Affairs, memo, 27 October 1915, with note signed 10 November 1915, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁰ Andrekos Varnava, *British Cyprus and the Long Great War, 1914–1925: Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (London: Routledge, 2020), 26–30; Andrekos Varnava, "'Cyprus Is of No Use to Anybody': The Pawn, 1878–1915", in *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878–2004*, ed. Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis (Mannheim/Mölnsee: Bibliopolis, 2006), 35–60.

⁶¹ Karen Agutter, 'Australian–Italian Relations in World War I: The Italian Consul-General and the Australian Government', in *Italy & Australia*, ed. Gianfranco Cresciani and Bruno Mascitelli (Balarat: Connor Court, 2014), 115–41.

⁶² NAA series: BP4/3, PP14/3 & MT269/1.

⁶³ Home and Territories Department (HTD), memo, 9 July 1917, with two notes signed 20 July 1917, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

consul in Australia, Maniachi, to ask the government to 'prevent Greeks taking advantage of the Australian law to avoid serving their country'.⁶⁴ All applications for naturalisation by Greek citizens were to be referred to the consul, so that he could stop Greeks seeking Australian naturalisation to get out of serving in the Greek colours.

The Home and Territories Department accepted Maniachi's request, asking the ages between which men were liable to serve, and whether the Greek government's request would apply to those physically unfit for military service, to married men, and to those absent from Greece for many years, and if so how many years, and whether those who had completed their military service were included.⁶⁵ Maniachi replied that if physical disability was proved, those men could be naturalised, as could those over 40, but nobody else was exempt from the decree of mobilisation.⁶⁶

The Australian government agreed to the Greek request. Asking applicants to prove their age, unless it was manifestly obvious, the government sent applications from those under 40 to Maniachi for approval.⁶⁷ This effectively gave the Greek authorities the right to veto the application of Greek men in Australia for naturalisation. Despite this veto, as noted by the Australian government in August 1918, Greek authorities issued a public warning in Australian newspapers to Greeks contemplating Australian naturalisation. Maniachi warned that seeking Australian naturalisation did not protect persons from the laws of their 'mother country' and that persons naturalised in Australia were still liable to be punished under Greek laws if they returned there. He also warned that Australian naturalisation would not help them where there were no Australian consular services; unless the British consul was willing to support them, it was better to be an 'alien'.⁶⁸ This was in an effort to keep them as Greek citizens liable to mobilisation. In December 1918, about a month after the signing of the Armistice, Maniachi advised the Australian authorities that he no longer wanted to see Greek applications for naturalisation.⁶⁹ Suspending naturalisation and referring applications to Maniachi had made Greeks a 'suspect community'.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Andrekos Varnava, 'Greek Cypriot "Volunteers" in the Greek Army, 1897–1922: Querying Loyalties and Identity', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 38, no. 2 (2020): 473–500; Greek Consul, Melbourne, Alexander V. Maniachi, to Minister of HTD, 2 May 1918, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁵ Atlee Hunt, HTD, to Maniachi, 6 May 1918, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁶ Greek Consul, Melbourne, Maniachi, to HTD, 8 May 1918; Greek Consul, Melbourne, Maniachi, to HTD, 11 May 1918, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁷ HTD, three handwritten notes, two dated 14 May 1918 and one 15 May, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁸ *Argus*, 11 August 1918, NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁶⁹ HTD, memo, 10 December 1918, with note dated 12 December 1918; HTD, to Maniachi, 16 December 1918; Maniachi, to HTD, 19 December 1918, all at NAA/A1/1918/16114/37276.

⁷⁰ See also the Italian Consul-General's role in Italian naturalisations during WWI: Agutter, 'Valued Allies or Unwanted Immigrants?', 189–93; Agutter, 'Australian–Italian Relations in World War I', 115–44.

The 'secret census': The South Australian case

This final section returns to the census, through a closer inspection of the data from South Australia. In this period, the SA Greek community was small and concentrated around Adelaide and Port Pirie. The secret census noted 178 Greeks in SA, though this is clearly not the total number because only 14 females and four children were counted, and many Greeks born in Australia and non-Orthodox Greeks were seemingly not included (Table 6). Despite the likely missing individuals, this number is still larger than that reported in the 1911 census (76 Greeks born in Greece, and 150 'Greek Catholics' in SA) and approximates the 1921 census (152 Greeks born in Greece, and 256 'Greek Catholics' in SA) – although some of the 'Greek Catholics' were not Greeks.⁷¹

The question of who was included in the secret census is central to understanding the monitoring of Greeks in Australia. Evidently, 'Greeks' meant those who were Greek-speaking and Orthodox, regardless of whether their birthplaces were Greece or the Ottoman Empire. For instance, many counted were born in Macedonia or the Aegean islands, including Crete, Chios, and Ikaria – territories that had only recently left the Ottoman Empire (some after periods of autonomy) and joined Greece in 1912 or 1913. Others listed their birthplaces simply as 'Turkey' but were noted as 'claiming to be Greek', including the Grote St, Adelaide labourer Christopher George, and those from Kastellorizo, such as the Caripis family. That only 14 were female and only four were under 18 may be due to a lack of accurate recording, though it is also consistent with the common assertion that most Greek migrants in this period were single males. Furthermore, 108 were labourers, with 100 of those working at the Port Pirie BHP smelters. Others worked in hospitality or fishing, or were retired. The secret census paints the Greek community of SA as working-class, and male dominated.

At least two landowning families with Greek origins were excluded from the secret census, the Norths (Tramountanas) and Rallis. George (Tramountanas) North was the first Greek settler in SA, arriving at Port Adelaide in 1842.⁷² He and his English wife, Lydia Vosper, converted to Roman Catholicism, bought land and settled outside Port Lincoln to raise their sons, and had 22 grandchildren.⁷³ Similarly, Stephen S. Ralli, the London-born grandson of refugees from the Chios Massacre (1822), settled in SA in the 1880s.⁷⁴ Ralli, whose

⁷¹ Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2–3 April 1911, 'Part II: Birthplaces' & 'Part VI: Religions'; Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, 'Part II: Birthplaces' & 'Part VI: Religions'.

⁷² George Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus: Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia* (Melbourne: RMIT University, 1997), 15–24; Penny Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', in *The Australian People*, ed. James Jupp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 401.

⁷³ One of North's grandsons, Hero Clarence North, served in the 5th Australian Pioneer Battalion in WWI and died in France in 1916: Private Hero Clarence North, 1914, AWM145 Roll of Honour cards, 1914–1918 War, Army.

⁷⁴ For the Chiots of London, see: Yianni Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre and Chiot Emigration: A Coerced Diaspora', in *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies*

Table 6. Number of Greeks in South Australia, 1911–1921.

Census	Urban: Metropolitan	Urban: Provincial	Rural	Migratory	State total
1911 Census (birthplace: Greece) ^a	48 (Adelaide)	N/A	29 (outside Adelaide)	N/A	76
1916 ‘Secret Census’	56 (Adelaide)	116 (Port Pirie)	6 (rural townships)	N/A	178 (14 females and 4 children counted)
1921 Census (birthplace: Greece) ^b	79 (63 males, 16 females)	29 (23 males, 6 females)	30 (25 males, 5 females)	14 (males)	152 (125 males, 27 females)

^aCensus of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2–3 April 1911, ‘Part II: Birthplaces’, 116–17.

^bCensus of the Commonwealth of Australia, 3–4 April 1921, ‘Part II: Birthplaces’, 49–50.

religious affiliation straddled Orthodox and Anglican, purchased 15,200 acres in Balaklava in 1886, and raised racehorses and Shropshire sheep.⁷⁵ In 1911 his English wife, Ida Cecil Beck, whom he married in the UK in the 1900s, arrived, and two of their three sons were born in Adelaide.⁷⁶

Were these families omitted because they were non-Orthodox? Or was their absence class-based because they were pastoralists? As agriculturalists, it is possible that they were ‘valued’ more than small business owners, factory workers, and labourers. Was it due to birthplace? Ralli was born in England, and the North children and grandchildren were born in SA. Was there a racial dimension, these families being considered assimilated into white Anglo-Celtic culture? Having anglicised surnames (North and Ralli) and being naturalised were not, however, the reasons for exclusion as others who were naturalised and had anglicised surnames were counted, such as the Considine (Constantinou) and Morris (Moraitis) families of Adelaide; the 30-year resident of SA and confectioner John Carr (Carrangis); the 45-year and 66-year residents of the Port Adelaide area John Congear (Kotzis) and Andrew Siffoli; and the ‘very quiet & inoffensive, naturalised’ fishermen John Black and Peter Dolf of Port Wakefield, among others. Essentially, the omission of the North and Ralli families was due to a mix of religion, birthplace, class, landownership, and assimilation, as these disqualified them from being considered ‘disloyal’ if Greece joined the Central Powers.

and Reflections, ed. Yianni Cartledge and Andrekos Varnava (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2022), 217–41; Yianni John Charles Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and Early British Christian-Humanitarianism’, *Historical Research* 93, no. 259 (February 2020): 52–72.

⁷⁵ Balaklava Centenary Book Committee, *Balaklava – Change and Challenge* (Adelaide: Griffin Press 1977), 13.

⁷⁶ Incoming passenger list to Fremantle ‘Mooltan’ arrived 11 April 1911, NAA/K269/11 APR 1911 MOOLTAN/9870132, 1911.

There were also other anomalies. Some non-Greeks were counted in the SA secret census. Alilem (Alikem) Alem of Alexander St, Port Pirie, was a hawker born in Syria who found his way onto the list. Another, the smelter-worker Michael Hessin (Nassin), of David St, Port Pirie, was likely also an Orthodox Syrian or Lebanese migrant. These men were probably counted due to being Orthodox and of Ottoman Empire origin. Port Pirie fisherman Alex (Alik) Said claimed he was a Persian, while three other smelter-workers, Constantin Machail, Panagiotis Machail, and Nicholas Lolougis, were born in 'Turkey' and were noted as claiming that they were 'Christian Turks' – that is, *Rum*. Perhaps they made these claims to avoid being identified as Greek during the era's anti-Greek climate? However, the imprecision of these identities also begs the question of whether the Greek community in Port Pirie was aware that they were being counted, despite the 'secrecy' of the census.

The inconsistencies in who was recorded reveals one aim of the secret census: facilitating internment or even deportation. This would have extended beyond Greek nationals to those of Orthodox Eastern Mediterranean descent, out of either a misunderstanding of the complexity in Orthodox identities or a desire to cover all bases, with religion being the most consistent qualifying factor. However, landowning Greek Australians were not likely to be interned. In the event of internment, knowledge about their locations, modes of transportation (usually rail), communication, and distance from capital cities would be pertinent information when transporting internees, and the list of businesses would provide key locations from which to seek out Greeks if they were not at their home addresses. The secret census provided a guide to interning (or deporting) working-class Orthodox Greek males, who were seen as the most 'likely' to cause a threat and to behave disloyally if Greece became an enemy nation.

Throughout this period, the blurred line of identity between 'Greeks', 'Turks' and 'Ottomans' routinely confused Australian authorities. They wondered, for example, how a Turk could be a Christian. Two years after the secret census, in August 1918, following Aliens Registration regulations in Australia, as Gilchrist has noted, a 'secret list' of 489 Turks was compiled.⁷⁷ It included only males, and counted Turks, Syrians, and Armenians, as well as some Jews and Greek Orthodox Christians, with most being in NSW, and 110 in Victoria, with only seven in SA.⁷⁸ According to Captain James Steadman Hurrey of the Attorney General's Department, 'Quite a number of Greeks in Australia (natives of Rhodope and Asia Minor) who should have registered as Turkish subjects have not done so, but have registered as Greeks'.⁷⁹ Moreover, many of those listed in the 'Turkish' list were Greek-speaking Christian Ottomans, including

⁷⁷ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol II, 380; See: 'Registration of Aliens: Amended Notice', Albert J. Mullett, Department of Defence, AWM/ARTV08299, 1917, <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C103333> (accessed 11 April 2023).

⁷⁸ *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol II, 380.

⁷⁹ J.S. Hurrey, GPO Melbourne, Box 485, 21 August 1918 in *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', NLA: MS 4931, 1827–2007.

some who were counted also in the secret census, such as Dimitrios (Jim) Angelates (Angelitis) of Sydney and the Tavlaridis family of Brisbane and Sydney.⁸⁰ The Australian government and population were also confused by Greek Australians identifying as Ottoman subjects because the Ottoman Empire was an enemy of Britain and Australia during World War I. The detail seen in the initial secret census of Greeks was absent from the list of Turks and from other lists of foreigners in Australia.⁸¹

Conclusion

The secret census and the restriction on naturalisations that took place as part of wartime monitoring measures show that Australian authorities considered the Greeks in Australia to be a suspect community. The Australian government prohibited military-age Greeks from applying for naturalisation, despite Greece's neutrality, when in other cases such measures were applied only to 'enemy aliens'. The Commonwealth government then implemented a policy of recording and monitoring Greeks in order to prepare for their internment in the event of Greece entering the war on the side of the Central Powers. Those recorded, however, had not shown any significant disloyalties to Australia or to the Entente – in fact, many were Venizelists, supporting the Alliance. While in one sense a pre-emptive wartime measure, the monitoring of Greeks drew on a longer history of Australian racial hostility to Greeks, highlighted by attacks on Greeks both prior to and after the 1916 secret census. These attacks stemmed from accusations of wartime disloyalty, but also from a broader hostility towards 'bloody foreigners'.

Not all Greeks were attacked or recorded in the secret census. As has been shown, there was a class dimension to the creation of Greeks as a 'suspect community'. Landowning Greeks, some of whom were not Orthodox, were left out of the census, due partly to their 'assimilation' into rural Australian communities, and partly to the fact that comparatively they were more affluent and inconspicuous than labourers and middle-class Greeks (small business owners). Finally, some of the people recorded in the secret census were not Greek (neither Orthodox nor Greek speakers). Many had been in Australia for years or had been born in Australia, and many were naturalised.

By comparing the naturalisation applications with the secret census, it is possible to revise our knowledge of the number of Greeks in Australia at the time of the Great War. We have shown in this article that the 1911 census under-represented the Greek Australian numbers, at least of those the Australian government labelled as Greeks when processing requests for naturalisation and when monitoring potential disloyalty to the war. This inaccuracy may have

⁸⁰ NAA/A385/18/65714, 1918–22.


⁸¹ See lists of all foreign passengers inward and outward from Darwin, 1915–16 in NAA/A385/1-6, 14–20.

stemmed from Greek Australians themselves not stating their nationalities, or it may have been because a census that asked people for their birthplace and religion could not capture Greeks' identity.

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