A crossroads, a hub, a meeting-point, a place of confluence and commerce and co-existence of the Balkan peoples over the centuries, Macedonia has always been one of the most dynamic regions in this corner of the world, a place in which many of the social and economic activities of neighbouring nations developed and flourished. A battlefield and an apple of discord, sought after by all its neighbours through military and diplomatic means, it was also a region of major population movements, permanent or casual, from the countries upon which it bordered.

The pages that follow illuminate aspects of this emigrational phenomenon in Macedonia, primarily from the end of the 19th to the latter part of the 20th century. The economic, political and social causes that sparked this emigration and determined its pattern on each occasion, which are directly related to the history of the region and are analysed in detail elsewhere, will be touched on only very briefly.

This study focuses primarily on the movements of emigrants from Macedonia to foreign countries, usually in search of better prospects for themselves and their families. We are not concerned here with other mass movements of population (either voluntary relocation or deportation), like those that followed political developments or border changes in the Balkans in the 20th century and were usually consequent upon armed conflict and bi- or multi-lateral agreements such as, for example, the more than seventeen population shifts (essentially movements of refugees) that took place in Macedonia between 1912 and 1924 or the departure of some 56,000 persons to the countries of the then Eastern Bloc after the end of the Greek Civil War.


1. Macedonia’s emigrational past

As early as the 16th century, the need for farm labour in the moderately fertile lowlands of Macedonia (and on the agricultural estates of the Thessalian plain) stimulated the first significant population shifts within these regions. Later (late 17th, 18th and early 19th century, as the great landed estates were formed), the feudal turbulence associated with the occupation and control of non-arable public land caused widespread emigration from Macedonia to Bulgaria.

A combination of poverty and the unbearable yoke of servitude increased the flow of emigrants from Macedonia to lands elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, the greater Balkan region and the rest of Europe, where political and economic conditions were better. The reasons for this early emigration (from the fall of Constantinople to the 18th century) were the incapacity of the remote, mountainous and heavily forested regions of Macedonia to support the population that had fled there seeking refuge from the oppression of the Ottoman Turks, the general absence of security in the northern Greek territories after the 17th century, the resumption of economic contacts between East and West, which had been interrupted by the conquest of the Byzantine capital, and the decrease of population in the neighbouring Hungarian provinces of the Hapsburg Empire.

The readiness of the Macedonians to emigrate, particularly from Western Macedonia, was facilitated by the proximity of their cities, towns and villages to Italy and
Venice and, through the valleys of the Aliakmon, the Axios, the Morava and the Danube rivers, to the northern Balkan states and Central Europe.

After 1600 the flow of emigration from Macedonia to Serbia, Romania and mainly Austria-Hungary increased considerably. Caravans from Siatista and Kastoria, from Kozani and Grevena, set out for Belgrade, Semlin, Vienna and Budapest. Other routes led from Thessaloniki to Sofia and Vidin and from there to Vienna or Wallachia and Moldavia. By the 18th century Macedonian emigrants from Kozani, Siatista, Naoussa, Selista, as well as Veria, Kastoria, Vogatsiko, Doirani, Servia, Moschopolis, Serres, Thessaloniki, Monastir and Gavrovo had created communities of merchants and craftsmen, as well as great trading and banking houses, in Austria and Hungary.

These emigrants remained abroad for varying periods of time. Labourers seeking seasonal employment would be gone for months; skilled craftsmen – stonemasons, carpenters, coppersmiths, masters and apprentices – and merchants, whose primary purpose was to amass wealth, might be gone for anywhere from five to twenty years. During this early period there was very little family emigration. More commonly the head of the household would leave, perhaps eventually summoning one or more of his sons to join him, but rarely his wife. Such sojourns occasionally became permanent.

The next wave of emigration, which began in 1804 and peaked in 1830, was sparked primarily by the economic opportunities offered by the then semi-autonomous state of Serbia and the failure of the 1821-22 revolutionary movement in Macedonia. The massacres and the plundering that followed the suppression of the insurrection drove many Macedonians from Kleisoura, Siatista, Pisdéri, Selista, Serres, Katranitsa (Pyrgoi) Eordaias, Thessaloniki, Vlatsi and Melenikon to abandon their birthplaces for Nis, Kragujevac, Belgrade, Semlin, Novisad, Zagreb and other cities, large and small. They were primarily merchants and traders, but many were engaged in such related occupations as banking, postal services, transport and communications. Careful study of this period shows that these Greeks settled in regions that were suitable and propitious for commercial and economic advancement and business growth, exactly as they would later in Canada, the USA and Australia.

The period 1890 - 1920

Emigration from European Turkey and Turkish-occupied Macedonia to the Americas began during the last decade of the 19th century (more or less paralleling the general wave of Greek emigration to the USA). By this time the policy of assimilation practised by the nation-states of the Northern Balkans and Central and Western Europe at the expense of the Macedonians and other Greek immigrants, in terms of the gradual adoption of measures restricting their economic and other activities, was already well entrenched.

Moreover, emigration elsewhere within the Ottoman Empire or to the Balkans no longer sufficed as a solution to Macedonia’s political and economic problems. The Macedonian emigrant who had tried the rest of the countries in the Balkan Peninsula (Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia), had established communities in various countries in Central Europe to serve his commercial activities, had tried Egypt and other parts of the Dark Continent, now contemplated emigrating to America, sometimes following upon journeys he had already made. Some of these countries (Egypt is one example) were often merely an intermediate stop on the emigrant’s way to one of the new continents. Emigration overseas thus became part of his migratory cycle, initially around the Mediterranean basin, later to Europe and finally to other lands on other continents.

Until about 1903 emigration to America was limited, and affected mainly Western Macedonia: records show that between 1895 and 1901 some 500 men from the Florina
region left for America. All this changed when the situation that developed in Macedonia following the Ilinden Uprising (1903) and its brutal suppression by the Ottoman Army rendered emigration, and particularly emigration beyond the Balkans, an urgent necessity. In the six years before 1908 the flow of emigration to the USA swelled substantially. Although it is difficult to calculate the exact number of emigrants, mainly because of the lack of reliable data, it is estimated that some 30,000 people left Macedonia for the USA between 1903 and 1908. It is also estimated that as many as 80% of them came from the regions of Florina-Kastoria and Monastir. In the maelstrom of the Macedonian Struggle (1904-1908) and the clashes between rival armed bands, emigration to America spread from these districts to the vilayets of Kosoovo and Thessaloniki. Over the same six-year period about 4,000 of these emigrants returned to the three vilayets of Macedonia, some 2,200-2,300 of them in the winter of 1907-1908 alone. The Turkish authorities tried to stem the flow of emigration by refusing to issue the necessary passports; but, despite all restrictions, Western Macedonians were leaving for America in increasing numbers from the spring of 1905 on, mainly via Austro-Hungary and other neighbouring countries³.

According to the “Statistics showing the estimated number of emigrants living in America and originating from the sanjaks of Monastir, Florina, Kastoria, Korytsa, Prespa, Resna, Ochrid, Krusovo, Prilep and other parts”, drawn up in January 1910 for Lambros Koromilas by brothers Antonios and Nikolaos Tachiaos of the firm “G. Tachiaos & Sons”, representatives of the steamship companies “Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. Ltd” (White Star Line) and “American Line” for all of European Turkey, approximately 5,500 of the total of 20,306 emigrants recorded came from the sanjak of Florina⁴.

It was also immediately after the Ilinden Uprising that the first Macedonian emigrants went to Canada. These were most probably people from the villages of Zhelovo (Antartiko Florinis) and Osima (Trigono Florinis), who arrived in Toronto in about 1903 and 1904 respectively. It is estimated that in 1909 there were between 1,000 and 2,000 immigrants from Macedonia in Toronto, of whom about 500 came from the region of Kastoria. Some estimates cite a figure of 6,000 before the Great War. As in the case of those who went to the USA, the initial intention of these emigrants to Canada seems, following Macedonian tradition, to have been to remain for just long enough to make some money and return home as soon as possible. This they did, only to discover that the money they had brought back with them did not last very long, compelling them to repeat the cycle for as long as the door remained open, without at this stage appearing to consider settling there permanently⁵.

The restrictions imposed by the American immigration authorities on the entry of subjects of the Ottoman Empire in the early part of the 20th century, in response to the flood of immigrants, particularly from the European part of the Empire, contributed to the development of a network of profiteers who exploited them, a network that originated in the source country but that expanded, despite all the controls, to the intermediate European ports of Marseilles and Liverpool and from there into the USA and Canada. Since Greek passports and certificates of Greek citizenship were repeatedly found in the hands of Serb, Bulgarian, Albanian and Turkish nationals, the controls were tightened in the ports of Volos, Patra and Piraeus, from where many emigrants from Macedonia and Thessaly embarked, as well as in the European ports of Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany⁶.

Illegal emigration using false travelling documents had been common, and particularly widespread in the region of Western Macedonia, since the Ottoman period. For example, since in the first decade of the 20th century Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were forbidden entry into the USA, on account of Islam’s tolerance of polyg-
Amy, Albanians wishing to emigrate simply purchased passports displaying Christian names. This had to be done in great secrecy, since the Sublime Porte also forbade the emigration of Ottoman citizens. Christians, on the other hand, were encouraged to emigrate, since they tended to come back richer than when they left and, having paid all their taxes, either opened shops or bought land.

The pattern of overseas emigration from Macedonia to (primarily) America in the period up to the end of the Great War, which would change very little over the next thirty years, was fairly constant. Those who left were young men (aged 18-35), the overwhelming majority of them (about 3/4) Slavic-speakers, 90% of them, smallholders, tenant farmers or farm labourers, from small rural communities. Gradually they were joined by skilled tradesmen and shopkeepers. Continuing the tradition of seasonal migration they followed the established cycle as temporary emigrants absent for a longer or a shorter period (emigration – return – short stay in their home country – new departure). They returned home at regular intervals (on average up to three years – the time varied depending on their ties with their birthplace, their occupation in America and the money they managed to set aside while they were there), usually in groups of 30-50 men to avoid being set upon by bands of armed – Bulgarian – bandits, and spent their savings settling the debts accumulated in the interim by their families who had stayed behind in the village, buying (mainly imported) consumer goods, buying land, renovating the house or building a new one, enlarging their flocks or buying new domestic animals. From time to time they would contribute to the building or maintenance of a church or school; and they talked endlessly about their experiences and their professional success in those faraway countries. The influx of large sums of money from these sources brought about social and cultural changes that were revolutionary in these small traditional rural communities. New customs, new mores perhaps, other clothes and manners, a new everyday vocabulary arrived in these small societies along with their returning sons. Not infrequently, their return would overthrow the traditional class (and sometimes ethnic) structure of their rural societies – and the rich Greek professional man or merchant was no longer the undisputed leader of the community. Then they would leave again, this time taking others with them (relatives, friends, fellow-villagers) in this endless chain of emigration.

The underlying causes of emigration from Macedonia in the early part of the 20th century included the long tradition of seasonal emigration, the prevailing political insecurity and the armed clashes between conflicting rival guerrilla bands (since the region was claimed by all the neighbouring Balkan countries), the political and economic oppression and transgressions of every nature on the part of the Ottoman administration and its representatives, the obligation of military service in the Ottoman army or a heavy fee for exemption, the drop in agricultural production (beginning before the end of the 19th century), the wretched conditions in the countryside and the interference with farm work, the difficulties in adapting to a market economy, and the enticement of improving their economic circumstances, according to the visions created by the remittances regularly sent back to their families by emigrants living in America. The network of emigration agents and the representatives of the steamship companies facilitated the departure not only of surplus labour but also the mass exodus of smallholders and tenant farmers. Studies of Bulgarian and Macedonian immigrants in Chicago in 1909 show that as many as 77% had been incited to emigrate to North America by agents of the steamship companies. 63% declared that the primary reason for their emigration was these agents’ guarantee that they would find well-paid work immediately. Just 12% came because of friends or relatives living there, and 11% on their own initiative.
Carl Chaleff, one of the founders of the *Macedonian Tribune*, who was born in Xino Nero in 1891, recounts that his mother urged him to emigrate when he was 14, for fear of the armed guerrilla bands then active all over Macedonia. He was too young to be accepted as an immigrant then, however, and so he went to work with his uncle in Constanta (Romania). In 1909 he did manage to emigrate to the USA, and settled in Indianapolis.

By the end of the 19th century, Greek emigration from Macedonia, whether to the liberated regions of Greece (Thessaly) or elsewhere (USA), had become a matter of considerable concern to the Greek government. By reducing the size of the region’s Greek population, the abandonment of Macedonia was jeopardising Greek aspirations there.

Prior to the incorporation of Macedonia into the Greek State, the attitude of the Greek government to the phenomenon of the emigration of Macedonians to the Americas was governed by two parameters: anxiety over their emigration from the Ottoman Empire and the endeavour to retain them. Another cause of concern was the need to strengthen their attachment to Greece (especially in the case of the Slavic-speakers), both during their sojourn in America and later, when they returned home to a land still under Ottoman rule. Greek emigrants from liberated Greece, who were Greek citizens, were prejudiced against the Slavophone emigrants, and emigrants from Macedonia in general, who were subjects of the Sultan, an attitude that tended to reinforce the likelihood of their de-Hellenisation. The danger that these Macedonian emigrants (and particularly the Slavic-speakers among them) would be lost to the ethnic Greek community was continually stressed by the Greek consular authorities, from at least 1904, and formed a recurring subject in the reports drawn up by various government officials in Greece or paying visits to the USA to form an image of the Hellenic community abroad. This prejudice and the risk of their detachment from the Greek community were strengthened by at least two elements: the fact that emigrants in this category did not enjoy the protection of the Greek consular authorities in their new country and the fact of Bulgarian propaganda activity in America among the non-organised Macedonian emigrants.

In those early years of the 20th century, the Balkan emigrants to the Americas had transplanted their nationalist differences to those distant shores, and consular reports from America told of intensive Albanian and Bulgaro-Macedonian propaganda, among other things. Bulgarian propaganda in the USA, indeed, worked systematically and effectively not only to win the adherence of Macedonian emigrants but also to generate financial support for Bulgaria’s armed struggle in Ottoman Macedonia.

Under the weight of threats against their families back home based on the manner of their leaving Macedonia (usually not entirely legal), the emigrants from Macedonia in the USA were forced to sustain the network of labour bosses and the instruments of Bulgarian propaganda that exploited their labour and their earnings, paying into the fund for the Bulgarian armed struggle in Ottoman Macedonia or taking part in demonstrations calling for an autonomous Macedonia. Or financing the missions of Bulgarian komitadji agents in their own towns and villages in Macedonia to preach insurrection in support of Bulgarian activity. In mid-November 1906, for example, it was revealed that Bulgarian komitadji had blackmailed Macedonian emigrants in the state of Indiana for money, with threats against the lives of their parents and other relatives in Greek Macedonia. The blackmailers were discovered, arrested by the American police, tried in March 1907 and sentenced. The victims received help from the Greek consular authorities in the USA and from other immigrants, as well as from the Macedonian Association of New York.
Once the new national frontiers had been traced through Macedonia, the flow of emigration became more general, on both sides of the border. In August 1913 the Prefecture of Florina asked for instructions as to whether it should issue travelling documents/embarkation papers to peasants from the Serbian part of Macedonia who were travelling to Thessaloniki to take ship for America. This, for example, was how Christo N. Nizamoff, later one of the leading Bulgarian-Macedonians in the USA, emigrated to America with a group of friends and compatriots: from Serbia through Florina, thanks to the circuits operating on both sides of the border under the blind eye of the authorities\textsuperscript{12}. The General Government of Macedonia approved the issue of the desired permits in such circumstances\textsuperscript{13} Many peasants followed the same path from the Greek border regions in Western Macedonia, whole groups of who would appear in Thessaloniki seeking to emigrate to America and pretending to be natives of regions now on the Serbian side of the border\textsuperscript{14}. This perturbed the Greek authorities, who saw that neighbouring nation becoming a haven for deserters and defectors.

The authorities in Florina also reported that people from the Florina area were leaving for America via Thessaloniki through Trieste and Piraeus, claiming to the authorities that they were travelling to jobs. Many of them were helped to leave by a specific emigration agent (probably from Thessaloniki)\textsuperscript{15}. In the first ten days of November 1913 alone, fifty young men left the village of Konoblati (Makrochori Kastorias)\textsuperscript{16} Problems of recruitment and fears of an excessive population drain from the younger generation compelled the Greek government to order local authorities to monitor emigration to America, particularly among men of military age\textsuperscript{17}.

Very soon a current of emigration began to appear among the Muslim populations of Macedonia, this time in the direction of (European and Asian) Turkey\textsuperscript{18} The General Government of Macedonia therefore asked the authorities in the region of Florina for information as to whether the emigrants were Ottomans or Christians, Schismatics or Patriarchists\textsuperscript{19} The local authorities were instructed to find out in each instance whether the emigrants were farmers and what was happening to the property they were leaving behind, and to try to persuade these people to remain on their land\textsuperscript{20}.

In the spring of 1916, seven boys, all of about the same age, left their village of Vyssani (Vyssinia) Kastorias to emigrate to America. Among them was Vasil Spasoff, then aged 16. Spasoff and the other members of his group were leaving in search of a better life, seeing that “the doors to life in their country were few and too heavy for them to open” Spasoff was going to join his three brothers in the USA. Some in his group were avoiding the draft, and others were seeking adventure, their imaginations kindled by the stories they had heard\textsuperscript{21} Even as late as 1919, a group of four Greek emigrants from Western Macedonia were discovered aboard the steamship “Hispania”, two of them from Mokraini (Variko Florinis) and one each from Nalbankoy (Perdikkas Kozanis) and Nereti (Polypotamos Florinis), the first two with Greek passports and the others with Serbian passports, acquired illegally at the last moment for $45 each.

In 1919 the Greek state, evidently re-assessing its legislation in this domain, perhaps also on account of the obligations it had assumed with regard to emigration at the League of Nation conferences in Paris, decided to take a greater interest in emigration. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent Professor A. Andreades to America to study the Greek community and the Greek diplomatic service there. The results of his visit were condensed into three or four memoranda on the situation of the Greeks in America, on the need for and the ways of redeployment of Greek propaganda, on errors in the selection of those representing Greek interests in America, etc.

In his report on propaganda, Andreades pointed out that the Bulgarians had acted much more intelligently in this domain, beginning as early as 1902 to work through
Americans rather than through Bulgarians to promote their national interests. Greece ought to be doing something similar, Andreades advised, sending out not proselytisers but diplomatic experts. He admitted that the extremely important work achieved by Koromilas during his ambassadorship in America had not been followed up, on account of poor choices among the Greek community and of unsuccessful diplomatic appointments.22

Towards the end of 1921, as the Slavophone émigrés from the district of Kailaria intensified their activity in America, agitating for an autonomous Macedonia or its annexation to Bulgaria, the gendarmerie post in Kailaria drew up a “list of inhabitants of the district resident in America, Bulgaria and Constantinople”, asking them to confirm their exact address through the consular authorities, so that it could develop a programme to regain their allegiance.

According to the 1920 census, the district of Kailaria had a population of 43,767: 7,845 Slavic-speakers, 30,169 Muslims, 4,855 Greeks and refugees, 885 with Romanian sympathies and 13 Jews. Of these, 535 Slavic-speakers had emigrated, 141 of them to Bulgaria (including 46 from one family), 79 to Constantinople and 309 to America. Among them were six deserters from the Greek armed forces: four from the army in Thrace and two from Thessaloniki. Many of them had gone to America or Bulgaria in 1913. Of those who emigrated to America, most were shop-keepers or hotel-keepers, and virtually all of them had changed their names23.

In the early 1920s the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to take a census of all Greeks living outside Greece. Reasons of national interest made necessary, according to the Ministry, a clear and detailed picture of the number and identity of overseas Greeks in all parts of the world. Thus the process of drawing up detailed statistics was set in motion. Among the information sought (organisational framework of the Greek communities abroad, personal, family, social, economic, religious and educational data: in other words, the general overall situation of the Greeks living abroad), the very first questions concerned the number of Greeks in the districts where there were Greek diplomatic missions, the number of “Bulgarophones” (sic), “Bulgarians”, “Muslims”, etc.24

It is highly doubtful whether this census was ever completed, since very early on there arose technical and substantive problems in the conducting of the survey: local reaction, personal disaffections and rivalries over matters of petty interests and ambitions, suspiciousness about the purpose of the records, exacerbation of political passions among the Greek emigrants, deficiencies of material/technical infrastructure, lack of funds, unwillingness to work on the part of individuals, community representatives and paid or unpaid consular authorities, lack of collaboration and reciprocity of information between diplomatic agents, not to mention the fact that the Greek emigrants were scattered all across a vast continent.

3. The period 1920/22-194025

In the early years of the 1920s, the American authorities instituted strict measures to limit the flow of immigration. The gradual adoption of a quota system required a quantitative and qualitative control of the intake of new immigrants into the USA. The immigration law of 1924, which was to remain in force until 1952, fixed an annual quota of 2% of the number of immigrants from each ethnic group in 1890; the quota for Greeks was 308. This and other reasons stemmed the flow of Greek overseas emigration during the inter-war period to about one fourth of what it had been in the previous period.
Despite all the restrictions and the quotas, a total of about 2,000 Greeks a year managed to reach America during this period, most of them illegally. The primary sources of emigrants in this inter-war period were the greater Athens area, the islands of the Aegean (especially Chios and the Cyclades), the Ionian islands and, mainly, Western Macedonia, particularly the Florina region. In the period after 1923 this overseas emigration continued to be directed primarily towards the United States (>65%), the next most popular destinations being Canada, Australia and countries of Central and South America, although in many cases the other countries in the Americas were for these Macedonian emigrants merely first steps on their way to entering – legally or illegally – the USA.

It is indicative that the flow of emigrants from Western Macedonia to Canada increased precisely in the period between 1924, when the American government imposed its quota system, and 1928, when the Canadian authorities adopted restrictions designed to protect their own labour force.

Moreover, most of the first Macedonians who emigrated to Australia were former emigrants to America who had returned to Greece to fight in the Balkan Wars, had remained in Greece throughout the war years and then, when they later wished to return to the USA, had found the doors closed. They emigrated to Australia for economic reasons, and occasionally for political ones, in two great waves: 1924-1928 and 1935-1939. In 1921 there were fifty emigrants from Macedonia to the great island continent. The emigrants from Kozani who were among the 250 or so Western Macedonians in that first wave of emigration in 1924 and who came mainly from Vytho, Pentalofo and Agia Sotira, settled in Melbourne and Victoria; while most of the forty or so youths from the Florina district settled in Western Australia. It was not until after 1928-29 that some of them made their way to Victoria and Melbourne, usually via Western Australia, driven by the recession and the lack of work.

By 1924, moreover, the Greek consular authorities in Australia were asking that no passports be delivered for Australia, since there were few jobs available, especially for those who, like the Greek emigrants, did not know the language and had no technical, commercial or agricultural skills.

After 1935 the Macedonian emigrants to Australia began to call in members of their families (wives and children) to join them. As was the case in America, this sponsorship depended on the occupation of the emigrant and the need for unpaid labour. Although the outbreak of war stopped the flow of emigration until the next post-war period, estimates indicate that by 1940 a total of 1,290 Macedonian men had emigrated to Australia, of whom 52% (670) came from the Florina region and another 29% (370) from that of Kastoria. Nearly all of them were from rural areas. By 1947 the number of Macedonians in Australia had reached 1,900.

In this phase, too, overseas emigration primarily involved those of working age, and especially those at the younger end of this bracket: more than 65% of these emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 40. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina wrote in 1931:

“The state must turn its attention to damming up this stream of emigration. It is fortunate that the American government erected such a barrier, for otherwise Western Macedonia would by now have been stripped of its active male population and left with only women and the elderly. I myself have seen on my journeyings that from every village, numbering on average 100-200 families, at least 50 youths or married men are away in America or Australia, abandoning their families to their fate. And it is my understand-
Among those emigrants, and particularly in the younger age group (under 35 years of age), were a fair number of women and children, family members of earlier emigrants to overseas countries, particularly the USA, who tried to exploit the provisions of American immigration law assuring preferential treatment for wives and other relatives of already established immigrants in the matter of granting entry permits. Most emigrants to Australia, however, were young – and usually married – men, very few of whom took their wives with them.

The flow of emigration from Macedonia remained strong throughout the post-1923 period. In the six months from January to June 1927 alone, the Prefecture of Florina issued around 1,000 passports, half for America and Australia and half for Serbia and Bulgaria, with 70% of the latter group re-emigrating from there overseas. The emigrants in this last category generally made false claims – health reasons, visits to relatives – in order to secure their passports. The consular section in the Embassy in Sofia knew that many of them eventually emigrated to the USA and Canada in this way, sometimes to work for the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee and its organisations in pursuit of an autonomous Macedonia31.

Statistics from the Prefecture of Florina show that 159 people (151 males and 8 females) left the district in January 192932, 150 (122 males and 28 females) in April 192933, and another 78 (59 males and 19 females) in September of that year34. For the first quarter of 1929 the prefectoral police drew up and submitted on 6 April 1929 three lists, evidently including virtually all the males to whom passports had been issued by the Prefecture of Florina for specific destinations during that period. The “List of names of those emigrating to Canada via Bulgaria in the first quarter of 1929” included 24 male emigrants. The second “List of names of those emigrating directly to Canada from the district of Florina in the first quarter of 1929” showed 92 male emigrants from various villages in the region of Florina, and the third “List of names of those departing for Romania from the region of Florina” listed 9 males35.

That the desire of the people of Western Macedonia to emigrate remained strong is shown by the number of passport applications and the efforts to obtain visas, particularly for the USA. And since a legislative decree issued in October 1925 and ratified in 1927 provided that the passports issued by the prefectures were valid only for a single journey within one year of the date of issue (with very few exceptions for merchants and those who travelled repeatedly), the Western Macedonians sometimes asked that the stated destination be altered, in order to enable them to emigrate. Such changes, which usually indicated how easy or difficult it was to obtain a visa for one of the recipient countries, are not unconnected with the activity of the emigration agents, who directed the flows of emigrants to specific countries depending on the existing conjuncture, nor with the general emigration trends that from time to time prevailed in their birthplaces. Between 1922 and 1930, for example, emigrants from the city of Kastoria preferred to go to the USA, as did many of those emigrating from Argos Orestikon, Vyssinia, Nestorio, Mavrochori and Trilofo Kastorias. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of people from Dendrochori, Vasiliada, Gavro, Kraniona and Halara (all villages of the then district of Kastoria in the prefecture of Florina) wanted to go to Canada. Emigrants from Antartiko Florinis tended to congregate in Toronto, while most of the Macedonians in South Australia came from Kotori (Ydroussa Florinis) and Vysseni (Vyssinia Kastorias)36.

The principal ports of departure from the country remained, as in the beginning of the century, Piraeus and Patra. Those emigrants who did not sail directly via one of the
steamship companies operating between Greece and America continued to travel by sea to Marseilles and from there by rail to the Atlantic ports of Northern France, there boarding one of the regular liners, which would eventually disembark them in New York, the main port of entry for the USA, or farther north at one of the ports on Canada’s eastern seaboard. Those living in Northern Greece could, alternatively, go by rail to (usually) one of the French ports and take ship from there.

According to an article published in the local newspaper *Kastoria*, the process of emigration was anything but simple, at least in the Kastoria district. The insurmountable, in the words of the writer, procedural difficulties and the concomitant trials and tribulations endured by those seeking a passport were probably due to strict observance of the letter of the law by the competent services in the district of Kastoria rather than to any other reason. The editor of the newspaper indignantly compared the situation to that prevailing on the district of Florina (although both districts were in the same prefecture) and came to the conclusion that “...other laws govern our district and other laws that of Florina. This translates as a State within a State”\(^{37}\). Attempts to normalise the passport and departure procedures by revising the emigration law do not appear to have improved the situation in the district.

In those years the economic position of the farmers of Macedonia, particularly those of Western Macedonia, improved very little, and the economy continued to be based on rudimentary agricultural production. The model of rural life in the Florina region would remain unchanged until World War II. A Macedonian emigrant who had earlier gone to the USA and after 1924 travelled for the first time to Australia confessed that “if Greece could feed us, I would not have left”\(^ {38}\). A succession of bad harvests in Western Macedonia in the second decade of the 20\(^{th}\) century made emigration and a search for new opportunities in another land during the inter-war period perhaps the only way for its people to survive.

In 1931 Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina observed that the peasants of his diocese were emigrating to America and Australia at such a rate that Western Macedonia was in danger of being stripped of its male work force and remaining a place of women and the elderly. The peasants themselves confessed that it was impossible for them to live on their native soil, since Western Macedonia could not support farming and had neither industry nor state support for agricultural production. Those remaining on the land were just barely able to scrape a living\(^ {39}\).

Representatives of the local authorities repeatedly reported that the poverty and stagnation of the region and the wretched circumstances of its inhabitants forced them to emigrate to foreign countries, and mainly to the USA and Canada, in search of a better life. An officer of the Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters wrote in 1934 of the emigrants from his district that:

> “The Prefecture of Florina has, as everyone knows, no industry worth speaking of and its soil cannot feed the population of its rural districts. Because of their desperate economic situation the peasants are compelled to emigrate to foreign countries and particularly to the United States of America and to Canada, to improve their economic situation, on account of the currency difference”\(^ {40}\).

And the Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, admitted in 1936 that his prefecture was mountainous and barren, and that its inhabitants were therefore departing for foreign parts (America, Canada, Australia), where they remained for periods of upwards of twenty years working to amass a certain fortune. All those who abandoned their land and their families in this way had the intention of returning when they had done so. Thanks to the remittances sent back by their emigrants the recession of 1929 did not af-
fect the villages in the Florina region until after 1932, when the inflow of currency was reduced, either because some of the emigrants had lost their jobs or because they had returned home on account of the increasing unemployment.

In its issue of 30 September 1929 the Sofia daily Macedonia published a report from its correspondent in Florina entitled “Welcome and send-off for Greek ministers in the region of Florina”, in which among other things it accused the Greek administration of a great many things in relation to the situation in the Florina region, and observed that the euphemistically labelled “fertile” soil of the region could scarcely provide the farmer with seed for the following year, which meant that he, no longer as a farmer but as a “poverty-stricken wretch”, was forced to emigrate, sometimes taking his whole family, with no thought of returning to his native land.

Some time later the same Bulgarian newspaper wrote that the “Bulgarian” population of Greek Macedonia was being persecuted by the Greek administration. In Kastoria the authorities were implementing a series of measures to ruin the population economically and force the people to leave their lands. The refugees from Anatolia who had settled in the Prefecture of Kastoria, continued Macedonia, were encouraged to seize the harvests of the native-born farmers, who, moreover, were granted no financial aid or credit but rather were punished with fines and taxes.

It is true that the arrival and settlement of refugees in Macedonia caused, albeit temporarily, considerable pressures on the native Macedonian population, since between 1920 and 1928 the population of the region increased by 30.7% (and 24.8% between 1928 and 1940), or 275,355 people, and its density rose from 22.8% to 30.9% in 1920, 41.5% in 1928 and 51.6% in 1940. Seven of its prefectures figured among the ten in the country that had the largest demographic increase.

By 1932 the population of the prefecture of Florina was judged to be “excessive”, since the impossibility of emigration during the years of the recession and the lack of emigrant remittances had created an explosive demographic situation in Western Macedonia. Consequently the population of the region had to be allowed to leave in order to survive. Later still, in August 1936, Florina Prefect Ioannis Tsaktsiras argued that a “thinning out of overcrowded villages” was the “sine qua non” for improving the dire economic straits of the villages in his region.

The natives of the region, however, already had a significant tradition of overseas emigration, a tradition not shared by the refugees. The natives already had relatives settled abroad, who served as bridges facilitating their departure; there was an established pattern of leaving for overseas countries; they were generally better prepared psychologically to emigrate, even setting aside the existence of a human bridge. The refugees, on the other hand, so recently uprooted and still experiencing the shock of resettlement, were far less willing to move on.

The suspiciousness of the authorities towards the local population further complicated matters. Every move made by the population or its elected representatives was judged and interpreted as a challenge to the Greek presence, as an undermining of the “national” interest or as an “anti-national” action. The disenchantment of the (Slavic-speaking) inhabitants caused by the arrogance and suspiciousness of many of the agents of the public administration in Macedonia and reinforced by other social and political conditions turned emigration into an escape from an environment in which what was one’s own and familiar had become other and alien.

Similar difficulties, combined with the restrictive immigration policies implemented by recipient countries, led many would-be emigrants from Macedonia into the paths of illegal emigration. The whole process of illegal departure for foreign shores
represented, first and foremost, a substantial drain on their already lean personal or family purses, to meet the demands of shipping agents and purveyors of false papers. There was also the constant risk of being deported, as illegal aliens, by the immigration authorities of the chosen country. And even if they got past that hurdle, they were still open to blackmail, for considerable sums, under threat of being denounced to the authorities. Reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian associations on the American continent commonly practised this type of activity. It was, of course, doubly profitable: they roped in new members for the organisations while at the same time assuring a flow of funds into their coffers (as well as their own pockets).

This phenomenon apparently reached such proportions in the latter part of the 1920s in Western Macedonia that it became a matter of serious concern to the Greek political, diplomatic and administrative authorities. The international dimensions of the illegal emigration rings, the problems caused to Greece’s relations with intake countries when illegal emigrants were discovered, the violations of Greek legislation and the implications for legitimate emigration compelled the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take a hand in the matter and work seriously to find ways and means of resolving the problem and curtailing the phenomenon. The Ministry even asked the competent police and judicial authorities to intensify their investigations and bring the guilty to trial as fast as possible. They also warned the public against falling victim to this sort of fraud.

The first step was to break up the network of illegal activity inside the country. Thorough investigation on the part of the police authorities in Florina uncovered the agents who were working with others in Canada, Serbia and Bulgaria to smuggle emigrants into Canada and the USA for high fees. Agents abroad bought the invitations/entry permits that immigrants already settled in the USA, Canada and Australia could acquire for relatives back home, often in the name of non-existent parents or siblings, for $70, and sent them to Greece, Bulgaria or Serbia. The agents there sold them, for $200-300, to people who wanted to emigrate. Prices could be as high as $600-750 if the agents looked after the whole procedure (passport, tickets and certificates, genuine or – more likely – false or altered). As a result, emigration agents from the Florina region who were involved in illegal emigration operations were brought to court and many of them sentenced to a variety of penalties.

The next step was to uncover and break up the illegal emigration network and its ramifications abroad. The dispatch to Paris (seat of the Canadian commission that screened immigrants on the basis of the entry permits and lists of names drawn up by the Canadian government) of sub-lieutenant (gendarmerie) Georgios Xypolytas caused considerable consternation among the Bulgarian Committee. The Bulgarian embassy in Athens complained bitterly about this Greek move, but to no avail. Sub-lieutenant Xypolytas came back with important evidence about the ring, which confirmed or supplemented much of what had been uncovered by the first investigation conducted by the police authorities in Florina.

The Xypolytas report left some, albeit veiled, suspicions that Foreign Ministry staff might be implicated in the network, and it proposed that key embarkation points in particular, such as Thessaloniki and Piraeus, be manned by tried and experienced officers and severe penalties be imposed on accessories to falsification and their accomplices, so that the Greek state would stop being exposed and emigrants reduced to this wretched position if their documents were found to be false. Perhaps the fear of sanctions and the stringent controls would curtail if not eliminate the propaganda being spread among Macedonian emigrants, although it could be assumed that Bulgaria, the Committee and Canadian officials would continue to act as before.
Indeed, despite the relatively successful results achieved by the investigating authorities, emigration agents continued to tour the region telling the peasants that they could help them emigrate, and they, of course, were in no position to know that real permits for emigration to the Americas had become far too rare a commodity to be circulating freely around the Florina region, nor did they have the means of discerning that the twenty permits for Canada advertised by these agents were counterfeit, being printed on smaller sheets of thinner – and unwatermarked – paper than the real ones, with poorly forged signatures, and had probably come from a gang of counterfeiters in Athens, who would have sold them to agents in Florina for $140-170 apiece.

In addition to police measures, the Greek authorities took administrative steps to reverse the situation. By the end of 1928, for example, the Prefecture of Thessaloniki had stopped issuing passports to applicants from Florina and other districts unless they were permanent residents of Thessaloniki, and would no longer make any change to the particulars recorded in passports. This meant that any alterations (of personal or family details or country of destination) found in passports issued by the Prefecture of Florina had been made by the holders or by persons engaged in this sort of activity. Passports would only be issued by the Prefect of Florina and the police exit visa required for emigrants could only be delivered by the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina. The only exit points were the ports of Patra, Piraeus and Thessaloniki and the border crossing posts of Idomeni, Python and Florina, where the police authorities had to make sure that emigrants’ travelling documents were genuine. Emigrants carrying passports issued for intermediary European countries, such as Serbia, Bulgaria and France, had to have them visaed by the local Greek consular authorities before they could proceed to embark for the USA, Canada or elsewhere, and only if they met the above conditions. The consular authorities were required to inspect their travelling documents and make a report to the Central Aliens Service, which would in turn inform the Canadian immigration commission in Paris.

The third cause of particular concern to the Greek state, after the violation of Greek emigration legislation and the activities of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee at the expense of Greek citizens, was the international dimension of these illegal operations. The frequent discoveries of forged passports and entry permits in foreign countries constituted a real slur against the Greek state and its ability to police its borders. Things were even worse when the illegal emigrants were citizens of other states (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria), who were arrested with false Greek passports and other documents. Apart from Greece’s national security concerns, the network of forgers was exploiting citizens of neighbouring states and infringing the laws of the intake countries, whose governments asked Greece to help them deal with the phenomenon. This was the case, for example, when in August 1930 a group of labourers from Monastir left for Canada with Greek passports issued by agents in Florina, for which they charged $600-700 apiece, or $800 for a whole package (passports, visas, tickets, entry permits, etc.).

In May 1934 the American Consulate in Thessaloniki took certain steps in the matter of the illegal emigration of Greek citizens to the USA. A Greek employee at the Consulate visited Florina to conduct an on-the-spot investigation into the illegal entry into America of emigrants from that region carrying false passports, which was a matter of some concern to the American authorities at that time, following the arrest of a number of illegal emigrants who declared themselves to be Greek citizens of Bulgarian racial origin.

The view of the police in Florina was that those who left the region in this way, whether through Bulgaria, Serbia or Romania, were interested primarily in getting to their destination in the USA or Canada and did not care what sort of passport they car-
ried. In order to emigrate they altered their nationality and their religion; and if in certain cases that argued a rather fluid national allegiance, it did not mean that in their destination country they would all, without exception, work for the Committee and its local organisations, even out of fear or precaution for their relatives back home in Greece, or out of need or in the hope that one day they might return to their villages. Many of the emigrants from the villages of Trigono, Antartiko, Alona, Armenohori and Gavros who were accused of being members of the Committee in Toronto had emigrated before 1912, when the action of the Committee and its impact on the loyalties of the inhabitants of that district was still very weak.

The authorities themselves agreed that the accusations that the emigration agents in the Florina region were in league with the Committee in Sofia and in Canada in trying to promote Macedonian independence or the Bulgarisation of “Greek Macedonia” were probably untrue. Their collaboration with agents in Bulgaria and Serbia was based principally on their shared descent from villages in the Florina region; it assured a supply of entry permits or the smuggling of emigrants into Canada and was aimed at mutual profit.

“>From all the above the Section concludes that in this matter there was nothing more serious than the issuing of a false passport, which has become a common occurrence in those parts of Macedonia on account of the many Satanic schemes used by various emigration agents and of the unabashed use of currency to achieve their delivery…”,

was the finding of the police department in Florina.

The Prefecture of Florina also argued that emigrating to America via Bulgaria was not prima facie evidence of national loyalties but simply a means to an end, since Bulgaria had a higher annual immigration quota than Greece. Moreover (in the view of the Prefecture of Florina), in Canada and the USA, where Greek Macedonian organisations, on the model of the Committee at least, did not exist, it was easy to nudge people into becoming agents of Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda.

Since early in 1927 various Greek administrative agencies (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, Police Departments and local Gendarmerie divisions, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Military Affairs and the General Army Staff, the Prefecture of Florina) had been in agreement that there was absolutely no reason to block the emigration of Slavophone inhabitants of Western Macedonia, as long as this was carried out legally and with Greek passports. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs advocated adherence to this practice of not preventing Slavophones of the Florina distinct from departing for America and Australia, even via Bulgaria, coupled with careful and selective application of the provisions relating to loss of Greek citizenship, elimination from the country’s registers and prohibition of re-entry.

However, the consular authorities outside Greece reported that many of the Slavic-speaking emigrants to the USA and Canada from the Florina region would, having overcome their initial hesitations and fears of reprisals, sanctions, refusal of admittance to Greece, where they still had relatives, land and other property, especially when they were naturalised American citizens long settled in America, become fanatically pro-Bulgarian and would work through societies and organisations in America for Macedonian autonomy, including spending heavily in that cause. Even

“emigrants whose loyalties are certainly Greek are forced, upon debarking in Canada, to pretend to be pro-Bulgarian in order to secure the protection of the Bulgarian organisations. In those circumstances, is it possible to avoid the influence of Bulgarian propaganda?”. 
asked the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina in 1934.61

The reports that were drawn up by the police authorities in the region of Florina described the many imaginative ways used by the Bulgarian propagandists in America to get their messages to the Macedonian villages of Greece. It was not just via the Bulgarian-minded emigrants from the Florina region to Canada, the USA and Australia who had been initiated into Bulgarian propaganda and who eventually returned to their native villages. Propaganda also arrived from abroad in announcements, newspapers, periodicals and other similar manners and materials. The most usual method was batch mailings of propaganda material, leaflets, newspapers or periodicals from Committee organisations in Canada or the USA to recipients, of whatever leanings, in the Prefecture of Florina.62 It was felt that while such actions could surely have no effect on “our” Slavic-speakers, it would nonetheless be advisable to keep an eye on this kind of postal communication.63

Even the funds and remittances sent by associations and individuals established abroad for philanthropic purposes or to the benefit of their birthplaces or their families were considered to be part of the Committee’s propaganda efforts. The Kastoria newspapers Kastoria and Western Macedonia came to virtual blows in their issues of 18 January 1931 and 1 February 1931 respectively over a donation of $75,000 from the “Omonia” Association of Kastorians of New York for the city’s aqueduct and the uses to which such gifts from America could be put in the service of anti-national propaganda.64 Twenty-five cheques totalling $500, sent in March 1932 by the Association of Debeniotes of America in Madison to various families in Dendrochori as aid in a period of recession were deemed to have been sent for the purpose of strengthening the pro-Bulgarian sentiments of the people of Dendrochori and in order to escalate komitadji propaganda.65

In order to counter Bulgarian activity among Macedonian emigrants, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided, early in the 1920s, that it was essential to monitor the line of conduct of the Slavophone emigrants, and equally essential to have them join Greek associations, to foster their Hellenic loyalties and ward off the influence of Bulgarian propaganda. To this end, it asked the Consulate General in Montreal for information about the general attitude of the non-Greek-speaking emigrants from Greece, and particularly the Bulgarian-speakers, whether they were members of Bulgarian emigrants associations, whether they were noted for Bulgarophile sentiments, whether they indulged in pro-Bulgarian propaganda.66

Meanwhile, the consular authorities in America were urging the Greek Macedonians in America to form a Pan-Macedonian Association of local organisations, along the lines of the Pan-Epirote Association, which would constitute an “alliance... of Macedonians living here for positive action against Bulgarian activity”. The seat of this association would be in New York, which had a number of well-established Macedonian societies, of emigrants from Kozani, Siatista, Naoussa, etc. Its purposes would be mainly nationalistic, and therefore great care would have to taken with the choice of officers if it were not to degenerate into a morass of “internal personal disaffection and rivalry, party political dissension and misunderstandings” The Association could have branches anywhere in America where there were Macedonians. Its object would be to organise the Greek Macedonians living in America into societies, to join these societies into an Association, to monitor the behaviour of all “Bulgarians”, Bulgarian-speakers and other non-Greek-speakers from Greek Macedonia, their relations with their relatives in Greece, their sentiments and loyalties, their participation or otherwise in Bulgarian propagandistic societies, their general moral and material status in America.67 Western Macedonian emigrants to the USA had been forming societies for mutual assistance, social development and community support since the beginning of the 20th century.
Emigrants from Kozani in New York, for example, had a Mutual Aid Society (“I Ko-
zani”, founded February 1917), a Philanthropic Society “O Lefkos Pyrgos”, founded
1919), and Society of Young Ladies of Kozani (1922). The dozens of Velvendians who
settled in Washington, St Louis and Philadelphia founded a society in Washington in
1903 and in St Louis in 1910. The St Nicholas Lountziote Fraternal Association for
Education founded on 6 December 1904 in Nashua, New Hampshire, chiefly by villag-
ers from Kalloni Grevenon, was created primarily to raise money to support the school
in that village. These societies, however, and others like them had no central guidelines
or federal organisation.

These initial endeavours did not, apparently, produce the desired results. In 1931
the Governor General of Macedonia, S. Gonatas, could still regard as expedient the
founding of “our own” societies of “purely Greek” emigrants from Greek Western Ma-
cedonia, who up to that time had, willy-nilly, been forced to register as members of the
Committee. These societies could also keep track of those who were working for the
purposes of the Committee, so that they could be barred from re-entering the country.68

A year later the consular authorities in the USA observed that “our people”, patri-
otic but absorbed in the harsh struggle for existence and persuaded that the Macedonian
Question was a thing of the past, were unwilling to react by forming societies. They
were, moreover, scattered across the continent, with little or contact amongst them-
selves.69

“These emigrants from Greek Macedonia, although as far as I observed
Greek-speaking, have no social contact with other emigrant Greeks. With
few exceptions they neither join the Greek Orthodox Communities or any
other Greek organisations or societies. As far as I can learn, efforts on the
part of Greek societies and organisations to enrol them as members have
remained fruitless. This attitude of theirs should probably be attributed pri-
arily to the propaganda of the two Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations,
MPO and MPL, and particularly to the first of these, which has greater
means.

To neutralise the propaganda of these organisations among the Slavic-
speaking emigrants from Greek Macedonia, perhaps it would be advisable
to set up a society of Greeks from Macedonia, inasmuch as the endeavours
of the existing Greek organisations and societies have failed.”70

noted a Greek diplomatic agent in the USA in 1935.

In Australia, too, the Macedonians who identified with Greek interests, emigrants
from Florina and Kastoria, tended to form strongly local organisations, separate from
the other Greeks, probably because of the attitude of the islanders and southern Greeks,
who treated even the most fanatically loyal among them with suspicion, disdain, fear or
condescension. The bilingual or Slavic-speaking natives of Florina had failed to con-
vince the rest of the Macedonian clan and the Greek community that the term
“Macedonian” and the use of that idiom did not imply a Bulgarian or other anti-Greek
identity.71

On the other hand, there were more than a few instances of unpleasant situations
occurring within Macedonian societies, which upset the social life of the Macedonian
communities. Clashes between Greek-Macedonian and Bulgarian-Macedonian mem-
bers of the same societies were far from unknown.

The association of emigrants from Zhelovo (Antartiko), Florina, which had been
founded in Toronto sometime before 1907, became inactive, although probably without
being formally dissolved, for undisclosed reasons. It was refounded some years later, in
about 1921, as the Mutual Aid Society of Zhelovites of Toronto, with a membership that initially comprised all those whose families came from Zhelovo. Before long, however, dissension had broken out. On 20 July 1929 the Florina newspaper Elenchos published a “protest of Greek emigrants from Antartiko (Zhelovo) in Toronto, Canada.” The “committee of the Greek emigrants” from Antartiko in Toronto had, on 2 July 1929, denounced the officers of their society as collaborators and members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee, since they had replied in Bulgarian to the request of the Prefecture of Florina for information from their society with regard to the issue of false emigration certificates. The protesters declared on behalf of more than fifty compatriots and members of the society that they wished to have nothing more to do with the society, expressed their indignation and stigmatised the leaders of the society before the Greek Zhelovites for their anti-national action.

In 1930 the streets of the Western Australian city of Perth were the scene of violent incidents between pro-Greek and pro-Bulgarian emigrants from villages in the Florina region. Among the forty-five or so people attending the charter meeting of the “Alexander the Great” Mutual Aid Society of Greek Macedonians of Perth, Western Australia, towards the end of October 1931, most of whom had come from Kastoria or from Eratyra and Pelka in the Kozani district, there were two Bulgarian-Macedonians and three Bulgarians, who proposed that the society be founded as a Macedonian rather than a Greek-Macedonian one. The proposal was rejected and its sponsors left the meeting in protest, but without incident or manifestations of hostility. Those remaining approved the constitution of the society without further ado. The matter was discussed at some length by the French-language newspaper Macédoine of Geneva on 6 December 1931, as a “failed Greek coup in Australia relating to the founding of a society of Greek Macedonian emigrants in Perth” and by the Ethnos of Florina in its 31 October 1931 issue.

The General Government of Macedonia, which hastened to congratulate the founders of the society, recognised the value of the existence of such a society in Australia as a counterweight to Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda, something that, ("alas!") had not been feasible in Canada or the USA.

Despite the congratulations and the good wishes, the consular authorities in Australia remained sceptical about the organisation of the Greek-Macedonians in Australia. They felt that the founding of Greek societies like these (in 1932 emigrants from the villages of Siatista, Eratyra and Tsyotyli, Agia Sotira, Ayiasma, Pentalofo, Florina and Kastoria founded Melbourne’s first local Macedonian brotherhood, the “Alexander the Great’ Greek Macedonian Fraternal Organisation”) would in all likelihood kindle similar reflex movements on the part of the Bulgarian-Macedonians in Australia, who would have the support of and ample funding from corresponding organisations in America. The Greek organisation would thus be drawn into a rivalry that it would be unable to sustain. Moreover the character, the sentiments and the objects of the founders and members of the Greek-Macedonian society remained unclear.

Indeed, in September 1934 a group of Macedonians in Melbourne applied for a licence to found a Macedonian Political Club on the lines of the Macedonian Political Organisations in the USA and Canada.

This same framework of Greek reaction to Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda among the Macedonian immigrants in overseas countries governed the question of the re-organisation of the consular services in those countries. Towards the end of 1928 the Greek ambassador in Washington, Ch. Simopoulos, had emphatically raised the subject of the re-organisation of the consulates in America, to address the problem of Bulgarian propaganda better and to improve the general representation of the Greek state. The
“misfortune”, as he put it, of Greece’s representatives in Canada and the USA (and Australia) having been unable to organise the many Greek-Macedonian emigrants into associations to combat Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda had caused a dolorous impression and grave disappointment among those emigrants. The “less than nil” action of Greece’s diplomatic representatives in Ottawa and Toronto and their virtual abandonment by their native land had demoralised the Greek Macedonian immigrants in Toronto. Of the 320 emigrants from Zhelovo (Antartiko) who were living in Toronto in 1928, only thirty had Greek loyalties, the rest being fanatically pro-Bulgarian. Those from the Florina district village of Tyrsia (Trivouno) were also fanatical agents of Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda.

In that same report (late 1928) Ambassador Simopoulos gave it as his opinion that, with regard to countering Bulgarian activity among the Macedonian emigrants, any official polemic from the Greek side would simply help the Bulgarians create more fuss about the situation in Greek Macedonia. The consular authorities remained unprepared, for objective and other reasons, to shield the Macedonian emigrants from anti-national propaganda and to reinforce their loyalty, and the bad faith of the editors and publishers of American newspapers would render useless any attempt at rebuttal on the part of the local consular authorities or the embassy in Washington. The best approach would perhaps be to publicise the progress made in Macedonia in the areas of education, administration, agriculture and security, and to mobilise such institutions as the Archdiocese of America, by placing “good priests” under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras, who was perfectly familiar with the problem (he had served as Metropolitan of Pelagonia-Monastir from 1910-18) and called for “productive and patriotic action in America” in order to wean the Slavic-speaking Macedonian emigrants away from the influence of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations through suitable propaganda, admonition and moral ministration, which were felt to be the most effective means of preventing them from being inveigled by anti-Greek propaganda.

These views on how to support the Macedonian emigrants were shared by the editors of Kastoria newspaper, which opined that:

“Many of them are victims of artful Bulgarian troublemakers. Some enlightenment of our compatriots in America would be beneficial. It would retrieve the errant from their error and show them that life in Macedonia is not as it is described by the press vehicles of Bulgarian propaganda. All the foreigners who have visited Macedonia have found that all in Macedonia live in absolute liberty, security and equality.”

It was, moreover, generally accepted that “none of the emigrants” from Greek Western Macedonia could escape the network of agents of the Committee. There was, therefore, an urgent need for leaders, and particularly clerics, who spoke the language, who could with proper handling steer the Slavic-speaking emigrants back into “our” ideology and “our” church, to which in fact they belonged. Athenagoras had addressed a churchful of Slavophone Macedonians in their own dialect to the enthusiasm of the congregation, which indeed was still in a “spiritual state receptive to cultivation.”

In late 1929 and early 1930 the police and prefectural services in Macedonia were charged with the task of compiling lists of the “Greeks of other races” who had emigrated to America and Australia since 1926. The criteria for inclusion on the list were their manner of emigration (usually illegally through Bulgaria), the authorities’ assessment of their national loyalty based on their life in Greece, and only very rarely information about their attitude and conduct while they were resident abroad. Those whose names were on the list (about 1,000 persons) were held to lack Greek civil consciousness, to have no intention of returning to Greece and, if ever they did return,
whether as Greeks or as aliens, to be likely to work against Greek interests. It was therefore proposed that they should be struck off the registers and forbidden to return to the country. In order to safeguard the administration in this respect, it was proposed to take declarations of non-return from citizens in this category who were intending to emigrate, so as to facilitate the implementation of the law.\textsuperscript{87}

The “golden age” of European emigration to America was over, and in fact the flow of Greek emigrants returning from America over the period 1922-1938 was substantial enough to restore the country’s net emigration equilibrium. The Greek state tended to regard the returning Macedonian emigrants with suspicion. Information from America and from the local authorities in Western Macedonia indicated that since the early 1920s many of the fanatical “Bulgarians”, especially those from the Florina region, who had left for the USA and Canada after 1913 or even earlier, before the liberation of Macedonia, and who had in many instances been members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian societies in America and had propagandised in favour of Bulgarian interests in Macedonia or had even out of compulsion pretended to be Bulgarian in order to secure the protection of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations, were now returning with plenty of money and the obligation and intention of organising their villages in Greek Macedonia in favour of Bulgarian affairs.\textsuperscript{88}

The Greek administration, then, originally thought that maintaining controls and monitoring the return of any person who was under suspicion of having, while abroad, become an agent of the Committee would be an effective method. Of course, Article 5 of Law 4310/1929 stated that it was in no circumstances possible to refuse entry to the country to persons who could be proven, by official documents, to be Greek citizens. Nonetheless through a combination of legal provisions and presidential or legislative decrees it was possible in a variety of ways to block the return of those who for various reasons (national security, illegal departure, expulsion or withdrawal of Greek citizenship, anti-Greek conduct abroad, etc.) had been designated by the Greek administration as unwelcome in Greece.

Similar measures against the return of undesirable or dangerous emigrants had apparently also been taken by Serbia. The Sofia daily \textit{Macedonia} reported the protestations made by the Macedonian Political Organisation of the USA and Canada to the American Secretary of State and the letters of protest published in American newspapers like the New York Times or addressed to personalities in the USA on the ban imposed by the Serbian authorities on an American citizen of Serbian origin who had emigrated to the USA twenty years earlier, under the Ottoman Empire, and now wanted to visit his birthplace of Prilep in Serbian Macedonia to fetch his mother and return with her to America, on the grounds that in the USA he had been the treasurer of a revolutionary organisation in Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{89}

In August 1930, then the Central Aliens Service of the Greek Ministry for the Interior filed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a list of all the Slavic-speakers who had emigrated from Macedonia to the USA and Canada up to the end of June 1930, recommending that they be struck off the register of Greek citizens.\textsuperscript{90} In the face of the “menace” that was alleged to be inherent in the return of these Macedonian emigrants, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed to apply the restrictive provisions of the law in cases of Greeks of other races who were animated by hatred of Greece and constituted “grave dangers” to the security of the country. It did, however, draw the attention of the competent authorities to the necessity of checking extreme zeal or chauvinistic excesses on the part of lower echelon officials and of ensuring careful investigation, including with regard to the application of the declaration of intention to emigrate measure with respect to departing emigrants of other races.\textsuperscript{91}
In January 1931 the Ministry of Military Affairs and the Ministry for the Interior ordered the Prefectures of Western Macedonia to strike off the registers of males all Slavic-speaking Greek citizens who had been designated as dangers to the nation and who were living abroad. Those who had returned in the interim were to be told to leave the country before their residence permit expired. For the sake of the national image and state interests, however, any such emigrants who presented themselves at the Greek border with proper passports were to be allowed to enter the country.

In that same month of January 1931 a copy of the list of “emigrant Slavic-speakers from Macedonia living abroad and struck off the state registers” was forwarded to the Greek diplomatic missions abroad, particularly in North America, advising them not to issue Greek passports or visas for Greece or for any of the neighbouring Balkan countries as intermediate stops on their return journey to the persons named on the list. In the case of persons not on the list but whom the consular authorities suspected of being Slavic-speakers of non-Greek origin, they were required to ask for a recent certificate from the appropriate communal or municipal authority in Greece confirming that the applicant was still registered in Greece, and only then could they issue the passport or visa.

When the measure came to be implemented, however, it was found that the local police stations had attributed the designation of “undesirable” without proper investigation, and that in a fair number of cases the prefects were of a different opinion. It was decided, therefore, to review all the evidence and compile a new list, to preclude exclusion on insufficient grounds. The criterion proposed was whether the emigrant had left his family or any property behind him.

Thus, in the spring of 1931 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, adopting a proposal made by the Prefect of Florina (V. Balkos), asked the prefectures in the General Governments of Macedonia (and Thrace), which had Slavic-speaking populations, to prepare “unostentatiously” – a list of those who had emigrated to America, by village of origin (with their date of departure, place of residence in America, length of residence there, etc.).

The Prefecture of Florina judged that the initial list had been compiled on the basis of chance and of unchecked information gathered by the local police stations, and that it included people who were totally inoffensive while omitting others who were exceptionally dangerous from the national point of view, and that the certificates of loyalty had designated as Bulgarians some of “our people” and vice versa, which meant that there was a risk of the authorities themselves creating Bulgarians “out of our own people” The ban on re-entry was a good measure in some cases where the individual was a proven danger, but in most instances there was a possibility that upon his return to Greece the emigrant would change his allegiance. And so, in the summer of 1931 the Prefecture of Florina devised the following classifications for application to those registered in the prefecture, prior to compiling its new list:

a) The “voulgarofronountes”, that is, those of clear and proven Bulgarian loyalties, for whom there was absolutely no objection to striking them off the register immediately, if they were living abroad. As for those who had returned to Greece, it was advisable to let them remain, since it would be easy to keep an eye on them.

b) The “waverers”, with regard to whom the Greek state should adopt a policy designed to “bring them back into the fold” rather than estranging them even further. This would also make it easier to keep track of their state of mind, whereas abroad they would simply fall victim to hostile Bulgarian propaganda.
c) The “ellinofronountes”, or loyal Greeks, whose families had taken part in the Macedonian Struggle, had offered sacrifices to the nation in its struggle for the Macedonian homeland, whom the deepest of gulfs divided from the “voulgarofronountes”. Even if when in America they had joined a Bulgarian-Macedonian society, this did not necessarily mean that they had changed camps: it was more likely to be out of need for moral and material support, which Greece was unable to provide through the non-existent or barely functioning Greek societies abroad.

Having analysed the grounds upon which the list was being re-drafted and the ends they were designed to achieve, the Prefect of Florina proposed, as a basic tool and criterion for designating undesirables, that the consular authorities in America should deliver passports for return to Greece only to Greek citizens (regardless of whether or not they were on the list of those to be struck off the registers) to whom a certificate of nationality had been issued, with the approval of the Prefecture, by the president of their local commune in Greece\(^97\).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the suggestions made by the Prefect of Florina for the revision of the schedule of undesirables, the issuing of re-entry permits and the approaches to be used towards Slavic-speakers, and forwarded them to the Ministry for the Interior\(^98\).

The process of revising the list of non grata Slavophones, to be struck off the national registers as a danger to public security, appears to have lasted until at least 1933. The initial list of 924 names, which had been widely criticised for its lack of foundation, was reduced, after multiple checks and cross-checks of information, to 344 Slavic-speaking emigrants from the region of Florina who, on the basis of their past history in Greece and their conduct abroad, were judged to be undesirable on account of the pro-Bulgarian sentiments that animated themselves and their families\(^99\).

In the middle of 1934 a new Prefect was appointed to the Prefecture of Florina. This was Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis, a man whose work during the period of the Macedonian Struggle had made him well acquainted with the situation in the region. The fact that some of his first reports (together with others on the ethnological composition of the prefecture and the loyalties of its inhabitants) dealt with the issue of the return of emigrants to that district and the need to revise the list of undesirables shows just how serious a problem this was for the administration, and possibly also for local society. A “List of persons residing abroad and wishing to return to Greece”, which was found in his files, undated but probably compiled between September and November of 1934, shows that a thorough consideration of the matter had led the new Prefect of Florina to adopt milder measures.

The list contained 40 names\(^100\) of people who had applied to the Prefecture of Florina for re-entry papers on the basis of the provisions in force at the time. These 40 people had emigrated from 28 towns and villages in the Prefecture of Florina (which at that time included Kastoria\(^101\) and were living in the USA (15), Australia (9), Canada (6), Bulgaria (6), Turkey (2), Yugoslavia (1) and England (London, 1). The list included, in addition to the basic particulars of the applicants (full name, place and date of birth, place of residence abroad), a brief account of their loyalties and their conduct abroad and a notation of whether their application was approved or rejected (a handwritten “yes” or “no”).

The Prefecture decided that the list of undesirables needed to be regularly updated in order to avoid errors, since it was felt that “national state of mind” was something that could easily change. Knowledge of the situation of the Slavic-speaking emigrants in America was also judged to be essential, “because from this one can obtain an idea
of how they encourage the Slavophones here [in Greece] to persist in their sympathies with the Bulgarian cause”\textsuperscript{102}.

Towards the end of 1934 the Prefecture of Florina revised its list of Slavophone emigrants whose return to Greece was judged undesirable, reducing it to a total of 279 persons from the Prefecture of Florina and classifying them under four categories, each with its own separate list.

The first list contained 94 names, of people who, according to the Prefecture of Florina, should at all costs be struck off the registers and whose red cards should be regarded as perpetually in force, even though some of these people were reported as deceased. The people on this list should never under any circumstances be permitted to enter the country.

The second list contained 17 names that had appeared on earlier lists but of whom no trace could be found in the communes cited in those lists as their place of origin. These were people of whom nothing was known, either because they were listed under a false name or because they had been away from the country for too long. Their red cards were, however, to remain active as a matter of prudence.

The third list, of 63 names, concerned people for whom there were negative reports on their conduct in their adopted country but insufficient information to justify striking them off the registers. They would therefore remain on the registers, and the red cards flagging their names would be destroyed. The consulates would watch their conduct and verify their loyalties, and in any case would check with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before issuing them a passport.

Finally, the 105 names on the fourth list were those of people who were still under suspicion only because they had been included on the 1933 list of 344 names, but without it ever having been determined whether this was on the basis of verified information about their conduct after they had left Greece. These people were to remain on the registers and their red cards destroyed, but any application for a re-entry permit was to be referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Knowledge of Greek was, for example, a significant criterion for the final ‘yes’ or ‘no’ decision.

On the basis of this recommendation, which was immediately put into effect, certificates of nationality should not be delivered to those who had justifiably been struck off the citizenship lists (the 110 people on the first two lists). The rest, against whom there were only suspicions and unconfirmed reports, could be allowed to return to Greece, on condition that their certificates be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with all available information for review, and if approved returned to the local consular representatives\textsuperscript{103}.

Despite these changes and revisions, intended to make the system fairer and more accurate, things did not seem in 1936 to have improved a great deal. People, who had emigrated for purely economic reasons, working long years abroad to earn some money, faced a host of problems when they wanted to return. The Greek authorities were not yet in a position to decide with any conviction who should be allowed to return and who should be barred, and consequently there were cases of people with family and property in Greece who were refused entry to the country. It was “regrettable” that so many Greek [Macedonian] emigrants should have been exiled as enemies of the country, barring of course those few who had indeed been members of Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations\textsuperscript{104}.

This was why the new Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, proposed an opposite procedure for checking the lists: the Prefecture would compile its own detailed lists of such people, complete with addresses and evidence of their general activity in Greece.
These would be sent to the local consular authorities, who would issue passports on the basis of these lists, having first looked into their activity in their new country from the national point of view. The local consulates, using the information supplied by the police in Florina, could check on the activity of immigrants from that Prefecture and could safely refuse passports to individuals for whom the police there had no incriminating evidence but who were evidently anti-Greek and had while abroad been working in various ways against loyalist ideas.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, felt that this system of having local consular authorities verify the attitude and loyalties of individual emigrants would be difficult to implement, since the Greeks in Canada and the USA (and Australia) were scattered across the continent and it would not be easy to garner information about specific individuals. Moreover the network of Greek consular authorities was very far from completely covering these countries, and the information that could be provided by local unpaid representatives was not sufficient to serve as a reliable basis for decisions and actions.

The Ministry therefore reminded the Prefectures of their obligation to refuse certificates of nationality to Slavic-speakers who had emigrated with Bulgarian passports and who in accordance with existing legislation had been struck off the registers as departed without intent to return, and were thus stripped of any right to re-enter the country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs retained the responsibility for the final ratification of the required certificates. Although there were certainly cases of injustice towards people who had never been involved with anti-Greek activities, and opposite cases people undesirable from every point of view being allowed to return, this nonetheless remained the only reasonable method; and no error – unavoidable, indeed, from the nature and extent of the measures and the difficulty in implementing them – could justify a revision of the ban. No other system appeared to be applicable.

The problems and lack of co-ordination caused by the question of the repatriation of Western Macedonian emigrants were not limited to Greece’s administrative services at home and abroad. They also affected Greece’s relations with the countries to which these emigrants went, and particularly the USA, on account of cases of Western Macedonian emigrants who, having left their new country for whatever reason and having been declared unwelcome in Greece and thus deprived of the right to return there, found themselves literally stateless.

In a number of such cases, indeed, the Governor of Macedonia had been obliged to permit such returning emigrants to land, precisely in order to avoid complications with its collaboration with foreign missions in Greece. Towards the end of 1931 the American Consulate in Thessaloniki directly contacted the presidents of communes in Western Macedonia with questions about the identity of emigrants born in those places, asking for confirmation of their particulars, their dates of departure and whether they appeared on their registers as Greek citizens. A few days later the American Embassy in Athens delivered three protests to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked that the Greek Embassy in Washington be ordered to issue passports for repatriation from the USA to Greek citizens whose names appeared on the registers of their native communities.

The actions of the American Consulate enraged the Greek authorities, which described them as “unacceptable”. According to the administrative department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Consulate had no right to intervene in the operation of the Greek consular authorities in the USA, which had refused to issue the necessary travelling documents to immigrants from Greece who were being deported. The actions of the American Consulate in Thessaloniki were held to be an extortionate attempt to
force Greece to accept the return of persons who had been declared *non grata* and a
danger to the country’s national security. The view of the Governor of Macedonia was
that the American consul in Thessaloniki had no right, under current bilateral and inter-
national conventions, to correspond directly with Greek administrative or judicial
authorities on matters other than defending the interests of American citizens or in pro-
test against a breach of existing treaties or conventions. It should therefore have been
represented to the American Embassy in Athens that the only authority with the com-
tenence to make a ruling and to inform the American authorities as to who was or was not
a Greek citizen was the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs.\(^{107}\)

### 4. Post-war emigration

No significant emigration occurred in the period 1940-44, except for the persons dis-
placed by the occupation authorities in Macedonia and, later, the inhabitants of the
country’s northern districts who were forced to leave the country at the end of the Civil
War because of their involvement in it. These cases, however, have nothing to do with
this study. Voluntary foreign emigration resumed in 1946, initially relatively slowly:
Fewer than 10,000 persons a year emigrated from Greece between 1946 and 1953, save
in 1951 when 14,155 emigrated. Of those who emigrated overseas, the smallest number
(after 1948) went to the USA, while fully two thirds went to Canada and Australia.\(^{108}\)
Their numbers included not only landless peasants but also skilled workers, and they
came not only from the poorest and most backward districts but also from the most
highly developed, including Macedonia, Central Greece and Euboea. These regions,
together with the Peloponnese, were also the sources of the increasing outflow of man-
power to other parts of Europe, which began in the mid-1950s and peaked in the 1960s,
and involved skilled and unskilled labour, specialised segments of the country’s labour
force, and not surplus farm labour.\(^{109}\)

Immediately after the war Australian government services began to receive
memoranda and letters from Greek government agencies and private individuals; their
requests varied, but they were mainly inquiries about the possibility of emigration. In
September 1945 the inhabitants of the commune of Rizo (Pella) wrote to the Australian
Ministry for the Interior asking for permission to emigrate. They had, they said, read in
a Thessaloniki newspaper that the government of Australia was intending to accept
Greek immigrants. The 35 families of the village of Rizo, a total of 200 men, women
and children, had decided to move to Australia for economic reasons. They had had
problems in the past, they wrote, but after the war things had become much worse, since
the enemy had burned their village and destroyed their livelihood. The little bit of land
they owned and farmed was not enough to feed them. Their hearts were filled of sa-
dness at the thought of abandoning their homeland, but they were desirous of emigrating
to a country whose sons had fought alongside them for the freedom of the nations.\(^{110}\)

The first signs of a possible mass exodus to Australia also began to appear in the
region of Drama, starting in July 1945. In October of that year the inhabitants of Dox-
ato Dramas dispatched a letter of application to the Australian Minister for the Interior,
declaring their desire to settle in Australia. Since they had no relatives there to sponsor
them, they were appealing directly to the Minister, in the hope that they would achieve
their objective and realise their dream of being able to earn their living. They were
farmers and livestock-raisers, and expressed their willingness to work as farmers in
Australia for the welfare of the country and their families. They wanted to emigrate
with all their family members, since – as they said – they were afraid any who were left
behind in Greece would not be able to survive.
Towards the end of 1945 the inhabitants of Doxato wrote another letter, this time addressed to the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, applying to emigrate and settle permanently in Australia. Since they had already learned that the government of the country was willing to accept Greek emigrants, they sent a list with the names and number of their family members and appealed to the “sentiments of love” and humanity the Australians had for Greece\(^{113}\).

Faced with the rumours that were circulating from one end of Greece to the other and the flood of applications – often for entire villages – for emigration to Australia, the representative of the Australian Red Cross in Thessaloniki in December 1945 informed the General Government of Western Macedonia that no decision had yet been taken with regard to the emigration of Europeans to Australia for permanent settlement and that therefore no specific answer could be given to any inquiries\(^{114}\).

Documentary evidence, including the correspondence of the General Government of Western Macedonia, the proclamations and announcements published in Thessaloniki’s daily newspapers and the records of the Thessaloniki Court of First Instance, shows that between the end of 1945 and 1947 at least four emigration societies were formed in Thessaloniki: the Association of Greek Emigrants to Australia of Macedonia-Thrace, the Association of Greeks intending to Emigrate Abroad, the Association of Greek Emigrants (“Ο Metanastis”) and the Association of Greek Emigrants of Northern Greece. We also know of the existence of an active Association of Emigrants from the Region and Town of Veria. All these organisations were formed to facilitate the mass emigration of their members to the USA, Australia, South Africa, Canada, Argentina, Brazil and Madagascar.

It is not absolutely certain how active these associations were, whether they served as pressure groups to help their members achieve their goal of emigration, which was of course their purpose, or to what extent they helped shape the course of events. We do know that in August 1950 one Alexandros Thanopoulos of Thessaloniki sent the Australian Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Immigration a letter and a list (discovered intact in the Australian Archives) of 455 families, totalling 2567 people of all ages, from 35 different villages in Central and Western Macedonia (Prefectures of Thessaloniki, Imathia, Pella, Drama, Kilkis, Pieria, Grevena, Kozani). The letter stated that all these people wished to emigrate to Australia as farmers, experienced in various kinds of crops, willing to defend their new country and to be entirely useful to it. They were all good and honest souls, hard-working farmers, but their villages and property had been destroyed during the civil war. They already had exit permits from the Greek government, and were wondering, since Australia was accepting immigrants from Balkan countries at that time, why it would not accept good and peaceable farmers like them\(^{115}\).

The fact that Mr Thanopoulos was a founding member of the Association of Greek Emigrants to Australia of Macedonia-Thrace may help answer the above questions. But there are others: How did all these people submit a joint application for permission to enter Australia? What common factor brought them together and who coordinated their action, when they lived in so many different and widely separated areas? Another odd point is their statement that they had already secured exit visas from the Greek government.

Curiously, newspapers of that time gave very little publicity to the activity of these emigration societies. In January 1947, for example, an article in Makedonia newspaper entitled “The difficulties in emigrating to Australia / Applications submitted by various ‘associations’ disregarded” noted among other things:

“Further information reports that 15,000 applications have been submitted by Greeks, which under the stated conditions will be examined favourably.”
In addition, that various organisations and Emigration Bureaus in Macedonia have submitted applications for emigration, which will not be taken into account.116

These were not the only groups of war victims to start a new life in Australia at this time: in 1950 the country welcomed the arrival, from Yugoslavia, of some 140 Macedonian children (from villages in the districts of Florina and Kastoria117), out of the nearly 28,000 Greek children118 who, after the end of the civil war, found themselves scattered across the various Peoples Republics (Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia), alone or with their families. After establishing direct contact with Eastern Bloc countries in implementation of the appeals and resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation in 1948-1952 for these children to be returned to their homes, Australia set up two operations to reunite children with their parents or other relatives who had settled there (most of them from Western Macedonia, who had settled in Western Australia) before the war. The first 20 children arrived in Sydney on 14 June 1950. The second group, of children and young adults, left Yugoslavia in two groups, one – of 58 children and adults – on 26 October and the other – numbering 60 – on 9 November 1950. The role their presence in Australia played in the shaping, the evolution and the eventual magnitude of the Macedonian question in that country and around the world in subsequent years remains to be clarified. Generally speaking, however, 90% of the Macedonian immigrants into Australia before 1960 came from Greek Macedonia. Emigration from the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia did not begin until after 1960, and picked up momentum after 1964-65. Among the first of their number who came to Australia sponsored by relatives already settled there were fugitives from the Greek civil war who had sought refuge in the neighbouring state119.

By the mid 1950s the pattern of emigration from Macedonia (and the rest of Greece) was beginning to change. The pre-war trend to overseas emigration continued until 1959. But by the middle of that decade, and increasingly after 1960, Greek emigrants were looking towards Europe. The flow of emigration to Mediterranean countries, which was still strong in 1960, dried up. Of the overseas countries the most important destinations were (in descending order) the USA, Australia and Canada, which attracted the bulk of Greek emigrants. Emigration to Europe was directed mainly to Belgium (1955-59) and, after 1960, West Germany. Secondary destinations included Sweden and Italy.120 A sample survey conducted in communes in the Prefecture of Kozani in the period 1961-1982 yielded the following data on external emigration by country of destination and by sex121:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of destination</th>
<th>% of all Emigrants by country</th>
<th>% of all emigrants by sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was a functional correlation between the geographical pattern of emigration and the several chronological phases and contributory conditions: 1955-59 was predominantly a period of traditional overseas emigration, 1960-66 swung sharply towards European emigration, 1967-68 saw a return to primarily overseas emigration, 1969-72 witnessed a new upsurge in European emigration, while in 1973-77 the two currents were fairly evenly balanced. Overall during the post-war period emigrants from Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus, Thessaly and Crete headed primarily for European countries, while emigrants from the Peloponnese, Central Greece, Euboea and the Aegean and Ionian islands tended in proportionally greater numbers to go overseas. The geographical regions were unevenly represented both in emigration and in repatriation. Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace, Epirus) had the highest propensity towards emigration in this period, and also the highest propensity to attract returning emigrants. Moreover, the pattern of emigration within Europe was quite different from the overall pattern of total emigration, and the divergence is reflected in regional distribution. The most characteristic differences are seen in Macedonia, which accounted for 44% of European emigration compared to 36% of total emigration. The difference observed more generally in emigration rates from the various regions may to a considerable extent be attributed to the different behaviours adopted by each population in the face of the prevailing economic and political conditions. The propensity to emigrate to foreign countries was strongest in the country’s border regions, precisely where it ought to have been deterred.

The numerical expression of total emigration from the prefectures of Macedonia in the period 1951-1960 is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>Number of emigrants 1951-1960</th>
<th>Emigration per 1000 inhabitants</th>
<th>Annual population increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>4,646</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>-11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imathia</td>
<td>1,286</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>14,335</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavala</td>
<td>3,908</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>-5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastoria</td>
<td>4,788</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>-9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilkis</td>
<td>1,466</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kozani</td>
<td>5,314</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>1,855</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieria</td>
<td>2,523</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serres</td>
<td>3,164</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florina</td>
<td>12,827</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>-16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkidiki</td>
<td>2,143</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>58,255</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1962 the distribution of emigration among the geographical regions of the country towards the principal destinations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Belgium</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Other countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens Area</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Greece</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peloponnese</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionian Islands</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epirus</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the seven prefectures with the highest emigration rates in the period 1956-59, two were in Macedonia: the Prefecture of Florina, with 21.64‰ of its total population, and the Prefecture of Kastoria with 9.70‰. By 1962 the number of Macedonian emigrants had almost sextupled, compared to a tripling in the rest of the country, and the rate of emigration within each prefecture had changed. In the Prefecture of Florina, which continued to head the list, the emigration rate was 39.43‰ in 1962 (4% of the total population emigrated in one year), when the national average was between 3.56‰ and 9.61‰. Of the 19 prefectures with an emigration rate above the national average, half were in Macedonia. In the period 1959-64 the Prefecture of Florina, with just 0.8% of the country’s total population, according to the 1961 census, accounted for 2.76% of total emigration from Greece, remaining the prefecture with the highest emigration rate. In the period 1961-1977, of the four prefectures of Western Macedonia, Kozani had the highest emigration rate (44.6% or 35,991 people). A total of 80,833 emigrants left Western Macedonia during this period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>Number of emigrants</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grevena</td>
<td>7,788</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastoria</td>
<td>11,811</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florina</td>
<td>25,243</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kozani</td>
<td>35,991</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Western Macedonia</td>
<td>80,833</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was not only the mountainous regions of Western Macedonia that felt the pull of foreign emigration – and particularly to Western Europe – in this period: the attraction was also strong in the rich tobacco-growing prefectures of Eastern Macedonia (Drama, Kavala).

In most instances of overseas emigration the bridges of communication and relocation from the old to the new country remained open and operated in the same way as in the pre-war period. This small but representative example of emigration comes from New Zealand: of the 1,178 Greeks who arrived in this distant land in 1966 121 were from Macedonia, and specifically 10 from Kavala, 34 from Vytho Kozanis (home of Vasilios Vlades, the first Macedonian to settle in New Zealand, in 1924, after a sojourn in Melbourne), 28 from Thessaloniki and 49 from other regions.

In Western Macedonia in general, and in the Prefecture of Florina in particular, the native-born, following a tradition dating back to 1890-1910, which was not shared by the refugees who had settled there, continued to depart to overseas countries (mainly Canada and Australia). Their propensity to emigrate was rooted in incurable poverty and the sense of political insecurity that had continued to prevail since the period when the region was being fought over by the three neighbouring Balkan countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. During the civil war (1947-1949) and its aftermath the sense of insecurity intensified among the native-born. The refugees, on the other hand, whose arrival was still relatively recent, carved their own paths and made their way primarily to various European countries (as did their fellows in the rest of Macedonia).
The basic characteristics of the pattern of emigration did not change much in relation to the pre-war period; those who left continued to be the most dynamic, progressive and productive segment of the population. The personal characteristics of the individual emigrant might change somewhat from period to period, according to the circumstances of each emigration phase, but without straying very far from the familiar stereotype of a young man (80%-85% of all emigrants), probably unmarried, of limited education and limited skills, from a rural area, who was driven to emigrate because there was no other alternative. In peak phases emigration was mainly economic in nature (movement of surplus labour) while in its troughs (which were generally followed by a surge in repatriation) it acquired a demographic (family emigration) or mixed (economic-demographic) aspect. 

In some prefectures the loss of population due to emigration was truly horrific: Drama –24.8%, Florina –22.4%, Serres –18.2%, Grevena –18.9%.

The Prefecture of Drama (which in 1961 had 121,000 inhabitants) lost 13.5% of its population in the five-year period from 1959 to 1964, with 16,359 people emigrating from the district. West Germany alone attracted 1,852 emigrants from Drama in 1961, 4,287 in 1962, 2,539 in 1963 and 4,200 in 1964. With just 1.44% of the total population of Greece, Drama accounted for 3.89% of all emigrants from the country in 1959-1964.

In the Prefecture of Florina many villages, already battered by the demographic catastrophe of the war decade, lost more than 50% of their population, as emigration, foreign and domestic, assumed the form of a mass exodus. Of the 875 people living in the semi-mountainous commune of Parorio in 1950, only 210 remained in 1965-67; the similarly situated village of Proti was reduced from 500 inhabitants in 1950 to 180 in 1965-67. Agia Paraskevi, one of the richest villages in the plain of Florina, saw half its population emigrate between 1950 and 1965. Kato Klines, the seat of a number of public services, was much less affected, since it offered a variety of non-farming jobs, which boosted the income of its families. In the mountain village of Atrapos the combination of traditional emigration, dating back to 1890, political events (substantial participation in the civil war 1947-49) and economic stagnation (little arable land, barren soil) kept emigration rates high until 1955, when the situation changed completely with the construction of a small dam that opened large tracts of land to farming and permitted the cultivation of specialised high-yield crops. Emigration from Atrapos was not halted, of course, but it was now largely confined to relatives of earlier emigrants. In Antartiko the situation was just the reverse: the post-war period brought no changes and 40% of the population, on the basis of the 1961 census, emigrated abroad. The refugee village of Lakkia, in the Amyntaio district, had a very low emigration rate. Those who left were a few smallholders or landless peasants who sought work in Germany. Apart from the refugee mentality with regard to emigration, a number of other factors came into play in Lakkia, including the existing and expected job prospects, especially in the nearby Vegora mines and of course in the region of Ptolemaida, where all of Western Macedonia was hoping to find work. Similarly, in Sklithro (75% native-born, 25% refugees), the heavy emigration characteristic of the period prior to 1960 had by 1965 dropped to more manageable levels, on account of the optimism generated by the creation of the energy field of Ptolemaida, together with extensive and profitable potato farming.

In the mountainous Prefecture of Grevena, with its barren soil and tiny holdings, emigration created a serious demographic problem. Within the space of a decade, from 1961 to 1971, the population dropped by 20.50%. Of the 6,343 emigrants who left in the period 1965-1971, 88.7% went to Germany. Worst affected by this worrying loss of population were 24 rural districts. The villages of Anavryta, Dasyllio, Elefthero, Kal-
lithea, Kydonies, Panagia, Pyloroi, Taxiarchis, Trikorfó and Trikomo lost more than 40% of their population, and Kokkinia, Kosmatio, Kyparissio, KyraKali, Mavraneoi, Seirinio, Monachitio, Oropedio, Sitaras, Rodia and Vatolakkos between 25%-35%.

The Prefecture of Kozani lost about 30,000 people to emigration in the period 1961-1971 (20.0% of the 1961 population and 22.5% of the 1971 population), with the mountainous Boion district suffering most. As in other parts of Macedonia, foreign emigration outweighed the drain to the cities, since there was still a demand for labour abroad, while unemployment was high in large cities like Athens and Thessaloniki and smaller local centres could not absorb the surplus labour from the primary sector. The only solution, therefore, seemed to be emigration abroad – albeit temporary, since these emigrants all intended to return home once they had saved enough to buy a house or set up a business.

The Prefecture of Imathia, one of the richest in the country, with a total population of 114,515 in 1961 (according to that year’s census), counted 7,969 foreign emigrants in the period 1959-1964, or about 7% of the total population. Of these 4,953 were men (62%) and 3,016 women (38%). Out its 61 communes and three cities (Naoussa, Veria, Alexandria), the twelve mountain villages and the city of Naoussa (designated as mountainous), with a combined population of 23,146 (20.20% of the total population), had 1,722 emigrants (Naoussa alone had 1,170), or 21% of the total. The four semi-mountainous communes (population: 3,419, or 2.98%) had 359 emigrants, or 4.55% of the total. The two lowland cities of Veria and Alexandria and the 45 villages of the plains, with a combined population of 87,950 (76.82%) had 5,888 emigrants (with Veria alone losing 2,606 people), which represented 74.45% of all the emigrants from the Prefecture. Emigration cost the mountain areas 7.47% of their population (71% men, 29% women), the semi-mountainous areas 10.5% (57% men, 43% women) and the plains (excluding Veria) 5.40% (63% men and 37% women). In Veria the number of emigrants represented 9.6% of the city’s population (60% men, 40% women). Overall, in other words, emigration from the mountainous and semi-mountainous areas was, respectively, 50% and 100% higher than from the plains.

The Macedonian emigrants worked hard in the lands to which they went, and prospered. The members of their second and third generations advanced economically and socially, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the political, social and economic environment of their new countries (multicultural in Canada and Australia, melting-pot in the USA, with other variations in the other host countries). Many of them played a significant national role; some helped the community or people from the same village or invested some of their earnings in Greece. They continued to send remittances back home, which still made an important contribution to the local economy; but no sums could compensate for the loss of acreage farmed and crops produced. Another factor was how the money was used: instead of being turned into land, as would once have been the case, or being invested in some other way and kept within the local economy, this time it all went to Athens and Thessaloniki, primarily for the purchase of flats or shops or other property. Purchases of farmland were rare, as were investments in farm machinery and the like.

The first generation of emigrants were determined to perpetuate their Greek heritage in their children and grandchildren, and to maintain their cultural dependence on Greece. The members of the second and third generations, especially in countries like Canada and Australia, but in a number of European host countries as well, continue to share in their Greek-Macedonian tradition, generally forging a mixed cultural identity. They often join organisations and societies representing regions, cities, towns or villages of Macedonia, whose objects are to project their history and identity, to promote their common welfare and to develop functional social relations among their members,
and often as well to support some cause in “the old country”. Most of these organisations and societies are members of the Pan-Macedonian Associations of the states or provinces or countries where they now live, and are devoted to the struggle to preserve the name and the historic tradition of Macedonia, as needed.

Gravely concerned at post-war developments in the Balkans and what they were hearing about the attempt to construct a “Macedonian nation”, a “Macedonian ethnic consciousness” and a “Macedonian motherland”, immediately after the end of World War II the Macedonian emigrants in Canada and the USA succeeded (after several failed attempts, it is true) in founding the Pan-Macedonian Association of the USA-Canada, in April 1946. The object of this Association was to bring Macedonians of the Diaspora into contact with one another, to project the history of Macedonia and counter the falsification of Macedonia’s cultural heritage, to inform American and Canadian public opinion in order to prevent those societies from falling victim to misinformation, and to strengthen the educational and cultural links between those countries and Greece.

The consequences of the political and diplomatic developments in the Balkans, especially after World War II and the Greek civil war, were painful indeed for the pre-war Macedonian societies. With the arrival of the first emigrants from the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia came an intensification of the battle with a segment of the Greek-Macedonian community; and the attempt of the Slav-Macedonian side to create a separate Macedonian identity, based on the myth of irredentism and Greek oppression, generated an eager following among the Macedonian emigrants, particularly in Canada and Australia, who before the war had identified with the Bulgarian-Macedonian cause. It is important to remember that the founders and members of the first Slav-Macedonian organisations of emigrants to Australia and Canada came from Greek Macedonia. Many of them, indeed, had formerly been members of Greek-Macedonian societies. In Australia, for example, many of them had emigrated before the war and a fair number had already been naturalised as Australian citizens. They were active and recognised Communists, some of whom were also members of Greek communist organisations or collaborated with them through their own societies.

When in 1960 Archbishop Ezekiel of Australia asked for a list of Macedonian organisations in Australia (with notes on the national consciousness and loyalties of their members), he was given a list that hastily classed some organisations on the Bulgarian-Macedonian or Slav-Macedonian side, because of the language commonly used by their members or their allegedly “communist” (well camouflaged) political stance. In this way the compilers of the report “gave” 5 organisations in Melbourne to the Slav-Macedonian/Bulgarian-Macedonian side (including the Fraternal Association of Armenochoriotiotes and the Fraternal Association of Floriniotes), while recognising 6 others (with a total membership of about 2,500) as attached to the Greek cause. The same report recorded two organisations in Perth: “Alexander the Great”, whose 2,000 members were Greeks from Kastoria; and the “Makedonska Trubuna”, whose 500 Bulgarian-speaking members (from Florina) were intensely and actively anti-Greek. Adelaide had one Bulgarian-oriented organisation, with 500 members, and two organisations of Greek Macedonians, “Megas Alexandros” and the Pontic Fraternal Association.

The members of the first post-war generation of emigrants, bearers of the consequences of the civil war, conserved – and in some cases still conserve – an anachronistic and largely false reality concerning the country they left, since for many of them time had stopped several decades previously, at the moment of their emigration. Their gradual retirement from the front ranks of their communities in their adopted lands, particularly in Canada and Australia, and the corresponding activation of the second and third generations may open up new orientations for the Macedonian societies and lead
to new forms of defence of national rights and the Greek heritage, without necessarily implying an ideological distancing from the goals they have pursued thus far.

Apart from their gradually decreasing membership, another serious problem facing the Macedonian societies is the fragmentation of the Macedonian clan. In 1970 Melbourne had 36 different fraternal associations: three for the whole of Macedonia (of which two had been inactive since 1968) and 33 for smaller circumscriptions (villages, cities, districts, prefectures)144 In 1973 Australia had (by state): 6 Macedonian societies in New South Wales (two general and 1 each for Halkidiki, Kavala, Kilkis and Kozani); 45 in Victoria (4 general, 2 for Halkidiki, 1 for Drama, 1 for Edessa, 2 for Imathia, 5 for Florina, 4 for Kastoria, 13 for Kozani, 2 for Pella, 3 for Pieria, 1 for Serres, 5 for Thessaloniki); 8 in South Australia (1 general, 1 for Halkidiki, 3 for Florina, 2 for Kozani, 1 for Western Macedonia); 2 in Western Australia (one general and one for Florina). No Macedonian societies were registered in Queensland, the Northern Territories or the Capital Territory145.

The situation changed little over the next decades. In 1999 Australia and Canada between them had twenty-five collective organisations of emigrants from the general region of Kozani and Grevena, and two federations. Melbourne alone had six organisations of emigrants from Kozani, gathered since 1993 under the banner of an umbrella federation.

The Greek-Macedonian press played an important role in enabling emigrants to communicate with one another and in bringing news and information about the places they had left behind; the sports clubs formed by the Macedonian communities were another means of socialisation146. But economic and organisational problems and the commonplace of personal and party rivalries precluded, except in a very few instances, a successful and – more importantly – enduring presence within the Greek community or the host country. The Μακεδονικός Κήρυξ (Macedonian Herald: 1962-1969), organ of the National Pan-Macedonian Association; the Φιλόρινα (Florina), published in 1963 as the organ of the Philanthropic and Recreational Society of Florina; the Ακρίτας του Βορρά (Northern Frontiersman), official organ of the Society of Thessalonians of Melbourne (1969); the Μακεδονία (Macedonia), published at three different times in the 1970s, as the organ of the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne), the Μακεδονική Φωνή (Macedonian Voice: 1982, relaunched in May 1991), organ of the Federation of Pan-Macedonian Associations of Australia; and the Μακεδονικά Νέα (Macedonian News: 1981-1982), published by the first President of the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne as a counterweight to the above-mentioned Μακεδονική Φωνή, which was published by the official Pan-Macedonian Association; the new attempt by the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne, entitled The Pan-Macedonian, launched in July 1985; the Μακεδονική Φωνή (1985) of the Pan-Macedonian Association of South Australia; the Μακεδονικό Δελτίο (Macedonian Bulletin), official organ of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies, which was first published in 1991 and after 2001 continued as the Μακεδονικός Λόγος (Macedonian Word)147; these were just some of the examples of short-lived, small circulation print ventures that were published by various pan-Macedonian organisations or individual communal societies for the principal purpose of informing their readers about what was going on within the Macedonian community in Australia or developments in the Macedonian question.

The emigrants from Macedonia now settled in Australia, Canada and the USA, like the rest of the Greek Diaspora, are particularly aware of and informed about the Macedonian problem and the activities of the government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Those living in Australia particularly, because of the numerous and politically active population originating from the neighbouring Republic and long settled on that continent, but also because of the many local societies of emigrants from
Macedonia, remain the most active. In Canada the Greeks seem to be fairly well informed about and interested in the Macedonian problem, as are those in the USA, although the latter lag behind their compatriots in Canada and Australia for reasons connected with the differences in the immigration and ethnic minority policies followed by each country, and also because of the fact that emigration to Canada and Australia is more recent than emigration to the USA. Societies of Macedonians abroad have, moreover, continued to be founded, particularly in response to the machinations against the Greekness of Macedonia effected through the policy exercised by the once Socialist and now Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This is what led to the founding in Wellington in 1984 of the Pan-Macedonian Fraternal Association of New Zealand and of the Macedonian Association of Great Britain in 1989 in London.

While many of these emigrants have remained abroad, a considerable number have returned to Greece. Discounting those who settled in the Athens area, most (32.2%) of those who returned in the period 1968-1977 settled in Macedonia. For those returning from the Federal Republic of Germany (50%) and Sweden (60%), Macedonia was the first choice. By contrast, those returning from overseas countries generally preferred to settle in Athens or the Peloponnese, with Macedonia in third place. Refugees returning from Eastern European countries settled primarily in Macedonia and secondarily in Athens.

Of the twelve prefectures with the largest number of returning emigrants (more than 10,000), five are in the geographical region of Macedonia: Serres (18,009), Kavala (17,337), Kozani (13,754), Pieria (13,178), Drama (12,040). Others, by contrast, such as Halkidiki, welcomed relatively few repatriates (fewer than 4,000). The distribution of repatriates in Macedonia by Prefecture is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>Number of repatriates</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grevena</td>
<td>6,992</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>12,040</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imathia</td>
<td>9,475</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>82,609</td>
<td>13.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kavala</td>
<td>17,337</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastoria</td>
<td>5,737</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kozani</td>
<td>13,754</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>8,790</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieria</td>
<td>13,178</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serres</td>
<td>18,009</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florina</td>
<td>5,092</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkidiki</td>
<td>2,197</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Greece</td>
<td>627,625</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Conclusions

For Macedonia, the phenomenon of emigration was both endemic and diachronic from the latter part of the 19th century until at least the eighth decade of the 20th. Each generation trod the path of departure, following in the footsteps of the preceding one, a process facilitated by the policy of sponsorship practised by recipient countries starting in the period between the wars and imposed by the pattern of serial emigration as it developed in the post-war years.
This customary practice of serial emigration, which bound together the members of a household, a family, a village, played its own equally determinant role in departure patterns, along with all the other factors.

The causes of human migration from Macedonia were both economic and political, and in many cases it is very difficult to distinguish between them. Even those directly involved could not always explain precisely what it was that decided them to emigrate.

The inability of the land to provide them with a satisfactory living no doubt drove Western Macedonians, who already had a long tradition of emigration, to continue to depart. In reality, in most cases it was not poverty per se that spurred their emigration, but rather the poverty syndrome, since underemployment in the agricultural sector, which has to do with seasonality and other characteristics of traditional cultures, was typical of Greek agriculture in every part of the country and not just in Macedonia.

Emigration was also a manifestation of their inability to adapt to the new economic reality represented by the mechanisation and commercialisation of production, which became facts of the Macedonian economy with dizzying speed in the 1920s. It may also be interpreted as a sign of their disappointment in the Greek government, since their living conditions had not improved in relation to the preceding period. They had no more land than before, their crops were no larger nor prices higher, while other means of earning a living were not appearing. And the comparison with the economic level and standard of living in emigrant destination countries, as these were paraded before them every time an emigrant returned home for a brief visit, could only make their position appear worse. The greater the apparent difference on each occasion, the greater the wave of emigration that followed.

But the process of economic growth and development in a country can intensify or worsen local strife, and the failure of the ruling powers to find solutions that will permit coexistence and prevent ruptures of the social fabric of the country from economic and other conflicts between different population groups is capable of leading to contention, overt or latent, or to the emigration of those who are unable to improve their social and economic position. External emigration from Macedonia is a case in point: during the inter-war years it actually stopped the integration of its native-born population, especially the Slavophones of Western Macedonia, into the Greek state, and from the 1950s onwards it fostered the manifestation of ethnic differentiation outside Greece. Geographical distance and the inaptitude of the home country in many cases reinforced rather than effaced these differences.

The Greek state failed to regard seriously either the inter-war or the post-war waves of emigration from Macedonia (or for that matter from the rest of the country). The few initiatives that were taken were intended at times to protect emigrants from the toils of illegality and exploitation, at times to cope with pressing demands on the part of the people to permit emigration to specific countries, and at times to appease the desire of the inhabitants of Macedonia to emigrate.

In reality, the overseas emigration from Macedonia of the post-1922 period was of little concern to the Greek state as a socio-economic phenomenon, and it was only its political and national dimensions that attracted the attention of local authorities and the central government. Absorbed in the process of providing for the influx of refugees, particularly in Northern Greece, in pushing forward the economic and social modernisation of the country and in the maintenance of equilibria in its Balkan back yard, the inter-war Greek state had little time to spare for a phenomenon that was in any case slackening on the national as well as the local level. It merely reacted whenever it was de facto obliged to deal with a situation. Similarly, from the early 1950s, when not only
did it make no effort to stem the tide but did not even take measures that might have allowed the full and creative utilisation of the emigrants, either during their sojourn abroad or even more so when they returned to Greece, for the development of the country’s industrial sector and the growth of its economy. Rather, the extolment of the positive effects of emigration for the Greek economy tended to intensify the outflow of labour.

The negligent, uncoordinated or self-confounding attitude of the Greek government in every phase of the emigration process, from departure and sojourn abroad to repatriation, which to a certain degree affected all Greek overseas emigration, this distance between theory and action in the tracing and exercise of policies in the matter of emigration from Macedonia, on the one hand impeded the implementation of specific administrative measures to stem emigration and on the other averted the adverse results of too stringent an application of such measures.

As an alternative to conflict, external emigration in one sense ends up becoming a mechanism by which the emigrant is transformed into an “other”, a “threat”. It was this “threat”, these fears on the part of the Greek government, whose roots could be traced back to previous phases of history, and the threat it conceived as existing to the prejudice of its borders from the neighbouring Balkan countries, that mobilised the mechanism of state to confront the issue of emigration from Macedonia. In the end the Greek government addressed the phenomenon of emigration in the same helpless and ineffective manner as it used towards the native, primarily Slavophone, population of the region.

The uneasy political and social situation in Macedonia (and Greece) of the inter-war period and later, after the civil war, were responsible for external emigration. Political developments in their country of origin as well as in their country of residence played a significant role in shaping the identity of the Macedonian emigrants abroad, and the transfer and cultivation of political precedents and situations from the old to the new homeland caused terrible confusion in the emigrant communities abroad.

Those emigrants who had brought with them from the old country a developed political consciousness and with it the habit of or an aptitude for engaging in such matters were very likely to continue in the same way in their new country. The rest, the vast majority, would be as indifferent or as impotent abroad as they have shown themselves to be in the face of the world-changing events that had been occurring in their country since the early twentieth century. Within the emigrant organisations only a few were involved in power structures and community affairs. The ordinary hard-working Macedonian emigrants had little interest in becoming involved with societies and organisations. They found out what was happening in Greece through the filtering medium of letters from home, or from some local Greek newspaper if one happened to come their way.

And if one of the factors driving them away was a reaction to anything Greek, emigration was not necessarily, at least initially, an expression of some other identity (Bulgarian, Bulgarian-Macedonian or Macedonian). Greece became the “enemy” for some Macedonian emigrants only after World War II, in the light of the situation that emerged from the events (mainly) of the German Occupation and the Civil War in Macedonia. It was then that part of the irredentist ideology of Macedonianism sought to root itself in the attitude of the Greek state and its relations with the Slavophone population during the inter-war years.

In the end, political and economic causes merely triggered a decision to emigrate. The choice of whether to remain in Greece or seek one’s fortune in one of
the countries that were open to immigrants remained to a significant degree a purely personal matter for the people of Macedonia, as of the rest of Greece.

Today, many of the generally negative effects of this emigration have been softened or totally effaced. More permanent traces could perhaps still be found up to the end of the last century in regions where the rates of emigration were strongest and which did not recover their lost population after the wave of repatriation.

Table 1. External emigration by geographical region 1955-1977

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emigrants</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Emigrants</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Emigrants</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Capital district</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
<td>39,516</td>
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<td>22,513</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>11,646</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>10,620</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>143,763</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>396,300</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>389,211</td>
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Table 4. External emigration from Central and Western Macedonia 1961-1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grevena</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>488</td>
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Table 5. Repatriation to Central and Western Macedonia 1969-1977

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Table 6. Net emigration from Central and Western Macedonia 1969-1977

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IAYE/1907/(Ιούλ.-Δεκ.)  
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IAYE/1922/Β/5910  
IAYE/1923/Β/59/9  
IAYE/1925/Ζ/172  
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MI\text{G\text{R\text{A}T\text{I\text{O}\text{N\text{ FROM MACEDONIA}}}}}

Historical Archives of Macedonia
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General Government of Western Macedonia: File 16/6

Australian Archives
A981/1 MIS 62
A/1066/1 IC45/3/301
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ACT A 6122/XRI 370
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50. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIa, Hellenic Foreign Ministry of Foreign Affairs to General Government of Thessaloniki (with copy to the Prefecture of Florina), Athens, 11 December 1930, no. 15474. Prefecture of Florina to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 18 December 1930, no. 99 “Κατάσταση ονομαστικής εμφανίωσα τους πράκτορας μεταναστεύσεως της περιφερείας μας καθ’ ον ησκήθη ποινική αγωγή και το αποτέλεσμα αυτής” [List of names of emigration agents in our region against whom criminal charges have been laid and the result of those actions].
51. IAYE/1929/A/6/II, article published in the newspaper Vradyni, 8 November 1929.
54. IAM/GDM/70, Prefecture of Florina to Prefecture of Thessaloniki, Florina, 25 July 1929, no. 10915. Also Prefecture of Thessaloniki to GDM, Thessaloniki, 29 July 1929, no. 44.
56. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIA contains all of the extensive correspondence between the Canadian Emigration Commission in Paris, the Greek Embassy in Paris, the Canadian High Commissioner in London and the Yugoslav Embassy in Athens and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior Affairs and Justice, from September 1930 through to June 1931.
58. IAYE/1929/A/2/II, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to Supreme Gendarmerie Headquarters for Macedonia, Florina 3 July. 1929, no. 13/22/II secret.
60. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry for the Interior, Directorate of Gendarmerie Public Security and Municipal Police, General Army Staff Bureau II, and Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Administrative Section, Athens, 8 November 1929, no. 12304. Also, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to Ministry for the Interior, Central Aliens Service, Florina, 22 November 1930, no. 16/5/266 top secret “on Greek Citizens emigrating to Bulgaria, Canada, etc. and designated as dangerous to the nation”.
61. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, file. 2/II, report from the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina on “those living in Canada and America and considered dangerous from the national point of view”, September 1934.
62. IAYE/1936/A/6/9, Hellenic Royal Gendarmerie, Higher Administration, Macedonian Bureau of Security to GDM, Regional Directorate of PTT Services, Thessaloniki, 30 April 1936, no. 15/149/41 “on the circulation of Bulgarian printed matter, newspapers, etc.” Also, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to GDM, Athens 8 May 1936, no. 9484 “on the circulation of issues of the Bulgarian newspaper Makedonska Trubuna” In the same file, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to State Defence Service, Section A, Florina, 27 September 1936, no. 3/2/Ia “on Bulgarian phonograph records”, attached to State Defence Service Section A, to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens 8 October 1936, no. 58/9/2/18.
63. IAYE/1931/A/6/Ila, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 20 April 1931, no. 171.
64. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIa, the newspaper articles attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section to Political Section A, Athens, 2 March 1931, no. 8476.
65. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIa, Gendarmerie Headquarters, Special Security Section to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 13 April 1932, no. 574/82/I.
66. IAYE/1921/B/452, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Consulate General in Montreal, Athens, 17 April 1920, no. 9237.
68. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIa, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 20 April 1931, no. 171.
70. IAYE/1935/A/6/4&A/6/9, sub-consulate Cleveland, Ohio, sub-consul K.N. Vilos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cleveland, 15 September 1935, no. 604, “on the 14th annual congress of the Bulgarian-Macedonian ‘Macedonian Political Organisation’”.
72. [The Zhelevo Brotherhood of Toronto], Short History of Zhelevo village, Macedonia (Toronto, χχχχ, 75-103, esp. 89 ff.
73. IAYE/1929/A/2/II, copy of the protest attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section to Political Section B, Athens, 30 July 1929, no. 29957.
74. Archives of the “Alexander the Great” Greek Macedonian Association of Perth, Western Australia, letter from presbyter Christopher K. Manessis to Mutual Aid Society of Greeks of Macedonia, Perth, 27 October 1931, no. 38.
76. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIa, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 5 January 1932, no. 151923
78. Australian Archives (hereafter AA), A981/1 MIS 62, memorandum from H.E. Jones, Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Attorney-General’s Department, to Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [Canberra], 13 March 1935. Also memorandum [Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs] to the Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, [Canberra], 14 March 1935.
80. IAYE/1929/A/21/II, in the confidential report filed by P. Demetriades, no. 15, as cited above.
81. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, report from Heracles Papamanolis, director of the Greek newspaper Estia in Montreal, Canada, on “the activity of Bulgarian propagandists for
Macedonian autonomy in Toronto and the attitude of emigrants from Greek Macedonia to His Excellency the Greek Ambassador in Washington”, Montreal, 9 December 1928.

82. IAYE/1930/A/2/Ill, Ch. I. Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 26 December 1928, no. 1922. Also IAYE/1932/A/6/Illα, successive dispatches Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 18 March 1932, no. 498, 3 May 1932, no. 859, 25 August 1932, no. 1607, 22 September 1932, no. 1740. Also Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Washington, Athens, 26 November 1932, no. 10651/A/6/1932. The Serbian diplomatic mission in the USA was also in agreement with the decision not to aggrandise the propaganda activity and the “denunciations” of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations in America, so as not to give them greater weight and therefore validity. See IAYE/1931/A/6/Illα, Ch.I Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 28 November 1930, no. 2103, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Sofia, Athens, 20 December 1930, no. 16193.

83. IAYE/1933/A/6/Illγ, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 February 1931, no. 42.


87. IAYE/1930/A/2/Ill, Ministry for the Interior, Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate A, Athens, 7 May 1930, no. 9/7/3 conf. Similar issues had been discussed by the two ministries in 1916/1508/2, 19 December 1929 and 4053, 19 April 1928.


90. IAYE/1930/A/2/Ill, Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate A, Athens, 23 August 1930, no. 9/7/9 urgent.


93. IAYE/1931/A/6/Illα, Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service to Prefectures of Florina, Edessa, Kozani, [Athens], undated, no. 9/7/32 secret and urgent, and Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to all Gendarmerie and Police Services, Athens, 11 February 1931, no. 9/7/33, urgent and confidential.
94. IAYE/1931/A/6/I of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs refers to “all embassies, salaried consular authorities in North and South America and the Consulates General of Constantinople and Paris and Ministry of Foreign Affairs Political Section A”, Athens, 16 January 1931, no. 53101.

95. IAYE/1933/A/6/Iy, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 February 1931, no. 42. Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to GDM and General Government of Thrace, Athens 17 March 1931, no. 2890. The competent services in the prefectures of Serres, Kozani, Pella and Kastoria responded positively to the request from the Ministry but required nearly a year to complete their lists.

96. IAYE/1932/A/6/I of the Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 13 June 1931, no. 152.

97. IAYE/1931/A/6/I of the Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to GDM, Florina, 8 July 1931, no. 174.


99. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, 2/II, report from the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina on “those living in Canada and America and considered dangerous from the national point of view”.

100. There are actually 42 reports, two of them referring to the same person, who in the end was struck off the list, since his case followed a different procedure.

101. Most communes were represented on the list by a single person. Exceptions included Polypotamos (6, of whom 5 wanted to return from Australia), Akritas (Boufi) (3: 2 USA + 1 Canada), Trivouno (2), Koryfi (2) and Dendrochori (2), Florina (2) and Metamorfosi (Kondoropi) Kastorias (2).


104. IAYE/1936/A/6/9, Nikolaos Nikolaou or Nick Nicholson, captain in the RCMP Royal Secret Service in Toronto, Ontario to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 August 1936, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to State Defence Service and GDM, Athens, 3 September 1936, no. 16637 “Activity of Macedonians in Canada”.


106. IAYE/1936/A/6/9, Permanent Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs N. Mavroudis to Ministry for the Interior with copy to Prefecture of Florina, Athens, 3 September 1936, no. 16351-16431 conf. “on Slavophone emigrants from the Prefecture of Florina” Also, in the same file, N. Mavroudis to Prefect of Florina, Athens, 3 November 1936, no. 18913.

107. IAYE/1932/B/13/B, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Administrative Section to Political Affairs Directorate Section B, Athens, 12 January 1932, no. 223(1/9).

108. Kayser, op. cit., 78.


110. For more detail, see Christos M. Mandatzis, “Από θόρματα πολέμου μετεκπαίδευόμενοι αγρότες: Πρώτες απόψεις μετανάστευσης από τη Μακεδονία στην Αυστραλία μετά τη λήξη του Β´ Παγκόσμιου Πολέμου” [From war victims to retraining as farmers: First attempts at emigration from Macedonia to Australia after
the end of World War II], *Acts of the XXIVth Historical Congress of the Hellenic History Society*, Thessaloniki, pp. 643-660.

11. AA, A/1066/1 IC45/3/301, memorandum to Deputy Minister for Emigration, 5 December 1945, enclosing an English translation of the letter from the villagers’ authorised representatives A. Sidiropoulos and Grigoris Charalambidis to the Australian Minister for Interior Affairs (from 22 September 1945).


13. AA, A/1066/1 IC45/3/301, note from Minister of Foreign Affairs to Immigration Ministry, Canberra 8 January 1945 (sic, in error for the correct 1946), enclosing the French original and an English translation of the letter from “Constantine Douropoulos, farmer, Doxato, Drama (Hellas)”, dated 12 October 1945 and the translation of the second letter from the villagers of Doxato, Drama, undated. The names and particulars of the members of the several families were not found.

14. Historical Archives of Macedonia, General Government of Western Macedonia (IAM/GDDM), file 16/6, the head of the delegation of the Australian Red Cross to the Governor General of Western Macedonia, Kozani 17 January 1946, enclosing a Greek translation of the letter from Australia House to Colonel W. S. Murphy of the Australian Red Cross in Thessaloniki, London 6 December 1945.

15. AA, A445/1 197/2/1, Alexandros Thanopoulos to the Ministries of Immigration and Foreign Affairs of Australia, Thessaloniki 9 August 1950.


17. AA, SA D400/0, SA 1954/1906, Federal Ministry of Immigration to the Immigration Service in Adelaide, South Australia, [Canberra, 22 March 1954], no. 197/1/12.


127. To Switzerland and Italy from the Ionian Islands, to Turkey from Thrace, to Africa from the Aegean Islands, to Italy from Crete.


129. Filias, “Research in Florina”, *op. cit.*, σ. 80.


132. General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, Ο απόδημος ελληνισμός: Φάκελος Αυστραλία, ΗΠΑ, Καναδά, Νέα Ζηλανδία [Greeks Abroad: File on Australia, USA, Canada, New Zealand], Athens 1995, pp. 119-120. See also I.H. Burnley, *From Southern Europe to New Zealand: Greeks and Italians in New Zealand (..., ...) 115.*

133. Filias, “Research in Florina”, *op. cit.*, 81-82.


135. Syrpis, “Research in Drama”, *op. cit.*, 69, 71.


137. Ministry of Coordination, Central and Western Macedonian Regional Development Service, Νομός Τρικάλων, Υπάρχουσα κατάσταση - Προβλήματα, δυνατότητες και προοπτικές αναπτύξεως, μέτρα πολιτικής - Βασικά έργα [Prefecture of Grevena, Existing situation – Problems, potential and prospects for development, policy measures – Basic works], Thessaloniki 1978, pp. 7-8, 10, 40-41.


140. Syrpis, “Research in Drama”, *op. cit.*, 72-73.


142. “The Greek Communist community is divided into three main sub-groups: (a) Greeks from mainland Greece and the surrounding islands, (b) Cypriots, (c) Mace-


146. For the Greek Macedonian press and the Greek Macedonian sports clubs in Australia see Anastasios M. Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, Bundoora, Victoria 1994, pp. 199-208.

147. The figures come from the extensive study of the “Greek Language Press in Australia” carried out by a research team from the National Centre for Greek Studies and Research, under Professor A. M. Tamis of La Trobe University, Melbourne.


152. For tables 2-4 see YPAKDM, Demographic characteristics, pp. 90-92.