

International Studies
in Social History
Volume 33

Working in Greece & Turkey

A Comparative Labour History
from Empires to Nation-States,
1840-1940



Berghahn Books

Edited by **Leda Papastefanaki &
M. Erdem Kabadayı**

CHAPTER 12

‘IT IS FAIR TO ASK FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR FATE’

The Demands, Mobilization and Political Orientation
of the Press Workers and Printers of Patras,
1900–1940

Asimakis Palaiologos

Gutenberg’s invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century created a new professional specialization, the printer. Printing constitutes a unique professional case: after centuries of massive, industrialized production, it is still considered by the vast majority of printers to be an ‘art’.

This stance is also found among academics who work on this professional field, for whom printers and press workers constitute a distinct topic of research. According to the literature, this is because it possesses a set of characteristics that distinguishes it from most other fields of labour. First, printing required high mental and technical ‘capital’ from its workers, meaning educational and technical knowledge. Second, it had a mixed character: it was a combination of specialized manual and machine labour, with an intense intellectual component.¹ In international historiography it is widely accepted that among printers the notion of ‘skilled labour’ has multiple meanings. In his study of English skilled workers, including printers, from the eighteenth century to 1820, John Rule emphasized that the definitions of skilled and unskilled labour were based both on social and gender distinctions and on technical competence, noting that ‘the property of skill was not just a line to be defended against employers, but a frontier to be held against the

unskilled they might seek to employ' – such as women.² At the same time, according to Ava Baron, printers considered their job to be the quintessence of the 'manly art', because it combined manual and mental labour.³

A third particularity was that the printer's labour was directly defined by the requirements of the product. Newspapers, but also magazines, books and other printed material, required strict timetables and fixed work rhythms. These requirements were fulfilled through an equally strict division of labour, and associated hierarchy, which itself contributed to the gender division and age segmentation of the labour force. Baron also points to the reproduction of age and gender segmentation through apprenticeship, as well as to the efforts of printers in the United States to establish the limits of apprenticeship (up to the beginning of the twentieth century) within the framework of a strategy for controlling job offers.⁴ The present research is based on the above-mentioned theoretical axes which, despite the different approaches adopted by historians, suggest certain important conclusions about the character of printing work. The segregation of print workers, and the multiple dimensions of their labour, have created difficulties for historians in integrating printers as a whole into the 'labour aristocracy', according to the criteria set by Eric Hobsbawm during the 1960s.⁵ Although the term 'labour aristocracy' has been widely criticized in historiographical discourse,⁶ it is apt for the case of the compositors in Victorian Great Britain. This professional group was long considered a typical example of labour aristocracy, until Patrick Duffy's study in 2000 which showed that the said professional specialty experienced the same job insecurity as other workers and, at the same time, had a higher mortality rate than miners.⁷

Certain major technological changes, especially the advent of digital printing, are considered by historians to be landmarks in the battle between capital and labour in the printing field, particularly in the press. Significant here is Cynthia Cockburn's study of the newspaper industry in London after World War II, where, among other things, she describes the dramatic changes that took place among newspaper printers when 'hot metal' composition was replaced by 'cold' photocomposition. Cockburn describes the publishers' efforts to increase their profitability by breaking craft control through the technological shift to computerized technology.⁸

Based on the above, it is clear that the multidimensional character of printers' labour demands a holistic approach. In order to illuminate the complex nature of this part of the working class, we must employ a wide range of methodological tools and adopt multiple perspectives drawn

from the study of labour history. A typical example of the use of such a holistic approach is Cynthia Cockburn's work mentioned above. From a Marxist and feminist point of view, and based on oral history, she investigates a range of subjects alongside her focus on technological change: specialization, ideology, gender- and class-consciousness, alternative receptions of labour, capitalism and patriarchy. The need for a holistic approach is also evident in Greek historiography, where the academic research on printers and press workers follows the approach of 'total history' (*histoire totale*).⁹ On this point, we must note that in Greece the research on printers has been greatly enhanced by earlier studies on the Greek press and on printing in general, conducted by journalists, historians of printing and researchers of mass media.¹⁰ The present study also follows an interpretative approach that takes the broad perspective of *histoire totale*, attempting to provide the most informative account possible of the terms of labour, the demands and the political direction of the printers and press workers of Patras during the first decades of the twentieth century.

While the study focuses on printers and press workers of Patras during the period 1900–1940, it makes systematic comparisons with employees in other Greek cities (especially Athens), where the evidence permits. In terms of primary sources, the greatest gap is due to the fact that the archive of the Patras Printers Union (1900–1950) has not been preserved. Nevertheless, information about the period is provided by statistical censuses and the national and local press,¹¹ as well as employees' memoirs. Additional information is provided by the archive of the Patras Press Workers' Trade Union, the union formed by press workers of the city in 1950.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first, we study Patras, a major provincial city in Western Greece. I thus present the place in which the printers of this study lived and worked. The second section concerns the publishing activity that took place in Patras and attempts to set out the multiple dimensions of printers' labour, ranging from educational levels to wages. The multiple aspects of printing need to be outlined, not only in order to meet the demands of the holistic approach mentioned above, but also to provide the foundation for the third and fourth sections: these refer to the political orientations and choices of the Patras print workers, focusing on their relations with left-wing political groups. At the same time, the research attempts to reveal the characteristics in common as well as the differences between printers and press workers.

The City of Patras

For economic historians, Patras is the most representative Greek urban centre of the nineteenth century, 'depicting the inertia of the agricultural milieu, and the slowness that it imposes, in a way much more discernible than in any other Greek city of the nineteenth century'.¹² The city of Patras developed as the main trade centre of Western Greece, and its connections with international markets made it the modern Greek state's gateway to Western Europe. Currant production, the main export product, was at the centre of the economy of Patras during the nineteenth century.¹³ Due to the above factors, as well as its dynamic local commercial bourgeois class, Patras became the first Greek city to experience industrial transformation,¹⁴ gradually becoming the most populous and most economically active city in the region of the Peloponnese, as indeed it remains today. After 1875 and until the end of the nineteenth century, industry in Patras turned more intensively to currant-related sectors, profiting from the development of the railway network and the construction of a new port.¹⁵ During the first two decades of the twentieth century, spirit production and vinification held a central position in Patras's economy. In 1925, local industrial activity was given a boost with new legislation that further contributed to its growth,¹⁶ while the protective measures against the international economic crisis of 1929, enacted by the Venizelos government in 1932, enabled the intensive growth of domestic industry. New local industrial activity took place within this framework, with the foundation of large units in a series of industrial sectors.¹⁷

Turning more systematically to industry towards the end of the nineteenth century, Patras increased its population from fifteen thousand in 1853 to thirty-eight thousand in 1896. The city experienced another demographic transformation in the 1920s: from thirty-eight thousand in 1907 to sixty-one thousand in 1928, the population thereafter remaining stable at sixty-two thousand until 1940.¹⁸

The rapid urban migration of rural populations during the first two decades of the twentieth century led to an increase in the labouring population – which in 1900 was estimated at 2,500 people. Rural communities, impoverished by the collapse of the currant trade, sought employment in the currant-related crafts and industries of Patras.¹⁹ After the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922,²⁰ the local working class was fuelled demographically by the arrival of more than six thousand refugees, the large majority of them from Asia Minor, who settled in Patras. In 1928, 1,291 refugees worked in the city's industry.²¹ As a result of these developments, by 1930 the city's labour population was over 7,500, three

times that of the beginning of the century.²² This demographic dynamic was reflected in the city's publishing activity, as the communication needs of the local society steadily increased.

Publishing Activity in Patras and the Main Aspects of the Printers' Labour

Publishing activity in Patras was closely connected to urban growth. Specifically, from the mid nineteenth century the press of Patras reflected the aspirations and goals of the local bourgeois class and the local urban political community.²³ In other words, the dynamism of the local urban class influenced the publishing activity of the local press during the whole period under discussion. The constantly growing needs for representation and expression at the local level of society favoured the building of a strong publishing sector.²⁴

From the 1840s to the end of the nineteenth century, a total of seventy-nine newspapers of diverse content were published in Patras. Primacy in local publishing was held by the political press, with a total of forty-nine political newspapers. Despite their large number, most of them were short-lived, being small, one-person enterprises.²⁵ The publication of the first daily newspapers was an innovation of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The long-lived *Peloponnisos* (1886 to present) was the first daily provincial newspaper to be published in Greece. *Neologos Patron* was the second daily morning newspaper, and would also prove very long-lasting (August 1894–December 1972).²⁶

From 1836 to the end of the nineteenth century, the printing houses with the largest publishing activity were those of Tobras (1836), Georgiadis (1841), Stavropoulos-Adropoulos (1850), Evmorfopoulos-Stavropoulos (1855), Agapitos (1861), Christopoulos (1862) and Kadmos (1875).²⁷

From 1901 to 1940, there were fifty-four daily and periodical newspapers published in Patras. As in the nineteenth century, the main characteristic of the new political newspapers was their short life span.²⁸ The main reason for the large number of new publications were the deep changes in political, economic and social life that occurred in the Greek social establishment from the Goudi military revolution (1909) to the dictatorship of Metaxas (1936–41).²⁹ In large measure, the newspapers of Patras were products of political and social change. This publishing boom kept pace with the transformations of the first decades of the twentieth century, which increased the readership's desire for up-to-date

information, as well as the need for local political and social networks that addressed their interests.³⁰

At the end of the 1900s there was a fundamental transformation in the local publishing market, when the newspapers with the greatest readerships, such as *Peloponnisos* and *Neologos*, founded their own printing houses and updated their technical equipment in response to the competition between them. These newspapers departed from the model of the small, one-person enterprise and became closer to the newspapers of Athens, which invested in their own printing machinery and had a large number of employees with a structured division of labour.³¹

From the beginning of the twentieth century until World War II, among the artistic and publications printing houses,³² there was significant activity within the printing house of the newspaper *Simaia* (1902), as well as the printing houses of Fragkoulis (1905), Variantzas (1907), Kouloumpis (1908), Katsantonis (1909), Sinadinos (1911), Varzanis (1911), Pascha (1913), Atlas (1923), Ladopoulos (1928), Koukouras (1936), Feggos (1936) and Kagiafas (1938).³³

To better understand the labour movement activities and political orientation of the printers and press workers of Patras, it is necessary to address certain basic characteristics of their work. How were these two working strata connected, and in what ways were they different?

In the 1920 census, nineteen printing firms were registered in the prefecture of Achaia and Elis (Eleias), whose capital was Patras, employing 107 workers.³⁴ The census in question does not provide more specific data about Patras; we can argue, however, that in their majority these shops and employees were located within Patras itself, as the city concentrated the bulk of the publishing activity. In the years that followed, the volume of publishing increased and the number of printers increased: the 1928 census recorded 103 printers (100 men, 3 women) and 82 employees of other paper and printing specialties in the Province of Patras. Among these 185 employees, sixteen were refugees.³⁵ The 1930 industrial census recorded forty-three shops in the paper and printing industry of the city of Patras, occupying 297 employees.³⁶

Despite the fact that this particular census does not present its data per professional category, it nevertheless provides many useful pieces of information. Out of the forty-three enterprises, thirty-two were small-sized, employing up to five people. The same census distinguishes the owners and co-owners from salaried personnel, with 225 salaried workers classified by gender and age, as shown in Table 12.1.

During the entirety of the period under discussion, the basic method of production in the printing houses of Patras was composition³⁷ – that

is, the schematization of the publication from manuscript to printing – which was done by hand.³⁸ The printing itself was done by mechanical presses. In all printing houses, therefore, the main specialization was that of the compositor, a specialty that required technical skills as well as a very good knowledge of language.³⁹ Even more demanding was the specialization of the page layout worker, which required equal technical skills and educational level, but also called for a great deal of experience, given that the page layout worker, who normally was also the foreman, was responsible for the overall artistic style of the publication.⁴⁰ The specialization of pressman lacked the ‘intellectual’ dimension of the aforementioned specializations, but required high skills in the placing of the paper and inking. The folding of the newspaper sheets (using a special machine) as well as the cleaning of the typographic elements was considered ‘unskilled’ labour.⁴¹ This distinction between ‘skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ labour in the printing houses was connected to the ‘intellectual’ dimension of the publication produced. This distinction was not based only on technical skill, ‘but also on gendered and social divisions’.⁴² Skilled labour was identified with male labour, and unskilled with female labour, identifications that ‘accordingly evaluate human labour in a negative or a positive way’.⁴³ The hierarchical structure was rigid: the page layout worker was responsible for the material, and shared the work on flow and layout with the compositors. In printing, the chief pressman was responsible. Especially in the newspapers, such a hierarchy was considered indispensable for meeting the publications’ strict deadline requirements.⁴⁴

The high educational level, wealth of technical skills and intellectual element of labour were characteristic of the principal specializations in the printing houses of Patras, and were the main morphological elements connecting their personnel. As Cynthia Cockburn observes about the press workers of London after World War II, printing labour was a means for the creation and expression of high reputation in contrast to other working-class jobs.⁴⁵ The same was likely true for the Patras press workers.

Table 12.1 Workers in the paper and printing industry of Patras, 1930. Classification by gender and age.

Men			Women			Total		
Juveniles	Adults	Total	Juveniles	Adults	Total	Juveniles	Adults	Total
49	116	165	24	36	60	73	152	225

Source: SGG, *Recensement des établissements des entreprises industrielles et commerciales effectué en Septembre de 1930*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1934), Annex, t. 3, 50–51, t. 4, 64.

Another common characteristic was the 'monolithic' division of labour by gender. The printing houses of Patras were totally androcratic. As mentioned, in 1928 only three women are recorded as employed in the printing houses of Patras. The 1930 census of shops records sixty women in the paper and printing industry, the majority of whom worked in the Ladopoulos papermaking firm, founded in 1929.⁴⁶ As for the very few women working in printing houses, we can assume that they were occupied in positions outside the printing process itself (that is, in typing or selling), or in 'auxiliary' positions such as the cleaning of the typographic elements.⁴⁷ In the press sector, the division was even more rigid: the first women would enter the newspaper printing houses of Patras only at the end of the 1970s.⁴⁸

This meagre presence of women in printing houses was not confined to the locality of Patras: from the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of women in the printing houses of Athens remained small, while women were excluded from all specializations in the Athens daily newspapers.⁴⁹ It is certain that the exclusion of women from the newspapers of Athens and Patras did not come about as a result of the protective law about women enacted in 1912, since this law was not applied in industries such as tobacco, paper and textiles, which employed a great number of female workers.⁵⁰

The arguments presented by male press workers after World War II, regarding the exclusion of women for so many years, had their basis in the educational and technical demands of the newspaper industry, and a perception that women could neither cope with the harsh working conditions, nor combine printing labour with their family obligations.⁵¹ These arguments are directly connected to the question of gender relations and their representation within the division of labour, and this is especially clear once we consider that the division of labour is not just an economic and social fact, but also a cultural one which reproduces gendered and hierarchical relations of power.⁵² This is further confirmed by Efi Avdela's statement that 'the position held by women in the family determined their lower position in the labour market, imposing a hierarchically structured division of labour by gender'.⁵³ However, the paternity of ideas such as the 'male' nature of printing labour cannot be claimed by the Patras press workers alone. Equivalent ideas were used by press workers in England in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century in order to exclude women from the printing labour force.⁵⁴

Another point in common between printers and press workers were the poor working conditions in the printing houses. In a memorandum of 1953, the Patras Press Workers' Trade Union referred to the problems

of three members of the union who had been forced into early retirement because of tuberculosis.⁵⁵ Considering that the retired employees had worked in the sector since the end of the 1920s, this memorandum constitutes explicit evidence of the serious health problems faced by employees in the printing houses of Patras. In 1965, reflecting on the interwar era, the vice-president of the PPWTU recalled that:

The germ of tuberculosis incubated, aided by the unpleasant smell of paper. The dust, which provokes hard breathing and respiratory discomforts, lies on the journalistic paper, which is concentrated in packs inside the printing house and on the stand of the type cases. An important pathogenic factor is the toxicity of the inks, trenal (a kind of potash), and the gasoline used to clean the types from the ink. Also unhygienic was the oil used by pressmen to clean the printing or the ink friction cylinders of the presses. Lead poisoning ... strikes printers due to compositors' and page layout workers' contact with the types, which were made by an alloy of lead and, in a smaller amount, antimony.⁵⁶

The description demonstrates how vividly the consequences of tuberculosis were engraved in the press workers' memory. Nevertheless, tuberculosis should not be seen as a phenomenon unique to the printing houses of Patras. On the contrary, the problem of tuberculosis was generally intensifying in Greek cities at the beginning of the twentieth century. With the gradual development of health services and the creation of the first insurance funds, the professional composition of tuberculosis sufferers became more apparent: printers were revealed to be among the categories of employees who manifested higher percentages of tuberculosis.⁵⁷

Incidents of illness were generally quite high: apart from tuberculosis and lead poisoning,⁵⁸ the lead contained in type elements was responsible for various stomach, lung, arterial and neurological problems. The long periods spent standing provoked arthritis, the lack of light led to ophthalmologic diseases, and the close, badly ventilated spaces caused upper respiratory tract problems.⁵⁹

Hygiene conditions in the printing houses constituted an object of legislation for the Venizelos governments, within the framework of the urban modernization process that took place during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In 1914, the Royal Decree 'concerning hygiene regulation of printing houses' was enacted. Its aim was to limit the risk of employees suffering from lead poisoning, tuberculosis and a series of other diseases, recognizing the threats to the employees' health.⁶⁰ Yet during the interwar period, labour inspection reports

showed the non-application of the regulation by the majority of employers and owners. In Athens, due to their meagre capital, the smaller printing shops were unable to implement the legally required reforms. And, indeed, the labour inspectors did not report problems such as the pain experienced by compositors from overlong standing, while 'totally neglected were the risks involved in the pressman's work. In the reports, the adverse consequences for the pressmen's and paper feeders' health due to their contact with the ink and the paper were absent'.⁶¹

The printers were fully aware of the bad working conditions, and sometimes faced them with bitter humour:

Their toil is very hard
and their orphans let alone in the yard
while Death wanders about.
Antimony eats their guts away
and youth goes tragically away.⁶²

Nevertheless, research on the first four decades of the twentieth century has not uncovered any union mobilization on the question of hygiene conditions. The main reason for this absence is simply that there existed no other model of production with better conditions that could be adopted. Linotype was an expensive means of production for the provincial press, and unsuitable for the artistic printing houses, as they were small enterprises producing mostly low-cost printed products such as pamphlets and greeting cards, which had to use methods that were much less healthy than hand composition.

The growth of the press of Patras, and especially the establishment of a daily press, up until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, contributed to the gradual emergence of press workers as a separate and clearly defined subgroup of the city's printers.

The establishment of the daily newspaper led to the transformation of the printing houses that produced them; they became organized publishing enterprises with a large number of personnel and a structured internal division of labour, contributing to a more distinctive working environment for their employees.⁶³

These characteristics were found mostly among press workers employed by the city's daily newspapers. Patras's small market, compared to that of Athens and Thessaloniki, along with its established and socially defined readership, favoured the demands of the press workers, since in economic terms their employers were more vulnerable to employee pressure, especially when manifest in strikes, given the tight competition among the local newspapers. Particularly in the daily

press, the economic balance was fragile: operating capital for daily publication was high, while at the same time a large portion of newspaper income came from paid advertisements. These sources of income were lost whenever the newspaper was not published due to labour action, causing severe income losses and upsetting the economic balance of the daily press.⁶⁴ These factors conferred on press workers a web of stronger unifying characteristics and gave them a stronger negotiating position compared to printers working outside the newspaper field.⁶⁵

Moreover, there were certain basic differences between press workers and printers in artistic and publications printing houses: first, the press workers' ability to go from being an employee to being an employer was tenuous. Contrary to the artistic and publications printing houses, where for various reasons mobility was possible,⁶⁶ in newspapers it was more difficult and specifically in the daily newspapers practically impossible. This was due to high production costs. After World War II, when typesetting remained the basic printing technology, about twenty employees of all specializations were required for typesetting and printing a daily newspaper. Moreover, as already mentioned, the required daily operating capital in terms of paper, ink and energy was high. In contrast, the non-daily press required a substantially smaller number of employees, while many such newspapers did typesetting and printing at different printing houses.⁶⁷ At the same time, also in the case of the non-daily and periodical press, the possibility for a press worker to advance from a position of dependent labourer to that of employer was significantly limited, since subcontracted labour prevailed in that specific type of printing, as noted below. Another factor was the potential lack of access to political and clientelist connections that played an important financial role in a newspaper's survival.⁶⁸

Second, compared to the press, in the artistic and publications printing houses there was a marked lack of homogeneity in the division of labour. We do not know how many of the seventy-three minors registered in the paper industry of Patras in 1930 worked in printing houses, but the existence of minors in the printing houses of Patras is confirmed by a Printers Union gathering in 1929, where the gap between minors and adult employees is recognized.⁶⁹ Children's labour in the field of printing was not unique to Patras. In those sectors where the organization of production was based on the artisanship model (printing is one of them), the percentage of apprentices was especially high in 1930 relative to the total number of underage workers.⁷⁰

The existence of underage workers in the artistic and publications printing houses engendered a plethora of discriminatory practices

against them, and rendered them vulnerable to employer or foreman pressure. International experience has shown that, in printing houses with the exception of newspapers, apprenticeship was not only a system of acquiring skills, but also forged a connection between family, working role and the gendered division of labour; the apprenticed minor 'developed his character and acquired appropriate values and behaviors, as well as technical skills. He learned to be a man in gendered terms and a worker in class terms'.⁷¹ In the newspapers of Patras, meanwhile, the employment of minors was unheard of, either before or after World War II. It was the artistic and publications printing houses that were responsible for the process of apprenticeship, for a number of reasons aside from legislative regulation.⁷² First, the exigent pace of publication discouraged press workers from accepting apprentices, since becoming familiar with the profession's demands was time-consuming, and consequently there was a risk of disturbing the newspaper's pace of production.⁷³ Secondly, apprenticeship in the artistic and publications printing houses entailed advantages for both press workers and printing house owners. For the workers, 'apprenticeship was a way of controlling entry into the profession, while for the employers it equalled a lucrative source of cheap labour'.⁷⁴

The difficult position of minors was evident also in remuneration; they had the lowest income. On the whole, printers' income was determined by specialization and years of duty.⁷⁵ It seems that between 1914 and 1923, daily wages for certain categories of printers and lithographers increased nine times or more.⁷⁶ However, printers' incomes show significant fluctuations according to city and specialization. In 1931, the Printers Union in Volos described the tragic economic situation of its members, who received as a daily wage 40 drachmas at newspapers and 30 at artistic printing houses,⁷⁷ whereas the average nominal and real daily wage of the pressmen of Athens in 1930 was 83 drachmas and 74 drachmas respectively.⁷⁸ The compositors and pressmen of the newspapers were better remunerated than printers, and essentially had a stable occupation.⁷⁹ The 1930 census of workers and daily wages does not include data for the printing personnel of Patras, but it does record the total sum of employee remunerations in the paper and printing industry in the geographical department of the Peloponnese. The data show that the average daily wages of the printers and compositors of the Peloponnese were significantly lower than the respective wages nationwide (Table 12.2).

Compositors' daily wages were higher than the nationwide average, while the meagre data on women contained in the census show great deviations from the male daily wages.⁸⁰ Press workers of the large daily

newspapers of Patras were in a better position. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, they succeeded in having their wages increased, as will be shown later. However, for the majority of the city's printers, the economic reality was rather depressing. As a consequence, it is not surprising that the labour actions of employees in the printing houses of Patras during the whole period under discussion had increased wages as a principal demand.

Mobilizations of the Press Workers and Printers, 1882-1936

The first documented mobilizations were manifest in August 1882, with the newspapers' printers going on strike to demand a 30 per cent increase in their daily wages.⁸¹ The local press covered the printers' actions by highlighting that they 'are remunerated scantily and it is fair to ask for the improvement of their fate'.⁸² Printers' pressure led to an increase in wages, not by 30 per cent, but enough to 'be remunerated in 1907 better than any other salaried worker in the city'.⁸³ The crystallization of the printers' consciousness is marked in the official title of the Patras Printers Union, founded in 1900: The Printing Fraternity of Patras.⁸⁴

At this point, it needs to be clarified that the workers' collective action is not monodimensional. On the contrary, it is shaped by many factors,

Table 12.2 Comparative average daily wage of male workers in basic printing specializations in the Peloponnese and on a nationwide scale in 1930 (in drachmas).

Specialization	Professional position	Total		10-19 years old		20-29 years old		30 years or older	
		Peloponnese	Nationwide	Peloponnese	Nationwide	Peloponnese	Nationwide	Peloponnese	Nationwide
Printers	Workers	51	69	29	37	56	68	77	94
	Apprentices	21	21	21	21	-	-	-	-
Compositors	Workers	56	71	29	40	71	70	82	90
	Apprentices	14	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
Pressmen	Workers	-	90	-	37	-	80	-	125
	Apprentices	-	37	-	37	-	-	-	-

Source: SGG, *Recensement des employés et ouvriers des entreprises industrielles et commerciales et relevé des salaires effectués en Septembre 1930* (Athens, 1940), Annex, t. 7a, 154, t. 7b, 190-92.

such as the internal organization of the labour of each productive unit, the degree of production dependent on a stable intake of the workforce, the level of mechanization and technological modernization, and the degree of labour specialization.⁸⁵

Based on the above, we may divide the labour movement activities of the printers and press workers of Patras during the period 1912–36 into two categories: first, mobilizations exclusively concerned with issues of work in the sector; and second, mobilizations with a wider political dimension in which the Patras Printers Union participated.

The first category includes the first union mobilization, which took place in 1919: the press workers went on strike from 23 February to 9 March, during which time not a single newspaper was published in Patras. The press workers had four basic demands: an increase in daily wages; a decrease in working hours to six hours a day; a ban on dismissals; and the requirement, for the employment of new personnel, of the consent of the existing press workers at each newspaper.⁸⁶ The strike ended following the agreement of both sides. From the available sources, it can be concluded that the employers did not agree to discuss any demand other than the increase in wages, although they assured the workers that they would not proceed with dismissals. It appears that the strikers succeeded in obtaining a significant wage rise, and that this satisfied their short-term needs in a way that dissuaded them from proceeding to other demands: 'The payment for one night shift in *Neologos* was 4-4.75 drachmas. The Printers Association, through its struggles, lifted it to 9 drachmas. And when it began to seek a 12 drachma wage, the Association was abandoned by the majority of its members'.⁸⁷

A new 24-hour strike was held by press workers on 25 July 1919. Demands regarding wages were central to the isolated strikes that were organized in the period that followed. Among others, press workers of *Telegraphos* went on a three-day strike in October 1920, while on 1 March 1923, *Neologos*'s printers organized a prolonged strike.⁸⁸ Printers and journalists of Patras went on a new prolonged strike at the beginning of 1925, with an increase in wages as their central demand.⁸⁹ Almost a month after the beginning of the strike, the publishers conceded and increased the wages. During the strike, press workers and journalists published the newspaper *Ethnikon Vima*.⁹⁰

In the 1930s, and up until the imposition of the Fourth of August dictatorship, only one strike was held by the press workers of Patras.⁹¹ This strike 'stagnation' did not, however, reflect a lack of activity on the part of the city's labour movement, which indeed increased between 1932 and 1936, due to unemployment, low wages and dismissals.⁹² It can be argued that the lack of strikes was due to the publication of many

newspapers in this period, which on the one hand were short-lived, but on the other ensured employment for press workers. However, this publishing activity in interwar Patras was quite fragile. As a tool of mass political thinking, the press is a function of group interests and its associated political discourses.⁹³ From the middle of World War I up to the imposition of the Metaxas dictatorship, Greek society experienced deep political and social polarization. The polarization was between the supporters of Eleftherios Venizelos's politics and his opponents, represented mainly by the monarchists. Beginning with this period of polarization (referred to in Greek historiography as the National Schism), the press in Patras experienced persecution by the state authorities depending on its political orientation and the course of the political conflicts within Greek society.⁹⁴ These persecutions took the form of publication bans, and even the closure of newspapers.⁹⁵ This situation fostered a continuous state of uncertainty and often made press workers vulnerable to employer pressure.

'We went through a lot in those years. We retreated before the fear of seeing a newspaper close', a press worker averred bitterly several years later.⁹⁶ The retreat of the printers from their earlier gains was also pointed out by the newspaper of Athens, *Rizospastis*, an organ of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE):

Over recent years, a sector of workers in Patras, the printers, not only lost what they had gained after a hard struggle, but were also attacked by employers – an attack that needs to stop ... But today, we can say that the printers should reach several conclusions about the attack from employers, should mobilize their dispersed powers and proceed without delay to a counter-attack. It is a shame for the printers of Patras to accept, without complaint, wage cuts, the loss of their rights and economic gains, the violation of their working hours, the cutting of holiday pay, in the case of a veteran co-worker, to being insulted by the employers. We express our regret over this degrading predicament of the printers of Patras.⁹⁷

In the meantime, it seems that the union suffered internal friction. The lack of archival material for the Printers Union prevents us from tracking these internal disputes, but the existence of tension is demonstrated – at least partially – by a communication sent by thirty union members to the Press and Paper Industry Workers Federation in 1935. This note was about a series of problems faced by the Printers Insurance Fund, founded in 1930. The note's signatories launched a volley of criticisms against the administration of the Patras Printers Union, blaming it for torpedoing every action by the Fund participants during the years 1932 to 1935.⁹⁸ The fact that those signing the note were all press workers

from three daily newspapers of Patras illustrates the divisions that existed within the union, between the printers and the technical personnel of the newspapers. We can assume that these tensions were also fuelled by disputes between printers and press workers over the launching of a number of short-lived newspapers, with the associated opportunity for contracted labour that was notably lucrative for the workers at the top of the hierarchy.⁹⁹ A final indicator of the problems faced by the union in this period was the issue of strikebreaking. While in November 1929 *Rizospastis* applauded the decision of the Patras Printers Union to expel members for strikebreaking,¹⁰⁰ four years later it reported the recruitment of strikebreakers by the publisher of *Esperini*.¹⁰¹

Included in the second category of mobilizations is the participation of the union in broader labour actions undertaken by the working classes of Patras. In May 1912, the Printers Union submitted a recommendation to the Superior Labour Council for a draft law. This proposal dealt with matters like the establishment of regulations for working hours and the right of elected union officials to intervene in the workplace. With the declaration of World War I, speculative pressures arose in the local market, and the result was a rapid increase in the prices of basic goods. At this time, the Printers Union participated in a joint meeting with other labour unions in the city, where the decision was taken to send a list of grievances by telegram to the government.¹⁰²

During the large strike in Patras held from 20 to 30 May 1920, printers and press workers contributed financially to the workers' fund that had been created to cover the needs of strikers.¹⁰³ These activities are connected to a wider transformation within the Greek labour movement of the period: the inflation of World War I and the postwar era eroded the real value of salaries and wages¹⁰⁴ and drove the employees to repeated mass, militant strikes. Within this context, the press workers used their expertise to communicate the unions' demands. Among other things, they contributed to the appearance of the newspaper *Ergatiki Enosis*, which was published in July 1923 by the Patras Labour Centre.¹⁰⁵ In September 1924, the Printers Union organized a strike which, apart from issues specific to their sectoral interest, raised more general matters, such as the persecution of workers on a countrywide basis. During the strike, the Printers Union published the newspaper *Simerini*.¹⁰⁶

From September 1924 to January 1925, the Printers Union participated in a series of meetings and rallies organized by the Patras Labour Centre.¹⁰⁷ Later, during the Pangalos dictatorship, the Printers Union participated in a workers' rally that took place in Patras on 21 July 1925, the main issues of which were the increase in the prices of basic

goods, and the increase in unemployment.¹⁰⁸ The context of the union's demands from 1923 to 1925 was the broader popular discontent of the period, which 'turned against profiteering in all its facets (the rise in the price of basic goods, leasehold, companies preying on the public), rather than against employers as such'.¹⁰⁹

The printers were impacted by the segmentation and frictions within the General Confederation of Greek Workers. In 1929, the Press Workers Federation, part of which was the Patras Printers Union, participated in the foundation of the leftist Unionist General Confederation of Greek Workers, within which the Communist Party exercised great influence, while in the same year the union took part in the creation of the leftist Unionist Labour Centre of Patras.¹¹⁰

Despite problems, the Printers Union participated in workers' meetings organized in the city in September 1934 and March 1936, and took an active part in the massive strike organized in Patras on 13 May 1936 as a protest against the bloody suppression of the tobacco workers' strike in Thessaloniki a few days earlier.¹¹¹

How were the labour actions of the printers and press workers related to similar sector actions in Athens and other regions of the country? In Athens and Piraeus, at the end of the nineteenth century, printers were the first employees to attempt to organize, first as associations for mutual aid, and later as unions.¹¹² During the interwar period, printers and press workers – who in 1933 had formed a separate union – carried out a number of labour actions in Athens and Piraeus.¹¹³

It should be pointed out that Patras was not the only provincial city in which printers conducted strikes. On the contrary, during the interwar period strikes broke out in many cities with a much smaller publishing market than Patras: among others, in the 1920s press workers in Drama and Trikala went on strike, as well as printers and press workers in Mytilini.¹¹⁴ Between 1930 and 1936, the printers of Volos, Serres, Herakleion and Mytilini organized strikes, as did the press workers of Kalamata and the printers and press workers of Larisa.¹¹⁵ The main demands were remuneration and opposition to dismissals.

An increase in salaries, the backpay of dues and dismissals were consequently a common denominator of mobilizations in the press sector nationwide during the interwar period. In addition, printers' unions were in contact and in various cases they supported local strikes and mobilizations.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the fact that the Patras Printers Union was one of the founding members of the Federation in 1918 shows that its connections with other unions were longstanding.

Political Orientation of the Press Workers and Printers of Patras

The printers and press workers represented a class of employees whose ambitions and concerns were not connected exclusively to their workplace. In other words, they were a rather politicized category of employees. But from where did this politicization originate, and what was its ideological orientation? The high educational level, which for about fifty years was the institutional requirement for the founding of and entrance into a printing enterprise,¹¹⁷ and the involvement of printers in networks of political power, especially in the field of newspapers, put them in systematic contact with wider political developments.

The printers, especially in the press, began to engage in political action from the early days of the modern Greek state, from the 1830s when Greece obtained its first internationally recognized monarch, the Bavarian King Otto. During Otto's reign (1835–62), newspapers had been restricted by a strict legal framework that hindered their publication and made their survival problematic – especially if they opposed Otto, as was the case for the majority of the Patras press.¹¹⁸

After Otto's dethronement and the abolition of restrictive laws, the press and publications of Patras more generally saw significant growth. The greater ease in founding a printing shop or a newspaper increased the ranks of printing personnel.¹¹⁹ The increase in publishing activity was followed by an intensification in labour and, in combination with a tradition of political action bequeathed by the previous generation of printers, led those employed in printing to gradually realize their importance in the timely production of the publication. Political action and labour upheavals made the printers of Patras more open to the socialist and anarchist ideologies that were introduced into Greece at the end of the nineteenth century. Printers participated in the editing and publication of the socialist newspapers *Elliniki Dimokratia* (1877) and *Empros* (1896) and the anarchist newspaper *Epi ta proso* (1896–98).¹²⁰

The political choices of the Patras Printers Union in the 1920s, as mentioned above, affirm the union's orientation towards the communist left. The roots of these political choices can be traced, to a great extent, to the deterioration of workers' living conditions during World War I, and the workers' consequent radicalization and their gradual recognition of their power.¹²¹ Significant information regarding these factors is provided by the publication in Patras of newspapers related, indirectly or directly, to the Communist Party of Greece. In 1924, *Rizospastis* announced the circulation in Patras of the newspaper *O Ergatis*, an organ

of the Communist Organization and the Labour Centre of Patras.¹²² In November 1932, the party organizations of Patras and the Peloponnese assumed responsibility for the publication of the Sunday *Rizospastis* in a six-page format.¹²³ These Patras publications demonstrate the involvement of the press workers of the city. Especially in the case of *Rizospastis* in 1932, the expanded and enriched content presupposed the participation of specialized technical personnel, in order to meet the tight publication deadlines. The participation of the press workers in such efforts gains additional significance given that the involvement of the interwar Communist Party of Greece in the province was obstructed by the authorities, leading to discrimination and informal social pressure on its members.¹²⁴ Additional information on the commitment of printers to the Communist Party is also provided by police reports in the newspapers, which published information about the arrests of printers by the police and the participation of other printers in events held by the Communist Party, and so on.¹²⁵

The strong footing of the left in the field of printing was also maintained during the Metaxas dictatorship. From the beginning of 1937, a core of the Federation of Communist Youth of Greece (OKNE), the youth wing of the then illegal Communist Party of Greece, was operating among the printers of Patras.¹²⁶ This fact may be the most indicative of the persistence of the political commitment to the left by a segment of printers and press workers.

Finally, the political choices of the printers and press workers of Patras left their mark during World War II, in the course of the occupation of Greece by Axis forces (1941–44). Many of these workers participated actively in the most popular and radical resistance organization, the National Liberation Front (EAM), for which they took on the publication of local resistance newspapers, as well as the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS), the military arm of the EAM.¹²⁷

Based on the above, it is a verifiable fact that, during the interwar period, the press workers were more involved in the left than those printers not employed by newspapers. But why, during the interwar period, was it mainly the press workers who committed to the left, while the printers did so to a lesser extent? Given their strict internal division of labour, was the contact with the communist left relevant to the entirety of the press workers, or only to parts of it?

In relation to the second question, we can define with some exactitude which press workers were oriented towards the left. This is because the labour subcontracting prevalent among most transient newspapers during the interwar period created divisions among the press workers – something that is hardly unexpected, given that these workers constitute

a 'hierarchically structured system of power and exploitation'.¹²⁸ So, on the one hand, the majority of press workers could increase their income by composing and printing other newspapers as well; on the other hand, however, they experienced the exploitative relations represented by the system of labour subcontracting. Contract labour was not undertaken by press workers, but rather by the foremen of the daily newspapers. For the compositors and pressmen, then, subcontracting their labour did not simply represent additional remuneration, but was also a negative experience. It must have been particularly agonizing for the press workers engaged in subcontracting to experience exploitation specifically by their co-workers. Indicatively, in 1935 *Rizospastis* denounced the foreman of the newspaper *Apogevmatini* for violating the rights of his co-workers.¹²⁹ Consequently, it can be argued that the commitment to the left pertained, primarily, to young press workers who held a lower position in the internal labour hierarchy. It is also apparent that the thirty press workers employed by the largest daily newspapers of the city, who sent a letter to *Rizospastis* in 1935, constituted the core group of press workers who were committed to or maintained contact with the Communist Party. The fact that these thirty press workers also engaged in criticism of the administration of their organization for its support of the socialist group led by Evangelou (a former member of the Communist Party) and Lambropoulos, who were in the majority on the Administrative Council of the Union of Printers of Athens between 1931 and 1933,¹³⁰ strengthens this assertion.

Let us also try to answer the first question, regarding the predominance of the left among press workers as opposed to other sectors. Piecework labour – that is, remuneration according to performance – was widespread among the printers of the publications and artistic printing houses. This form of remuneration is corrosive of collective consciousness in the workplace and promotes competition among employees.¹³¹ Piecework labour, combined with an insecure occupation, favoured individualistic practices, and this individualism was intensified by the possibility of creating one's own business, and thus moving from being a dependent worker to being a small entrepreneur.¹³² In plain words, the main goal of many printers was to work and then, using their savings, to start a small enterprise, so as to escape the condition of periodical or partial occupation. Faced with this prospect, a commitment to the left was an obstruction for another reason as well: the small, single-person printing shop depended to a great extent on local politicians to provide work in terms of propaganda and election-related material. In interwar Greece, where anti-communism was a basic component of political life, a small printing store in a provincial city could not hope for

many orders from local politicians if the owner or foreman was a communist. This factor does not mean that the printing sector was 'structurally' hostile towards the left, however: on the contrary, the communist left of the interwar period maintained a significant footing among printers. From 1924 to 1933, the Communist Party influenced the printers of Athens as well as many other printer unions in regional cities. So did the Trotskyist 'Archive Marxists', albeit to a lesser extent.¹³³ The 'Archive Marxists' were the most powerful current of the Trotskyist left opposition in interwar Greece. They took their name from the periodical *Archeio tou Marxismou* (*Archive of Marxism*), which circulated in 1923. The main political manifestations of the 'Archive Marxists' were the Communist Organization of Bolsheviks-Leninists of Greece – 'Archive Marxists' active during 1930–34 – and the Communist 'Archive Marxist' Party of Greece, during 1935–46.¹³⁴ In the case of the printers of Patras, a relevant study was unable to find any influence from the 'Archive Marxists'.¹³⁵ In Athens, the left orientation of the leadership of the Book and Press Workers Printers Union caused a rupture between the employees in the book and newspaper sector in 1928.¹³⁶ At the beginning of the 1930s, the printers in Larisa showed a clear left orientation and engaged in militant political action.¹³⁷ Thus, it can be argued that sectors represented by printers and press workers in Greece lacked a unified political orientation and manifested contradictions and local particularities. Regarding Patras, such conditions did not favour a mass political orientation of the printers towards the left. It would be misleading to compare the printers of Patras to those of Athens. The publishing market of Athens was much larger,¹³⁸ and consequently the printers of Athens had more opportunities to work and their dependence on politicians was different. The greater part of the publishing market in Patras, meanwhile, consisted of single-person enterprises and was associated with political networks with a strongly local character.

With respect to such problems, press workers were in a more favourable position. Their role in deadline-driven newspaper production was of definitive importance and their occupation much more stable than in the artistic and publications printing houses, despite the above-mentioned difficulties. As a consequence, the press workers had a wider range of negotiating options than the printers working outside the press sector.

What, however, was the meaning of a printer or press worker turning to the left during the period we are examining? This choice was not linear, but was connected with developments within the Greek social formation and with changes within the Greek left.

From the end of the nineteenth century until 1918, many socialist centres and clubs of a local nature were established in Greece. These

centres were mainly places for discussion, and consisted of intellectuals and syndicalists seeking a political connection with the working class.¹³⁹ In Patras, from the middle of the 1890s up to the start of the Greco-Turkish war in Asia Minor (1919), the activities of socialists were noted with interest in the local press. Characteristically, the daily papers *Neologos* and *Peloponnisos* provided news coverage of the activities of socialists, even carrying their articles and public announcements on their pages.¹⁴⁰

A fundamental change took place in 1918 with the creation of the first nationwide left party, the Socialist Labour Party of Greece (SEKE). SEKE was formed out of the unification of several pre-existing socialist centres and clubs, and the character of SEKE was shaped by the characteristics of those groups. Its organizations were formed on a local basis and its engagement with labourers was significantly limited, being focused on the level of ideological and political propaganda. It should be noted that socialist ideas and SEKE itself developed in Greece under conditions of prolonged warfare over irredentist issues. In this regard, its political, programmatic and ideological coherence was exceptionally fluid and its relations with the bourgeois parties contradictory, even after the conclusion of the Asia Minor Campaign.¹⁴¹

This characteristic changed with the transformation of SEKE into the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the acceptance of the party model proposed by the Communist International.¹⁴² The KKE, which was the largest political formation on the left in the interwar period, structured itself on the basis of places of labour, while its political and ideological framework was far more consistent than that of SEKE. In addition, during the interwar period, the Greek left, communist and socialist, experienced an abundance of splits – between the KKE, Trotskyite groups, socialists deriving largely from SEKE, and the socialist clubs of the 1910s.

Despite their generality, the remarks above are of significance to the degree that they help us understand the conflicts within the Union of Printers of Patras from the mid 1930s and, more specifically, the sharp criticisms made by the thirty press workers in 1935 against the administration of the Patras union for its support of the Evangelou and Lambropoulos group. Their charges against the administration – that it left the management of the issue in the hands of two socialists who represented the sector within the printers' insurance fund – and its welcoming of the initiative of the Press Federation to organize a protest rally over the issue, reflect differing perspectives on syndicalist practice.

However, both the communist and the socialist left were acting in an environment of continuously developing authoritarianism within

the interwar state, at the institutional, political and ideological level. Institutionally, special legislation was used to repress any labour mobilization having a rudimentary radical character.¹⁴³ Moreover, the Asia Minor Catastrophe marked the end of the *Megali Idea* (as it is called in Greek historiography), which had as its goal the incorporation of all Greek populations within a greater state on both sides of the Aegean, and was the prevailing narrative of the modern Greek state from the decade of 1840 to 1922. After the collapse of the Great Idea, anti-communism, with the invocation of the threat that the regime might be overthrown, slowly became the new national narrative¹⁴⁴ as well as the basic state ideology, both for the monarchists and for the conservative portion of the Liberals (the party of Eleftherios Venizelos).¹⁴⁵ During the interwar years, therefore, entry into the left – and in particular into the communist left – was no simple matter. Indeed, it carried dangers ranging from social stigmatization, particularly in regional urban centres like Patras, to legal and repressive measures in the case of labour mobilizations. Moreover, the printers suffered additional legal pressures: the ordinances of Law 4229 of 1929, which treated communism as a special offence, and which became known as the ‘Idionimo’ (special law), included press offences that provided for the prosecution of printers.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

Printers and press workers lived and acted in a dynamic publishing milieu. The quantity of printed material published during the first four decades of the twentieth century, and the fact that Patras was the first provincial city of the modern Greek state to establish a daily local press, affirm this dynamic.

As far as their profile is concerned, many characteristics of Patras’s printers are in conformity with the findings of the international literature: the emphasis on the mental and ‘manly’ character of printing labour, the gender and social content of specialization, the tight control of job offerings through apprenticeship, the strict gender divisions and structured hierarchy – all these are elements in common between the present study and the international and Greek historiographical literature. A very basic difference between the printers of artistic and publications printing shops and the press workers has to do with the fluidity of their forms of labour. In the period we are examining, printers moved between wage labour, non-permanent employment and self-employment.¹⁴⁷ By contrast, a basic characteristic of press workers was dependent wage labour and more stable employment. This difference

influenced both their involvement in labour actions and their political choices.

Two basic conclusions flow from the labour actions of printers and press workers: first, that they had a dual character, being related to internal labour matters, but also to wider demands of the labour movement at the local level and by sector. Second, that press workers were at the forefront of the labour actions. The main reason was the stability of their occupation, as well as the critical degree of involvement of technical personnel in production. In the press sector, the involvement of several employees each with specific skills was necessary in order to meet strict deadlines. In the artistic and publications printing houses, labour tensions were less severe, since such printing houses depended on demand. Press workers therefore were able to exercise more pressure on employers in seeking to fulfil their demands, especially in daily newspapers where strikes would cause large losses of income. By contrast, printers working outside the newspaper field lacked employment stability, a phenomenon also observed among the printers of Athens in the 1930s.¹⁴⁸

As far as political orientation is concerned, we have already mentioned the reasons why press workers turned to the left more often than printers did. Nevertheless, the political involvement of press workers is understandable only if we keep in mind two factors. First, despite the advantages they enjoyed compared to printers, press workers always remained dependent salaried employees, due in part to the limited possibilities of advancing to the position of owning a newspaper printing shop, and in part to the high cost and extensive use of labour subcontracting. At the same time, as salaried press employees they had uniquely close contact with political power. This peculiarity was both a disadvantage and an advantage. It was a disadvantage in that they directly experienced the interference of political power in the press sector, and it was an advantage because they were constantly nourished politically by their engagement with sources of information. From this point of view, press workers constituted a particularly politicized category of employees.

Hence, we can argue that the 'intellectual' nature of their work, in combination with their level of education and their continuous contact with sources of political information, provided analytic tools that made these press workers more accepting of left-wing political ideas. Lastly, the political and cultural stimuli provided by press work helps us understand the political choices of a large portion of this particular category of workers in Patras during the period considered.

Asimakis Palaiologos was born in Athens in 1981. He is a Ph.D. candidate in Contemporary History in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Ioannina. His thesis is on 'The Industrial Unionism Movement in Patras 1974–1994: From Radicalization to Deindustrialization'. From the same department, he has BA in History (2003) and an MA in Modern and Contemporary History (2009). His research focuses on the Greek industrial labour movement of the 1970s and 1980s. He has published articles in academic journals and collected volumes, in Greek and English, and has participated with presentations at conferences and academic meetings.

Notes

1. Jonathan Zeitlin, 'Engineers and Compositors: A Comparison', in *Divisions of Labor: Skilled Workers and Technological Change in Nineteenth Century England*, ed. Royden Harrison and Jonathan Zeitlin (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1985), 185–250.
2. John Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture', in *The Historical Meanings of Work*, ed. Patrick Joyce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 107.
3. Ava Baron, 'An "Other" Side of Gender Antagonism at Work: Men, Boys and the Remasculinization of Printers' Work, 1830–1920', in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*, ed. Ava Baron (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 50.
4. *Ibid.*, 47–69.
5. Eric Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, 6th ed. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 273–315.
6. See, for example, Trevor Lummis, *The Labour Aristocracy* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994).
7. Patrick Duffy, *The Skilled Compositor, 1850–1914: An Aristocrat among Working Men* (Ashgate, 2000), 75. In the case of Greece, Christos Loukos has emphasized the general difficulty of integrating printers into the labour aristocracy, noting that the field fulfilling these requirements is that of Athens' newspaper printers. See Christos Loukos, 'Typografia kai Typografoi: Athina, 1930–1990', *Mnemon* 24 (2002), 310.
8. Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 1991), 46. For the case of Greece, see Colin Simmons and Nikos Leandros, 'Technological Change and Industrial Restructuring in Greece: The Case of the Printing and Publishing Industry', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 10(11) (1995), 562–70.
9. Christos Loukos, 'Enas typografos stin Athina tou 20ou aiona', *Mnemon* 26 (2004), 239–56; Athina Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi kai Ergates Typou stin Athina ton 20o aiona: Sygkrotisi kai exelixi enos epangelmatikou chorou' (Master's thesis, University of Crete, 2006); Asimakis Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou tis Patras meta ton B' Pagkosmio Polemo: Fysiognomia, metavoles, praktikes' (Master's thesis, University of Ioannina, 2009); Akis Palaiologos, 'Oi technologikes allages stin paragogi efimeridon kai o antiktypos tous stous ergates typou. I periptosi tis Patras meta ton B' Pagkosmio Polemo', *Mnemon* 34 (2016), 125–59.
10. Nikos Skiadas's and Kostas Mayer's contributions were pioneering. Kostas Mayer, *Istoria tou ellinikou Typou*, 3 vols (Athens: Estia, 1960); Nikos Skiadas, *Gia tin typografiki deontologia* (Athens: Gutenberg, 1992). In the academic field, see Nikos Leandros, *Mazika*

- entya epikoinonias stin Ellada: Oikonomikes kai Technologikes Proscngives* (Athens: Delfini, 1993).
11. Among the newspapers circulating in Greece during the interwar period, *Rizospastis*, the official newspaper of the Greek Communist Party, is a valuable source despite its political bias, as it covered news concerning labour issues.
 12. Christina Agriantoni, *Oi aparches tis ekvriomichanisis stin Ellada ton 19o aiona* (Athens: Istoriko Archeio Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1986), 77–78.
 13. Ihanassis Kalafatis, 'Symmetochikes agrotikes ekmetallefseis stin Aigialeia, 1870–1886', *Ta Historica* 1 (1983), 175.
 14. Agriantoni, *Oi aparches*, 83. The growth of the currant trade caused the creation of a purely commercial bourgeois class, which was confirmed by the foundation of the Trade Association 'Ermis', in 1868. The predominant group within this commercial urban class was the raisin traders. See Vassilis Lazaris, *Istoriki poreia tou Emporikou Syllogou Patron 'Ermis'* (Patras: Peri Technon, 2003); Nikos Bakounakis, *Patra, 1828–1860: Mia elliniki proterousa tou 19ou aiona* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 1988), 132–38.
 15. Agriantoni, *Oi aparches*, 233–34; Konstantinos Panitsas, 'I atmokinitos viomichania ton Patron, mechri ta teli tou 19ou Aiona', in *Praktika tou E' Diethnous Sinedriou Peloponnisiakon Spoudon* (Athens, 1997), 86–89; Alexis Fragkiadis, 'Agrotiki oikonomia kai exoteriko emporio', in *I anaptyxi tis ellinikis oikonomias ton 19o aiona*, ed. Kostas Kostis and Socrates Petmezas (Athens: Alexandria, 2006), 155–57.
 16. Christina Agriantoni, 'Viomichania', in *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona: Oi aparches, 1900–1922*, vol. A1, ed. Christos Hadziiossif (Athens: Vivliorama, 1999), 185.
 17. Nikos Sarafopoulos, *Istoriko Lefkoma tis Achaikis Viomichanias, 1825–1975* (Patras: Epistimoniko Parko Patron, 2008), 242, 320; Christos Hadziiossif, *I Giraia Selini: I viomichania stin elliniki oikonomia, 1830–1940* (Athens: Themelio, 1993), 106–8, 317.
 18. Statistique Générale de la Grèce (hereafter SGG), *Annuaire statistique de la Grèce*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1931), 28; SGG, *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 15–16 mai 1928. Population de fait*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1935), 76; SGG, *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 16 octobre 1940. Population de fait*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1950), 87.
 19. Agriantoni, *Oi aparches*, 227, 276, 341, 413–14, 416, t. 13b, 14b, 15b; Bakounakis, *Patra*, 111; Hadziiossif, *I Giraia Selini*, 226–34.
 20. The term 'Asia Minor Catastrophe' refers primarily to the last phase of the Asia Minor Campaign, meaning the end of the Greco–Turkish war of 1919–22 and, specifically, the disorderly retreat of the Greek army in August 1922 and the mass expulsion of Greek populations from Asia Minor. See Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge Concise Histories, 2002).
 21. SGG, *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 15–16 mai 1928. Population de fait*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1932), t. 4, 29, t. II d, 584.
 22. SGG, *Résultats statistiques du recensement de la population de la Grèce du 15–16 Mai 1928. Séries 3: Professions*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1937), t. 6, se', t. 9, sl', t. 11, slz'; SGG, *Recensement des établissements des entreprises industrielles et commerciales effectué en Septembre de 1930*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1934), th'.
 23. Nikos Demertzis, *Topiki dimosiotita kai eparchiakos typos stin Ellada* (Athens: Agrotiki Trapeza tis Elladas, 1996).
 24. Mayer, *Istoria*, vol. 3, 122–23; Nikos Politis, *Chroniko tou patraikou Typou, 1840–1940* (Patras: privately published, 1984), 150–54, 174–84, 201, 208, 210–13.
 25. Politis, *Chroniko*, 138.
 26. Loukia Droulia and Gioula Koutsopanagou, eds, *Egkyklopaideia tou ellinikou typon, 1784–1974: Efimerides, periodika, dimosiografoi, ekdotes*, vol. 3 (Athens: Institutouto Neoellinikon Erevnon / Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 2008), 302–3, 489.
 27. Nikos Skiadas, *Chroniko tis ellinikis typografias*, vol. 3 (Athens: Gutenberg, 1982), 107–9, 110–14.

28. Politis, *Chroniko*, 173, 218.
29. In Greek history, the dominant issues for the period 1900–1940 include the bloodless military revolution at Gomfi (1909), the Balkan Wars (1912–13), World War I (1914–18), the National Schism (1915–17, explained in the main text), the Asia Minor Campaign and Catastrophe (1919–22) and the subsequent arrival of refugees (1922–25), the establishment of the Second Hellenic Republic (1924–35), the emergence of the Communist Left, the military movements, and the dictatorships of Pangalos (1925–26) and Metaxas (1936–41). See Gunnar Hering, *Die politischen Parteien in Griechenland, 1821–1936*, 2 vols (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), translated in Greek as *Ta politika kommata stin Ellada, 1821–1936* (Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezas, 2008).
30. Nancy Balta and Despoina Papadimitriou, *Simeioseis gia tin istoria tou Typou: I elliniki kai i evropaiiki diastasi* (Athens: Odysseas, 1993), 82; Politis, *Chroniko*, 174.
31. E. Loulou, ‘O achaikos Typos’, *Achaika Chronika* 7 (1977), 28–32; Politis, *Chroniko*, 100, 124–25, 169, 174.
32. The term ‘artistic printing houses’ refers to printers whose operations extended over a wide range of products, from cards and typed invitations to calendars and pamphlets. On the other hand, the publications printing houses were focused solely on the printing of books. The aforementioned terms can be found frequently in the archives of the Patras Press Workers’ Trade Union. Moreover, until today the press workers of Patras utilize these terms to refer to printing houses that do not publish newspapers.
33. Politis, *Chroniko*, 169–70; Skiadas, *Chroniko*, vol. 3, 107–9.
34. SGG, *Recensement des entreprises industrielles au 18 Décembre 1920*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1927), t. 1, 36. Eleven lithographers are also registered.
35. SGG, *Résultats statistiques, 1928*, t. 1 d, 194, t. 11 d, 584.
36. SGG, *Recensement des établissements*, Annexe, t. 1, 3, t. 2, 26–27.
37. In Greece, mechanical composition, that is, the linotype method, was instituted in the large daily newspapers of Athens at the end of the 1920s. See Christos Karamplias, *Oi ergates Typou kai i istoria tous apo to 1821 eos to 1975* (Athens: privately published, 1975), 26–29; Maria Savva, *Istoria tis Typografias* (Athens: Estia, 1965), 35.
38. Linotype was introduced in the press of Patras in the mid 1950s. At the artistic and publishing printing houses of the city, hand composition lasted until almost the beginning of the 1980s. Palaiologos, ‘Oi ergates Typou’, 129, 136, 140.
39. The use of Katharevousa (a conservative form of the Modern Greek language conceived in the nineteenth century and used mostly for official and formal purposes throughout the twentieth century until its abolition in the late 1970s) demanded a high educational level of the technical personnel in order to produce the newspaper or other printed material. Panos Karikopoulos, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Typografias, 1476–1976* (Athens: F.S.I., 1976), 40.
40. Christos Manousaridis, ‘“Manoutiou” martyria: Ap’ to cheirografo sto entypo’, *Mnemon* 20 (1998), 281.
41. Palaiologos, ‘Oi technologikes allages’, 132. Also, to a limited extent there were compositors who exclusively produced headlines and advertisements.
42. Zizopoulou, ‘Typografoi’, 37, 39.
43. Leda Papastefanaki, *Ergasia, technologia kai fylo stin elliniki viomichania: I klostoyfantourgia tou Peiraia, 1870–1940* (Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2009), 281. Although this book focuses on the textile industry, the observations concerning the skill and the gender characteristics of labour constitute useful methodological bases for understanding wider aspects of printing labour.
44. Palaiologos, ‘Oi technologikes allages’, 131.
45. Cockburn, *Brothers*, 44.
46. The Ladopoulos paper industry is included in the broader gendered division of labour of the Greek industry for the period under discussion, since most of the female labour

- force was absorbed by sectors such as the textile, tobacco and paper industries, where women were used for unspecialized work. Michalis Riginos, *Paragogikes domes kai ergastika imeromisthia stin Ellada, 1909–1936* (Athens: Istoriko Archeio Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1987), 250.
47. Efi Avdela, *Dimosioi ypalliloi genous thilykou: Katamerismos ergasias kata fyla ston dimosio tomca, 1908–1955* (Athens: Idryma Erevnas kai Paideias tis Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1990), 128; Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 40.
 48. Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 132–34.
 49. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 40, 42.
 50. The protective legislation, enacted in 1912, prohibited the employment of women for night shifts, on Sundays and, sometimes, for heavy and unhealthy jobs. On the legislative protection of women, see Efi Avdela, "'To the Most Weak and Needy": Women's Protective Labor Legislation in Greece', in *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1890–1920*, ed. Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris and Jane Lewis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 290–317.
 51. Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 132.
 52. For a brief presentation of the content of the 'skill' and the gendered perceptions of labour in the Greek and international historiography, see Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 282–88.
 53. Avdela, *Dimosioi ypalliloi*, 27.
 54. On the whole, the Greek press does not record phenomena like those seen in nineteenth-century Western Europe and the United States, where a universal reaction by male press workers was reported, aiming at prohibiting the entry of women into the field of composition. See Ava Baron, 'An "Other" Side'; Cockburn, *Brothers*, 33–34, 152–209.
 55. Archive of the Patras Press Workers' Trade Union (hereafter PPWTU), volume 'Outgoing', folder '1950–1953', document 245, *Ypomnima tis 26is Iouliou 1953 pros Kosmitora Voulis, Christo Evangelato* [Memorandum of 26 July 1953 to the Parliament's Dean, Christos Evangelatos].
 56. Archive of PPWTU, vol. 'Conferences' Proceedings of the General Assemblies', folder '1959–1967', document 605, *Eisigisi antiproedrou gia to zitima ton ergasiakon synthikon, sti Geniki Synelefsi 8 Iouniou 1965* [Vice-president's proposition for the issue of the labour circumstances, in the General Assembly of the 8th of June 1965], 1.
 57. Leda Papastefanaki, 'Dimosia ygeia, fymatiosi kai epangelmatiki pathologia stis ellinikes poleis stis arches tou 20ou aiona: I antifatiki diadikasia tou astikou eksynchronismou', in *Praktika Synedriou Eleftherios Venizelos kai elliniki poli: Poleodomikes politikes kai koinonikopolitikes anakatataxeis (Chania, 24–27 October 2002)* (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Erevnon kai Meleton 'Eleftherios K. Venizelos' – E.M.P. – Scholi Architektonon Michanikon, 2005), 159, 162; idem, 'Politics, Modernization and Public Health in Greece (1900–1940): The Case of Occupational Health', in *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe to 1945*, ed. Christian Promitzer, Sevasti Trubeta and Marius Turda (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 165–91.
 58. Lead poisoning, which mostly affected miners and printers, was one of the three occupational diseases that was recognized as insurable in Greece at the beginning of the 1930s. Leda Papastefanaki, 'Apo tin "ygieini ton epitidevmaton" stin "iyximenin nosirotita tis ergatikis taxeos": I Epangelmatiki Ygeia stin Ellada, 1870–1940', in *Praktika Epistimonikou Synedriou Dimosia Ygeia kai koinoniki politiki: O Eleftherios Venizelos kai i epochi tou* (Athens, 8–10 October 2007) (Athens, 2008), 282.
 59. Archive of PPTWU, *Eisigisi antiproedrou*, 3.
 60. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 51. On the extremely high mortality rate of Athens printers at the beginning of the twentieth century due to the hygiene conditions, see Yannis Kordatos, *Istoria tou ellinikou ergatikou kinimatos* (1931; repr., Athens: Boukoumanis, 1974), 217; Loukos, 'Typografia', 315.
 61. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 51–52.

62. *Akanthochoros*, 28 February 1954. *Akanthochoros* was a satirical newspaper published by the press workers of Patras, from 1951 to 1967, for their union's annual carnival ball. My translation.
63. Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 117.
64. *Ibid.*, 223.
65. To a great extent, this internal division of press workers and printers of Patras was the product of a process similar to the transformations that occurred in the field of the press workers of Athens. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 27; Leandros, *Mazika entypta epikoinonias*, 256–57.
66. Mobility in non-newspaper printing houses was feasible for various reasons: (1) the relatively limited cost of material, mainly paper and ink; (2) the market of typographic elements and rudimentary printing equipment was sufficient for the functioning of the printing house; (3) the existence of a press or bookbindery was not necessary, as they could send the pages elsewhere to be printed; (4) most printing houses were established in underground locations in order to reduce fixed costs; and (5) several printing houses' owners urged employees, mostly foremen, to create printing shops, either to technologically modernize the printing houses by selling their old equipment to the new printing enterprises, or to avoid severance pay to employees with a long-term presence in the printing stores. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 56.
67. Kostas Lappas, 'I typografia sto Herakleio apo ta teli tou 19ou ai. os ton Mesopolemo', in *Typografia kai typografoi: Praktika imeridas sti mnimi tou typografou Christou G. Manousaridi* (Athens: Etaireia Meletis Neou Ellinismou, 2013), 225. The printing shops that published newspapers in Herakleion, Crete during the 1930s employed five to ten press workers from all specializations.
68. Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 125.
69. *Rizospastis*, 4 November 1929.
70. Michalis Riginos, *Morfes paidikis ergasias sti viomichania kai ti viotechnia (1870–1940)* (Athens: Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neolaias, 1995), 62, 64, t. 5a., 104. See also Loukos, 'Enas typografos', 242.
71. Ava Baron, 'An "Other" Side', 50. See also Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 44.
72. In 1912, child labour was prohibited by law for boys under the age of sixteen and minor girls and in various workplaces with unhygienic conditions, printing houses among them. Giannis Lixouriotis, 'Prostateftikos nomothetikos paremvatismos kai i emfanisi tou ergatikou dikaiou stin Ellada: I periptosi tis paidikis ergasias', in *Venizelismos kai astikos eksynchronismos*, ed. Giorgos Mavrogordatos and Christos Hadziiossif (1988; repr., Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 1992), 205–23; Antonis Liakos, *Ergasia kai politiki stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou. To Diethnes Grafeio Ergasias kai i anadysi ton koinonikon thesmon* (Athens: Idryma Erevnas kai Paideias tis Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1993), 284.
73. Palaiologos, 'Oi technologikes allages', 137.
74. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 44.
75. Loukos, 'Typografia', 313.
76. Hadziiossif, *I Giraia Selini*, 294. For historiographic research on the real wage, its importance, and criticism of it, see Leda Papastefanaki, 'Misthoti Ergasia', in Kostis and Petmezas, *I anaptyxi*, 282–84.
77. *I Pali ton Taxeon*, 19 June 1931. Thanks to Kostas Paloukis for the pertinent suggestion.
78. SGG, *Recensement des employés et ouvriers des entreprises industrielles et commerciales et relevé des salaires effectués en Septembre 1930* (Athens, 1940), t. 16, nv'.
79. Loukos, 'Typografia', 314.
80. *Recensement des employés et ouvriers*, t. VII b, 192. The daily wage for ages 10–19 years is 25 drachmas, and for ages 20–29 it is 33 drachmas. Only three women are registered in the printers' specialization.

81. *Ergatis*, 21 August 1882; Vassilis Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría ton Patron*, vol. 1 (Patras: Achaïkes Ekdoseis, 1990), 272–73.
82. *Forolagoumenos*, 20 August 1882; *Peloponnisos*, 8 August 1897.
83. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 1, 359.
84. Politis, *Chroniko*, 195.
85. Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 376. These conclusions are cited since they can be used as the general methodological basis for understanding the depth and the multiple dimensions of a labour movement, and consequently can contribute to the outline of the movements of Patras's printers.
86. Their work schedule was not stable. In general terms it varied from eight to ten hours, depending on the newspaper's frequency of publishing. Consequently, the printing personnel of daily newspapers worked for more hours. For the movement of 1919 and its demands, see Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 131–32; Politis, *Chroniko*, 195.
87. *Fos*, 25 August 1919.
88. Politis, *Chroniko*, 195–96.
89. *Rizospastis*, 1 February 1925.
90. *Neologos*, 4 March 1925; Politis, *Chroniko*, 210.
91. In September 1933, the press workers of the newspaper *Esperini* went on strike demanding the disbursement of their unpaid daily wages. *Rizospastis*, 16 September 1933.
92. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 266–80, 291–305, 325–32, 347–60.
93. Despoina Papadimitriou, 'O athinaïkos typos ston 20o aiona: Synecheies kai nees taseis, 1922–1974', in *O ellinikos Typos, 1784 os simera: Istorikes kai theoritikes prosengiseis; Praktika Diethnous Synedriou (Athens, 23–25 May 2002)*, ed. Loukia Droulia (Athens: Institutouto Neoellinikon Erevnon / Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 2005), 71, 73.
94. Balta and Papadimitriou, *Simeioseis*, 82; Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 48.
95. Mayer, *Istoría*, 101–6, 119, 122–23; Palaiologos, 'Oi ergates Typou', 48–51, 71; Politis, *Chroniko*, 122–23, 189, 205–6, 215.
96. Dimitris Moschos, 'Simeioseis', manuscript (Patras: n.d.), 6.
97. *Rizospastis*, 25 December 1935.
98. *Rizospastis*, 8 August 1935.
99. On respective conflicts in the press of Athens, see Karamplias, *Oi ergates Typou kai i istoria tous*, 18.
100. *Rizospastis*, 4 November 1929.
101. *Rizospastis*, 16 September 1933.
102. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 56–59, 64–65.
103. *Ibid.*, 150–55.
104. George B. Leon, 'The Greek Labor Movement and the Bourgeois State, 1910–1920', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 4(4) (1978), 5–28, translated in Greek as Georgios Leontaritis, 'To ergatiko kinima (1910–1920)', in *Meletimata gyro apo ton Venizelo kai tin epochi tou*, ed. Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos (Athens: Filippotis, 1980), 73; Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 383; Hadziiossif, *I Giraia Selini*, 290.
105. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 186–87; Politis, *Chroniko*, 208.
106. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 209.
107. *Rizospastis*, 27 September 1924, 17 January 1925.
108. Mark Mazower, *I Ellada kai i oikonomiki krissi tou Mesopolemou* (Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis, 2009), 141, originally published as *Greece and the Interwar Economic Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 212–23.
109. Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 411.
110. Dimitris Katsoridas, Dimitris Livieratos, and Kostas Paloukis, *O ellinikos trotskismos: Ena chroniko, 1923–1946* (Athens: Filistor, 2003), 56; Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 261–65.
111. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoría*, vol. 2, 305, 358–59; *Neologos*, 16 March 1936, 14 May 1936.

112. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 23-27; Karamplias, *Oi ergates Typon kai i istoria tous*, 12-13, 23-25; Kordatos, *Istoria*, 23-25; Loukos, 'Typografia', 315; Skiadas, *Chroniko*, vol. 3, 181-84.
113. On the mobilizations in the printing stores of Athens and Piraeus, see the following issues of *Rizospastis*: 3 and 11 November 1924, 30 March 1925, 22 October 1930, 14 January and 4 March 1933, 30 August 1935 and 18 June 1936. On the mobilizations in the newspapers of Athens and Piraeus, see the issues of 18, 19 and 22 March 1925, 25 November 1932, 4 March 1933, 25 June 1934, 10 and 14 December 1935 and 11 January 1936.
114. *Rizospastis*, 6 September 1924, 21 June 1925, 23 April 1928 and 24 May 1929.
115. *Rizospastis*, 22 October 1930; 2-3 May, 17 September and 27 December 1933; 9 February 1934; and 1 June 1936.
116. *Rizospastis*, 27 March 1925.
117. Loulou, 'O achaikos Typos', 42-43; Politis, *Chroniko*, 21.
118. Balta and Papadimitriou, *Simeioseis*, 58; Lazaris, *Politiki Istoria*, vol. 2, 61-65, 86-87, 95, 114-22, 396-402; Politis, *Chroniko*, 20-21, 25-28, 138; Hering, *Ta politika kommata*, vol. 1, 1036, 192n301. See also *O Va (rv)aros*, 16 June 1861.
119. Politis, *Chroniko*, 138.
120. Panagiotis Noutsos, *I sosialistiki skepsi stin Ellada apo to 1875 os to 1974*, vol. 1: *Oi sosialistes dianouomenoi kai i politiki leitourgia tis proimis koinonikis kritikis* (Athens: Gnosi, 1990), 145-55, 278.
121. Hering, *Ta politika kommata*, vol. 2, 926-27, 974-75; Leontaritis, 'To ergatiko kinima', 73-76; Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 382.
122. *Rizospastis*, 18 August 1924.
123. *Rizospastis*, 15, 18 and 19 November 1932.
124. Hering, *Ta politika kommata*, vol. 2, 1122.
125. *Neologos*, 8 September 1924; *Rizospastis*, 27 August 1933, 22 and 31 December 1935.
126. Lazaris, *Politiki Istoria*, vol. 3, 33-34.
127. Giorgos Moschos, *I Patra stin Katochi kai stin Antistasi* (Patras: Giannis Pikramenos, 2013), 254-58. See also Lazaris, *Politiki Istoria*, vol. 3, 127-28, 158-59, 164.
128. Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 256.
129. *Rizospastis*, 25 December 1935.
130. Kostas Paloukis, 'I organosi Archeion tou Marxismou (1919-1934): Koinonikoi agones, politiki organosi, ideologia kai politismikes praktikes sta ergatika stromata tis Mesopolemikis Elladas' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Crete, 2015), 160, 837.
131. Papastefanaki, *Ergasia*, 252.
132. Lappas, 'I typografia sto Herakleio', 223; Loukos, 'Typografia', 313.
133. Kostas Paloukis, 'I organosi "Archeio tou Marxismou", opseis kai taseis tis ideologias, tis politikis kai ton domon cheirafetisis tis ellinikis ergatikis taxis ston mesopolemo' (Master's thesis, University of Crete, 2004), 106-7.
134. Katsoridas, Livieratos and Paloukis, *O ellinikos trotskismos*, passim.
135. Paloukis, 'I organosi Archeion tou Marxismou', 837.
136. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 26.
137. *Rizospastis*, 22 October 1930, 27 December 1933.
138. Zizopoulou, 'Typografoi', 10-18.
139. Kostas Paloukis, 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE: To zitima tis "bolsevikiptisis" sto elliniko sosialistiko kinima 1918-1924 (meros A)', *Outopia* 73 (2007), 26.
140. *Neologos*, 9 March 1900, 13 April 1919; *Peloponnisos*, 13 January, 6 February, 28 February, 16 April and 2 September 1895.
141. Kostas Paloukis, 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE (meros A)', 26-29.
142. Kostas Paloukis, 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE: To zitima tis "bolsevikiptisis" sto elliniko sosialistiko kinima 1918-1924 (meros B)', *Outopia* 75 (2007), 113-20.

143. George Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 336. The relevant legislation began in 1920, during the Asia Minor war, when limits were placed on the right to strike. See Thanassis Bochotis, 'Esoteriki Politiki', in *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona: Oi aparches, 1900–1922*, vol. A2, ed. Christos Hadziiossif (Athens: Vivliorama, 1999), 100.
144. Kostas Paloukis, 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE (meros B)', 124.
145. Dimitris Kousouris, *Dikes ton dosilogon 1944–1949: Dikaiosyni, synecheia tou kratous kai ethniki mnimi* (Athens: Polis, 2014), 323.
146. Nikos Alivizatos, *Oi politikoi thesmoi se krisi, 1922–1974: Opseis tis ellinikis empeirias* (Athens: Themelio, 1995), 284; Hering, *Ta politika kommata*, vol. 2, 1036.
147. For an overview of studies on the Greek working class during the interwar period and the issue of mobility between wage labour and self-employment, see Nikos Potamianos, *Oi noikokyraioi: Magazatores kai viotechnes, 1880–1925* (Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2015), 10–12, 101–4.
148. Loukos, 'Typografia', 310.

Bibliography

- Agriantoni, Christina. *Oi aparches tis ekviomichanisis stin Ellada ton 19o aiona*. Athens: Istoriko Archeio Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1986.
- . 'Viomichania', in *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona: Oi aparches, 1900–1922*, 2 vols, edited by Christos Hadziiossif, 173–221. Athens: Vivliorama, 1999.
- Alivizatos, Nikos. *Oi politikoi thesmoi se krisi, 1922–1974: Opseis tis ellinikis empeirias*. Athens: Themelio, 1995.
- Avdela, Efi. *Dimosiioi ypalliloi genous thilykou: Katamerismos ergasias kata fyla ston dimosio tomea, 1908–1955*. Athens: Idryma Erevnas kai Paideias tis Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1990.
- . "'To the Most Weak and Needy': Women's Protective Labor Legislation in Greece", in *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1890–1920*, edited by Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris and Jane Lewis, 290–317. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Bakounakis, Nikos. *Patra, 1828–1860: Mia elliniki protevousa tou 19ou aiona*. Athens: Kastaniotis, 1988.
- Balta, Nansy, and Despoina Papadimitriou. *Simeioseis gia tin istoria tou Typou: I elliniki kai i evropaiiki diastasi*. Athens: Odysseas, 1993.
- Baron, Ava. 'An "Other" Side of Gender Antagonism at Work: Men, Boys and the Remasculinization of Printers' Work, 1830–1920', in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*, edited by Ava Baron, 47–69. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Bochotis, Thanassis. 'Esoteriki Politiki', in *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona: Oi aparches, 1900–1922*, 2 vols, edited by Christos Hadziiossif, 37–105. Athens: Vivliorama, 1999.
- Clogg, Richard. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge Concise Histories, 2002.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press, 1991.
- Demertzis, Nikos. *Topiki dimosiotita kai eparchiakos typos stin Ellada*. Athens: Agrotiki Trapeza tis Elladas, 1996.
- Droulia, Loukia, and Gioula Koutsopanagou, eds. *Egkyklopaideia tou ellinikon typon, 1784–1974: Efimerides, periodika, dimosiografoi, ekdotes*, vol. 3. Athens: Institouto Neoellinikon Erevnon / Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 2008.

- Duff, Patrick. *The Skilled Compositor, 1850-1914: An Aristocrat among Working Men*. Ashgate, 2000.
- Fragkiadis, Alexis. 'Agrotiki oikonomia kai exoteriko emporio', in *I anaptyxi tis ellinikis oikonomias ton 19o aiona*, edited by Kostas Kostis and Socrates Petmezas, 153-74. Athens: Alexandria, 2006.
- Hadzioussif, Christos. *I Girata Selini: I vivomichania stin elliniki oikonomia, 1830-1940*. Athens: Themelio, 1993.
- Hering, Gunnar. *Die politischen Parteien in Griechenland, 1821-1936*, 2 vols. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992.
- . *Ta politika kommata stin Ellada, 1821-1936*. Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezas, 2008.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, 6th ed. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986.
- Kalafatis, Thanassis. 'Symmetochikes agrotikes ekmetallefseis stin aigialeia, 1870-1886'. *Ta Historika* 1 (1983), 175-96.
- Karamplias, Christos. *Oi ergates Typou kai i istoria tous apo to 1821 eos to 1975*. Athens: privately published, 1975.
- Karikopoulos, Panos. *Symvoli stin Istorია tis Ellinikis Typografias, 1476-1976*. Athens: F.S.I., 1976.
- Katsoridas, Dimitris, Dimitris Livieratos, and Kostas Paloukis. *O ellinikos trotskismos: Ena chroniko, 1923-1946*. Athens: Filistor, 2003.
- Kordatos, Yannis. *Istoria tou ellinikou ergatikou kinimatos*. 1931; reprint, Athens: Boukoumanis, 1974.
- Kousouris, Dimitris. *Dikes ton dosilogon 1944-1949: Dikaiosyni, synecheia tou kratous kai ethniki mnimi*. Athens: Polis, 2014.
- Lappas, Kostas. 'I typografia sto Herakleio apo ta teli tou 19ou ai. os ton Mesopolemo', in *Typografia kai typografoi: Praktika imeridas sti mnimi tou typografou christou G. Manousaridi*, 219-32. Athens: Etaireia Meletis Neou Ellinismou, 2013.
- Lazaris, Vassilis. *Politiki Istorია ton Patron*, 2 vols. Patras: Achaïkes Ekdoseis, 1990.
- . *Istoriki poreia tou Emporikou Syllogou Patron 'Ermis'*. Patras: Peri Technon, 2003.
- Leandros, Nikos. *Mazika entypa epikoinonias stin Ellada: Oikonomikes kai Technologikes Prosengiseis*. Athens: Delfini, 1993.
- Leon, George B. 'The Greek Labor Movement and the Bourgeois State, 1910-1920'. *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 4(4) (1978), 5-28.
- Leontaritis, Georgios. 'To ergatiko kinima (1910-1920)', in *Meletimata gyro apo ton Venizelo kai tin epochi tou*, edited by Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos, 49-84. Athens: Filippotis, 1980.
- Liakos, Antonis. *Ergasia kai politiki stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou: To Diethnes Grafeio Ergasias kai i anadysi ton koinonikon thesmon*. Athens: Idryma Erevnas kai Paideias tis Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1993.
- Lixouriotis, Giannis. 'Prostateftikos nomothetikos paremvatismos kai i emfanisi tou ergatikou dikaiou stin Ellada: I periptosi tis paidikis ergasias', in *Venizelismos kai astikos eksynchronismos*, edited by Giorgos Mavrogordatos and Christos Hadzioussif, 205-23. 1988; reprint, Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 1992.
- Loukos, Christos. 'Typografia kai Typografoi: Athina, 1930-1990'. *Mnemon* 24 (2002), 307-26.
- . 'Enas typografos stin Athina tou 20ou aiona'. *Mnemon* 26 (2004), 239-56.
- Loulou, E. 'O achaïkos Typos'. *Achaïka Chronika* 7 (1977), 20-44.
- Lummis, Trevor. *The Labour Aristocracy*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994.
- Manousaridis, Christos. "'Manoutiou" martyria: Ap' to cheirografo sto entypo'. *Mnemon* 20 (1998), 277-90.

- Mavrogordatos, George. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Mayer, Kostas. *Istoria tou ellinikou Tyπου*, 3 vols. Athens: Estia, 1960.
- Mazower, Mark. *Greece and the Interwar Economic Crisis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- . *I Ellada kai i oikonomiki krissi tou Mesopoleμου*. Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis, 2009.
- Moschos, Giorgos. *I Patra stin Katochi kai stin Antistasi*. Patras: Giannis Pikramenos, 2013.
- Noutsos, Panagiotis. *I sosialistiki skepsi stin Ellada apo to 1875 os to 1974*, vol. 1: *Oi sosialistes dianooomenoi kai i politiki leitourgia tis proximis koinonikis kritikis*. Athens: Gnosi, 1990.
- Palaologos, Akis. 'Oi technologikes allages stin paragogi efimeridon kai o antiktypos tous stous ergates tyπου. I periptosi tis Patras meta ton B' Pagkosmio Polemo'. *Mnemon* 34 (2016), 125–59.
- Palaologos, Asimakis. 'Oi ergates Tyπου tis Patras meta ton B' Pagkosmio Polemo: Fysiognomia, metavoles, praktikes'. Master's thesis, University of Ioannina, 2009.
- Paloukis, Kostas. 'I organosi "Archeio tou Marxismou", opseis kai taseis tis ideologias, tis politikis kai ton domon cheirafetisis tis ellinikis ergatikis taxis ston mesopolemo'. Master's thesis, University of Crete, 2004.
- . 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE: to zitima tis "bolsevikopiisis" sto elliniko sosialistiko kinima 1918–1924 (meros A)'. *Outopia* 73 (2007), 23–39.
- . 'Apo to SEKE sto KKE: to zitima tis "bolsevikopiisis" sto elliniko sosialistiko kinima 1918–1924 (meros B)'. *Outopia* 75 (2007), 113–30.
- . 'I organosi Archeion tou Marxismou (1919–1934): Koinonikoi agones, politiki organosi, ideologia kai politismikes praktikes sta ergatika stromata tis Mesopolemikis Elladas'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Crete, 2015.
- Panitsas, Konstantinos. 'I atmokinitos viomichania ton Patron, mechri ta teli tou 19ou aiona', in *Praktika tou E' Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnisiakon Spoudon*, 86–89. Athens, 1997.
- Papadimitriou, Despoina. 'O athinaikos typos ston 20o aiona: Synecheies kai nees taseis, 1922–1974', in *O ellinikos Typos, 1784 os simera: Istorikes kai theoritikes prosengiseis; Praktika Diethnous Synedriou (Athens, 23–25 May 2002)*, edited by Loukia Droulia, 71–80. Athens: Institutouto Neoellinikon Erevnon / Ethniko Idryma Erevnon, 2005.
- Papastefanaki, Leda. 'Dimosia ygeia, fymatiosi kai epangelmatiki pathologia stis ellinikes poleis stis arches tou 20ou aiona: I antifatiki diadikasia tou astikou eksynchronismou', in *Praktika Synedriou Eleftherios Venizelos kai elliniki poli: Poleodomikes politikes kai koinonikopolitikes anakatataxeis (Chania, 24–27 October 2002)*, 155–70. Athens: Ethniko Idryma Erevnon kai Meleton 'Eleftherios K. Venizelos' – E.M.P. – Scholi Architektonon Michanikon, 2005.
- . 'Misthoti Ergasia', in *I anaptyxi tis ellinikis oikonomias ton 19o aiona*, edited by Kostas Kostis and Socrates Petmezas, 253–91. Athens: Alexandria, 2006.
- . 'Apo tin "ygieini ton epitidevmaton" stin "ixyimenin nosirotita tis ergatikis taxeos": I Epangelmatiki Ygeia stin Ellada, 1870–1940', in *Praktika Epistimonikou Synedriou Dimosia Ygeia kai koinoniki politiki: O Eleftherios Venizelos kai i epochi tou (Athens, 8–10 October 2007)*, 265–88. Athens, 2008.
- . *Ergasia, technologia kai fylo stin elliniki viomichania: I klostoyfantourgia tou peiraia, 1870–1940*. Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2009.
- . 'Politics, Modernization and Public Health in Greece (1900–1940): The Case of Occupational Health', in *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe to 1945*, edited by Christian Promitzer, Sevasti Trubeta and Marius Turda, 165–91. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Politis, Nikos. *Chroniko tou patraikou Tyπου, 1840–1940*. Patras: privately published, 1984.
- Potamianos, Nikos. *Oi noikokyraioi: Magazatores kai viotechnes, 1880–1925*. Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2015.
- Riginos, Michalis. *Paragogikes domes kai ergatika imeromisthia stin Ellada, 1909–1936*. Athens: Istoriko Archeio Emporikis Trapezas tis Ellados, 1987.

- . *Morfēs paidikis ergasias sti viomichania kai ti viotechnia (1870–1940)*. Athens: Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neolaias, 1995.
- Rule, John. 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture', in *The Historical Meanings of Work*, edited by Patrick Joyce, 99–118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Sarafopoulos, Nikos. *Istoriko Lefkoma tis Achaikis Viomichanias, 1825–1975*. Patras: Epistimoniko Parko Patron, 2008.
- Savva, Maria. *Istoria tis Typografias*. Athens: Estia, 1965.
- Simmons, Colin, and Nikos Leandros. 'Technological Change and Industrial Restructuring in Greece: The Case of the Printing and Publishing Industry'. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 10(11) (1995), 562–70.
- Skiadas, Nikos. *Chroniko tis ellinikis typografias*, vol. 3. Athens: Gutenberg, 1982.
- . *Gia tin typografiki deontologia*. Athens: Gutenberg, 1992.
- Statistique Générale de la Grèce. *Recensement des entreprises industrielles au 18 décembre 1920*. Athens, 1927.
- . *Recensement des établissements des entreprises industrielles et commerciales effectué en Septembre de 1930*, vol. 4. Athens, 1934.
- . *Annuaire statistique de la Grèce*, vol. 4. Athens, 1931.
- . *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 15–16 mai 1928. Population de fait*, vol. 1. Athens, 1932.
- . *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 15–16 mai 1928. Population de fait*, vol. 4. Athens, 1935.
- . *Résultats statistiques du recensement de la population de la Grèce du 15–16 Mai 1928, Séries 3: Professions*, vol. 1. Athens, 1937.
- . *Recensement des employés et ouvriers des entreprises industrielles et commerciales et relevé des salaires effectués en Septembre 1930*. Athens, 1940.
- . *Population de la Grèce d'après le recensement du 16 octobre 1940. Population de fait*, vol. 4. Athens, 1950.
- Zeitlin, Jonathan. 'Engineers and Compositors: A Comparison', in *Divisions of Labor: Skilled Workers and Technological Change in Nineteenth Century England*, edited by Royden Harrison and Jonathan Zeitlin, 185–250. Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1985.
- Zizopoulou, Athina. 'Typografoi kai Ergates Typou stin Athina ton 20o aiona: Sygkrotisi kai exelixa enos epangelmatikou chorou'. Master's thesis, University of Crete, 2006.