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*Industrial  
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A cura di  
Aldo Castellano  
e Luca Mocarelli

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# Chronicling the Greek textiles industry in the first half of the twentieth century: two case studies

*Cronistoria dell'industria tessile greca nella prima metà del XX secolo: due casi studio*

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## ABSTRACT

*Having spread its wings in the sky of independence post-revolutionary Greece employed new ways of supporting its tormented people and the shattered economy of the newly born Greek State by focusing on the development of local craft and industry, most sectors of which showed remarkable growth until the beginning of the twentieth century. The textile sector, as early as the 1860s, had proven to be particularly productive and in spite of the historical and socio-political difficulties of the second half of the nineteenth century it was developed into one of the most prolific sectors of Greek industry in the years that followed, especially in the then 'metropolises' of industry and transit trade of the country, as were the ports of Piraeus and Hermoupolis, the capital of Syros island.*

*This research attempts to trace the development of the domestic textile industry from its birth to its heyday in the interwar period, commenting and analyzing its importance for the cities of Piraeus and Hermoupolis. Moreover, the case studies of the textile factory of Retsina brothers and of Krystallis-Tsagarakis textile company respectively will shed light on the way the Greek textile industry functioned, but also on its impact on the sociocultural and economic profiles of these two ports in the early twentieth century.*

## KEYWORDS

**Textiles  
Industry  
Twentieth century  
Greece  
Mass production**

## Introduction

According to the various parameters that determined the emergence of industry in the nineteenth century Greece, but also to the movement observed in various sectors of production, such as food, textiles, metalworking (smithies, foundries), leather and wood, in the development of the chemical industry, as well as in various other industries such as paper, building materials and ceramics, the early period of the Greek industry is divided into three sub-periods. The first sub-period, the so-called 'introductory' part, was characterized by the initial phase of the rapid development of the young Greek industry which ranged between 1865 and 1875. Although this decade proved to be crucial for the foundation of Greek industry, its development was abruptly interrupted by the crisis that hit almost all major international markets during the Great Depression. The second sub-period extended until 1887, the year in which industrial activity began to show signs of recovery, overcoming the crisis of 1875. Finally, the third sub-period began towards the end of the 1880s, a time of recovery for Greek industry, and ended in 1892, a year before the declaration of bankruptcy of the Greek State and five years before the total destruction of the Greek army in the context of the Greek-Turkish war in 1897. However, despite the negative political events, the correspondingly ominous forecasts and the severe economic depression, the country began to experience an unprecedented industrial growth which culminated around the start of World War II.

The next period, which marked the subsequent course of the country towards full industrialization, began at the point which historians as a whole consider as the milestone of the beginning of a new era for the Greek economy, namely the declaration of bankruptcy of the Greek State in 1893, and was completed in 1940. Within this broad historical and socio-political context, Greece wrote its most recent history through the saga of the Balkan wars, the Asia Minor Campaign and its fatal consequences on Greek society, as well as the through the fiscal and monetary measures taken to consolidate the economy, events that occurred during the Greek interwar period (1922-1939).

In this frantic course of development of the Greek industry, it should be noted that the textile industry was one of its earliest forms as it began to appear as early as in the 1830s, coinciding with the establishment of the independent Greek State. Especially from the 1870s until the 1920s, the Greek textile industry had constituted the cornerstone of industrial organization, development and expansion throughout the Greek territory, foreshadowing the fundamental changes that were to take place in industrial production during the interwar period. During the 1870s in particular and despite the Great Depression there were textile companies that managed to survive after realizing that changes had to be made in their production program, structure and generally in the way they operated, focusing on gradual capital investment, technology and the employment of specialized workforce.

Two important spinning and weaving factories were then established in the city of Piraeus, the largest port of the country with strong contrasts in social stratification. Without having the corresponding experience in operation, organization and production these factories soon managed to show great examples of production skill. These belonged to Christos Stamopoulos, as well as to the businessmen Tripos and Panas respectively, and which, despite their shortcomings, opened new horizons to the later flourishing textile industry in the broader area of Piraeus, but also in areas that generally showed rapid industrial development such as Hermoupolis in Syros, Chalkis and Patras, three equally important ports, but also areas of population movement and cultural panspermia. At the same time, due to financial, and by extension, significant difficulties in acquiring modern machinery, supplying and using energy, but also in finding raw materials, many corresponding factories established at that time would underperform. It should be emphasized that the Greek textile industry up until the first decades of the twentieth century had not specialized in special or high-quality products, as from the beginning it focused on the mass production of cheap, affordable items. This can be explained by the fact that the cost of production was for the industrialists an important parameter in the formation of the products final price. As Papastephanaki states, 'Greek industrialists used technology, the extension of the daily work, the reorganization of work, the verticalization of production and the reduction of labor costs, in order to reduce the total cost of production'.



At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Piraeus was already the country's industrial city par excellence, as it was the center of domestic industrial production and only there the chain developments necessary for the industry on multiple levels could be created. However, the most fruitful period for the Greek textile industry began after the end of World War I, and flourished mainly during the 1920s and the 1930s. Despite the international economic crisis of 1929-1930, great growth was observed in the textile sector, as it was linked to the historical, social and political events of the time, such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe. A major contribution to the development of the industry was the high taxes imposed on imported textiles in 1926, thus creating the conditions for greater domestic production. In addition, the introduction of the diesel engine that replaced the then obsolete steam engine played a major role in the further development of the industry, although many factories still operated with old machinery and poor organization. But then again, the political developments of the time, especially the outbreak of World War II with its disastrous consequences on the socio-economic life of the country, proved fatal for the up to then leapfrog development of the Greek textile industry. After the end of the war, the Greek State focused on the reconstruction of domestic industry, especially of the textile sector, with the creation of more industrial units, however much smaller in terms of workforce.

We will try to describe the development of the Greek textile industry during the first four decades of the twentieth century by thoroughly commenting and analyzing two characteristic industries / case studies which played an important role not only in the interwar industrial profile of the country, but also in broader development of the areas where they thrived. Specifically, after coming to know the socio-cultural context of the two of the most important ports of the country at the time of our interest, we will focus on the structure, operation of Retsina brother's textile factory in Piraeus and of Krystalis-Tsagarakis corresponding factory in Ermoupolis, Syros, but also on their contribution in shaping the industrial landscape of these two societies, in a broader sense.

## *Piraeus of the early twentieth century and the textile industry*

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, Piraeus showed an upward growth in all sectors of the economy with an emphasis on trade, industry and shipping. The achievements presented in the wider social sphere of the city are also noteworthy, as the homogeneity of its population contributed to the strengthening of local consciousness, especially before the arrival of the Asia Minor refugees in 1922 and the process of their integration into the local society which began to alter the socio-cultural character of the city. The electric lighting that quickly spread to the city's suburbs, the electrification of both the Athens-Piraeus railway in 1904 and the tram in 1909, the creation of squares, the asphalt paving of the central streets, the modernization of the port, as well as the solution to the water supply problem in the same period, significantly improved the quality of life of the citizens. The first decade of the interwar period inaugurated the physiognomy of the modern city of Piraeus, introducing and testing new ideas and conceptions within a changing society which at the same time reflected the image of a State full of visions and expectations. It should be stated that the population explosion experienced by the city and especially its suburbs such as Keratsini, Nikaia, Drapetsona, Kokkinia, with the doubling of their population caused by the arrival of refugees and their settling there, became a source of many social problems. But on the other hand, it strengthened the city's economy with a remarkable lively workforce, especially in the fields of industry and commerce. During the second decade of the interwar period, the lower social classes were still plagued by poverty, but also by high crime, while the middle class had already stabilized its position in the Piraeus society. At the same time, the grand bourgeoisie of industrialists and merchants had managed to establish themselves economically, socially and politically as the involvement of some of its most prominent members in politics resulted to the election of some of the most renowned and successful mayors of Piraeus such as Loukas Rallis, Dimitris and Tryfonas Moutsopoulos, Theodoros Retsinas.

Already since the 1860s, the cotton industry in Piraeus had shown signs of significant growth as it benefited from the extensive cultivation of cotton in the Boeotian region

and the consequent large production of cotton as a raw material. Soon, ginning, weaving and spinning mills began to be established with imports of modern machinery from Great Britain. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the importance of the cotton industry was evident. It should be mentioned, however, that most of it had already passed to the powerful Retsina family, which until the end of the nineteenth century had managed to own four of the ten large textile factories of Piraeus.

Other important textile industrial units of the time were the former spinning mill of Kyriakos Lyginos which was founded in 1873 and showed impressive growth during the 1930s when, in place of the spinning mill, the new textile and cotton factory 'Piraiki-Patraiki Cotton Industry S.A.' was established, but flourished mainly after World War II. The competitive textile factory of Hector Psychas, as well as the Anonymous Textile Company 'To Faliron' founded in 1889 the main objective of which was the production of cotton and woolen fabrics, were two more important cases of this specific production sector. In particular, 'The Faliron' continued its development until the first decades of the twentieth century under new management and under the name 'Weaving Company of Faliro', while during the interwar period it merged with the 'Weaving Mill of Naoussa' factory. The business activity of Nikolaos Karellas, who in 1920 founded the textile industrial unit 'Velka' in Neo Faliro, Piraeus, and in 1924 the textile industry 'Aegaion', one of the largest and most historic postwar industries, was also notable. Equally important were the industrial units of the partners Dimitris Daskalakis and Andreas Korologos, as well as those of Georgios Nicolessis and Ilias Manousos or Tsaoussis. At that time, the ever-increasing production of a wide range of textile products covered the needs of the domestic market, but without showing the stability of other industrial productions, such as the flour industry, for example. This may have been directly linked to the instability of the markets in general during that difficult period, but also to the constant competition they faced against the production of European factories. The crisis faced by the textile industry in 1916, when the Greek State outsourced the supply of clothing for the Greek army to European industries due to lower costs, was the result of this competition. For these reasons, most domestic factories were oriented to the production of cheap, coarse, mediocre quality products intended mainly for low-income consumers in the Greek countryside and large urban centers.



1. Lyginos textile factory façade as it is today, Piraeus. Source: Vault of Industrial Digital Archives, from [https://vidarchives.gr/reports/2018\\_10\\_833](https://vidarchives.gr/reports/2018_10_833) (last consultation: February 2024).



2. Exterior view of the textile factory building 'Weaving Company of Faliro' To Falliron', 1910, from The Digital Library of Modern Greek Studies, <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr> (last consultation: February 2024).

## The Retsina brother's factory

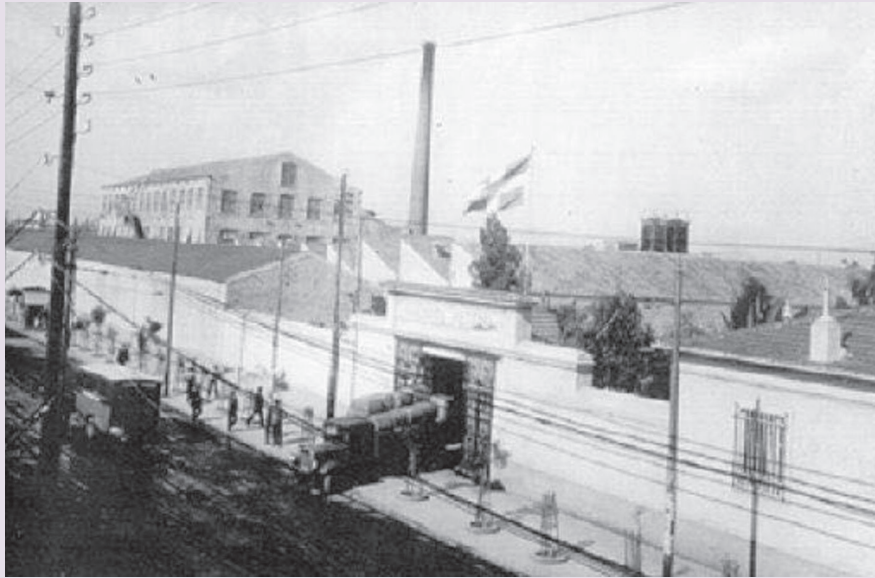
Tracing the emergence and development of textile industries from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century in Piraeus, we can see that few of them had the power of the business intelligence, managerial dynamics, technological superiority, and mass production quality of the Retsina brothers industry. This textile industry was founded in 1872 in the Lefka area of Piraeus by Theodoros, Alexandros and Dimitrios Retsinas brothers, sons of the merchant and distiller Georgios Retsinas, one of the first and most prominent residents of the city.

Initially, it functioned as a spinning mill with 5,000 spindles and the very modern steam engine for the time, while in the following years a weaving mill, a yarn dyeing plant, a machine room, a boiler room, a packaging plant, warehouses and an office building were added next to it. Due to its rapid and very successful business activity, the company soon bought some bankrupt factories of Piraeus, such as those of Varouxakis, Dimokas, Nicolessis, Stamatopoulos and Koumandaros. In the 1890s it acquired 25,000 spindles, 440 masts, locomotives with a total horsepower of 370 horses, and a huge workforce of approximately 1,700 individuals. In the 1910s, the Retsina Company had already had five factories located in key areas of Piraeus, which rendered it the largest textile industry in Greece.

It should be mentioned, however, that signs of crisis had already appeared as in the first two decades of the twentieth century no significant capital was invested in the purchase of new mechanical equipment and thus the insufficient technical support of production began to become evident. In the mid-1920s it was converted from a family business into a joint stock company and had three factories in the city, the largest and most important of which was that in Lefka. After its conversion into a joint-stock company, its strategy changed and began to focus on the modernization of its equipment and facilities. The general manager of the company at the time, Konstantinos Droulias (1896-1976), was the one who had a catalytic effect on the course of the factory, as it was quickly granted a significant loan from the Bank of Greece for its overall modernization.

Following this, in the period 1925-1935 the company's three factories began to operate with diesel, definitively abandoning steam power, while investments began to be made in its building and mechanical equipment.





3. The Retsina factory on Thivon street, Lefka, Piraeus, 1930s. Source: Retsina Archive, A. Droulias collection.

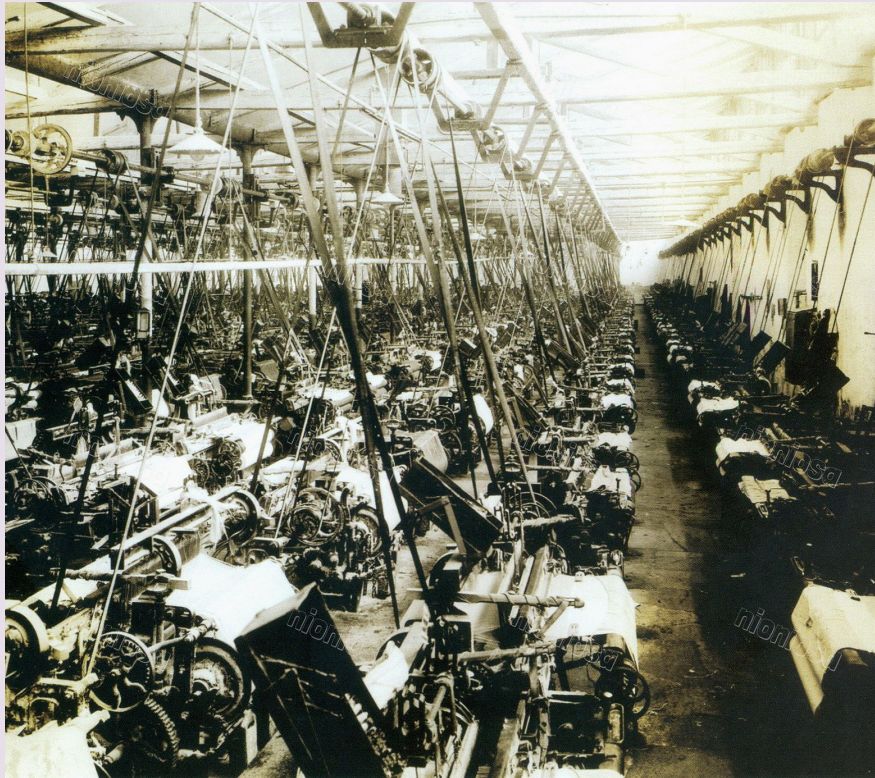
Before the outbreak of World War I, the Retsina industry had taken over government commissions for military clothing, which ceased to be the case during the War, resulting to a significant loss of revenue for the factory. However, in the interwar period a new contract for the undertaking of state commissions for the army was concluded, a fact of paramount importance to the survival of the company. It should also be noted that during the same period the industry gradually began to reduce its exports of cotton products abroad, after many decades of cooperation with many Balkan countries, but also with the Ottoman Empire itself, trying to focus more on the domestic market.

One of the characteristics of the Retsina industry that gave it the edge over other similar textile industries was that it manufactured a wide variety of products that included twisted and untwisted cotton yarns, either colored or white, usually sold in the Greek and foreign markets; otherwise, they were channeled to the weaving mill of the factory for the manufacture of various types of cloth. A great success in the textile production was the cotton-colored cloths, also known as drill fabrics, which were coarsely cut, quite durable and constituted the forerunners of denim fabrics, as they were intended to replace heavy woollen cloths in urban as well as country clothing. As they were aimed at the lower social and economic strata, they were quite affordable, as were the lighter, unbleached cotton plain weave fabrics intended for the manufacture of underwear, pillowcases and bed sheets.

The, often unskilled and numerically unstable workforce that staffed the industry from its foundation until the beginning of the World War II included thousands of people from the lower social strata of Piraeus, but also many internal immigrants and refugees, who usually worked under bad working conditions. This means that in most cases they experienced the violation of their labor rights, with long hours and hard work, very low daily wages, unhealthy working conditions, the authoritarianism of their superiors, etc. As the company's goal was to reduce production costs and, by extension, maximize profit, the idea of the workforce gender division was employed, which made it easier for the company not only to establish unequal pay between men and women, but also to reinforce and consolidate the secondary, rather occasional, role of women's work.

Nevertheless, the industry had already created its own history which was part of the history of the city of Piraeus, since the way in which it functioned until then contributed greatly to the cultural, economic and social formation of this city of multiple contrasts. It also contributed to the industrial shaping of not only the urban landscape of the city,

but also the way of operation, organization and production of other similar or non-similar industries, creating new development prospects in the years that followed.



4. Retsina factory interior with mechanical looms, 1930s. Source Central Service, Retsina Factory Archive.

## *The textile industry in Syros in the first decades of the twentieth century*

As early as the first half of the nineteenth century, Syros, especially its capital Hermoupolis, showed rapid growth due to the massive inflows of internal immigrants after the Greek Revolution of 1821, the development and empowerment of the middle class and the correspondingly large building activity. The establishment of the National Bank of Greece in 1844, as well as the rapid industrial development in the area made Hermoupolis an important industrial zone, which however began to decline after the 1880s, due to the development of the port of Piraeus. Nevertheless, until the end of the century it continued to be an important commercial and industrial center where import and transit trade formed the core of its economy and completely prevailed over the other sectors. And the result of this was, of course, that the class of capitalist merchants, ship owners and bankers became the ruling class of the city.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Hermoupolis was a city with a remarkable industrial past, fruitful present and promising future, as its economy was based on new relations of production which were shaped by the variety of its social structure. In addition to the local population, the immigrants from various parts of Greece who settled it, but also many destitute men and women, several skilled craftsmen, sailors, manual laborers, but also the refugees from Asia Minor later, formed the core of the, stable and

often trained, workforce which manned its industries. Although before the dawn of the twentieth century the traditional shipping industry of the island began to decline irreversibly, a fact which also meant the decline of the productive activity of the shipyards in the area of Neorio, there were many industries that were still flourishing, continuing their successful production tradition. Handicrafts and later food industries, such as traditional Turkish delights, tanneries, flour mills, soap, emery and cotton processing industries dominated the Cycladic landscape of the Hermoupolis port until the interwar period.

During that time and not accidentally, the development of the textile industry which seemed to be based on the venerable industrial heritage of the city, with the aim of producing yarns and fabrics mainly for domestic consumption, is also observed. In particular, as Hermoupolis had already been a center of international transit trade, it remained for several decades the center of the import of textiles wholesale, especially from Manchester, England, to Greece and it remained as such until the beginning of the twentieth century as merchants from all parts of the country would go there to purchase fabrics. Hermoupolis was therefore the most appropriate area for the establishment and development of the textile industry, which triumphed until the mid-twentieth century. In particular, the area around the port was considered the most suitable for the construction of the first textile industrial units, and the reasons were the following: first of all, the transport, loading and unloading of raw materials and finished products from the factories to the ships and vice versa, which at that time was done by hand, with difficult-to-handle machines or even with animals, became much easier and this meant saving time and money. Another reason was the need for spinning mills to always have the right moisture in their premises so that yarns and fabrics would maintain their elasticity and high quality in general. Since at that time the technical conditions of air conditioning did not exist, the humidity of the sea created perhaps the ideal climate for the installation of such factories near the port.

The first factory of its kind was founded as early as 1870 under the name 'Omonoia' by the Hydrian Georgios Kalapopoulos, without, however, having a large or special production. But from 1895 many more similar factories began to be established almost systematically, such as the textile-flannel factory of I. Foustanos and G. Retiniotis, and the textile factory 'E. Ladopoulos and Sons', one of the most prominent of its kind. This factory was built in an area of 10,870 square meters that used to belong to the Kaloutas Tannery Company and started operating as a weaving mill with only fifty looms which in a short period of time became eighty. Soon the dyeing, finishing and spinning mills which were some of the biggest of the time were also added to its basic premises. The factory was one of the most productive of the time, while it suspended its operations due to significant management problems and, by extension, financial difficulties in 1950.

The very next year, in 1896, the textile factory of Dimitris Karelis was founded, under the name 'Aegaion SA', which developed into one of the largest companies in Hermoupolis, with branches in Piraeus, specifically in Faliro, as it has already been mentioned, in Astros Kynourias and Lavrio. In 1896, the steam-powered weaving mill of Efstratios Axarlis and P. Nikolopoulos and, in the same year, the factory of D. N. Pierakou and G. L. Maroulis were also founded. The Vardaka spinning mill, which was one of the most distinct of its kind in the twentieth century in Syros, was founded in 1910 as a general trading company under the name 'Ioannis and Nikolaos Vardakas, Panagiotis, Stathis and Michael Seteris'.

Eleven years later, in 1921, the 'Barbeta' textile factory was founded by Evangelos Barbetas, the upholstery maker Spyridon Krystallis and the cotton merchants Dimitrios and Thomas Kokkinos. In the 1920s the factory developed into one of the most modern ones of the time as its equipment with the latest technology Swiss 'Gaspar' machinery made it highly competitive.

Until the beginning of World War II, the textile industry of Hermoupolis had become very powerful, as it employed over three thousand workers, had a large production that covered local and national needs and made many exports, which is why the capital of Syros was rightly called the Manchester of Greece.





5. The Barbeta factory before its final collapse, 1996, Hermoupolis. From Vault of Industrial Digital Archives, [https://vidarchives.gr/reports/2019\\_02\\_839](https://vidarchives.gr/reports/2019_02_839), (last consultation: February 2024).



6. Krystallis-Tsagarakis factory exterior view as it is today, Hermoupolis. Source: Christina Agriantoni - Fenerli Angeliki personal archives.

## The case of the Krystalli-Tsagaraki textile company

The relationship of Spyridon Krystallis with the purely industrial part of the textile industry began, as has already been mentioned, with the establishment of the textile factory 'Barbetta', which operated during the 1920s. It is worth mentioning, however, that Barbetta brothers were known both in Greece and the Balkans mainly for their previous machine shops businesses activities, specializing in iron constructions for ships, and in the textile machine repairs they used to undertake. This company, which was based in Herrmoupolis, operated for about seven years. But despite doing quite well it was dissolved on May 18, 1928, as stated in the archives of the city's chamber of industry. Since its dissolution, which coincided with the time of the great prosperity of weaving industry in Syros, two new weaving mills were created, one of which belonged to Evangelos Barbetas and bore his name as a brand. On the other hand, Spyridon Krystallis together with his brother Christofis and the businessman Tsagarakis founded a General Trading Company based in Hermoupolis under the name 'Krystallis and Co.' the logo of which was a lion pulling a man with a 'bunch' of yarns. The percentages of the shareholders had small differences with Tsagarakis having 34%, Spyridon Krystallis 36% and Christofis Krystallis 34% of the company and were based on the contribution of each individual's personal work and represented the position of responsibility of each shareholder in the company.

In the late 1920s the factory, which was built according to English standards, was a large modern building which upgraded and in some ways shaped the barren, remoted field area in which it was raised. In addition to its great architectural design, the factory began to be equipped, as a matter of priority, with machinery imported from major British manufacturers such as 'Brooks and Doxey', 'Lord Brothers' and 'Hovart and Bulloh', but also some Swiss ones, such as the well-known company 'Gaspar', while later it turned to French and German companies. The machinery was dispatched through European and Greek technical companies such as the technical office 'Konstantinos Gertos and Co.', the 'Papakonstantinou Laganas and Co.' company based in Athens, as well as a local company named 'Christos A. Spanomanolis' which undertook the representation and promotion of all kinds of machinery on the island.

According to the oral testimony of Panagiotis-Antonios Krystallis, a descendant of the Krystallis family,

*this factory was the first textile factory in Syros that used electricity for the machines, that is, each machine had a motor, which gave it movement. In the old factories up on the ceiling, there were the so-called 'wheels', which you could turn and put a belt on; this way they would drive the machines below, you know? You had an iron part that turned and if put a strap on that you would get motion.*

Unlike the Retsina brother's factory, this company worked under a democratic policy as it promoted equality and justice among its workforce individuals. Specifically, it would employ hundreds of skilled and unskilled workers, men and women, without any discrimination on sex, age, wages or promotion opportunities, depending, of course, on their work skills.

Soon, however, the global economic crisis that began to affect Greece in the early 1930s reached Syros in 1932, when a really difficult period began for the factory. Orders for drill, the basic type of fabric produced by both the Krystallis and Ladopoulos factories, began to plummet, leaving hundreds of workers unpaid and production dwindling. However, the law of Eleftherios Venizelos on the 'Benefaction of bankrupt companies' gave the factory, as well as others in a similar financial situation, the possibility to gradually pay off their debts and thus survive. Towards the end of the 1930s the factory began to recover as orders for drills increased and so did its production. Its excellent quality products started to be made available again through special dealers who traveled all over Greece, but also through specific agents who were based in the major cities of Greece. From there the exports to England and the U.S.A. where the drill fabric became popular and evolved into one of the most well-known casual fabrics of the following decades around the world, began.

After the end of After World War II, the factory greatly renewed its mechanical equip-



ment and expanded its production to many more types of products as were the dimity, gabardine, satin, plain cotton and mixed fabrics.

The said factory had a catalytic effect on shaping not only the industrial, but also the economic, social and cultural profile of Syros as it was one of the most important and well-known companies that created and maintained a trustworthy collaboration with customers, partners, staff, suppliers and in general with the economic business factors of the local, national and European textiles market. In an environment of new ideas and trends, new technologies and production innovations, but at the same time in an era in which Greece suffered from fatal events such as wars, bankruptcies, pandemics, and intense socio-political upheavals, the Krystallis brothers and the major shareholder Tsagarakis achieved the almost impossible. After erecting huge industrial buildings, they equipped them with state-of-the-art machinery and employed a large and diverse workforce to whom they provided decent working conditions, good wages, and, in special cases, shelter and food, thus changing the traditionally unequal relationship between employers and workers, while making their high-quality drill textile production known throughout the western world markets.



7. Krystallis-Tsagarakis textile factory poster, 1930s. Source: Panagiotis Kouloumbis' personal archive.

## Conclusion

The course of the Greek textile industry is directly intertwined with the emergence, the development and the heyday of the Greek industry until the post-war period. The development of an industry closely related to the concept of clothing, which was a primary good, along with food and shelter, for Greeks after the 1821 Revolution, seemed to become bigger and bigger during the first decades of the twentieth century, following the upward trend of growth of the Greek economy and the corresponding changes of Greek society despite the difficulties and adversities it faced. At the same time, it played an important role in shaping the cultural, socio-political and economic profile of the small societies in which it flourished, mainly in important ports of the country which were also significant transit trade centers such as Hermoupolis in Syros and Piraeus. The large productions of different types of fabrics, not always of high quality, as they were addressed, in most cases to the lower consumer strata, provided solutions to the clothing problem, while at the same time made Greece an important production center with many exports to foreign countries, at least until in the 1920s and the early 1930s. The case studies of the Retsina brother's factory in Piraeus and the textile company of Krystallis-Tsagarakis in Hermoupolis, constituted two indicative examples of the textile

industry in the early twentieth century Greece, shedding light on its successful course. At the same time, along with their strong differences in their constitution, production and in the management of the workforce they employed, they both contributed in the shaping of the industrial, economic, social and cultural character of the cities by which they were hosted.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Blaug, *Great Economists since Keynes: An Introduction to the Lives and Works of One Hundred Modern Economists*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Athanassios Matrapazis, *Η διαδικασία εκβιομηχάνισης στην Ελλάδα 1870-1970 (The process of industrialization in Greece 1870-1970)*, M.A. Thesis, University of Thessaly, Department of Economic Sciences, 2004, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Konstantina Demiri, *Τα ελληνικά κλωστοϋφαντουργεία: ιστορική και τυπολογική διερεύνηση (The Greek textiles industry: a historical and typological investigation)*, Cultural Technological Foundation ETVA, Athens 1991, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> Giannis Giannitsiotis, *Η Κοινωνική Ιστορία του Πειραιά, η συγκρότηση της αστικής τάξης 1860-1910 (The Social History of Piraeus, the formation of the bourgeois Class 1860-1910)*, Nefeli Publications, Athens 2006, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Christina Agriantoni, *Οι απαρχές της εκβιομηχάνισης στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αι. (The beginnings of industrialization in Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century)*, Historical Archive Publications, Emporiki Bank of Greece, Athens 1986, p. 323.

<sup>6</sup> Leda Papastefanaki, *Εργασία, τεχνολογία και φύλο στην ελληνική βιομηχανία. Η κλωστοϋφαντουργία του Πειραιά (1870-1940) (Labour, Technology and Gender in Greek Industry. The Textile Industry of Piraeus -1870-1940-)*, Crete University Press, Herakleio 2009, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> A term that describes the adverse effects of the Asia Minor Campaign on Hellenism. Specifically, it concerns the end of the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-22, the flight of the Greek administration from the western shores of Asia Minor, the almost disorderly retreat of the Greek army, as well as the generalized expulsion and extermination of a large part of the Greek and Christian population of Asia Minor, by Turkish troops.

<sup>8</sup> Demiri, *Τα ελληνικά κλωστοϋφαντουργεία: ιστορική και τυπολογική διερεύνηση (The Greek textiles industry: a historical and typological investigation)*, cit., pp.19-20.

<sup>9</sup> Georgios A. Giannakopoulos, *Οι μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα: Βιβλιογραφικό δοκίμιο (The Asia Minor refugees in Greece: Bibliographic essay)*, «Bulletin of the Asia Minor Studies Center», Issue 9, 1992, pp. 283-291.

<sup>10</sup> Johannis Tsoumas, *Greek Interwar Art and Design (1922-1939): An Overview*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2023, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Vassias Tsokopoulos, Τα «παιδιά του Πειραιά» αναζητούν ταυτότητα (*The "children of Piraeus" are looking for an identity*), «To Vima», 2008, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Vassias Tsokopoulos, Πειραιάς 1835-1925: Μεταλλάξεις της Νεωτερικότητας (*Piraeus 1835-1925: Mutations of Modernity*), Doctoral thesis, University of Thessaly, School of Humanity Sciences, Department of History, Archeology and Social Anthropology, 2016, pp. 118-119.

<sup>13</sup> Nikos Belavilas, Μια ιστορική διόρθωση (*A historical correction*), 2018, from <https://portnet.gr/apopseis/loxi-matia/15856-mia-istorikh-diorthosh.html>

(last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>14</sup> Ioannis Chatziioannou, Πανελλήνιο Λεύκωμα Εθνικής Εκατονταετηρίδας: Η χρυσή βίβλος του ελληνισμού (*Panhellenic Album of the National Centenary: The Golden Bible of Hellenism*), vol. B, Chatziioanou Publications, Athens 1922, p. 144.

<sup>15</sup> Emmanouel Chalkiadakis, Η Βιομηχανία της Ερμούπολης, τέλη 19ου αι.-1940: Τα εργοστάσια Καρέλλα, Λαδόπουλων, Βαρδάκα και Μπαρμπαρέτα. Η περίπτωση των πολυδύναμων επιχειρηματιών (*The Industry of Ermoupolis, late 19th century-1940: The Karella, Ladopoulos, Vardaka and Barbareta factories. The case of multi-talented entrepreneurs*), M.A. Thesis, University of Crete, Department of History-Archaeology, Department of Sociology, Postgraduate program in Modern Greek and European History, 2005, p. 45.

<sup>16</sup> Christos Petras, Το προφίλ των Πειραιωτών βιομηχάνων στις αρχές του 20<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα (1900-1920) (*The profile of Piraeus industrialists at the beginning of the 20th century (1900-1920)*), M.A. Thesis, University of the Aegean, School of Social Sciences, Department of Social Anthropology and History, 2006, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Ivi*, p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Tsokopoulos, Πειραιάς 1835-1925: Μεταλλάξεις της Νεωτερικότητας (*Piraeus 1835-1925: Mutations of Modernity*), *cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>19</sup> Leda Papastefanaki, Κλωστοϋφαντουργία Ρετσίνα. Έραβε ρούχα για τον λαό και γιγαντώθηκε με 5 εργοστάσια (*Retsina textile industry. It sewed clothes for the people and became gigantic with 5 factories*), 2018, from <https://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/klostoyfantoyrgia-retsina-erave-roycha-gia-ton-lao-kai-gigantothike-me-5-ergostasia/> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>20</sup> It should be pointed out that the factory growth from 1880 onwards was due, to a large extent, to the strong network of kinships created between the members of the Retsina family and members of other powerful families of bankers and capitalists, based on marriage strategies which aimed at the merging of their large assets and by extension the business activities of the factory.

<sup>21</sup> Industrialist and politician from Aegio, Peloponnese who had been active in the establishment of many industries of various types such as the 'Anonymous Raisin Company' (1920) with branches in England, Germany and the U.S.A. At the same time, he participated in the founding of 'A. Droulias S.A.' and the 'Anonymous Industrial Wood Company' (A.I.W.C.), of which he was president in the period 1922-1927. After his marriage to Dora Retsina, Theodoros Retsina's granddaughter, he took over the management of the textile industry 'Retsina Brothers SA' in 1926, aiming at its complete modernization.

<sup>22</sup> Christos Chatziiosif, Η γηραιά σελήνη. Η βιομηχανία στην ελληνική οικονομία, 1830-1940 (*The old moon. Industry in the Greek economy, 1830-1940*), Themelio Publications, Athens 1993, p. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Leda Papastefanaki, Κλωστοϋφαντουργία Αδελφοί Ρετσίνα - Η άνοδος και πτώση ενός κολοσσού (*Retsina Brothers Textile industry - The rise and fall of a giant*), 2022, from <https://argolikivivliothiki.gr/2022/12/13/retsina-brothers-textile-industry/> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>24</sup> With this unequal treatment between the two sexes, the company reinforced, perhaps unwittingly, the notion of bourgeois power while widening the gap between men and women in working-class families.

<sup>25</sup> Stavros Vafias, Το Α΄ εν Ερμούπολει ναυτιλιακό συνέδριον του 1902 (*The A' maritime conference in Ermoupoli, 1902*), volume 9<sup>th</sup>, Cycladic Studies Society Yearbook, M. N. Kovaios printing, Athens 1971-1973, p. 585.

<sup>26</sup> Christina Agriantoni, and Angeliki Fenerli, Ερμούπολη-Σύρος. Ιστορικό οδοιπορικό (*Ermoupolis-Syros. Historical trek*), Olkos Publications, Athens 2000, p. 45.

<sup>27</sup> If, for example, the moisture content of the yarn is greater than seven percent and the weather is dry, then during the friction of the yarn with the various processing machines, static electricity is created, which, due to the electrical properties of dry yarns, can create many problems, one of which is warping during weaving.

<sup>28</sup> Panagiotis Kouloumbis, Εργοστάσιο και Οικογένεια Λαδόπουλου (*Ladopoulos Factory and Family*), 2020, from <https://www.syrostoday.gr/News/109677-Ergostasio-kai-Oikogeneia-Ladopolyoy.aspx> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>29</sup> Many members of the Ladopoulos family were lost in the wreck of the ship 'Sperchios' in May 1945. After the death of the main shareholder Elpidophoros Ladopoulos, the company continued to operate with the main shareholder Aristotelis Ladopoulos and other members of the Ladopoulos family. A little later, part of the factory was moved to Athens, but without significant benefits for the company.

<sup>30</sup> *Bulletin of Anonymous Companies, Number 485, statute of 'Syros Vardakas S.A.'*, «Official Government Gazette», 1937.

<sup>31</sup> Konstantinos G. Gerassimidis, Το Πανόραμα της Σύρου (*The Panorama of Syros*). Syros, Γερασμιδης Γ. Κωνσταντίνος, 1933, p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Kostas Gkionis, Η βιομηχανία της Ερμούπολης τον 19ο και 20ό αιώνα (*The Ermoupolis industry in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*), February 15, 2019, from <https://edromos.gr/i-viomichania-tis-ermoupolis-ton-190-kai-200-aiona/> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>33</sup> Chalkiadakis, Η Βιομηχανία της Ερμούπολης, τέλη 19ου αι.-1940: Τα εργοστάσια Καρέλλα, Λαδόπουλων, Βαρδάκα και Μπαρμπάρετα. Η περίπτωση των πολυδύναμων επιχειρηματιών (*The Industry of Ermoupolis, late 19<sup>th</sup> century-1940: The Karella, Ladopoulos, Vardaka and Barbareta factories. The case of multi-talented entrepreneurs*), cit., p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> Panagiotis Kouloumbis, Η ιστορία του εργοστασίου υφαντουργίας Κρυστάλλη - Τσαγκαράκη (Μέρος Β!) (*The history of the Krystalli - Tsagaraki textile factory (Part B!)*), 2021, from <https://www.syrostopday.gr/News/139531-H-istoria-toy-ergostasioy-yfantoyrgias-Krystalli--Tsagkaraki-Meros-V.aspx> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>35</sup> Petros M. Stefanou, Κυκλαδικόν Ημερολόγιον 1928 (*Cycladic Diary 1928*), 3<sup>rd</sup> year, Hermoupolis, 1929.

<sup>36</sup> Panagiotis-Antonios Krystallis, Η ιστορία της Εταιρίας Υφαντουργίας Κρυστάλλη-Τσαγκαράκη στη Σύρο (*The history of the Krystalli-Tsagaraki Textile Company in Syros*), oral testimony, 2022, from <https://archive.is-torima.org/interviews/EL-11927#segment-1> (last consultation: February 2024).

<sup>37</sup> Kouloumbis, Η ιστορία του εργοστασίου υφαντουργίας Κρυστάλλη - Τσαγκαράκη (Μέρος Β!) (*The history of the Krystalli - Tsagaraki textile factory (Part B!)*), cit.

<sup>38</sup> Konstantinos Pappas, Ο ελληνικός μεσοπόλεμος και η ανάπτυξη της βιομηχανίας (*The Greek interwar period and the development of industry*), M.A. thesis, University of the Peloponnese, School of Humanities Sciences and Cultural Studies, Department of History, Archeology and Cultural Resources Management, 2021, p. 24.


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