

## Historical Background Context

The history of the coal mining stations in the Aegean is linked both to the story of the commercial and shipping networks in the Mediterranean and to the history of labour and the local history of the islands where the depots operated. By the end of the 19th century, coal had become the fuel of choice for driving engines for sea and land transport, industrial production and domestic use.

Its extraction from the coalfields of Wales and Scotland had contributed to the ascendancy of British industry and the dominance of British coal in international markets. However, the territorial and economic changes brought about by the First World War led to major shifts in coal production: in particular, new German, Polish, Russian and Turkish coal-bearing areas led to Welsh coal being displaced, while causing a fall in the price of the product. Exhausting working conditions in the mines and on the loading docks led to the development of a dynamic labour movement during the inter-war period and to the upper classes' fear of social upheaval. World War II would mark the beginning of the end of coal exploitation and its replacement by oil, whose use became widespread in industry and transport after 1945.

The enormous opportunities presented by the commercial exploitation of coal attracted local merchants and even Welsh coal mine owners to set up stations in various Mediterranean ports for the storage and sale of the fuel to passing ships bound for the Hellespont or Gibraltar. Such coal depots were established at the end of the 19th century in Malta, Livorno, Trieste, Oran, Algiers, Marseilles, Pontos Herakleia, Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna, Piraeus, Syros, Lavrio and Thessaloniki. Often, the warehouses that operated in the Aegean were established by Greek merchants and shipowners from the diaspora, mainly Chios and Andriotes, who were established in London and were already engaged in the trade of coal from the Welsh ports and were therefore better prepared to undertake a similar venture.

## Reasons for choosing Kea island

Kea's position on the sea trade routes that connected the Black Sea with the Western Mediterranean made it a privileged spot for the establishment of a coal station in the Aegean. Its location, halfway between Malta and Constantinople, and the sheltered port of Agios Nikolaos, must have been the main reason that prompted the Chios merchants from Constantinople, Michael Agelastos and Aristides Sfetsos, to found the Zea Coaling Company in 1898, in the area of Kokka on Kea.

Kea is located in the middle of the sea route from Gibraltar to Istanbul and the ports of the Black Sea. The ships that would be bunkering there would not have to deviate from their course and therefore would not delay their journey. They would also not have to stop in Malta for refuelling. The ease of berthing and mooring offered to passing ships by the sheltered and deep harbour at Kea, together with the safe berthing possibilities provided by the lighthouse of Agios Nikolaos, even in bad weather conditions, were equally important reasons favouring Kea. The spacious and deep harbour allowed for the bunkering of several ships at the same time.

Among the advantages of the Kokka station was the possibility for the masters to obtain good quality water from the two water carriers owned by the company, as well as food, "fresh meat and vegetables". Another advantage was the fact that the port of Agios Nikolaos was not as busy as the large commercial port of Piraeus and, to a lesser extent, Syros. This favoured the quicker coal burning ships, as in the large ports, the formalities and thorough inspections overwhelmed and delayed the masters.

**For anyone visiting the area today, with what remains of the station's facilities, it is difficult to imagine the lively traffic in the working-class settlement of Kokka and to understand the role that the port of Agios Nikolaos played at the crossroads of the Eastern Mediterranean sea routes and in the international trade and shipping networks.**

## Introduction

The exhibition entitled "Kokka, the story of the coaling station in Kea" presents for the first time material on the history of this important coaling station that operated in the Kokka area of Kea from 1898 to 1958, but of which only a few ruins remain today. The history of the station is an important chapter in the history of the coal trade, shipping and labour in the first half of the 20th century.

The exhibition takes place in the building that served as the office and residence of the director of the Michalinos company. The exhibition material consists of historical documents, photographs and accompanying texts, as well as a rare audio document with narratives of the Kean workers who toiled in the warehouses of Kokka, and consists of four sections. The first presents the broader historical context in which the coal station was established and analyses the reasons for the choice of Kea for its location. The second section consists of a chronology of the evolution of the company from its establishment in 1898 until its final closure in 1958. The third section depicts the station's buildings and infrastructure, while the fourth section is devoted to the lives of the people who worked in the warehouses of Kokka, presenting the accounts of the Kean workers themselves, thus showing how the history of the station is linked to the economic and social history of Kea.

Through the material presented in the exhibition we can visualize how an internationalized economic activity united disparate worlds: the world of the workers in the mine galleries of Wales with that of the island's farmers who worked in the loading and unloading operations at Kokka, or the world of the clerks, who worked in the shipping offices in London and Rotterdam and concluded the purchase and sale agreements, with the world of the clerks in the company's offices.

It is commonplace nowadays to be indifferent to the traces of the past, especially those of industrial archaeology, indifference which is often responsible for their destruction. The aim of the exhibition is to preserve the historical memory of the landscape as well as the knowledge-connection of residents and visitors with the industrial heritage of Kea.

## KOKKA: THE STORY OF THE COALING STATION IN KEA

Idea, organization, coordination

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Printing

PEBRO BROS

Public reception

Praxis Greece

Co organization



Sponsor



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## Working in the warehouses of Kokka in the interwar period

The history of the Kokka coaling station is linked both to the history of the Mediterranean trade networks and sea routes and to the history of labour and the local history of the island. From the last years of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the unloading and coaling in the depots would set a different tone for the island's economy and the experiences of the people who worked in them. The office workers and contractors, carpenters and masons, but especially the hundreds of farm workers who abandoned their farm work every time they heard the distinctive whistle to load or unload coal, to carry it by winch, cutters or zebra barges to the barges and to stack it, 'lay it', 'build it', 'hammer it', in the warehouses as well as on the barges, with which they carried it to the deck or the holds of the ships.

The information gathered from the documents in the company's archives, combined with the oral testimonies of the people who worked at Kokka, bring to life the daily life of work in the warehouses and on the steamships that were docked offshore.

Most witnesses considered the wages from their work at the Kokka station to be important, although they did not fail to emphasise how strenuous their work was. Compared to the low level of exploitation of the agricultural economy and the potential for monetary income offered by the exploitation of land (acorns, barley, wine) and livestock farming, the wages from transport seem to have met important monetary needs of the families. This explains why the Michalinos company had acquired almost mythical proportions in the discourse and memories of the workers and their families.

## CHRONOLOGY / HISTORY OF THE OPERATION OF THE COMPANY

### **Period A: The Zea Coaling Company-1898-1909**

**1898**

Establishment of "The Zea Coaling Company" by Michael Agelastos and Aristides Sfetsos, traders and importers of coal from Chios, Constantinople and Piraeus, who chose to expand their business by establishing a coal preparation plant in the area of Kokka of Kea.

**1899-1902**

Building of warehouses and docks. Creation of infrastructure for the accommodation of workers.

**April 1908**

Closure of operations, liquidation of the company's assets.

### **Period B: "Michalinos" Shipping and Trading Company 1910-1941**

#### **B1: The Michalinos brothers (1910-1920)**

**March 1910**

Sale of the company's land and facilities to the brothers Alexandros and Zannis Michalinos, Chios merchants and shipowners active in London and Piraeus, where they had founded in the early 20th century the coal importing company A/foi Michalinos.

**July 1910**

Reopening of the station in Kokkas under the new management. 200-300 workers are employed.

**October 1911**

Inauguration of the new company in the presence of Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos

**April 1912**

Foundation of the Joint Stock Shipping and Trading Company "Michalinos", with a capital of 10 million golden drachmas and the object of shipping and trading operations in Piraeus and Kea. Alexandros Michalinos (Piraeus) was the director of the company. Chairman of the Board of Directors is Zannis Michalinos (London).

**September 1912-July 1913**

Balkan Wars, closure of the Straits.

**1912**

Foundation of the Association of Coal Workers of Kea.

**July 1912**

Strikes of coal workers in Piraeus and Syros.

**1913-1914**

ANEE Michalinos is the largest coal importer in Greece.

**14 August 1914**

Death of Alexandros Michalinos.

**1914-1918**

World War I, ban on coal imports.

**1914-1919**

Fluctuations in the coal trade, shortages, price rises, speculation.

**1915-1919**

Increase in profits for shipping companies due to the increase in freight rates.

**1916**

Coal requisitions by the government, problems with imports from England.

**1917**

October Revolution, civil war in Russia, problems with transport and trade in grain from the Black Sea.

**1920-1926**

Major workers' strikes in England, rise in coal prices, search for new sources.

**1920s**

Imports of coal from America, opening of the sea routes to Argentina.

**1918-1920**

The company in transition

## **Period B: "Michalinos" Shipping and Trading Company 1910-1941**

### **B2 The period of the successors:**

the Michalos brothers at the helm of the company (1920-1940).

#### **1918-1919**

Members of the Tahminzis and Michalos family, relatives by marriage, participate in the Board of Directors of the company.

#### **1920**

The Michalos brothers take over the management of the company.

#### **1920**

Mass purchase of shares of ANEE Michalinos by Konstantinos, Zannis and Leonidas Michalos.

#### **1920**

Konstantinos Michalos, husband of Lili Tahmintzi, niece of the Michalinos brothers, appointed general manager of ANEE Michalinos and Emmanuel Michalinos takes over as CEO of the Company.

#### **1930-1938**

Crisis in shipping and coal trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, turnover is reduced.

#### **1938**

The establishment of the Michalinos Coal Trading Company Ltd, with a capital of 10.500.000 drachmas and the purpose of trading in coal. Director K. Michalos, Managing Director Emmanuel Michalinos.

### **World War II 1939-1945**

#### **August 1940**

The company's operations are interrupted due to the war. The warehouses cease operation. Destruction of most barges, tugs, salvage and water carriers.

#### **Occupation 1941-1944**

Use of the warehouses by foreign forces, Italians 1941-1943, Germans 1943-1944, Americans 1944.

#### **1946**

Mr Michalos settles in New York as a shipowner.

#### **1946-1947**

Futile attempts to reopen the warehouses.

#### **1951**

Death of K. Michalos

#### **1956**

Death of Emmanuel Michalinos

#### **1958**

Reopening of the carpenter's shop and the shipyard for barge maintenance

#### **1959**

#### **Permanent closure of the station.**

The definitive shutdown of the warehouses, combined with the closure of the Enamel factory, which had preceded it a year earlier, contributed to the economic decline of the island, leading to unemployment and internal migration to Athens and Piraeus.

## The first phase of the station's operation

The Zea Coaling Company was founded in 1898 by the Chian merchants Michael Agelastos and Aristides Sfetsos in Constantinople. The initiative for the establishment of the company must have been taken in consultation with the English coal and shipping house Cory Brothers and Co Ltd, based in Cardiff and London, with whom the two merchants were already working in Constantinople. The coal they imported came exclusively from their own coal mines in the Glamorgan area of Wales. The promotion of the advantages of the Kea station by the British consular authorities may have been linked to the role the station played in supplying the British naval fleet and the control the British government sought to have over the movement of fuel in the Aegean.

Information about the operation of the station is mainly derived from the advertising brochure published by the company in 1902. As stated, the station was set up to meet the needs of the British navy for fuel and food. To this end, the company had signed an agreement to this effect. In 1900 the British Consul reports that several ships of the British Mediterranean Squadron were coaled at the Kea station, which he describes as one of the best in the Mediterranean.

The possibility of the British Admiralty working with a commercial company that would ensure the bunkering of British ships in the event of war would certainly be something that the British government would be interested in. After all, the monopolistic relationship Britain had with the company is shown by the latter's refusal to supply coal to Russian ships in 1903.

According to a British consular report, in 1901, of the 323 ships bunkered, 132 were British, including 32 warships, 130 were Greek, 17 Italian and 10 German. In 1898, the first year of the station's operation, 15,000 tons were discharged from the Cory Brothers and Co. coal mines of Wales.

In 1909 the station of Kea ceased its operation. On May 25, 1910, in Constantinople, Michael Agelastos sold the land and facilities of the Zea Coaling Company to Emmanuel Michalinos, representative and cousin of the Michalinos brothers. Two months later the station was put back into operation. Its second phase of operation was to be longer as it lasted until 1940, hence the name 'Michalinos Coal Depots' prevailed.



## The second phase of the station's operation

At the beginning of the 20th century, a large number of merchant vessels and warships, mainly British, stopped at the bay of Agios Nikolaos to obtain coal, food and water. Despite the success of the station, in 1910 the company was sold to the Michalinos brothers, successful merchants and shipowners from Chios who were active in London and Piraeus. Having gained a good position in the import of coal to Piraeus, the two brothers opened supply stations at other privileged points on the sea routes to the straits, such as Thessaloniki and Syros, considering that the coal market showed signs of further growth in the Aegean.

The Kea station began to reopen in July 1910, just two months after its acquisition by Agelastos, employing around 200 to 300 workers from various regions of the island. When the volume of shipments increased, workers were brought from Piraeus. The Michalinians maintained and improved the facilities and infrastructure of the workers' settlement. The station's traffic must have been significant judging by the company's profits, the correspondence with major shipping houses of the time in the major ports of Europe and the comments in the newspapers of the time. The charcoal contracts kept in the Kea office in this building testify to the volume of transactions and the international scope of the business. The contracts show that the Michelin office in London dealt with firms based in various shipping centres in Western and Northern Europe (London, Glasgow, Hamburg, Bremen, Genoa, Brindisi, Brittany, Christiania, Bergen, Oslo, Cardiff, Rotterdam, Venice, Catania, Southampton and New York. Prime minister Venizelos' presence at the opening of the station in October 1911 is another example of the station's importance in international shipping and also demonstrates the economic and social status of the Michalinians.

In April 1912, the two brothers proceeded to establish the Michalinos Shipping and Trading Company, which was engaged in a wide range of commercial and shipping activities. Although the company operated under the status of a limited company, its property and management remained almost exclusively in family hands. The two brothers took the most important positions in the management of the company, Zorzis in London and Alexander in Piraeus. Despite the promising prospects that appeared to exist in 1912, for the next decade freight rates and trade fluctuated greatly in the Mediterranean due to the war and its effects on the economy. Although profits from the coal trade were high, the Kea station ceased operations from November 1916 until 1921. During the same period, the company abandoned the Black Sea routes and turned to the Indian and Atlantic oceans. However, the company's progress was not so much affected by the consequences of the First World War as by the death of Alexander Michalinos in August 1914.

As Zorzis Michalinos chose to remain in London and not to do business in Greece after the death of his brother, the company was dealt a severe blow. After a transitional period of six years the business passed into the hands of distant relatives. In 1920 Konstantinos Michalos, husband of the niece of the Michalinos brothers, became general manager.

Konstantinos and his brothers, Leonidas and Zannis Michalos, seem to have bought most of the company's shares around 1920. The three Michalos brothers, originally from Fragovouni in Thymiana Chios, were important timber merchants in the late 19th century before switching to shipping in the early 20th century. The new owners retained the existing premises, to which they added other buildings, including an additional warehouse, carpenter's shop, a new telegraph office, offices for employees and a house for the company's manager and the hospitality of customers. They also repaired the shipyard and in 1924 undertook the construction of an aqueduct in the Meadowlands.

Konstantinos Michalos, an important shipowner in the inter-war years, who managed the company from 1920 until 1950, almost until his death, was mainly involved in the coal trade. In the inter-war years, the company strengthened its position in international maritime transport. The coal trade, from being a supplementary source of profit for the company, became its dominant business in the 1930s, as shipping suffered the consequences of the world financial crisis of 1929. However, Welsh coal was replaced by Russian, German, Polish and Turkish coal, which was cheaper. Also, in the same period, most of the shipping companies that mined coal in Tzia belonged to Greek shipowning families of the Ionian and Chios network, with which the Michalos brothers maintained commercial and social relations, such as the Vergotis, Pateras, Saliaris, Karras, Goulandris, etc. families.

During this period, around 200 people were employed in the warehouses, the shipyard and the carpenter's workshop, most of whom came from the same Kean families. Payment was based on the tonnage, type and time of work, whether it was day or night and whether the workers worked on the barges, ship's holds or warehouses, in the harnessing, coal spreading or on the barges. Some trades, such as winchman and bargeman, were paid by the day. Work in the warehouses provided additional income for the island's rural families, where the post-agrarian economy was still in its infancy in the first decades of the 20th century. The system of subcontracting was applied in labour relations, which did not create any obligations for the company. Nevertheless, the workers of Kokka had already organised themselves as early as 1910 in the Kea Coal Workers' Association to defend their rights and forge solidarity among themselves.

The declaration of war forced the company to cease operations in the summer of 1940, when sea transport was interrupted. During the Occupation, tugs, salvage vessels, hydrofoils and most barges were completely destroyed by the occupying forces. In 1946, some attempts were made to reopen the depots, but they were permanently discontinued the following year. World War II was instrumental in changing the business plans of Konstantinos Michalos, who in 1946 moved his ship-owning operations to New York where he lived until his death in 1951.

The replacement of coal by oil in the combustion engines of ships meant the end of coal stations in Greek ports. The closure of the Kokka warehouses brought about a general demographic and economic decline on the island in the 1950s and 1960s, as unemployment and the lack of other job opportunities led most of the workers in the Kokka warehouses to emigrate internally to Attica and drove the island into economic decline.

## The archive of the Michalinos Shipping & Trading Company

In the late 1980s, the archive of Michalinos Company was found dismantled and partially destroyed in this building, which had served as the office and residence of the company's director before the war.

As the company's premises in Kokka had been left unattended since 1958, the archive had been severely damaged: part of it was gradually destroyed due to the conditions of storage - abandonment, rain and wind, but mainly due to the humidity and acids that had corroded the documents. The archive was transferred to a safe place by the Kean collector Nikos Dalaretos, who took care of its preservation, classification and digitisation. The classification and cataloguing of the archive was carried out by Vasso Theodorou, Professor of Modern and Contemporary Greek History at the Democritus University of Thrace, between 2013-2016. In 2020 the archive was granted to the Municipality of Kea.

The warehouse buildings in Kea are linked to the history of the occupation in the Cyclades in many ways. Initially they must have been used by Italian officials, and after 1943, when the Italians withdrew from the war, by the Germans.

In October 1944, a group of American spies, members of the military organization OSS (Office of Strategic Services) operating in the Aegean, Turkey and Egypt, used the offices and residence of the company's director to set up an office to serve their purposes. The team of US agents remained at the base for about two months. Among the members of the organization who found themselves on Kea in 1944 were young archaeologists, graduates of American universities interested in the island's antiquities, such as the American archaeologist John 'Jack' Caskey.

In 1960, John Caskey, professor of archaeology at the University of Cincinnati, returned to Kea as he took charge of the excavations carried out at the prehistoric settlement on the peninsula of Agia Irini. During the excavations, the company that owns the land at Kokka made the building stock available to the archaeologists and granted permission for the excavations. The buildings were used as accommodation, workplaces and a place of assembly.

## 1. Transport and storage facilities.

The Zea Coaling Company had constructed from its first year of operation an open coal warehouse, capable of storing up to 20,000 tons of coal, measuring 60m x 35 m., and a dock for barge refueling.

The coal was unloaded from a 35 metre-long pier, which started from the middle of the face of the coal store. The barges, according to a consular report of 1899, were 12 in number, with varying capacities from 60 to 80 tonnes each. They were always kept at sea, filled with a total of 800 tons of coal, so that they were ready to move to anchored ships at any time of the day or night, without prior notice. As an example of rapid loading they cite the transfer of 600 tons to a battleship of the Royal Fleet in the course of 5 hours. At the time of the operation of the warehouses by the Michelin Company, the number of barges appears to have exceeded 40.

The coal was brought to Kokka by cargo ships, which were anchored at an anchorage just outside the harbour, where the water was deeper. Then the barges would leave the dock of Kokka empty, with the help of small tugs, and dock next to the ships. The coal was transported by from the hold of the ship. In this way, they filled the 'kofa' (large baskets with a capacity of more than 200 kg. The kofa were made by a local basket maker, mainly with wicker and reed. The kofa were taken by the winch, the ship's crane, and emptied onto the barges, which in turn took them to land.

A similar procedure was followed for loading the refueling ships. When the barge and tugboat arrived back at the quay, the workers unloaded the coal and transported it back to the yard in barges. During the period of operation from Michalino, another coal storage yard was constructed towards the Agia Irini area, which operated in the same way.

## 2. Auxiliary facilities - boatyard.

In the area of Kokka, there was a small shipyard for the repair of barges, which was created by the Zea Coaling Company. The shipyard was located at a point on the seashore where there was sloping ground that allowed for the lifting and launching of boats, their repair and other operations such as caulking. Across the road from the boatyard was the machine shop that housed the steam-powered winch and a materials store.

Lifting was done by using two stanchions, which rested on the racks of the steam winch that pulled the boats ashore. To launch the boat at sea, they used the halyards, (thick ropes placed crosswise, smeared with animal fat) to overcome friction and slide the stanchions, with the help of the workers. For the caulking, after the craftsmen opened and cleaned the joints formed between the planks of the 'skin' (i.e. the side boards that are nailed to the hull of the boat and form the ribs), they filled them with cotton rag, ensuring the watertightness of the boat, and then undertook the application of tar to the reefs, the surface under the water when the boat is afloat.

### 3. The pilotagio - signal station.

The signal station was built by The Zea Coaling Company in 1900, in a prominent position so as to ensure supervision inside and outside the harbour. In this way, it was possible to report the arrivals and departures of passing ships. At the same time the probable return date of steamships bound for the Black Sea could thus be notified and the amount of coal they would need, so that the company could arrange for the supply of coal for the return voyages and avoid delays or possible shortages. The signal station thus helped communication between the captains and owners and vice-versa. Ships entering the port were informed of the amount of coal they were carrying and their supply needs. Communication was by signalling code based on the use of the flag. The operator, could transmit any message he wanted, since the flags and their positions were equivalent to the various letters of the alphabet. For example, the flying of a yellow flag indicated that the vessel and its occupants were quarantined by a serious illness and needed to be examined by a doctor to be allowed to go free. Communication was also carried out using whistles.

A navigator and a boatswain were employed for the entry and exit of the ships in the port. The navigator was the one who was very familiar with the regulations of the port, as well as with the local conditions, the depths of the harbour, the usual wind movements and all the particular characteristics of the harbour and the wider area. He would go in the dinghy close to the steamer, get on board and either advise the captain how to steer the ship into the harbour or drive it himself. After the loading was finished he would drive it out of the harbour again. Nikos Evangellou was the longest serving navigator and for this reason he is identified in the memory of most people with the position of navigator. He had come to Tzia in the mid-1920s from Constantinople, where he had worked as a navigator in the Bosphorus straits. He served eight years in Tzia until his death.

#### 4. Staff accommodation buildings.

The accommodation buildings included the residences of the company's permanent staff with their families, as well as residences for the temporary accommodation of seafarers and local workers. As the work of the residents of Kea in the warehouses was occasional, they did not reside permanently in Kokka, but moved from their villages. However, there were times when they had to stay overnight there, as the distances were relatively long and travel was mainly on foot.

According to testimonies, the buildings used as places of occasional accommodation are those located opposite the Kokka pier, so as to be in direct contact with the ships unberthing. These buildings had been constructed from the first period of operation of the depots and were arranged symmetrically with respect to the axis of the large coal depot, the centre of all operations. The staff housing buildings that were subsequently constructed were placed along the coastal road leading to the coal depots.

These were rectangular, two-storey buildings, with pitched tile roofs supported on a timber frame. They were stone-built structures, made of stone of local origin, plastered both internally and externally. They are a composition of several separate houses of a simple square plan of 4 x 4 m, in order to house several families. To serve this function, the rectangular floor plan obeys the logic of division, but the whole composition remains unified. The individual dwellings were separated from each other by transverse stone walls or possibly by lighter structures. On the coastal front, in front of the houses, there was a construction in the form of a single wall or a series of smaller buildings. Stone structures were built in front of the front of the houses, which served as outhouses.

The buildings were built on the ground in rows. Each of the dwellings consisted of a ground floor and a wooden loft accessed by an internal staircase. Each house had a separate entrance located on the side of the coastal road, maintaining its complete autonomy. The openings of the entrances and windows were arched and formed a perfectly symmetrical aspect, both on the horizontal and vertical axis. In contrast to the permanent dwellings, the occasional overnight dwellings were at ground floor, with a four-pitch roof and we have no clear picture of whether there was individual separation. Entrance was made from the rear of the buildings which may be due to an attempt to separate private space from the workplace or to the morphology of the ground.



## 5. Social facilities.

The Michalinians formed facilities of a social character. These facilities were designed to meet the needs of the staff and seafarers. These facilities included a church, a galley, a cafeteria, a grocery store and a bakery. These buildings were located next to the staff accommodation buildings, with the exception of the church of Agia Irini, which is located on the peninsula of the same name.

According to testimony, the bakery produced 120 kilos of bread a day, for the needs of the staff and possibly for the supply of the refueling ships. The bakery was closed before 1938 and the site housed a warehouse. At Kokka, a well-established settlement had thus been established, with all the necessary facilities for the competitive operation of the company and for the social life of the workers.

## 6. Administration buildings.

According to the 1938 valuation report of the assets contributed by the Michalinos Shipping and Trading Company, the administration buildings consisted of the main office and residential building, which is a two-storey building with a cistern and another single-storey building. These buildings were erected at the company's expense and were reported to be in a better state of maintenance than the others (listed as being constructed rudimentarily, without good maintenance) with the former being a 'complete synchronized building of good and perfect installation. This administrative centre included the offices of the management and the residences of the administrative staff. The centre was situated in a prominent position on a hill from which the work could be monitored.

The residential building must have been particularly well kept, with all modern conveniences. The building has now been restored, but according to information gleaned from photographs of the period, it has undergone very little alteration and has retained its former form. Below the administration buildings and the director's and deputy director's residences were the telegraph office and the accounting offices. The telegraph office was originally a one-room building of rectangular construction, accessed via an external courtyard. On either side of the building there are small auxiliary rooms with independent entrances. The building was covered by a gable roof of wooden frame covered with tiles. In later years there appears to have been an addition of another room at the rear of the structure and a conversion of the roof to cover both rooms. Near the telegraph office is a building which is said to have been a residence for the employees.