Title: ***The 'Greek café': the future of Australia's past***

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Australians from non-English speaking background have impacted greatly upon Australia's development, yet the nation's grand historical narratives and symbols only reveal their presence as limited entities.

Indeed, Australia's past has been over-run and comprehensively overwhelmed by research and interpretation through an English language base. This has essentially created a myopic, monocultural vision that has effectively alienated, marginalised, and even left broadly unacknowledged, the significance which cultural diversity and hybridity has had in developing the Australia of today. Professional Australian historians and heritage specialists with linguistic skills in a language, or languages, other than English, and who are prepared to engage in research utilising such skills — such as Barry York and Gianfranco Cresciani[1] — are currently rare. The underlying theme of this paper, is consequently, a call to firmly encourage and facilitate the development of such historians and heritage specialists. Untying the restrictive binds of the English language straightjacket will undoubtedly lead to new visions of our past and heritage, to reveal who we are as 'Australians' — and in regard to Australia's Hellenic presence, as 'Greek-Australians' — and potentially, what we could become.

To assist in this methodological process, a key historiographical outlook must also change. 'Ethnic history' must emerge from its 'ghetto' and 'celebratory' publications to embrace the extended question: 'How does the historical data on groups from non-English speaking background effect the major themes of Australia's past, and moreover, can any new understanding of Australia's history

which may arise, be of international relevance?' The development and demise of Australia's country 'Greek café' — broadly regarded as a quintessentially Australian phenomenon which appeared throughout the nation, but was particularly synonymous with rural life in the eastern states of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland — may be able to point the way to a possible future for the research and writing of Australia's past.

In 1950, artist Russell Drysdale completed an oil painting which depicted the wife of an outback Greek café owner. He simply titled the image, *Maria*. As one of his 'Portraits in a landscape', Drysdale was 'attempting to define a quintessential Australianness'.[2] He later articulated the subject's significance as part of rural Australia:

> It's a curious fact that the alien Greek cafékeeper has become a *symbol of the Australian country town* — whenever one goes out west there is always 'the dagoe's' to eat in... people with courage to work and save and give their children a better way of life in a new land.[3]

Despite its apparent significance as 'a symbol of the Australian country town', the Greek café has attracted little recognition in historical publications, the prime example being Michael Symons' major tome on the history of eating in Australia: *One Continuous Picnic*. Published in the early 1980s and still broadly respected as a seminal work in its field, the book devotes just two lines specifically to the Greek café.[4] Symons engaged research exclusively from an English language base. Avoiding such linguistic exclusivity reaps benefits. By researching the Greek café utilising resources available in both the English and Modern Greek languages, not only has the status and abundance attributed to it by Drysdale been confirmed and elaborated upon, but in doing so, a new historical insight has emerged into the Americanisation of Australian eating and social habits during the twentieth century.

The country Greek café in Australia enjoyed a lengthy 'golden age' from the mid-1930s to the late-1960s. Its Hellenic legacy was reflected not in the food it served, but in terms of principal owner and main kitchen staff (Greek men who

were traditionally familiar with the social and catering milieu of the Greek *kafeneion*), and sometimes in its name (such as Marathon, Parthenon, Paragon, Olympia, Ellisos [mythological paradise]). Furthermore, like the Greek *kafeneion*, it too became pre-eminent amongst the social focal points for eating, meeting and conversing within townships. The food which Greek cafés served expressed its British and American heritage.

Greek cafés provided British-Australians with their familiar meal of steak and eggs, chops and eggs, mixed grill, fish and chips, and meat pies, but more importantly, they cemented the growing popularisation of American food catering ideas which had been instigated through Australia's earlier Greek-run food catering enterprises — the oyster saloon or 'parlor' (American spelling was usually used) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the 'American style' soda bar/sundae 'parlor' which had appeared by the mid-1910s, and the 'American style' milk bar which had emerged by the early 1930s. The introduction of American food catering ideas to Australia through the nation's early Greek food caterers should not be surprising, given that quite a number of these Greeks had relatives and friends living and working in the United States, or had been there briefly themselves working for Greek-American food caterers — the United States was a major drawer of Greek immigrants from the 1890s to the early 1920s.[5]

The Greek café was essentially an evolutionary amalgam of its three predecessors. In names such as the Niagara, Monterey, California, Astoria, Hollywood, New York, and Golden Gate, the American component of the Greek café's creation is well suggested, but more so in its provision of customers with American sundaes, milkshakes, sodas and freezes or crushes, American confectionery (hard sugar candies and milk chocolate bars), and another popular product, American ice cream. Arguably, Greek cafés that adopted names such as Blue Bird, White Rose and Red Rose probably sought to advertise the café's association with leading American-style confectionery brands; generally, such cafés also duplicated the logos of the brands.[6] Similarly, some Greek cafés known as Peters & Co., or simply Peters Café, were possibly hoping to highlight

their association with a popular brand of ice cream — Peters' — established in Australia by American-born, Frederick Augustus Bolles Peters.[7]

Although the Greek café did not introduce traditional Greek dishes, as catering to the established tastes of their overwhelmingly British-Australian clientele was paramount 'in the age of White Australia'[8], steak and eggs could be purchased with an 'American Beauty' fancy sundae for dessert, and a 'Spider' soda drink or flavoured milkshake to wash it all down. The union proved commercially successful, and to a degree, the Greek café became a 'Trojan Horse' for the Americanisation of Australian eating habits well before the second-half of the twentieth century. Greek-run oyster 'parlors', soda bars/sundae 'parlors' and milk bars had pointed the way towards the successful merger between British-Australian preferred tastes, and American food catering ideas.[9]

Greek-run oyster saloons or 'parlors' were pioneered in Sydney by the Comino (Kominos) family (originally from the island of Kythera in Greece). Initially these were fish-and-chip outlets, and although they maintained a focus on oysters (bottled and fresh), they soon acquired a wide diversity of foods (cooked meat and seafood, fruit and vegetables, chocolates and ice cream) that could be purchased at reasonable prices. As well as the provision of sit-down meals, some food items were also directed towards a take-away trade. These enterprises had men's and women's lounges and welcomed families.[10] It can be contended that British-Australian run oyster saloons appear to have traditionally limited their food selection (almost exclusively oysters), as well as their range of customers.[11] Whilst both the diversification of food and the broadening of the range of clientele are only suspected as possible American influences reflected by Greek-run oyster saloons, the recognition that these enterprises essentially introduced to Australia, on mass, the American soda fountain, and 'American style' candy, ice cream and ice drinks (freezes or crushes), is beyond doubt.

Although the leading protagonists of the Comino family seem not to have had food catering experience in the United States, some members of the extended clan who arrived in Australia most certainly did, as well as a selection of other

Greek proprietors of oyster 'parlors'.[12] In 1912, three Greek migrant/settlers from the United States, Peter and Constantine Soulos and Anthony Louison (Iliopoulos), formed the Anglo-American Company in Sydney. Based upon the American drug store soda bar, the company's shops (five by the mid-1910s) broadly exposed Sydneysiders to the soda fountain[13] — which created effervescent water through impregnation with a gas under pressure, to which flavours (essentially essences) were added, and if desired, ice cream. It has been claimed that around the same year, George Sklavos, a Greek shopkeeper in Brisbane's inner city suburb of Fortitude Valley — who had spent some time in America — also procured a soda fountain,[14] and that Angelos Tarifas (also referred to as Bouzos or Bourtzos, and later as Burgess), another Greek with experience in the United States, had installed a soda fountain in his Niagara Café in Newcastle, New South Wales, just before 1910.[15]

These soda fountains are assumed to have been 'front service' — they were operated from the front bar or counter. This revolutionary design had been created in the United States in 1903. However, 'back service' (back bar or counter) soda fountains had been patented in America in 1819, and it seems that one very enterprising Kytherian Greek, Basil (Vasili) Karatza, possessed what may have been a reconfigured 'back service' soda fountain in his shop in the Western Australian mining town of Day Dawn, as early as 1906.[16]

Despite this muddying of the waters as to which Greek-run enterprise had it first, the public appeal of the fountain was such that Greek oyster 'parlor' proprietors quickly incorporated the new food catering technology (compressors and pumps were imported from the United States — apparently, principally Chicago) and commenced producing a wide range of 'exoticly' flavoured soda drinks within their establishments. Soda flavours included: pineapple, strawberry, ginger beer, banana, passionfruit, raspberry, kola, lime juice, orange, sarsaparilla, ginger ale, lemon and hop ale. American ice cream sundaes also seem to have appeared around this time, with the titles of some unquestionably declaring their origin as being from across the Pacific: 'American Beauty', 'Monteray Special', 'Yankee Doodle Dandy' and 'Mexican Banana Split'.[17] Moreover, Greek-run oyster

'parlors' now began to evolve into soda bars/sundae 'parlors', whilst retaining the sit-down meals and diversity of foods of the oyster saloons.

Not surprisingly, in *One Continuous Picnic*, Michael Symons attributes a Californian, S. M. McKimmin, with the introduction of 'Australia's first soda fountain' in Sydney. The year was 1921. Moreover, he argues that 'the 1920s saw increased American influence on food' as the 'big American food companies moved in', but he does not clearly detail why.[18] In regard to American candies and ice cream, Australia's Greek-run oyster saloons and soda bars/sundae 'parlors' certainly assisted in cultivating a public demand which may have helped in motivating American food companies to cross the Pacific into the antipodes.

Two decades after the founding of the Anglo-American Company, another enterprising Greek settler introduced Australians to a new American influenced food catering idea: the milk bar. Early in November 1932, Joachim Tavlaidis, known as Mick Adams, opened what many consider to be Australia's first modern 'American style' milk bar, the 'Black and White 4d. Milk Bar' at 24 Martin Place, Sydney; the name Black and White was allegedly a sarcastic reference to a brand of whisky. Adams had previously been running a confectionery and soda fountain business on George Street in Sydney's Haymarket, and while on a trip to the United States, 'he… got the idea about the milk bar'.[19] Although it has been declared that 'at that time milk bars existed... in America',[20] this claim is contentious.[21] The 'milk bar' may well have been initially created by Adams based upon his observations of early 1930s American drug store soda bars. In Australia, the Greek-run oyster saloon and soda bar/sundae 'parlor' had placed prime importance on sit-down trade for meals, drinks and desserts. American drug store soda bars seem to have emphasised quick stand-up and bar-stool bar trade (soda drinks, milkshakes and sundaes) over sit-down meal trade. Adams firmly took up the American soda bar catering emphasis and highlighted the milkshake.

A rapid stand-up trade in milkshakes became the successful commercial foundation of Adams' original Black and White milk bar. Seating capacity in the

premises was restricted to just six small two-seater cubicles along one wall, the main feature being a long hotel style bar with soda fountain pumps and numerous milkshake makers (manufactured by the Hamilton Beach Company, in Racine, Wisconsin, USA). No cooked meals were provided, only flavoured milkshakes, pure fruit juices and soda drinks (tea and coffee were introduced later). Of the flavoured milkshakes that were on offer, two became quite popular: the banana milk cocktail, and 'bootlegger punch', the latter of which contained a dash of rum essence.[22]

On the first day of opening 5,000 customers are reported to have crowded into the milk bar, and as many as 27,000 per week then began to patronise the establishment. Adams soon succeeded in establishing other Black and White milk bars in Brisbane (1933), Melbourne (1933), Adelaide (1934) and Wollongong (1937). A second Sydney premises was opened in 1944 at Town Hall underground railway station. Given Adams' impressive flair for publicity, the inexpensive four-penny cost to the customer of purchasing a milkshake, and the heavy promotion of milk as a health food by both the New South Wales Board of Health and the state's Milk Board, other food caterers quickly adopted the idea. Within five years of the opening of Adams' original Black and White milk bar in 1932, some 4,000 milk bars were operating in Australia.[23]

There is a local suggestion that Adams directly influenced the establishment of milk bars in England: 'Mick gave a friend the idea [the milk bar], the recipes, the advice, and the friend went to London and opened the first milk bar in England.'[24] Adams' personal involvement currently cannot be clearly validated, however, a 1936 service manual for British milk bar proprietors, states: 'The milk bar, so named, started in Sydney, NSW, and from that city spread rapidly to all parts of the Australian Commonwealth. The scheme was to sell in large quantities a milk drink, chilled and flavoured for 4d.'[25] What is evident therefore, is that the emergence of milk bars in Britain followed its development in Australia, and that Adams' original milk bar in Sydney's Martin Place, may indeed have been the world's first.

While soda fountains were retained in the milk bars (soda fountains did not disappear until the late 1960s and early 1970s in some country regions), by the mid to the late 1930s the diversity of sit-down meals, take-away items and broad customer range of the earlier Greek-run oyster saloons, had combined with the popularity of soda drinks, sundaes and milkshakes, into the classic country Greek café. Cafés, tea houses and refreshment rooms had existed prior to this time, with a Greek presence again being clearly discerned,[26] but in the country Greek café, the melding of British-Australian tastes and American food catering ideas was firmly cemented and found its clearest and most popular long-term expression. Of course, new American food catering ideas continued to impact on the Australian Greek café throughout its 'golden age' of existence, most notably the hamburger. The meat patty, initially embraced by German-Jewish migrants to America, then popularised in the United States, was introduced to Australia around the 1940s and cooked by Hellenes in the Greek café.[27]

Unfortunately, the Australian Greek café's link to America also assisted, in part, with its demise in the final decades of the twentieth century. American-led corporatised fast food began to replace family-based food catering concerns; take-away rather than sit-down meals burgeoned. Most Greek cafes were forced to transform into take-aways or be relegated into memory or oblivion. This occurred as the result of a combination of factors: the impact of rural economic rationalisation; the by-passing of country townships by arterial inter-urban highways upon which road houses (supplying both fuel and food) developed; the advent of supermarkets and convenience stores providing packaged ice creams and chocolates, bottled flavoured milk and aerated drinks; and counter lunches at pubs and clubs. A greater diversity of employment choices for the well educated younger generation of Australian-born Greek and television's challenge to cinema — a symbiotic relationship existed between picture theatres and cafés — compounded the demise.[28] Generally, only those Greek cafés in major recreational regions are likely to survive.

In their heyday, country Greek cafés were an eating and social focal point for rural communities. For Joseph Toms, who frequented Greek cafés in the south-

west of New South Wales during the very late 1940s and 1950s, ‘the [Greek] cafe provided a sense of community in country towns’, as ‘the social centre [of the town] was the café’.[29] Toms’ sentiments are clearly echoed by New South Wales Narrabri Shire Councillor Peter Martin: ‘The Greek café was part of the identity and social fabric of the community... Every time we lose a Greek cafe we lose part of the history of our town and region… it [the Greek café] was a place where people could meet, speak freely and do business.'[30]

The social and food catering importance of the country Greek café was reinforced by its association with the local picture theatre. This situation duplicated the working relationship between popular food catering establishments and cinema entertainment in the United States — a conscious linking between food and fantasy which was initially instigated by early soda fountain service and back bar designs which emphasised coloured lights, mirrors and stained glass (‘the light fantastic’). As Margaret Harrison (nee Clancy), who waitressed at the Blue Bird Greek café in Lockhart (south-western New South Wales) during the 1930s, points out: 'The pictures were once a week and the shop was packed!'[31] Greeks have had a long association with film presentation in Australia — initially as travelling picture show men and then as picture theatre proprietors. It has been claimed that ‘during the heyday of the country picture theatre circuit in New South Wales, more than half of the theatres were owned by Greek migrants’.[32] Quite a respectable number of Greek picture theatre operators within Australia had been, or simultaneously continued to be, café proprietors.[33]

Some country Greek cafés also acted as food caterers for motion picture studios that shot films locally. Con Zervos, whose father ran the Kosciusko Milk Bar in the southern New South Wales town of Cooma, recalls: ‘we had a contract with Warner Brothers to provide a certain amount of food... lots of shooting done at Nimmitabel... [the film was] *The Sundowners* [released 1960, Australian premier 1961]. My dad became friends with Peter Ustinov... Robert Mitchum.’[34]

Quite a number of picture theatres and Greek cafés in Australia expressed another shared association: their architectural style and interior furnishings. The international aesthetic style known as Art Deco that developed in the 1920s, originating in Europe, flourished between the wars. In Australia, even until the 1960s, 'neo deco' designs were still evident. The style's modernist aesthetic was 'machine, travel, speed' and has been elevated in some circles as 'the quintessential popular culture visual style of the twentieth century'.[35] Some fine examples of Art Deco architecture and/or interior furnishings used in Greek cafés — such as, for example in New South Wales, the Niagara Café, in Gundagai and the Monterey Café, in Coonamble — are still standing. There is also a strong suggestion that Art Deco utilised in Greek cafés was influenced directly from the United States rather than Europe. Greek café proprietors and even some customers would refer to the style as the 'Hollywood style' or the 'American style', and at least one major Greek-Australian shop-fitter of the 1930s seems to have based his Art Deco designs on Greek-American Art Deco cafés. Stylistically, American Art Deco architecture — or more specifically, California's 'Streamline Moderne' — favoured the curvilinear in contrast to the general angular interest of European Art Deco.[36]

The Americanisation of Australia by the 'Trojan' Greek café also affected popular music. By the early 1950s juke-boxes had appeared in a number of Greek cafés as part of their entertainment component. American and British popular music were heard in these establishments well before their broad acceptance on Australian radio. Consequently, 'in the late 1950s, the rock'n'roll generation embraced the top 40.'[37] American and British popular music attracted a youth clientele and culture to these cafés, many young Australians mimicking the clothing, attitude and language of their overseas singing idols. However, not all Greek cafés became centres for youth culture, quite a number persisted with an attitude of catering to the needs of families.

In a sense, for most of the twentieth century, Greek cafés in Australia were selling a dream — essentially an American dream.

While the country Greek café and its Greek-run predecessors must now be recognised as important elements in the development of popular Australian eating and social habits, their combined story also succeeds in challenging the accepted monocultural perception of popular culture in Australia during the twentieth century, and, furthermore, this county's historical socio-cultural relationship with Greece, the United States and even Great Britain. The country Greek café clearly reveals the 'cross-cultural transmissions and transformations' upon the development of mainstream Australian culture and history.[38] This then, is the type of re-interpretation of Australia's past that can succeed in elevating marginalised 'ethnic history' from the 'ghetto' onto the larger national and international stage. However, it remains to be seen as to whether or not this challenge to existing Australian historiographical ideas and historical methodology will be warmly welcomed.

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2 M. Eagle and J. Jones, *A Story of Australian Painting*, Pan Macmillan Australia, Sydney, 1994, pp. 214-216.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 216 (authors' italics).

4 M. Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A history of eating in Australia*, Duck Press, Adelaide, 1982, p. 137.

5 L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses": an insight into the early Greek presence, 1810s-1940', in S. Fitzgerald and G. Wotherspoon (eds), *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1995, pp. 21-22; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, 'The Greek Café', *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1998, p. 106; C. C. Moskos, 'The Greek American Mosaic', in *The Greeks: The Triumphant*

Journey — From the Ancient Greeks and the Greek Revolution of 1821, to Greek Americans, The National Herald, New York, third edition, 2003, p. 141.

[6] Collection of early twentieth century confectionery boxes and tins held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[7] G. P. Walsh, 'Frederick Augustus Bolles Peters (1866-1939)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 11, 1891-1939, Nes-Smi, p. 208; correspondence between the authors and Mrs Irma Deas, Ebbw Vale, Qld, 24 December 1993, 14 January 1994.

[8] Hsu-Ming Teo, 'Multiculturalism and the problem of multicultural histories: an overview of ethnic historiography', in Hsu-Ming Teo and R. White (eds), *Cultural History in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2003, p. 153.

[9] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', pp. 21-23; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, 'The Greek Café', *In Their Own Image*, p. 106.

[10] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', pp. 20-23; various files on Greek food catering families held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[11] Symons, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 113.

[12] 'Salinas, California: The Kominos Brothers', *The Greeks in California: Their History and Achievements*, The Prometheus Publishing Company (published in Greek), San Francisco, California, 1917-18, no pagination provided; various files on Greek food catering families held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[13] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p. 22; L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'An Australian Icon: The "Greek Café" — Its emergence amidst Sydney's early Greek-run food catering enterprises, 1870s-1940', *Neos Kosmos English Weekly*, 3 December 2001, p. 10. It has recently been noted that in 1908 L. P. Williams opened the 'American Soda Fountain' shop on the Corso at Manly in Sydney. See: K. Webber and I. Hoskins, et al., *What's in Store: A History of Retailing in Australia*, Powerhouse Publishing in association with the NSW Heritage Office, Sydney, 2003, p. 66.

[14] D. A. Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland: A History from 1859-1945*, Copyright Publishing Co., 2002, p. 119.

[15] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'Odysseus' legacy in Newcastle: an overview of the city's Greek settlement', *Neos Kosmos English Weekly*, 6 November 2000, p. 11; interview with Constantine Karanges, Newcastle, N.S.W., 7 June 1986. All interviews cited in notes, unless otherwise indicated, were conducted by the authors and are part of the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[16] R. Appleyard and J. N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Perth, 2002, pp. 50-51.

[17] Various menus held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[18] Symons, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

[19] Interview with Lilian Keldoulis (nee Adams), Sydney, 11 December 2001; 'A New Type Milk Drink Shop', *The Australasian Confectioner*, 22 November 1932, no page number given. See also L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p. 22; L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'An Australian Icon', p. 10.

[20] 'He found the milky way to fortune', *Sunday Telegraph*, 19 April 1964, p. 51.

[21] Preliminary research by the authors has not been able to uncover the use of the term 'milk bar' in the United States before 1940.

[22] 'A New Type Milk Drink Shop', *The Australasian Confectioner*, no page number given; interview with Lilian Keldoulis (nee Adams), Sydney, 11 December 2001; various unidentified newspaper cuttings provided by Lilian Keldoulis (nee Adams), Sydney.

[23] 'The Development of the Modern Milk Bar', *The Milk Messenger*, vol. 1, no. 1, April-June 1935, p. 30; 'A New Type Milk Drink Shop', *The Australasian Confectioner*, no page number given; 'He found the milky way to fortune', *Sunday Telegraph*, p. 51; interview with Lilian Keldoulis (nee Adams), Sydney, 11 December 2001; various unidentified newspaper cuttings provided by Lilian Keldoulis (nee Adams), Sydney.

[24] 'He found the milky way to fortune', *Sunday Telegraph*, p. 51.

[25] L. R. M. Feltham, *Service for Soda Fountains, Ice-cream parlours and Milk Bars*, Heywood and Co. Ltd in association with the Confectioner's Union, London, 1936, p. 29.

[26] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p. 23; L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'An Australian Icon', p. 10; various files on Greek food catering families held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

[27] A. Stevenson, 'Bunfight: the Aussie burger's battle for survival', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 October 1998, p. 26.

[28] L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p. 30; L. Janiszewski, and E. Alexakis, 'An Australian Icon', p. 11; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, 'The Greek Café', *In Their Own Image*, pp. 93, 106; A. Stevenson, 'Cruise through café culture continues after a grant with the lot', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 2001, p. 7.

[29] Interview with Joseph Toms, Sydney, 2 July 2002.

[30] Interview with Peter Martin, Wee Waa, N.S.W., 9 January 2002.

[31] Interview with Margaret Harrison (nee Clancy), Narrandera, N.S.W., 17 July 2002.

[32] A. Coward, 'Premier Carr ensures the future of the Saraton Theatre', *The Greek-Australian VEMA, TO BHMA*, February 2003, p. 17/37.

[33] See: A. Coward, 'George Hatsatouris: a passion for films', *The Greek-Australian VEMA, TO BHMA*, February 2003, p. 18/38; private family papers provided by Angelo Hatsatouris including a transcript of an interview conducted by Angelo with his father, George Hatsatouris, on 2 October 1994; A. Coward, 'Historic Theatre Preserved', *The Greek-Australian VEMA, TO BHMA*, September 2002, p. 17/37; interview with Jack Peter Mottee, South West Rocks, N.S.W., 22 April 2003; J. Michaelides, *Portrait of Uncle Nick: A Biography of Sir Nicholas Laurantus*, MBE, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1987, pp. 14-15, 28-29, 42-44, 46-58; Conomos, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-301.

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[35] D. Dolan, 'The taste and style of Art deco in Australia', in F. Ferson and M. Nilsson (eds), *Art Deco in Australia: Sunrise over the Pacific*, Fine Art Publishing, St Leonards, Sydney, 2001, pp. 8-20. See also R. Thorne, 'Palaces of pleasure: Cinema design', in Ferson and Nilsson, *op.cit.*, pp.186-197.

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[37] S., Javes, 'The Great Surviver', *Sydney Morning Herald — The Guide*, October 27 – November 2 2003, p. 6.

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