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**MODERN GREEK STUDIES
(AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND)**

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The periodical welcomes papers in both English and Greek on all aspects of Modern Greek Studies (broadly defined). Prospective contributors should preferably submit their papers on disk and hard copy. All published contributions by academics are refereed (standard process of blind peer assessment). This is a DEST recognised publication.

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for his heroic efforts to make this journal readable.
This issue is dedicated to Véronica and Andras.*

ANNE REYNOLDS

The University of Sydney

A SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN CAFÉS AND
RESTAURANTS IN SYDNEY

Thanks for their help in the preparation of this essay are due to Ronda Bottero, Alma Lucia Bottero, Maria Ortensia Faggion, Guido Zuliani, Francesca Merenda, Vince Marinato, Renato Ferraris, Catherine Dewhirst, and Francesca Musicò.

Restrictions on immigrants to Australia were imposed nationally in 1901, the year marking Federation and the Immigration Restriction Act. In accordance with the Act, entry into Australia was barred to non-Europeans, and quota systems regulated the acceptance of non-British Europeans. As a result of fears over Australia's ability to defend itself from invasion, owing to its small population, there was a concerted move in the years following World War I to attract British immigrants. This effort failed to satisfy hopes and, as a result, the government became marginally more flexible in accepting other Europeans. When restrictions on the intake of Italian immigrants were instituted in the United States of America in the 1920s, the numbers of Italians entering Australia began to rise. As Cresciani notes, the figure for net Italian migration to Australia for the period 1922-1930 was 23,233, with "the ration of male over female being approximately four to one" (CRESCIANI, in JUPP 1988: 608). By 1928, alarm was expressed about the number of non-English speaking immigrants. Severe quotas were subsequently imposed on the number of Italian immigrants.

In the economic depression of the 1930s, immigration (besides for the purposes of family reunion and immigrants with significant resources) was halted. There was in fact a net emigration of Italian men *from* Australia between 1931 and 1936 (JONES 1964: 258). By 1933 Italians had "replaced the Germans as Australia's most numerous non-British minority" (JONES 1971: 134). It is estimated that shortly before the outbreak of World War 2, there were some 40,000 Italians living in Australia, "of whom about 34,000 had been born in Italy" (CRESCIANI, in Jupp 1988: 608).

The beginning of World War 2 was a crucial time for Italians in Australia. In the early years of the war, Italy-born – and their non-Italian female spouses – were required to register as enemy aliens. Numbers were interned in camps (4,727 in total, around 10% of the total in

Australia at that time). From 1939, all Italy-born over the age of 18 years were required to register, even if they had become British citizens. Thousands of Italian prisoners of war were subsequently relocated to Australia. After 1943, when Italy renounced its previous pact with Germany and joined the Allied side, conditions of life for Italians in Australia began to improve. By April 1944, only 177 Italians were held in internment camps (CRESCIANI, in JUPP 1988: 612).

Racism implicit in the immigration quotas of the late 1920s, the explicit racism directed at Italians in the Australian press during the 1930s, fostered by such groups as the British Preference League, and the registration and internment processes of the early war years are three indicators of the institutional barriers that Italy-born confronted over the period of substantial increase in the Italian-born population of Australia in the post-World War 2 period.

Italy-born met with discrimination, racism, suspicion, hostility and ignorance. In the pre-war and post-war periods, negative stereotypes, particularly in relation to Italians born in Southern Italy, were reinforced by cultural barriers entrenched in Australian society. Italy's role in World War 2 up to 1943 was just another factor which impacted negatively on the lives of Italy-born in Australia. As Jones 1971 observes:

With the entry of Italy into the Second World War, Italians in Australia faced another trial... aliens and naturalised Italians alike were interned in rural work camps, sometimes it was said to avoid unpleasant incidents in the towns and cities. It was a time of stress for all... the legacy of anti-Italian feeling was heavy. It is sobering to reflect that in a public opinion poll in 1946 only 10% of respondents favoured Italian migration to Australia compared to 28% for the Germans – despite the fact that Germany had initiated the war and fought it longer (JONES 1971: 134-35).

Hostility to Italian “otherness” persisted well into the post-war period. Some Italian immigrants reported that they not feel comfortable speaking Italian in the streets of Sydney until well into the 1970s. In fact, official pamphlets issued to new immigrants during the 1950s urged them not to speak a foreign language in public.

After World War 2, Australia emerged for the first time as a country of large-scale Italian migration. The regional origins of Italian immigrants to Australia were varied. The ten Italian provinces (areas within the Italian regions) which provided the most immigrants from 1880-1960s were scattered in North and Central/Southern Italy, with a dominance of Northern Italian provinces at the beginning of this period and a dominance of Southern Italian provinces at its end (JONES 1964: 261).

In 1947, according to official Census figures, there were only 33,632 Italy-born in Australia, and men outnumbered women 2:1. Return migration was certainly one factor in the decrease on the pre-war figure. Lack of reporting is possibly another. The experience of being classified as enemy aliens possibly discouraged some Italy-born from contact with officialdom.

When World War 2 finished, the view that the Australian population needed to expand was shared by politicians of all orientations. Australia opted for immigration on a large scale, planning to gain approximately 70,000 people or 1 per cent of the total population per year. The Australian government sought to attract immigrants from European countries, among them Italy, when it was became clear that the numbers required could not be provided by the United Kingdom. The government cautiously extended assistance to other groups. Australia made bi-lateral agreements with several important countries of emigration. Apart from a long-standing agreement with the United Kingdom, agreements were set up with Malta (1948), The Netherlands (1951), Italy (1951), Germany (1952), Turkey (1967) and Yugoslavia (1970). After signing of the agreement by the Australian and Italian governments in 1951, Italian immigrants were no longer required to prove they had sponsorship for work and medical expenses or a fixed amount of money.

Under the Assisted Passage scheme, Australia guaranteed two years of employment, a guarantee not always fulfilled. In the period 1951-1961, more than 41,000 Italians arrived under this scheme, a very small number in comparison to those who arrived independently or were sponsored (and sometimes financed) by family members. In the mid-1950s, the Australian government slowed recruiting under the Assisted Passage scheme and limited private sponsorships to immediate, dependent family. In 1961 the Italian Government refused to sign the agreement when it came up for renewal, since it was dissatisfied with terms of 1951 agreement. A new agreement in 1967 finally accorded Italians the same conditions as all other immigrants, with the exception of the British who still enjoyed advantages in employment and recognition of qualifications.

From 1961 to 1971, Italian immigration began to decline, partly as a consequence of the rapid (but uneven) improvement of economic conditions in Italy. Another factor in the decline of Australia as a destination for Italian emigrants was the difficulty which many Italians wishing to emigrate experienced with Australian bureaucracy. Jones reports the view of president of the Lloyd Triestino shipping line, in the late 1960s: "it is harder for Italians to enter Australia than any other country except those behind the Iron Curtain" (JONES 1971: 138). Also the 1950's imperative for importing labour to support post-war initiatives, such as the Snowy Mountains scheme and to work in steel and other industries experiencing growth and expansion, had receded by the later 1960s. During the period 1971-1981, Italian net migration was in the negative. By 1981, more than one quarter of Italian immigrants departed. Before World War 2, approximately one third of Italian immigrants returned to Italy.

The post-World War 2 arrival of Italy-born was a high point in the history of Italians in Australia and a significant element of Australia's history in the second half of the twentieth century. Recent Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) figures for the estimated resident population of Australia disclose an estimated number of Italian-born residents in 1998 as

251,400, second after to those born in the United Kingdom, Ireland and New Zealand, counted collectively. On the basis of the 1996 Census figures, by adding to the number of those born in Italy (238,216) those who had one parent born in Italy (333,866), in 1996 there was a total of 572,102 persons linked to Italy by birth and parentage. According to ABS figures, this number ranks second after the number for those similarly linked to the United Kingdom and Ireland.

In Australia in the late 1990s, Italian was the second most widely spoken language after English within the private domain. ABS figures for 1996 show that, of those who spoke a language other than English at home, Italian ranked ahead of all other languages, and nearly 41% of those who spoke Italian at home were born in Australia.

In the multicultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic Australia of 2002, Italy-born and their descendants have a significant presence. If one were to add to the cited Census and ABS figures, estimates of third, fourth, fifth and sixth generations of Australian-born who have Italian ancestral links, the numerical parameters would be significantly amplified. One million is not an unlikely figure for the number of Australians who could identify in some way with Italy. Fifty years on from the immigration program that led to the arrival of the largest number of Italy-born in the history of Australia, what have been the fundamental influences of Italians?

ITALIAN INFLUENCES IN SYDNEY DINING: THE BEGINNINGS

Given the large number of Italian immigrants over the twentieth century, contemporary Australian society has a distinctive Italian component, one that is expressed in a number of ways. The influence of Italy-born and their descendants is probably at its most tangible, especially for those who remember the period from 1950 to 1970 when Italian-style food gradually became available to a wider market, in contemporary food customs and the distinctive Australian-Italian cuisine.

Changes in Australian eating and dining habits over the 1950s and 1960s must be viewed in the context of the inevitable social changes brought about not only by the massive immigration program of the immediate post-war period and its continuing impact but also by the burgeoning demographic of the 'baby boomer' generation. Among the myriad other influences that brought these changes about were the experiences of Australians who had travelled overseas to war, followed by the growth in departures of young Australians who followed their fathers and mothers not to war in distant lands but on working holidays in Europe, many on a search to find a cultural identity that had London as its first reference point.

As boatloads of post-war immigrants plied their way across vast oceans towards the oldest continent, the ships that delivered their human cargo in Fremantle, Adelaide, Melbourne and

Sydney often made the return voyage with young Australians, descendants of the earlier waves of Anglo-Celtic immigrants who had achieved economic prosperity in the two or three generations since their own family odyssey of migration.

European immigrants to Australia followed what has been recognised as a pattern of early immigration, opening businesses that specialised in foodstuffs, retail and wholesale, as well as cafés or restaurants where they were not disadvantaged by a lack of knowledge of English – if they worked behind the scenes and had staff from their own language group, including key staff, locally born, who had good English skills. Some arrived with adequate English to function well in business; some aimed to capture the growing new market of immigrant customers, especially the single men searching for food and dining experiences they could recognise in a land that was alien on many fronts, including the culinary.

Continental by the 1930s was part of the Sydney streetscape, on café signs in particular. The word entered the lexicon of the wider society as a marker for ‘foreign’ dining that was exotic, unusual or different, downmarket, often with a bohemian edge, but also upmarket, for those who could afford to dine in the English fashion on food that claimed France as its inspiration. Until at least the 1960s, the word *Continental* in the name of Sydney city or suburban café or restaurant – the word itself continuing to suggest by implication that Australia stood in the same relationship to Continental Europe as did England – indicated a variety of European cuisines, often in hybrid mixes, encompassing elements of Hungarian, Greek, Polish, German, French or Italian cuisine.

In the post-war period, this catch-all term achieved a differentiated range of meaning as European immigrants formed communities, both aggregated and dispersed and, like their pre-war counterparts, also opened cafés and restaurants. In the post-war as in the pre-war period, some of these businesses were designed to respond to the needs of fellow co-nationals and some possibly had the related intention of educating the Australian palate.

It was natural that Italy-born expressed and validated themselves in the new society through food and cuisine. In the case of Italians, food – its eating and cultivation and the traditions of cuisine in Italian national and regional cultures – is an intrinsic part of identity. However, it must not be assumed that the availability of Italian cuisine and a local understanding of Italian foodways are phenomena of the past fifty years. The history of Italian food and dining in Australia is almost as long-lived as the history of Italian emigration to Australia.

Who were the pioneers, and who were the predecessors of Steve Manfredi, Lucio Galletto, Armando Percuoco and other famous chefs of Italian parentage who have made Italian cuisine the acme of dining in contemporary Sydney? Pioneers began to make their mark at the turn of the twentieth century. And the next generation, who established restaurants in the 1920s and 1930s, created strong foundations for the post-war boom that followed.

To describe the beginnings of Italian eating and dining in Australia as modest is an understatement. Single Italian men who emigrated in growing numbers to seek their fortune from the 1880s were a captive market for enterprising co-nationals who had experience (or were novices) as cooks and waiters. They learned or perfected their trade by serving Italian-style meals to the Italian-born male workers who, until well into the 1960s, inhabited the boarding houses of inner-city Sydney. In Sydney at the turn of the twentieth century and well beyond, Italian dining rooms were frequently attached to boarding houses that rented rooms by the week or overnight. This was also a pattern in New York where by the 1930s there were an estimated 10,000 Italian restaurants, some attached to boarding houses and others extremely simple venues for cheap Italian food, commonly with a regional focus (GABACCIA 81).

In pre-World War 2 Sydney, there were stratified opportunities for public dining: cafés that served three meals with long opening hours over the day, usually at reasonable prices; at a lesser level of abundance and frequently at greater cost, morning and afternoon teas and light lunches in the tearooms preferred by women, and later coffee lounges such as Repin's; and hotel dining rooms used by travellers and, according to the status of the hotel, also by better-heeled city dwellers for special occasions. At the top end of the market, there was a sprinkling of restaurants that attracted the well-heeled who dined in venues such as Prince's and Romano's, where dancing and some form of entertainment were common, especially in the post-lunch hours that extended until well into the evening.

Current evidence suggests that Italian cuisine found its first niche in the City of Sydney in boarding houses run by Italy-born, that catered to Italian immigrants and other itinerant single males. In the early twentieth century, the Italian-language newspaper *Uniamoci* (18 July 1903, p. 4) advertised the Cosmopolitan Dining Rooms of L. Taverna, at 61, 63 and 65 Liverpool Street, that offered "Buone comodità per Viaggiatori" (good facilities for travellers) with meals costing six pence, and weekly bed and board at 14 shillings. The venue was open "all night". Similarly reasonable deals were available at Pietro Fessia's *Trattoria Nazionale* at 593 George Street, Giuseppe Venier's *Trattoria Italiana* at 134 Liverpool Street, and F. Fontanella's *Emporium Coffee Palace* at 711 George Street. By 1905, Mrs Venier was the declared proprietor of *Trattoria Italiana*, which advertised in *L'Italo-Australiano* of 19 August (p. 1) that it continued to offer "la solita buona cucina con scelti vini ed alloggio, sperando di vedersi onorata dal solito numeroso concorso" (the usual good cuisine with selected wines and board, in the hope of continuing to be honoured by a large clientele). F. Amendola provided "First Class Board and Residence" at 5 Wilmott Street in the same year.

Giovanni Moggio (b. Salussola, Novara in 1856) was a typical Italian immigrant of the late nineteenth century, arriving solo from Genova on SS. *Hohenstaufen* in October 1893. On arrival in Sydney, Giovanni lived for four months at 5 Wilmott Street, before a two-year stint at Dr Fiaschi's vineyard at Windsor (NAA 1904/1836). By 1904 he was manager of the Colonial Wine

Depot in Sydney. Giovanni Moggio's last known destination was as a cook in a George Street boarding house: in 1906, Cesare Bombelli tempted customers at his 163 George Street premises with "Cucina all'italiana" (Italian-style cuisine) from the "ben conosciuto cuoco signor Moggio Giovanni" (the well-known cook, Mr Giovanni Moggio), as well as rooms for lodging at "Prezzi modici" (reasonable prices) (*L'Italo-Australiano* 13 October 1906, p. 6). If Giovanni was not a cook by trade when he arrived in Sydney, some twelve or so years later he had apparently achieved a reputation among the Italian-born community for his culinary skills.

At this time in Australian urban society, sixty years or more before the customs of dining out and take-away eating were established and a plethora of diverse eating opportunities became available, public venues for dining were of a limited variety: humble establishments such as these, attached to boarding houses, and possibly known by a limited clientele; cafés of the English or, later, modified Continental variety; fish cafés; grander dining rooms in city hotels; and tearooms that offered a limited menu of meals and beverages, mostly tea and mostly in daylight hours. At the turn of the twentieth century in Sydney, there were also fish and oyster saloons, a more expensive, licensed version of the fish café, that catered principally to men and those who desired something different from the ubiquitous meat dishes. Italians, especially those from the islands and the south of Italy, were naturally attracted to this type of business that was, because family traditions of living by fishing, "in their veins". Wine was also a natural product for Italians to sell and, as in the case of Dr Fiaschi, to produce.

For example, the 1909 application by John Callose for a Certificate of Naturalization states his occupation as Oyster Saloon proprietor of 100 Market Street, Sydney. Callose was born on the Aeolian island of Salina in 1868 (NAA 1909/11351) and he was established at least as early as 1905 in the Market Street saloon that offered wine, fish and oysters on the menu (*L'Italo-Australiano* 18 August, p. 1). The availability of wine, then commonly perceived as a drink appropriate to "plonkos" and derelicts, would have shaped a male-dominated clientele in such saloons.

By the late 1920s, the cafés and restaurants that advertised in the Italian-language newspapers no longer refer to providing lodgings. *Ciro's Café* at 177 Elizabeth Street is described in the contemporary press as a "vero e nuovo ristorante" (a genuine, new restaurant), with "cucina Italiana e francese" (Italian and French cuisine) (*L'Italo-Australiano*, 1922-1923, various dates). From 1 August 1928 *Ciro's Café* was under the proprietorship of Luigi Rosina, "late of The Ambassadeur [sic] Restaurant". The advertisement marks the venue as one seeking a varied clientele interested in a different dining experience.

The *Ristorante Roma* at 241 Pitt Street, opposite Tattersall's Club, offered "first-class service" and "Italian-style cuisine" in a "spacious venue" (*L'Italo-Australiano*, 20 December 1924, p. 2). Note the use of the term restaurant to categorise these 1920's businesses. More restaurants (as opposed to cafés and dining rooms) followed, although many must have found

the economic slump of the 1930s impossible to manage. Italians entering businesses in the 1930s would have possibly more inclined to open cafés that sold more reasonably priced fare. The sale of previously established restaurants sometimes provided recent immigrants with an entrée into business.

By the late 1920s, following the increase earlier in the decade in the immigration of Italy-born, there was an increase in the number of Italian-run cafés and restaurants, with a flow-on effect or a parallel growth in the creation of related businesses. There were already Italy-born established at all levels of the Sydney fishing and fruit and vegetable sectors. There was also a number of established Italian-born *providores* who supplied imported as well as locally made Italian-style products. There were also Italians engaged in the production of fresh food, using traditional methods. Mr V. M. Romano, for example, was a maker of fresh Italian cheeses, who was based at *Bungool*, Windsor in 1923; he offered shipping of goods across Australia. Italian proprietors of cafés, dining rooms and, later, restaurants, had a range of sources for their provisions, many of them run by co-nationals.

The production of pasta was a growth industry over the first thirty or forty years of the twentieth century. Pasta for the kitchens of the turn-of-the-century Italian dining rooms may have come from Vivaldi and Company that in 1903-1904 operated a macaroni factory at 93a Parramatta Road, Glebe, near the corner of Mallett Street. Another contemporary brand of pasta was *Excelsior*, sold at the shop managed by Mr L. Pullé at 39 Parramatta Road, Forest Lodge, a retail outlet for Giovanni Pullé's business that promoted itself as the "largest [pasta] factory in Australia", and was based at Brighton-Le-Sands. The factory was capable of producing 5 tonnes each week at 31/2 pence per pound (*Uniamoci*, 18 July 1903, p. 4).

Giovanni Battista Pullé (1854-1920), born in Modena (North-Central Italy), was a somewhat unusual immigrant, from an aristocratic background. He arrived in Brisbane in 1876 and was naturalised in 1878. Various active as an importer, coffee shop proprietor, wine distiller, and manager of a meat export company in Brisbane, he moved to Sydney in 1900, where he set up Pullé and Company Meat Preserves at 619 Harris Street, Ultimo. From 1905-1909 he was both financier and chief editor of the Italian-language newspapers, *L'Italo-Australiano*, and later *Oceania* (1913-1915). In 1907 Pullé was principal of the Excelsior Macaroni Company and Pullé and Company Cordial Manufacturers, and he lived not far from the factory in Brighton-Le-Sands.

Macaroni was the type of pasta best known by Australia-born, and it was apparently used widely as synonym for the Italian generic term *pasta*. By the late 1920s, pasta was produced in commercial quantities by the Italia-Australia Delicacies Co. Ltd., Spaghetti and Macaroni manufacturers, at 22 George Street, Leichhardt, while the Savory Macaroni Company traded next door at 20 George Street in 1932. An advertisement in the newspaper *Il Giornale Italiano* of 18 November 1936 (p. 2) for Italia-Australia Delicacies refers to the recent winning of the

Melbourne Cup by Wotan at 100:1, out of Macaroni. Their Savoy brand pasta, advertised as macaroni, was offered in 56 different varieties, and the product was advertised for the way it could “make a champion out of you too in the race of life”, given the “force and stamina” it provided.

Another long-standing providore of Italian products was Bartolomeo Callose who arrived in Sydney in 1884 and set up first as a wholesale and retail confectioner at 853 and 6 George Street West. By the 1920s Bartolomeo Callose was principal of Callose and Sons Pty. Ltd., “Importers and Indentors of Italian Merchandise”, based at 22 Campbell Street. In 1922, B. Callose and Sons were known for importing “general Italian merchandise”, including Sasso olive oil, “Medicinal Olive Oil”, salami, anchovies and cheese.

In the 1930s, Callose-brand macaroni was produced in commercial quantities at the Callose factory at the corner of Burton and Palmer Streets, Darlinghurst. A price list of 1933 reveals that Egg Macaroni and Fine, Straight Noodles were sold for 12/6d per 22 lb. box. Different kinds of flour, including lentil and chickpea flour, cost around 5/- for 7 lb. Oregano and dried herbs sold for 6 pence a packet. The Callose family also ran a restaurant at Central Station. They were well known for their hand-made chocolates, a tradition carried on from the first businesses in George Street.

In December 1922, the Neapolitan-born Licciardo Bros., Eugenio (1882-1937) and Gennaro, known as John, recently established at 37 City Municipal Fruit Markets, arranged for special Christmas hampers from their range of various preserves, dried chestnuts, tomato conserve, “olive oil of the best brands”, nuts and Italian cheese. Eugenio Licciardo lived in the United States for twelve years before coming to Australia via Italy. By December 1924 the Licciardo brothers were trading at 48 Young Street in premises known as *The Italian Stores*.

In 1937, after Eugenio Licciardo’s death, the business at the Markets was taken over by Gennaro who was subsequently interned in Orange, NSW, like so many of his co-nationals, as an enemy alien, reportedly with Fascist sympathies and active in Italian political circles in Sydney. At the time of his internment, Gennaro asserted that imprisonment had caused him “serious financial losses” since he had to leave his fruit shop in Glebe Point Road in the charge of his wife, who was “unable to carry on the work”. On 12 September 1940, Gennaro declared before the Aliens Tribunal that he was “a loyal and law-abiding citizen of this Country: my interests are here and are bound with those of this country. I have become fond of Australia and its people. I have never belonged to any subversive association or group” (NAA C18000/279). Internment during World War 2 was a fate that befell many Italians, and its effects decimated many Italian-run businesses. Those interned often incurred losses that bankrupted the businesses they had nurtured, in some cases, for well over twenty years.

There was a market for wine among Italy-born even though the wider Australian society did not favour wine, and it was certainly not a common beverage during the 1920s and 1930s.

The wine selling business was a natural niche for Italy-born. In 1927, Matteo Fiorelli was a supplier of “table wines and Italian liqueurs at reasonable prices”, at 78 William Street. In 1920 Fiorelli, who was born at Cerreto, near Rome in June 1883 and arrived in Sydney in 1912, applied for naturalization. He worked first as a plasterer and, by 1929 with two young children, Victor and Lena, and his Australian-born wife, Matteo lived at 242 Castlereagh Street.

By the early 1930s the number of Italian immigrants had grown considerably, and restaurants and cafés in Italian hands became more widespread. The city and the inner-eastern suburbs were principal locations for the modest cafés and tearooms that outnumbered restaurants. *Sands’ Directory* for the early 1930s indicates a handful of Italian names among proprietors of restaurants and café dining rooms across the city and suburbs. In 1930 Lamaro Bros. were at 6 Circular Quay and P. Silvestri traded at 143a King Street. In 1931 the territory covered by Italian family names extended from Circular Quay, north to Mrs A. Modini at 128 Lane Cove Road (Pacific Highway), Greenwich and Mrs E. Gannoni at 427 Victoria Road, Chatswood, north-west to G. Pittorino at 384 Blaxland Road, Eastwood, and east to the Marinatos at Watson’s Bay, F. Podesta in Moore Park Road and J. Ristuccia at 444 Old South Head Road, Woollahra.

At the modest end of the spectrum, in the early 1930s the Marconi and Roma cafés at 220 and 241 Pitt Street and A. Pandeli’s dining venue at 127 Bathurst Street (at 110B Bathurst Street in 1935) offered food but no board in the pattern of the Allora café at 111 Pitt Street, Ciro’s had moved from Elizabeth Street to 174 King Street (later to 308A New South Head Road, Double Bay, in 1945-1946) and A. Defina’s establishment was at 287 Elizabeth Street. Antonio Defina had a café on the pier at Manly in 1932. By 1935, the tearoom of Michele Marinato had been open for seven years at the Watson’s Bay wharf. In 1932 new Italian business names in the city were *The Florentino* restaurant at 551/2 Elizabeth Street. In William Street, Angelo Antonio and Emilio Armanini operated dining rooms at nos. 862 and 170, respectively. By 1935 S. Bono had taken over the business from Signor Armanini; Bono was still trading in 1945-1946. J. Lopez was established at the Cremorne wharf and 174 George Street in the city.

THE CONTINENTAL TEA GARDENS, WATSON’S BAY

Bartolomeo Callose is remembered by Vince Marinato as a small, thin man with a squeaky voice, always immaculately dressed in tweed suits, and as a reference point for fellow Aeolians in Sydney, who admired his business success. In the 1920s Callose was a frequent visitor to Watson’s Bay in his chauffeur-driven Rolls Royce, where he sat for hours in the tearooms and shop owned by the Marinato family, talking to Rosaria Marinato as she sold lollies to the children. Rosaria used to seat Bartolomeo on a fruit box to remind him of his humble origins.

In 1904 Michele and Rosaria Marinato established the Watson's Bay Tearoom – later named the Continental Tea Gardens – at the Watson's Bay wharf. The Marinato family were also from the Aeolian island of Salina. The business was run at an initial weekly rent of two shillings and sixpence. In September 1947 it passed to son Tom and his son Vince, recently returned from service during World War 2 in the Australian Army.

Michele Marinato (1860-1937) arrived in Australia for the first time in 1889 when he worked in the mines at Broken Hill. He married Rosaria Ristuccia in Salina on a return trip, and they later settled in Woolloomooloo. As was common in those days, nine of Rosaria's eleven children died at or soon after birth. This misfortune became their good fortune. Rosaria was instrumental in saving the life of a sick baby on board ship from Italy, for which the grateful father, Mr McDermott, a principal of the Inter-Colonial Investment company, arranged a loan at reasonable rates for Michele and Rosaria to purchase land at Vaucluse and Rose Bay where the family opened their first retail businesses.

Like many immigrant families in Sydney, the Marinatos had relatives in America. In fact, Michele had worked with his six brothers on construction of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York. Having missed the boat to America, Michele came first to Australia. Later he joined his brothers in New York and worked as a billy boy, catching the rivets on the bridge construction. He later returned to Sydney. A number of the Italians who worked on the Brooklyn Bridge eventually made their home north of Sydney on the Hawkesbury River in the small hamlet of Brooklyn that was named after their experiences in New York.

Family in America sent to Michele Sydney's first soda fountain in 1910. The Marinatos sponsored the immigration of a number of Aeolian families, including members of the Milani, Ravesi, Puglisi and Taranto clans. Alfie and Laurie Milani, of the next generation, after working for the Marinato family business went on to become makers of smallgoods and gelato. A special Milani double gelato of mocha chocolate and strawberry was a best seller at the Bay in the 1960s.

Once established at Watson's Bay wharf, Michele battled for many years to get permission for outdoor dining. When he was finally successful, around the middle of the 1920s, *al fresco* dining at Watson's Bay was a first in Sydney and excited the wrath of the Health Department until the Maritime Services Board from which the Marinato family leased the premises stepped in. Henry Lawson was a customer in these years. Rosaria's specialty was *fagioli* (bean) soup, a filling meal which many locals enjoyed *gratis* during the Depression.

In the 1930s, when Tom was running the business, his wife, Bruna whom he married in 1923, made devonshire teas a talking point for the many day-trippers who made their way to the Bay by ferry and tram. Sunday opening was permitted when the Bay was declared a holiday resort. The displays of captured sharks at the wharf were a major tourist attraction. In the early years, many wives of local fishermen were employed in the kitchen to assist Rosaria

who was later followed by Bruna and Vince's wife, Angela, as cook in charge of operations. By the mid-1930s the business was in dire straits because of the Depression. Closure was avoided through Jack Richmond's donation of his long service leave cheque to Tom in return for a favour many years earlier.

Tom Marinato became a local institution. He was crowned King of the Bay in 1928 in recognition of the massive amount of 8,000 pounds which he raised to build the local Catholic presbytery, principally through an Arabian night at the Watson's Bay picture palace where the floor was covered in sand and the men dressed as sheiks in imitation of their countryman, Rudolf Valentino.

Tom Marinato's connections with the early years of Australian film are not as well known as those of his contemporary, Raymond Longford. While Michele and the indomitable Rosaria, who regularly swam from the shop on the wharf to the family home in Marine Parade, were in charge of the business, their son Tom made a career at Cinesound as a film maker and script writer. Tom's first feature film was a 1926 talkie titled "Sydney's Darling", the name of a sailing boat, projected as the main feature at the Prince Edward cinema in Castlereagh Street. In 1927, Tom's "My First Big Ship", based on a story of a boy from the Bay who became a ship's pilot, ran for longer than "The Way of the Cross". Other movies he made were "Hunting the Octopus" and "Patonga Waterlilies".

At the outbreak of World War 2, *Continental Tea Gardens* was the biggest seller of Peter's ice cream in Sydney. With war rationing, Italians were low on the list for provisioning by wholesalers. Ironically, while many Italians were interned as enemy aliens, Vince Marinato served in the Australian army in the hard Pacific campaigns with fellow Italians of the second generation, born in Australia. Vince met up with young men from the Callose, Giuffrè, Paino and Piccone families. The contribution of Italian-Australians to the Australian war effort is a little-known chapter of our history.

In the 1930s, Prime Minister Joe Lyons and his numerous family were regular patrons of the tearooms at the wharf. The Marinatos later had connections with celebrities of the entertainment world when the expanded post-war business grew into a restaurant, including Rudolph Nureyev, Margot Fonteyn, Ava Gardner, Mickie Rooney, Alfred Hitchcock and Liberace who, as a fellow Italian, naturally gravitated to the kitchen. The writer of Westerns, Zane Grey, became a regular visitor, mainly to indulge a passion for deep-sea fishing.

"Ockie eaters" was a taunt that the Marinato boys, Vince, Tony and Michael, often suffered at school during the 1930s, along with the better-known "dago" which many Italians still remember as their first introduction to Australians. Despite Vince's generous and welcoming personality, this taunt made such an impact on him that even today as man in his late seventies he finds it difficult to contemplate eating calamari. His grandmother Rosaria in fact introduced many of the local fishermen to cooking and eating the squid they previously discarded for bait.

In the 1950s the basic café/tearoom fare of meat pies, fish and chips and spaghetti gave way to a greater range of seafood, mostly fried, in a venture that was eventually taken over by the Doyle family in 1968. By the 1960s, a self-service bar was set up which produced 100 dozen prawn rolls each day. Business was on a large scale, with daily quantities such as one tonne of potato chips, much of it take-away.

In fact, it is apparent that the Marinatos were responsible not only for introducing outdoor dining to Sydney but also some refinements in take-away dining, such as the practice of chips in take-away containers. As Vince reminisces in his recent book, the “Shop on the Wharf – my way of life... was a pioneering institution, [the] first to bring to Sydney an American Soda bar, with self-producing Soda Water (1910); Outdoor Eating... Calamari... Display Fish Tanks... the Gelato Trade; potato chips served in Containers” (MARINATO p. 138).

VAN'S COFFEE BAR AND RESTAURANT

In 1931 at 272 Victoria Street, King's Cross, opposite the Fire Station, there opened a coffee lounge selling coffee from an imported Italian coffee machine. The rented premises were under the joint proprietorship of Guglielmo (William or Bill) and Edoardo (Edward) Vanzino (b. 1898), two brothers of the numerous family of Natale and Lucia Vanzino. Natale had taken his bride from Piemonte, Northern Italy, to England where he was a chef, having first run a restaurant in his home town, Mombercelli, near Alessandria. Natale returned to Italy periodically when the annual summer season finished, and a number of his children were born in Mombercelli. Edoardo was born there in 1898. Lucia gave birth to at least three of her eight children in England, including Guglielmo and Pietro.

Bill's English nationality was the reason for his internment in Germany for four years during World War 1, where he was working in a restaurant. Bill, who dressed very much in the style of an English gentleman, emigrated to Queensland in 1919 where he met and married his Australian wife Muriel in Gympie. Edoardo, being younger, did not serve in the war, unlike his brother Pietro who was a survivor of the Gallipoli campaign. In 1923 Edoardo married Luigina Aresca, daughter of the town butcher in Mombercelli, and he took his bride back to London where he worked as a waiter in hotels.

In 1924, Alma Lucia Vanzino was born in London to Edoardo and Luigina. After twenty-four years in England, Edoardo made a final visit to Italy to say farewell to his extended family and sailed with his family on the *Orsova* from Southampton, arriving in Sydney in January 1929. Edoardo, who was known as Edward Ernest, joined his brother Bill, and both worked as waiters at Romano's, then at 105 York Street, and Ambassador's, also in the city. Their brother Pietro (Peter) took to the road in the hope of finding work during the early years of the Depression.

Working for two years, the two younger brothers acquired enough capital to open the rented premises at 272 Victoria Street, named the Continental Coffee Bar, where “W. and E. Vanzino [guaranteed their customers] the best of Service & Attention” and served “Coffee made Fresh with our Specially Imported Express Hygienic Coffee Machine (Only First Class Coffee Etc. Used)”. The sandwiches, scones, cakes and bread rolls on the menu were locally produced, and the beverages of Malted Milk, Oxo, Bovril, Milk Shakes and Iced Coffee or Chocolate were designed for Australian tastes. It was a classic English tearoom with some Italian beverages.

The white tablecloths of the Continental Coffee Bar remained as the plain, unadorned premises were transformed around 1932 as Van’s Coffee Bar and Restaurant. Luncheons at that time cost 1 shilling and dinners were 1 shilling and sixpence. The kitchen was the domain of Edward’s wife, Luigina. Luigina made the fresh ravioli, gnocchi and other pasta that featured on the menu. Other Italians in the neighbourhood were Sicilians who ran the local greengrocery stores and there was also Del’s Delicatessen, owned by the Santamaria family.

Young Alma Vanzino was sent to school at St Vincent’s College, Potts Point and the family lived in a rented flat in Rosebank Hall, in Farrell Avenue, close to Darlinghurst Road. Van’s Coffee Bar and Restaurant flourished for several years, until 1935 when Edoardo’s family moved to Lakemba where Dennis was born. Edoardo continued his career as a waiter in the city at Romano’s where he was manager by 1937, and later at Usher’s and the Metropole Hotel, the Hotel Australia, and the Royal Automobile Club. Italian and Greek immigrants found ready work during the 1930s as waiters, relying on tips to make up a living wage.

Edoardo successfully applied for naturalization in 1937, at the time of his employment by Pettys Hotel. The official Report on his application notes that “the applicant is of European (white) race or descent”, that he “can read and write the English language”, and that “he does not associate with Italians” (NAA 1936/6082). He had previously made an unsuccessful application in 1930, at the time of his employment at Romano’s, rejected because he had not lived for at least five out of the previous eight years in England. Although he had attended school in England until the age of fourteen and had enrolled for National Service in July 1917, the family had made a number of trips back to Italy and the continuity of residence had been broken (NAA 1930/1283).

Alma Lucia went on to link two of the families responsible for making a name for Italian restaurateurs in Sydney when, in 1942, she married Aldo Bottero, the youngest of the three Bottero brothers who set up the New Dungowan restaurant in Martin Place in 1932.

Martin Place had a reputation for upmarket, “continental” dining. There were a number of Italian-run venues. Armanini’s Continental Restaurant at 9 Martin Place was joined by

Café Andrea at no. 39. The New Dungowan restaurant and ballroom was in its infancy under the ownership of the Bottero brothers.

THE NEW DUNGOWAN

The Dungowan restaurant, at 32-34 Martin Place between Pitt and Castlereagh Streets, with an entrance also from Hosking Place, was an unlikely name for an Italian business. In 1932 the lease was purchased by the brothers, Aldo, Mario Pasquale and Aurelio Giovanni (John) Bottero, who retained the previous business name.

At the age of sixteen, Mario was the first of the brothers from Nizza Monferrato (Piemonte) to arrive in Sydney, in 1925 on the *Carignano*. Mario had heard from a friend who had returned to the *paese* that wages were paid in Sydney in gold coins. This notion excited Mario's curiosity at a time when work was scarce in Italy and the vineyards on the land owned by the family had been blighted by disease. Mario's first job in Sydney was at an Italian-run coffee shop in Oxford Street. He later found work as a kitchen-hand at the Latin Café restaurant on the second floor of the Royal Arcade in Pitt Street, opposite the Rialto theatre. The Caffé Latin as it advertised in the *Italo-Australian* of 4 October 1924 offered "Italian cuisine, modest prices and after-theatre suppers, with banquets a speciality" (p. 2). In 1926, Mario called his brothers to join him, and for five years from 1927 they saved towards their collective future. Six months later, their mother Carolina and young sister Maria Ortensia joined them in Sydney.

Life in Italy had been hard for the Botteros. Aldo left home at the age of thirteen, in search of work in Turin. He enjoyed his time as a stonemason, and he was an avid worker in a chocolate factory until sacked for eating too much of the product. The temptation for a young boy who had at times for a meal flavoured his bread from one shared anchovy was understandable. For a short time, Aldo worked making brass musical instruments. Over the three years in Turin, Aldo was traumatised by riots he witnessed between Left militants and Fascist blackshirts. Through emigration Mario avoided compulsory military service; Aurelio, born in 1905, had just completed his service when he and Aldo decided to make the voyage to Australia. This pattern was repeated many times over by young Italian male immigrants to Australia.

Aldo almost did not survive to make the trip when, one night close to departure, the sixteen-year old was overcome by toxic fumes released by an oleander log in the family hearth. John pulled him out onto the snow and saved him. Maria Ortensia still remembers the parting meal for the two brothers before they left for Genova and the boat, the *Città di Genova*, to Australia. It was stewed rabbit and polenta. Aldo, born in 1910, was the youngest of the three brothers. Aldo's Italian passport, issued in 1927, notes that he was to travel accompanied by his brother Aurelio. In September 1939, Aldo took the Oath of Allegiance, renouncing

Italian citizenship and he obtained the Certificate of Naturalization. He was supported by T.J. Gillin, Ex-Commonwealth Magistrate, who described him as “a most estimable citizen in every respect and his loyalty is beyond question”. Griffin had been asked to testify as a character referee by Aldo’s local MHR, E.J. (Eddie) Ward who knew Aldo as a “most loyal and worthy person” and urged prompt attention to the application in a number of letters to the Department of the Interior in late 1939 (NAA 1939/1/13127). In 1935 Aldo had omitted to submit the necessary form for the Oath, later claiming that his employment as a chef “from 9am to 9pm” prevented him from attending to the matter four years previously.

The Bottero brothers, reunited in Sydney in April 1927, were keen to block the hard times of Fascist Italy from their memories and they embraced the new culture. All three worked as kitchen hands and, later, as waiters in venues like the Latin Café, and the family lived in a tiny terrace house at 7 Uther Street, Surry Hills, near the Minties factory. Surry Hills during the Depression was the haunt of the Razor Gang. The period 1929-1930 saw both John and Aldo out of work. At this time land at Bossley Park was purchased and a farm established. Much later, this land was donated by the family to the Catholic Church.

The difficult early years – when John worked at various jobs, starting off in a garage, and Aldo was sacked as a waiter at the Menzies Hotel because he was Italian—finally bore fruit with the purchase in 1932 of the lease for the Dungowan Restaurant. Mario had been fined for serving liquor after-hours in 1931 at the Oriental Café, under instructions from the proprietor Mr C. Smith. This fine did not however impede his application for naturalization in 1935. The New Dungowan opened in 1932 and Aldo was principal chef. He had learned his trade by default when the chef at the Caffé Latin was taken ill. Madame Pura, the Polish or Russian proprietor, was one of Aldo’s early employers, who exploited his capacity for work, denying him time for breakfast. Aldo relied on raw eggs to keep up the pace. From an early date at the Dungowan, Aldo was assisted in the kitchen by the Genova-born opera singer, Jack Laura, who came to Sydney with the touring company of the Italian opera singer Toti Del Monte who visited Sydney twice during the 1920s. Her first visit was with the touring company of Nellie Melba in 1924. On the second occasion, she married a fellow singer from the Grand Opera Company, in lavish style and among huge crowds, at St. Mary’s Cathedral in August 1928. She had her wedding reception at Romano’s. Jack Laura remained after the company departed, first living rough in a cave at Mrs Macquarie’s Chair in the Botanic Gardens and later working for Mario Faggion at *Il Fiorentino*.

In 1929 Aldo was placed in charge of the brothers’ farm at Bossley Park. Short of ready funds, Aldo cleared dense vegetation with the help of itinerant workers, who toiled in exchange for bed and board. He was joined in Bossley Park by his mother Carolina and Maria Ortensia who were responsible until 1936 for starching the stiff, formal shirts the brothers wore for work. Father Giuseppe followed from Italy in 1936. Maria Ortensia

remembers carrying the shirts in a suitcase in the train from Bossley Park on her way to St Mary's Cathedral school in the city. After three years, Aldo left the farm for the kitchen of the Dungowan.

The *New Dungowan* was a venue for business lunches and special occasions, such as staff dinners, tea dances, parties and receptions. John was maitre d' and Mario concentrated on the business side. Aldo was responsible for the kitchen. *Wise's NSW Post Office Directory* of 1935 refers to the Dungowan Restaurant and Ballroom. In 1933 the extensive dance floor echoed to the strains of a jazz quartet. For upmarket dining during the 1930s and 1940s, Dungowan rivalled the contemporary Prince's at 42 Martin Place and Romano's.

Famous patrons included the writer Vance Palmer, the newspaper editor Ezra Norton who was collected by his nurse after lunch when he had too much to drink, Frank Packer and his young son, Kerry, L.J. Hooker, Dr Evatt and his private secretary, Professor A.H. and Mrs Charteris, and later the ASIO chief, Colonel Spry. Women did not patronise the restaurant during the day but couples were common in the evening, and clerks from the many Martin Place banks often spent their morning and afternoon tea breaks at the restaurant. During the war, the Charteris helped to secure John's release after a few months of internment from the camp where he was confined as an enemy alien: John's passion for dancing made him sign up with a number of Italian clubs. This was enough to create suspicion.

In 1936 the Bottero family moved from Bossley Park to the city and rented a house in O'Sullivan Road, Rose Bay. By this time, John was married to Bianca whose family cut cane in Cairns. In 1936, Maria Ortensia began a career in the business, remaining for twelve years at the Dungowan where she took bookings, arranged parties and functions and attended to cash register and general office duties, much against her mother's wishes. Maria's superior English made her a valuable asset in the business and she complemented the skills of her three brothers. Around 1940 Nonna Carolina tried to arrange a number of matches for Maria Ortensia, but without success since Maria was not interested in the proposed suitors.

Maria Ortensia remembers that in the early years a Dungowan lunch of crumbed lamb cutlets with vegetables, bread roll and butter, and pudding and custard with tea or coffee, cost 1 shilling and sixpence. Roast beef and yorkshire pudding was a staple, and apple pie was a great favourite, cooked by Muriel. Muriel was a stalwart of the kitchen for many years in the dessert section where desserts such as date pudding and custard, peach melba, crème caramel with cream or ice cream, and fruit salad reigned supreme. Even before the war there was a slow change of eating habits, with the introduction at the Dungowan of grilled capsicum and fennel with a side dish of vinaigrette and ravioli, made by Aldo. After the war, the mixed grills and corned beef of pre-war years were gradually replaced by chicken Maryland, grilled steak, Hawaiian salad served with orange and pineapple slices, and a wider range of pasta dishes. Veal Parmigiano was a speciality. Chicken roasted on the spit was another revolution-

ary post-war feature. Aldo always had a large pot of minestrone on the stove and he was as a dab hand especially at creme caramel, ravioli, pasta al forno and frittelle. Ronda Bottero, with her siblings Paul and Brenda, recalls the cream puffs and wafer-thin potato chips that Aldo made a feature of childhood birthday parties.

The Dungowan head waiter for many years was Bob Seaich. Many distant Italian cousins, friends and other Piemontese immigrants sponsored by the Botteros found work at the restaurant, including George Moioso, Aldo Cova, and Renato Ferraris. The more numerous waitresses were almost always Australian-born. Italians, Greeks and Chinese chose the restaurant for wedding receptions until well into the 1950s, principally those families established in Sydney before World War 2. On Saturdays and Sundays, tables for weddings groaned with a huge range of *antipasti* and pasta, main courses of chicken, and the obligatory many-tiered wedding cake. The restaurant was full of exuberant noise and dancing. The Dungowan for decades was the annual rendezvous point for the Anzac celebration of the 6th Light Horse Brigade. As the years passed, the aftermath of the parties turned up numerous sets of false teeth and walking sticks. One regular, a city doctor, favoured a dish of spaghetti with a fried egg on top, much to the curiosity of the Italians who would never have contemplated such a culinary marriage. Aldo Bottero continued in the kitchen, with a punishing schedule of 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. or later, beginning at the City markets and finishing with dinner. After lunch he would take a brief nap in a tiny alcove off the kitchen. Mario and John continued front-of-house.

In 1938-1939, Mario Bottero took an extended sabbatical, crossing America by car from San Francisco to New York, checking on the latest trends in the trade. One innovation that resulted from this trip, from which Mario just managed to return when war broke out, was the Friday night dinner dance. Well-cashed American officers and their girlfriends were regulars during the war period, as the atmosphere moved on from the 1930's conservative elegance of politicians and graziers and their wives and the more colourful horse-racing fraternity. The chairs of the 1930s were designed so that a man's hat could be placed underneath them. In the early 1930s the leader of the resident Palm Court orchestra was Clem Hill. Later, the English-Jamaican bass player Harry Willis, who also performed on the Saturday afternoon ferry, the Showboat, and at the Prince Edward theatre, led Bernice Lynch, the slinky vocalist who played the electric guitar, as well as Neville Hazard on drums, Ken Caves on saxophone, and Wally Munce on piano. The band played dinner music six nights a week, from 6-8 p.m., and much later for the special balls during the winter season. Young-early middle age office workers came straight from work to the restaurant where they dined and danced until around 9 p.m. Much later Enzo Toppano was a regular musician. The painting on the entrance wall to the restaurant was at one stage transformed by the Italian-born artist Virgilio Lo Schiavo to a wall of tropical fish.

In 1957 the Dungowan changed its name to *Quo Vadis* and, completely re-furnished, the restaurant took on the character of a night club, with Luigi Rosina in charge of the dining room. The business lunches and morning and afternoon teas so popular during the 1930s and 1940s gave way gradually to dinner as the prime time for the Dungowan, certainly during the *Quo Vadis* period. An entertainment agency in Melbourne organised the artists for the nightclub, who included the Moreno Brothers who, although Spanish, sang songs in Italian. The Everley Brothers and Crash Craddock were among those who held press conferences at the *Quo Vadis*. Variety shows were held on the enlarged stage, with two shows, especially on Fridays and Saturdays. The restaurant's last transformation was as the music hall East Lynne.

At this time, the private dining room of the Dungowan, seating around 25, was converted to the Sukiyaki Room, where teppan yaki meals were served at sunken tables by waitresses in original kimonos, under the eye of Fujiko Ellis and her Australian husband. This was the first restaurant of its kind in Sydney, and it was followed immediately by another at King's Cross. Remo Crisante was a chef in the early days of *Quo Vadis*. In the 1970s, Remo Crisante was host at Remo's Place at 560 Crown Street, Surry Hills.

Luigi Rosina was born in May 1901 at Salò (Brescia), son of the shoemaker, Giuseppe Rosina. His first job was as an apprentice waiter in Salò from 1912-1914, and later in larger Italian cities until 1919 when he moved to Paris for a year and later to England where he remained for around four years, before emigrating to Australia with the French chef, Charles Fourcade, at the request of Percy Stewart Dawson to become head waiter at Ambassador's, from 1923-1927. He was later its manager. In 1929 Rosina was proprietor of *Ciro's Café*. Soon afterwards he left Australia, not to return until 1937. In 1934 Luigi sold an interest he had acquired in a restaurant in Venezuela, and he travelled to Beijing where he was head waiter at the Grand Hotel for eight months, and later at the Metropole Hotel, Shanghai. In 1937 he returned to Australia and worked at *Romano's* as manager.

When the Martin Place building which housed *Quo Vadis* was demolished around 1963, the Bottero brothers moved to new premises which they built on a high outcrop of land at 230 New South Head Road, the Edgecliff Motel, where business continued at a much reduced scale at *Mario's Restaurant*, until 1968. In the course of its thirty-year history, *The Dungowan* could be described as a multicultural venue. The Anglo-Australian dominance of the thirties' menu was infiltrated by a few Italian pasta and soup dishes. During the war, the menu was given a shake-up by the American servicemen who had the money to patronise restaurants, many of whom were Italian-American and knew about the secrets of pasta and beyond. In the post-war period, the many Italian waiters and some Italian customers, the Sukiyaki room and, later, the American-style nightclub ensured a continually varied eating experience. Given that the restaurant started off with a Scottish

name, it is ironic it should have been in Italian hands for many years, finally ending its days as an English-style music hall.

CONCLUSION

This story of Italian restaurants in Sydney is by no means complete. It will be continued.

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