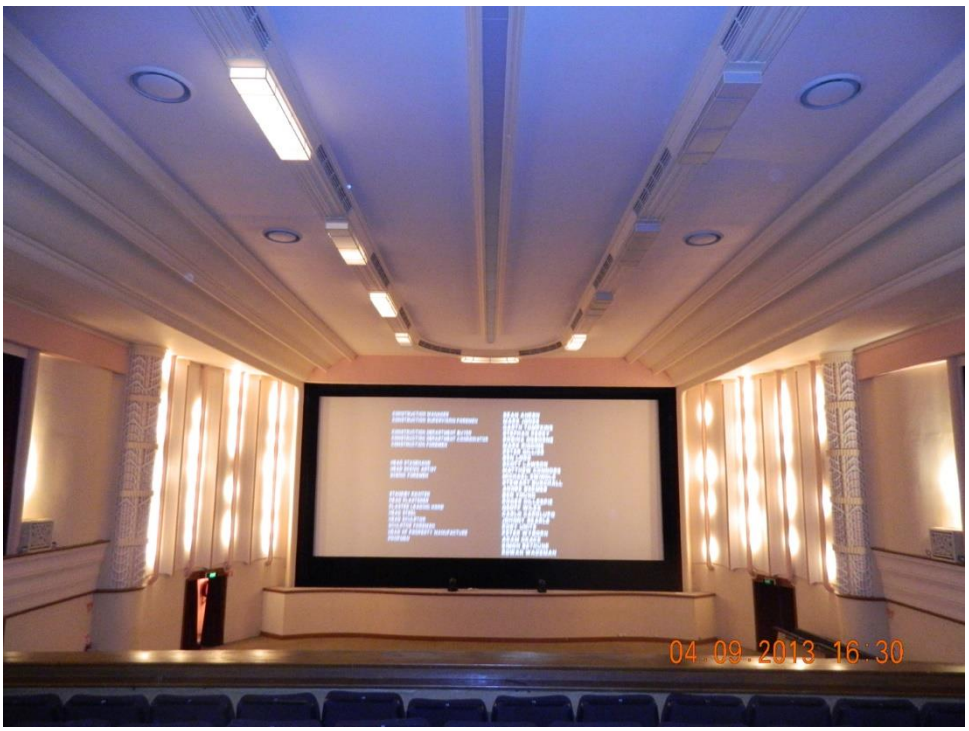
Entertaining the Classes

An archaeological investigation of historic cinemas in Metropolitan Adelaide, South Australia, and their development in relation to social class, 1896-1949



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Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgment, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Name:

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Abstract

This research analyses the influence of social class on the development of cinemas in metropolitan Adelaide during the period between 1908 to 1949 using a six-point business strategy (location, building, services, programming, airconditioning/ventilation and affordability), relating to the development of effective businesses. It assesses the validity of two competing theories of cinema histories, using a case study of metropolitan Adelaide, South Australia. The long-standing 'embourgeoisement' theory argued that cinemas and cinema-going underwent a gentrification process in which cinema proprietors gradually shifted their target demographic towards the wealthier middle classes, and made changes to venues according to middle class tastes and financial capabilities. During the 1970s, this position was questioned by proponents of the 'revisionist' theory, which argued that early film audiences were likely to be a mixture of class demographics, including the working, middle and wealthy classes. The results from this study largely supported the revisionist theory of early cinema development in Adelaide, South Australia.

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Contents

Table of Figures

Tables

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Questions and aims

The major aim of this study is to investigate the development of early Adelaide cinema exhibition in relation to social class. It draws on social and cultural historic studies relating to the opposing embourgeoisement and revisionist theories of cinema attendance in order to determine the pattern which early Adelaide cinema best demonstrated between 1896 and 1950. These two theories present opposing explanations for what demographics constituted early cinema audiences. The embourgeoisement theory argues that the cinema industry underwent a gentrification process that saw cinema transition from a working class form of entertainment to a 'respectable' medium that suited the middle and wealthy classes as well (Thissen 2012:45). The gentrification process is usually highlighted by the rise in the popularity of film, changing industry practices of cinema proprietors to consumers, and especially the construction of elaborate picture palaces by the 1920s. The revisionist theory, conversely, challenges this perception of early cinema as an exclusively or primarily working class form of entertainment and argues that members of the middle class sought to appropriate and control cinema well before the rise of popularity of film (Thissen 2012:45). Ultimately, the revisionist theory argues that cinema was not exclusively for the working class, and sought to appeal to the middle and wealthy classes as well from its inception.

The primary question for this study, therefore is: what can an archaeological investigation of historic cinemas in Adelaide reveal about social class influences on the development of cinema? In attempting to answer this question, the following aims will be addressed:

- To compare and contrast the physical characteristics of permanent, purpose-built cinemas in Metropolitan Adelaide, dated between 1908-1949;

- To understand from this the classed nature of cinema going, including how particular cinemas might have been aimed at particular classes, and;
- Through this to test the embourgeoisement and revisionist theories, and their applicability to Adelaide through the archaeological analysis of historic cinemas.

1.2 What is cinema?

The term ‘cinema’ is a multifunctional one. The word stems from the Greek *kinema*, meaning ‘movement’ or ‘motion’, and refers to the method in which individual sequential pictures are screened at a very fact pace to imitate the natural movements of the subject being captured. The result of this process was known as ‘moving pictures’, or as we know them today: ‘films’ or ‘movies’. Thomas Edison’s invention of his patented kinetoscope was key in the public fascination with the ‘moving picture’. The kinetoscope raised much interest in the public sphere as a novelty; as a ‘miraculous’ machine with the capability of showing a short moving picture to a single viewer.

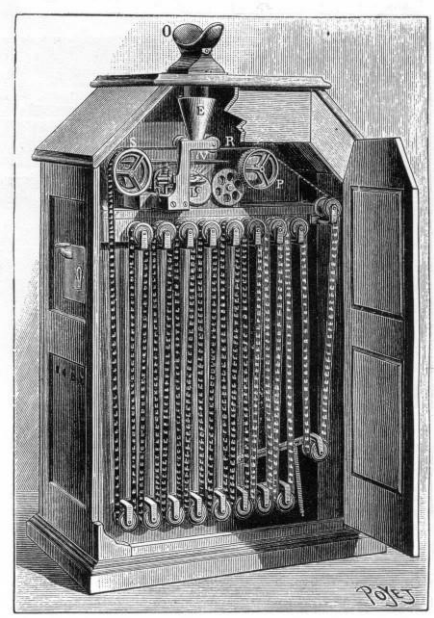

Figure 1.1. An illustration showing the interior of Edison's kinetoscope c.1894. The viewer peers through the eyepiece located at the top of the machine - labelled ‘O’ (picture courtesy of Herbert and McKernan 2016).

The words ‘cinema’ and ‘theatre’ have been, and continue to be, used interchangeably. Cinema buildings, especially in the early days of the industry, were sometimes referred to as ‘picture theatres’. No architectural background is required to identify the similar basic layout and design for both the cinema and the theatre. They are both built to accommodate an audience in carefully planned rows of seats facing the performance space located at the back of the building (becoming the front of the audience). Sometimes there are multiple levels to accommodate more seating at higher levels. The auditorium is divided between stage and audience, with a proscenium, like a border, creating a barrier between fantasy and reality (Bowman 1964:221), but simultaneously the space merges the two dimensions as the audience is captivated by the performance and transported into a different world.

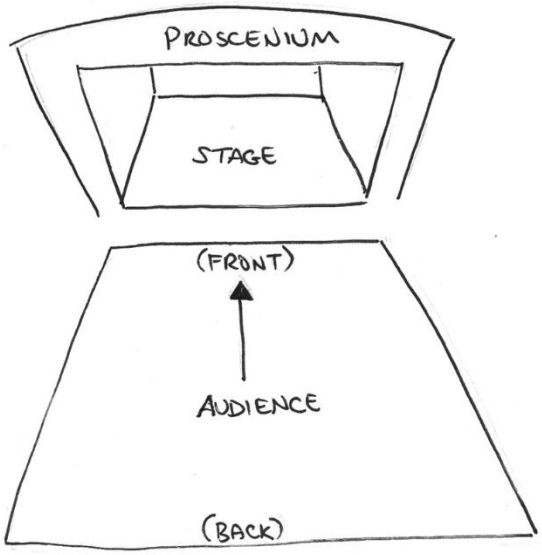

Figure 1.2. The basic layout of a theatre: the space for audience often fans out from the back and narrows towards the front towards the performance space. Cinemas and theatres apply this layout with some variations including levels, booths and balconies. (Illustrated by author)

It is important in this study, therefore, to distinguish between ‘cinema’ and ‘theatre’. In the most basic sense, ‘cinema’ refers to permanent venues that have been purposely built to show moving pictures or films, and must have a projector room and screen. ‘Theatre’ refers

specifically to venues which housed live acts, such as plays and orchestras, and while some did screen movies, they were not originally built for such a purpose. The term 'legitimate theatre' was sometimes used to describe a theatre venue which purposely and exclusively housed live performances, though eventually some of these 'legitimate theatre' venues also included movie screenings as part of the larger program (Kenworthy 1933:245). Conversely, in the early years of motion picture, some cinemas included a stage large enough to house live entertainment which sometimes accompanied movie screenings in one session.

1.3 Technological development and the introduction of film into Australia

The invention and public exhibition of Thomas Edison's kinetoscope raised wonder and admiration at the time, and moving pictures continued to awe the public with the development of the cinematograph. Several newspaper articles from Adelaide alone consistently emphasised the wonder of such developments in technology. It had arrived in Adelaide by 1895, where a number of kinetoscopes were publicly exhibited for viewing, each with different subjects playing, including depictions of a wirewalker, and a Spanish dance (*The Advertiser*, 8 November 1895:6). Edison failed to patent his kinetoscope outside of the United States, consequently allowing others to copy and develop his invention (Shirley and Adams 1989:4); of particular note are Auguste and Louis Lumière (the Lumière brothers) in France, and R.W. Paul in England. The Lumière brothers were probably best known for their cinématographe, but it was Paul's invention that was first brought to Australia, and was incorrectly advertised as the Lumières' trademarked Cinématographe (Shirley and Adams 1989:5).

Unlike the kinetoscope, the cinematograph projected the pictures onto a screen rather than confining the image to a space for a single viewer to watch. Adelaide's first experience of the cinematograph was in 1896, housed in the Theatre Royal (The Cinematograph 1896:122), after

proving to be extremely popular in Melbourne and Sydney. Viewings from the cinematograph were often exhibited in halls, including the Adelaide Town Hall, Victoria Hall in Gawler Place, the Port Adelaide Town Hall, the Norwood Town Hall, and other town halls around Adelaide. The Theatre Royal and the Tivoli Theatre also housed moving picture viewings, but were not purpose-built cinemas. In 1900, the average film measured between 12-24 metres in length and ran for approximately one minute (Collins 1987:36). Understandably, this did not warrant the establishment of permanent, purpose-built venues yet. Further, the distracting flicker of early cinematograph models was often criticised (giving rise to the use of the term 'flicks' or 'the flicks' to refer to the cinema) and contributed to the waning popularity of motion pictures as the flickering irritated movie patrons (*Daily Herald*, 9 January 1911:3). The flickering was perhaps a lesser factor contributing to the lull in moving picture attendance in the late 1890s and early 1900s. It was more likely that the lack of length, novelty and substance of early films contributed to the decline of attendance (Collins 1987:36) as by the mid-1900s, the industry's popularity was revived with the exhibition of what has been claimed to be the first feature-length narrative movie, *The Story of the Kelly Gang* (Jackson and Shirley 2006).

In 1908, Adelaide had its first permanent cinema. The venue originally served as an ice skating rink, but was converted by the owner, T.J West, to the West's Olympia (Wheare and Summerling, n.d.:6). More permanent cinema venues were established in and around the CBD, until the commercial availability of television in the 1950s resulted in a drop in cinema attendance, and ultimately closure of the majority of Adelaide's historic cinemas. While the novelty of the moving picture waned to normalcy, cinematographic technology continued to change and improve, consequently helping to maintain the popularity of movie going even until today. Projectors were improved to remove the infamous flicker of the early movie shows; coloured film painted the screens; orchestras were eventually made obsolete as sound was

integrated into the movies themselves (which resulted in the use of the term ‘the talkies’); the development of CinemaScope called for larger screens for larger pictures; drive-in outdoor cinemas allowed groups, couples and families to watch movies in the comfort of their own cars; multi-screen cinemas allowed the screening of more than one movie at one time; and 3D movies introduced a new level of audience immersion for patrons. As technological novelties continued to amuse audiences, the function of the movie theatre remained the same.

1.4 Definitions

This section provides definitions for the major terms used in this thesis. Consistent with an archaeological emphasis on structural remains, cinema is defined as ‘a dedicated space for the exhibition of film’ (McKernan 2008:271), rather than the more usual definition of cinema as ‘the projection of a photographically recorded film strip in a theatrical setting’ (Nissen 2011:309) or ‘the aesthetic systems of film and video technology’ (Wyatt 1999:366.). Cinema did not emerge as an entertainment medium in its own right. Early cinema was integrated with vaudeville performances, originally showcasing new technology rather than depicting a narrative. Short films were interspersed with vaudeville acts as part of an eclectic entertainment program. ‘Vaudeville’ refers to a form of theatrical entertainment that developed in late nineteenth century America which presented a range of short performances in a range of styles, including operatic arias, animal acts, and slapstick comedy (Danesi 2013:693). Allen (1979:10) argues that the integration of vaudeville acts into motion picture exhibition was a strategy to extend exhibition hours, but also attracted middle class audiences to cinema venues.

Capitalism is important to this study, since it focusses on cinemas that are privately owned, rather than state owned. Accordingly, capitalism is defined as ‘An economic and political system in which a country’s trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit,

rather than by the state (Oxford University Dictionaries 2016). Capitalism has been the focus of numerous archaeological studies (see Burke 1999; Handsman 1983; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1988; Little 1994; Orser 1987; Zarankin and Senatore 2005).

Consideration of capitalism leads to considerations of class. Whilst class is fundamental to many studies in historical archaeology (Clark 1987; de Wall 1999; McGuire and Walker 1999), it is difficult to define. Wurst (1999:7), following Williams (1983:60-69), identifies the use of class in archaeology in three different ways:

i) objective group: class as a discrete social or economic category;

ii) rank mobility;

iii) formation: relationship; social political and cultural organization.

The definition of class as a discrete social or economic category is adopted for this thesis, given the emphasis of the research on both social and economic factors.

The Weberian definition of social class is best applied to this study. According to Weber, a fundamental element in defining an individual's position in society is based on an objective economic foundation, but unlike Marx, Weber also placed equal importance on subjective awareness and power (Blishen 1958:519). On the basis that the possession of property, or the means of production, defined the main class difference, he identified four major classes found in capitalist societies: the dominant entrepreneurial and propertied groups, the petty bourgeoisie – who were workers with formal credentials (the middle class) – and workers with informal credentials and whose only asset is their labour power (the working class) (Breen 2002:44). Class was in itself linked to, but separate from, status. Status is not solely determined by wealth, and is an underlying social phenomenon that influences the distribution of power in society. Individuals who are accorded the same social status are linked by a

common lifestyle and their behaviours are dictated by particular social conventions (DiMaggio and Useem 1978:144; Kraus et al. 2012:547). While wealth does not necessarily determine the status of an individual, money is important in maintaining the lifestyle that status depends on, particularly among high status groups (Shortell n.d.). However, other features such as physical prowess, occupational prestige, religious knowledge and education would have been important within particular social contexts.

This study views cinemas as both a business which serves the needs of the proprietor, and an establishment which serves the desires of its patrons. It is, therefore, appropriate to apply a definition of class that considers both the financial capabilities of the individual, and the social perceptions that are applied to groups of individual based on status and occupational prestige. It should be noted that having an occupation and associated social conventions at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th was itself a working class activity – 'gentlemen' did not work (Trigg 2001:100; Veblen 1918 :29).

While there is no monetary figure that determines whether an individual is qualified to be categorised as the middle class, minimum wage figures, if available, were chosen to represent the working class in this study. If this figure was not available, the average of the lowest paid occupations was used instead. This is in line with the assumption that occupations roughly correlated to 'classed' levels of society (Marks 1999:3; Treiman 1976:288-290).

Finally, an understanding of ideology is important to an understanding of social behaviours. As Burke (1999:13) points out, the concept of ideology is 'fundamental to the social order, arising from the material structure of society as a whole'. Eagleton (1991:28-31) identifies six ways to define ideology. While there is some overlap between these definition Eagleton's

definition of ideology as ‘ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolise the conditions and life-experiences of a specific socially significant group or class’ (Eagleton 1991:29) is most appropriate for the purposes of this thesis, given the focus of this research on social class.

1.5 Significance of study

A plethora of studies have been conducted around the movie industry, from film history to cinema architecture; from the psychology of immersion cinema to racial segregation of the audience. At the centre of most of these studies is the United States of America and the development of its multibillion-dollar industry known throughout the world today. Possessing one of the most interesting and well-documented histories of any national film industry, studies on American cinema and the various social and historical analyses on the industry have played a key role in this study. In addition, the American cinema industry made a significant impact on Australian cinemas, from movies to architecture. While there is substantial literature on the Australian movie industry, most focus on film history, cinema architecture, and the general history of the industry and its development as a whole (see e.g. Bertrand 1989, Collins and Davis 2004, O’Regan 1996, Prescott 2005, and Rattigan 1991). There, however, appears to be little on the reciprocal relations between society and the cinema, especially in an Australian context. By drawing on American-based studies (e.g. Allen 1979, Merritt 1976, and Singer 1995), this study aims to shed light on social class influence on the development of cinema in Metropolitan Adelaide through an archaeological investigation of its historic cinemas.

Chapter 2 : A History of Cinemas in Adelaide

2.1 Early Adelaide

Prior to European settlement, Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains regions were originally inhabited by the native Kaurna people. By the 1800s, European explorers, whalers and sealers made their mark on the Kaurna people and the land, but it was not until 1836 that both and land people felt the impact of colonisation by non-Indigenous people. Land development and agricultural pursuits had been planned for South Australia, and much of the land was sold before settlers even established the colony (Department of Planning and Local Government 2009:6; Telfer 1999:4). The central business district of Adelaide itself was planned in 1837 by Colonel William Light, giving the capital its distinctive grid-style road network, and parklands surrounding the city (Development of Planning and Local Government 2009:6-7).

The development of South Australia was based on a scheme known as 'systematic colonisation', developed by British colonial administrator, Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the 1830s. At the core of Wakefield's scheme was the belief that previous colonial settlements were flawed because land was too readily available, or sold for too low a price, resulting in an inadequate supply of labour (Archer 2003:5-6; Telfer 1999:4). The scheme distinguished the new colony from its east coast predecessors by rigorously regulating the sale of land, restricting sales to particular demographics of emigrants, and concentrating settlements (Archer 2003:7). Drawing on issues affecting the east coast colonies, there was an emphasis on managing societal composition, such as ensuring a balance between men and women, and prioritising young families (Archer 2003:7; Telfer 1999:4).

2.2 The first cinemas in Adelaide (1908-1919)

The earliest permanent, purpose-built cinema in Adelaide dates back to 1908. Prior to the establishment of West's Olympia in 1908, temporary cinema venues were erected to house motion pictures. Although only temporary, these venues were apparently impressive structures; some were able to hold up to 4,000 people in spacious, open-air environments with comfortable seating (*The Laura Standard*, 20 August 1908:3; *The Register*, 31 August 1908:9). Understandably, most of the first cinemas established after 1908 were located in the CBD – the centre for commercial activity and leisure – as well as highly populated suburbs, such as Port Adelaide and Unley.

Cinema Name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened
West's Olympia	91 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1908
Empire Theatre	61 Grote Street	Adelaide	City	1910
Port Adelaide Empire	78 St Vincent Street	Port Adelaide	Suburban	1910
Arcadia Picture Palace	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1910
The Pavilion Theatre	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1912
Central Picture Theatre	70 Wakefield Street	Adelaide	City	1912
Port Adelaide Ozone	186 St Vincent Street	Port Adelaide	Suburban	1913
Adelaide Wondergraph	27 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1913
Adelaide Star Theatre	104 King William Street	Adelaide	City	1913
Unley Sturt	100 Maud Street	Unley	Suburban	1914
Hindmarsh Star	210 Port Road	Hindmarsh	Suburban	1916
Torrensville Star	107 Henley Beach Road	Torrensville	Suburban	1916
Anzac Picture Theatre	Payneham Road	St Peters	Suburban	1916
Adelaide Grand	23 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1916
Glenelg Theatre	17 Colley Terrace	Glenelg	Suburban	1917
Unley Palace Picture Theatre	Cnr Arthur Street and Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1917

Table 2.1. Cinemas built between 1908-1920.

The sheer size of many cinemas distinguished them from surrounding buildings. The earliest permanent movie theatres (West's Olympia, the Arcadia Picture Palace, the Port Adelaide

Empire, and the Central Picture Theatre) based on available descriptions in newspapers, more closely resembled large halls in their internal layout. All seats were located on the ground floor, which often sloped downward (from the back to the screen) so all patrons would ideally have an uninterrupted view. Proprietors such as T.J. West, who opened the first permanent venue in Adelaide, divided these seats into sections which closely resembled layouts in other exhibition spaces and theatres. The price of the seat was dependent on its location: seats at the front and in the wings were the cheapest, the middle half of the floor was dearer, the back portion of the floor was even dearer, and the dearest seats were located in the dress circle. This was supposedly 'the latest in Continental custom' (*The Advertiser*, 3 September 1909:8), and continues in live theatres, but not in cinemas today. The early dress circle, however, was not a dress circle in the strictest sense, because it was not on a separate level from the stalls. Instead it was simply located in the extreme rear of the auditorium on a raised platform. Regardless, these raised seats were advertised as the dress circle and were treated as an equivalent in terms of price. The Pavilion Theatre ('The Pav'), built in 1912, appears to be the first movie theatre to have an official dress circle which was accessible from a staircase in the vestibule (*The Advertiser*, 21 June 1912:12). The following year, the Adelaide Wondergraph theatre was described to have a 'solidly gilded' proscenium which was a 'handsome feature' (*The Advertiser*, 5 September 1913:5).

Efforts to advertise the elaboration and decoration of cinema buildings became more apparent in the 1910s. Before this, descriptions of movie theatres were limited in detail despite the growing popularity of the moving pictures. The Arcadia Picture Palace in 1910, the second permanent cinema in Adelaide, was described as having a beautiful vestibule which was 'constructed upon the principle of the elite theatres in London and on the Continent' (*Daily*

Herald, 25 June 1910:189). Several newspapers have at different times written about its popularity, but it was demolished in 1911, only a few months after its opening.

There was no set style that cinema architects followed. Decoration and style were instead dictated by the latest 'up to date' style and architectural movements of the time, perhaps the most notable being the Art Deco movement in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1910s when cinemas were beginning to establish themselves as entertainment venues, there does not appear to be any uniformity in design. The façade and its decorative features appears to be heavily emphasised, based on available photographs and newspaper articles. The Pav in particular was one of the most elaborate of its time, even by current standards, and made liberal use of plaster to recreate Doric style pilasters, large angelic figures on each side of the buildings, and floral festoons on the frieze (see Figure 2.1). In comparison, little is known of the inside of these buildings.

Figure 2.1. The Pavilion Theatre façade (The Pav), built in 1912; photo taken c.1920 by unknown. Courtesy of David Tuckwell (All About South Australia, flickr).

2.3 Cinema boom (1920-1930)

Adelaide experienced a boom in cinema construction in the 1920s. From 1910-1920, cinemas were located in some of the most populated suburbs within the metropolitan Adelaide boundary (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3), such as Port Adelaide, Unley, Hindmarsh, and Thebarton. This is based on the figures available from the 1921 census (Wickens 1921:920-929), which was the earliest available document that specified numbers for South Australian local government areas. The suburban circuit eventually moved towards the east of the city in the more affluent Norwood/Kensington area by the 1920s.

Cinema name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened
Semaphore Wondergraph	65 Semaphore Road	Semaphore	Suburban	1920
Goodwood Wondergraph	147 Goodwood Road	Goodwood	Suburban	1920
York Theatre	66 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1921
Kent Picture Theatre	Stanley Street	North Adelaide	City	1921
Austral Picture Palace	Kilkenny Road?	Kilkenny	Suburban	1922
Palais Theatre	112 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1922
Melba Dulwich	20 Stuart Road	Dulwich	Suburban	1923
Prospect Ozone	85 Prospect Road	Prospect	Suburban	1923
Croydon Picture Theatre	South Road	Croydon	Suburban	1923
Parkside Star	61 Glen Osmond Road	Eastwood	Suburban	1923
Norwood Star	Cnr Queen Street and The Parade	Norwood	Suburban	1923
Alberton Ozone	33 Fussell Place	Alberton	Suburban	1924
Princess Theatre	275 Kensington Road	Marryatville	Suburban	1925
Seacliff Windsor	35 Wheatland Street	Seacliff	Suburban	1925
Brighton Windsor	1 Commercial Road	Brighton	Suburban	1925
St Peters Capitol	32 Payneham Road	St Peters	Suburban	1925
Enfield Ozone	189 Main North Road	Enfield	Suburban	1926
Kilkenny Odeon Star	58 David Terrace	Kilkenny	Suburban	1926
Strand Theatre	112 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1927
Woodville Star	72 Woodville Road	Woodville	Suburban	1927
Garden Theatre	501 Goodwood Road	Colonel Light Gardens	Suburban	1927
Regent Theatre	101-107 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1928
New Unley Star	204 Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1928
Australia	65 Angas Street	Adelaide	City	1929
Semaphore Ozone	2 Semaphore Road	Semaphore	Suburban	1929

Table 2.2. Cinemas built between 1920-1930.

Suburb	Male	Female	Total
Adelaide	18,751	20,801	39,552
Unley	15,417	18,676	34,093
Port Adelaide	14,713	15,388	30,101
Burnside	7,604	8,804	16,408
Kensington/Norwood	6,929	8,071	15,000
Thebarton	6,788	7,243	14,031
Prospect	5,965	6,892	12,857
Woodville	6,237	6,482	12,719
Hindmarsh	6,141	6,313	12,454
St Peters	5,124	5,974	11,098
Mitcham	4,310	4,878	9,188
Torrens West	4,267	4,318	8,585
Glenelg	3,521	4,473	7,994
Payneham	2,320	2,608	4,928
Walkerville	1,792	2,431	4,223
Henley/Grange	1,706	2,275	3,981
Marion	1,542	1,550	3,092
Campbelltown	1,498	1,471	2,969
Brighton	1,335	1,503	2,838
Torrens East	1,311	938	2,249

Table 2.3. Top 20 most populated local government areas within Metropolitan Adelaide (from most to least populated), based on 1921 figures (Wickens 1921:920-929). Areas in bold encompass one or more of the suburbs listed in Table 2.2.

2.4 The rise of suburban cinemas (1931-1940)

As films became increasingly popular, proprietors eventually turned their attentions to developing areas in the 1930s, such as Everard Park, where the Roxy Theatre was built in 1937. The proprietors of the Roxy, in fact, stated that 'the site on Anzac Highway was selected because it is the centre of a rapidly expanding district' (*The Mail*, 2 October 1937:10).

Cinema construction slowed in the 1930s as most populated areas had at least one local cinema. Renovation and upgrade efforts constituted one-fifth of the establishment count by this time, such as those conducted on the Semaphore Ozone, the Rex (originally The Pav), the Seaview Theatre (originally the Glenelg Theatre), and the State Theatre (constructed on the site of West's Olympia). Five cinemas were specially constructed in suburbs that did not previously

have one: The Roxy (1937), the Hilton Lyric (1937), the Lockleys Windsor (1937), the Parkside Windsor (1937), and the Vogue Kingswood (1939). Five were established in areas that already had cinemas: St Morris Windsor (1931), the Times Theatrette (1932), the Parkside Windsor (1937), the Glenelg Ozone (1937), and the Metro Theatre (1939).

Cinema name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened
St Morris Windsor	407 Magill Road	St Morris	Suburban	1931
Times Theatrette	Cnr King William Street and Grenfell Street	Adelaide	City	1932
Rex Theatre	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1933
Seaview Theatre	17 Colley Terrace	Glenelg	Suburban	1936
Hilton Lyric	145 Sir Donald Bradman Drive	Hilton	Suburban	1937
Roxy Everard Park	98 Anzac Highway	Everard Park	Suburban	1937
Glenelg Ozone	119 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1937
Parkside Windsor	96 Glen Osmond Road	Eastwood	Suburban	1937
Lockleys Windsor	362 Henley Beach Road	Lockleys	Suburban	1937
State Theatre	91 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1938
Vogue Kingswood	25 Belair Road	Kingswood	Suburban	1939
Metro Theatre	88 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1939

Table 2.4. Cinemas built between 1930-1940.

2.5 The beginning of the decline (1941-1950)

Cinema construction gradually steadily declined towards the 1950s. There were no significant closures until the beginning of the 1960s, during which time television had become commercially available to the public. Demolition reached its peak in the 1960s as well, with four cinemas destroyed at this time. Demolition otherwise did not occur frequently, illustrated by the low numbers of demolished venues in decades before and after the 1960s (see Figure 2.2).

Cinema name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened
Piccadilly	181 O'Connell Street	North Adelaide	Suburban	1940
Unley Ozone	Cnr Arthur Street and Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1940
Hackney Star	23 Hackney Road	Hackney	Suburban	1940
Savoy News Theatre	43-45 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1941
Marryatville Ozone	275 Kensington Road	Marryatville	Suburban	1941
Goodwood Star	141 Goodwood Road	Goodwood	Suburban	1941
Liberty Theatre	124 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1942
Walkerville Star	62 Walkerville Terrace	Walkerville	Suburban	1949

Table 2.5. Cinemas built between 1940-1950.

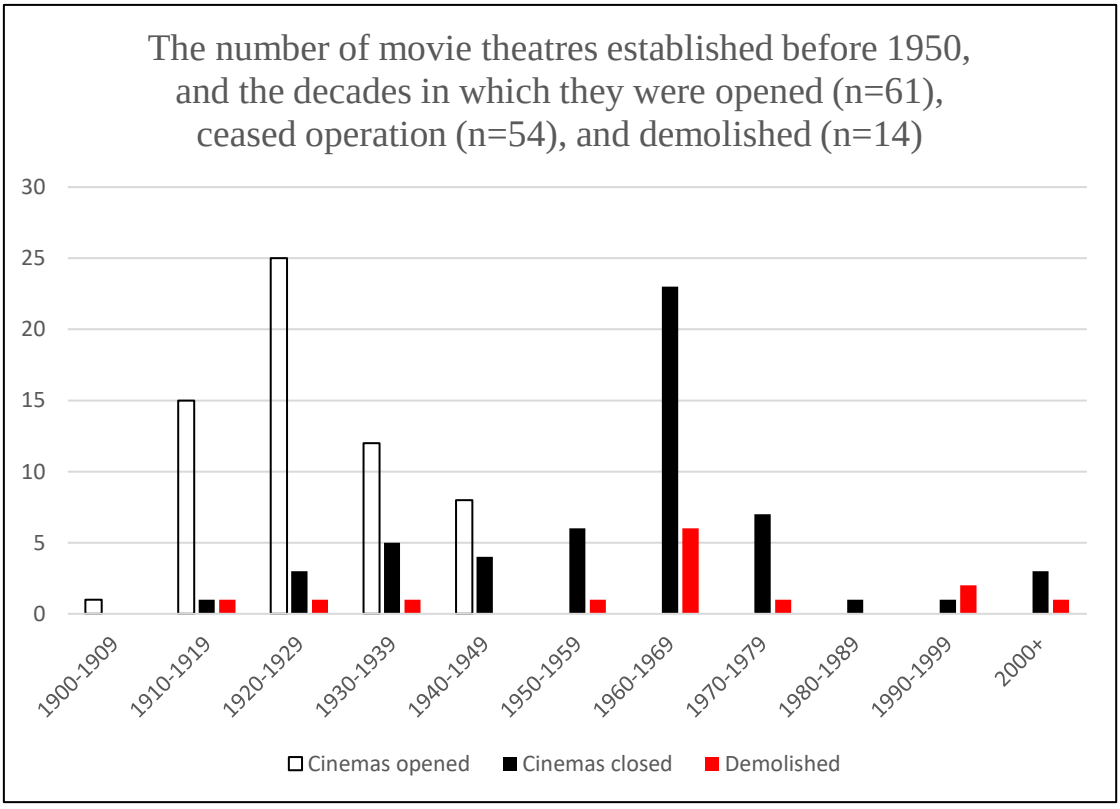

Figure 2.2. Numbers of cinemas and the decades of their establishment, closure and demolition.

2.6 Discussion

This chapter has outlined major phases in the history of cinemas in Adelaide. The phases outlined were: the initial period of cinema construction, a construction boom in the 1920s, the spread of theatres to suburban areas in the late 1920s and 1930s, and a decline in cinema in the

1940s, including the demolition of some cinemas. As shown in Figure 2.2, this process accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s with the introduction of television. Renovations were conducted on many operational cinemas, some more extensively than others. Over half of Adelaide's historic cinema buildings remain standing, but the majority have been subjected to so extensive remodelling efforts that many features have been removed or destroyed. Figures 2.3 and 2.4 depict the location of cinemas that were built within the study period, 1908 to 1949, in relation to their current operational status. The following chapter presents the theoretical background used in this research to analyse this history of cinemas in Adelaide.

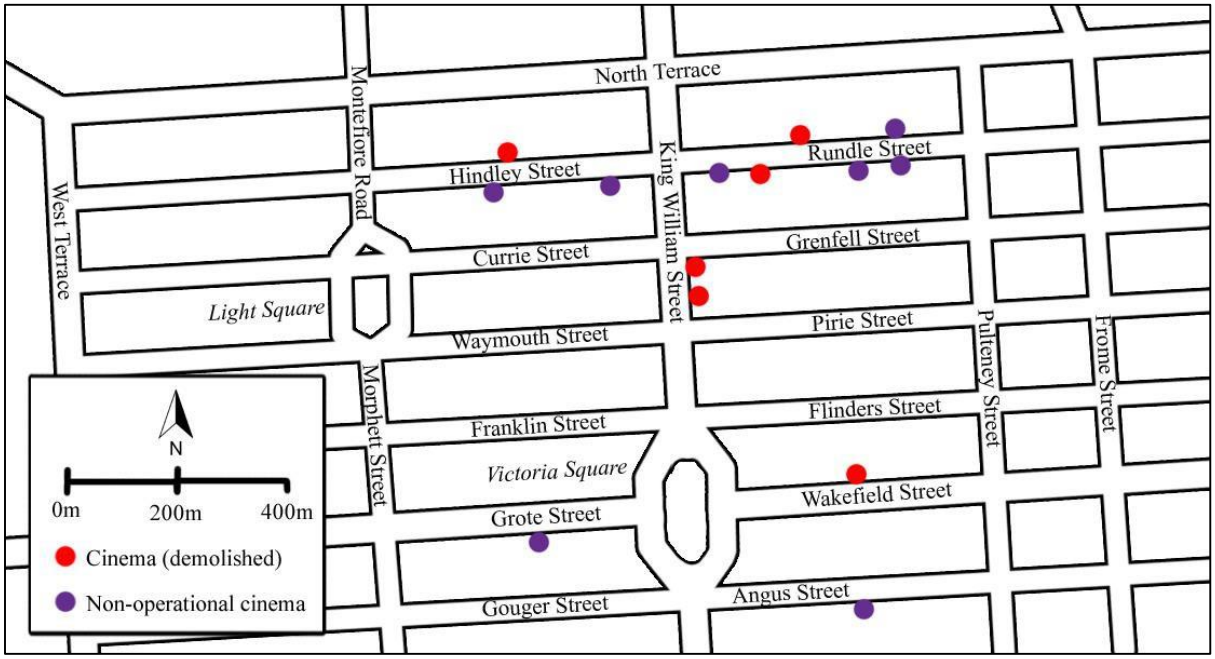

Figure 2.3. Location of identified cinemas within the CBD and the current status of these sites.

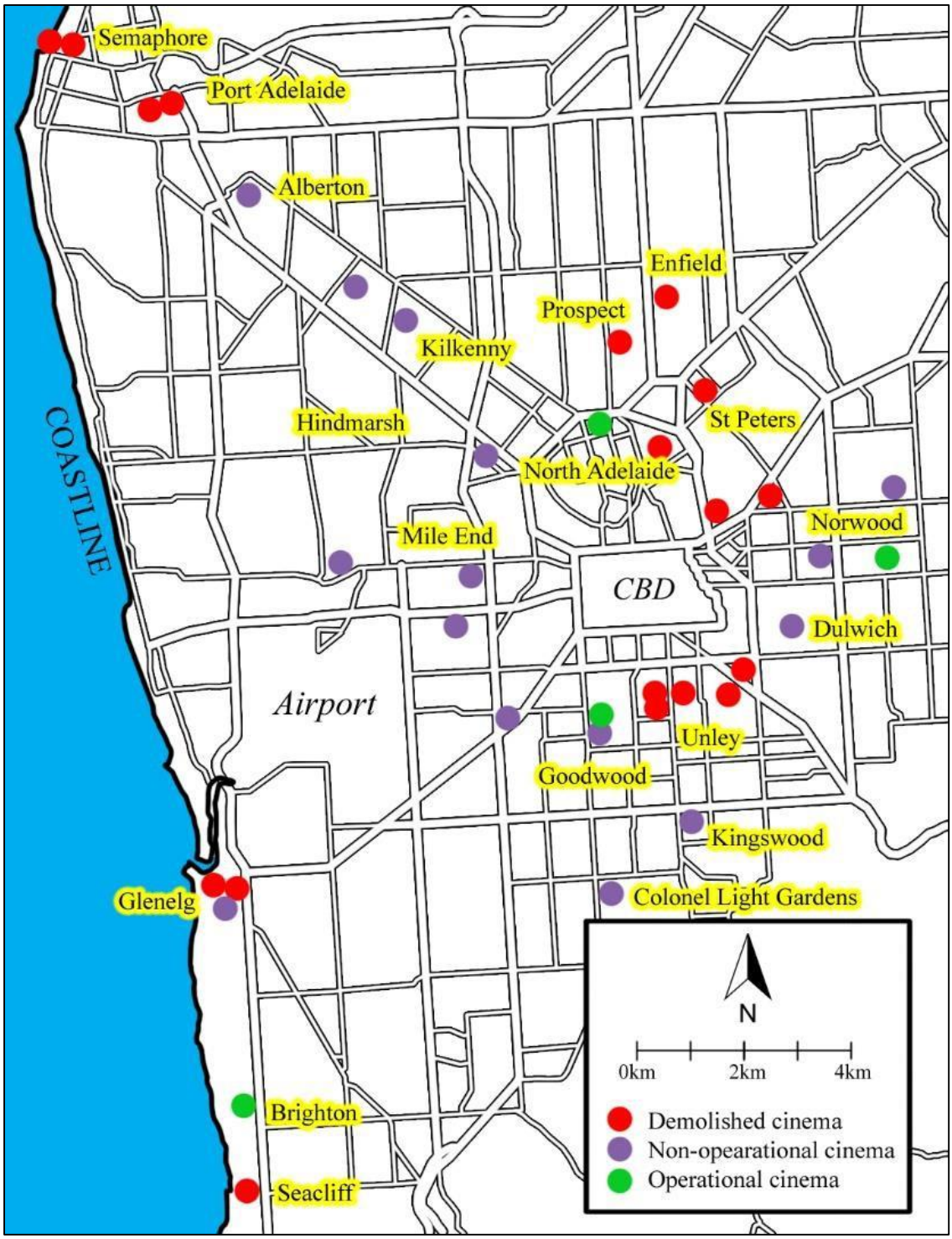

Figure 2.4. Extent of cinema construction within the Adelaide metropolitan boundary. CBD based cinemas are not shown and are instead shown in figure 2.3.

Chapter 3 : Literature Review

An initial issue in this research was finding relevant background information on the perceptions and attitudes of patrons about early cinema in an Australian context. Many cinema-related studies and publications tend to discuss films, film history, cinema architecture, and their subsequent developments into the present day, with little relevance or mention of class or cinema attendance. The relevance to class is often limited to broad statements claiming that cinema was a popular medium, particularly amongst the working classes in its early stages as an industry (Allen 1979; King 2005; Richardson 2005). Others, however, have claimed that during the early stages of motion picture exhibition, motion pictures were found to be popular amongst the working, middle, and even wealthy classes (Burrows 2010). The eventual shift to larger permanent venues would lead to the construction and modification of cinemas, which were often hailed as some of the most exemplary architectural marvels of the time (Kaberry and Chard 1936:150).

Cinema's appeal to the working classes is understandable. One of the most appealing aspects of going to the cinema was the cheapness and accessibility of shows, which provided a form of entertainment that the working classes could afford. Dress codes and standards also did not restrict patrons from entering, and the buildings themselves offered shelter from the weather (Richardson 2005:148-149). There is, however, greater contention surrounding the development of cinema and its relationship to class, particularly the extent to which the middle class influenced the development of the cinema industry. Two major and conflicting hypotheses about the classed nature of cinema have been identified, which will be tested in this study: the embourgeoisement and the revisionist theories.

3.1 The embourgeoisement theory

The embourgeoisement of cinema has been the generally accepted theory by film historians in relation to the development of cinema as an entertainment medium, and continues to be a dominant view. It argues that early cinema began primarily as a form of entertainment for the working classes and developed to better satisfy a middle class audience and their expectations through physical changes to the building (elaboration and decoration), the length and content of film (viewing content), and the inclusion and formalisation of additional services to complement viewing pleasure (amenities) (Thissen 2012:49-50). Early cinema was considered popular among the working classes. Consequently, early movie houses were perceived to reflect the standards and qualities imposed on the working classes; i.e. unrefined, crowded and unattractive. Nickelodeon theatres, for example, came to epitomise the perceptions of early cinema venues as often overcrowded, 'small, dark, smelly, ghetto storefront[s]' (Thissen 2012:47). Nickelodeons were small, makeshift moving picture venues, 'usually a converted cigar store, pawnshop, restaurant, or skating rink made over to look like a vaudeville theatre' (Gomery 1992:18). In Australia, according to the literature, early cinema venues appear to have been large, but were also cheap warehouses or sheds made of tin and brick (Collins 1987:109; Collyer 1974:4; Kaberry and Chard 1936:150). Members of the middle classes tended to snub the idea of moving pictures as cheap entertainment and avoided the cinema (Allen 1979:2), at least until after WWI (Singer 1995:9). In the following decades cinema proprietors turned towards a more genteel audience – one whose behaviours were more socially acceptable, had good reputations, and who could afford higher admission prices – and in turn, changed their methods to appeal to the middle class through a number of methods, including applying decoration and elaboration of buildings (Richardson 2005:150). Essentially, the embourgeoisement theory argues that cinema audiences gradually shifted from a working class to a middle class majority as a consequence of greater desires for greater

profits and prestige by cinema proprietors; independent of direct interference by members of the middle class themselves.

3.2 The revisionist theory

Merritt's (1975) study on Boston nickelodeons built in the 'nickelodeon era' (between 1905-1914) found that nickelodeons were located in busy commercial thoroughfares, and proprietors aimed to attract middle class patrons. Allen's (1989) study on cinema locations in Manhattan, New York also found that early audiences did not exclusively consist of the poor or immigrants (who were often made synonymous with poverty), and in fact, only one third of nickelodeon cinemas in Manhattan were found in working class areas between 1906-1912. Further, within an Australian context, Collins (1987:19) raises a point by asking, "how many working-class men or women in, say, 1909 could (or would) have paid three shillings and sixpence to take an average family of five to an evening at West's theatres?". By the late 1970s, scholars of cinema history questioned the validity and applicability of the embourgeoisement theory for understanding the history of the cinema audience. They found that secondary sources painted an inadequate picture of cinema history and tended to overlook complex historical issues (Allen 1989:13). They considered other sources that had not been previously considered in research, including maps and reports. Breakaway studies from the embourgeoisement theory led to a new approach, better known as the 'revisionist' theory. Embourgeoisement theorists and revisionist theorists both maintain that moving pictures were popular among the working classes, but revisionists argue that the middle class sought to appropriate and control the industry before it reached peak popularity with all classes (Thissen 2012:45) around the mid-1920s, which marked the rise of the extremely lavish picture palaces (Thorne 1976:21). That is to say, there was no particular class

majority in early audiences, but the middle classes and their ideals influenced the development of the cinema from its beginnings.

3.3 Applying an economic perspective

Both these approaches suggest that class construction has had an influence on the cinema industry. An issue with both of these approaches is that there is no clear explanation of what is meant by 'class'. With constant, or at least frequent, reference to the financial aspects of the cinema business (namely admission prices), the term 'class' could be used in reference to personal income and wages. At the same time, however, class becomes a subject of status and perception as the physical layouts and decorations changed and the buildings were modified. As Singer (1995:12) points out in his critique of Allen, there is a risk of inaccurately describing or classifying an area's class composition based solely on anecdotal references, even by those who had made personal observations. Anecdotal and written sources constitute a large proportion of Allen's work, as well as other social and film historians, and will appear in this study as well. Anecdotal and written sources are useful in their own right in providing insight into the past through language to see the class connotations they make towards people, places and things.

To complement this, an analysis into cinema construction budget and ticket affordability will be applied to better define what is meant by class by these two opposing theories. Cinema is an undeniable part of the entertainment business, providing its patrons with moving pictures as the entertainment medium; thus, this study does not seek to challenge this argument, and acknowledges that the goal of any capitalist business is to profit from the goods and services they provide to their consumers. Considering cinema as a business, a logical assumption is

that financial limitations and economics will have an impact on its development; thus, it would be reasonable to apply an economic approach in analysing the data.

Hiley (2002) underlines the implications in using the term 'cinema boom' in relation to the large numbers of cinemas that were constructed within a small timeframe within Australia and worldwide, and persuasively argues that cinemas and the moving picture industry were built on shaky financial foundations. Early owners initially relied on their own money to fund their businesses, then looked to business partners who saw the motion picture industry as a 'quick and easy' method to gain a profitable return on their investments (Hiley 2002:116-117). Ultimately the large numbers of purpose-built permanent cinema venues in the UK during the early 1910s were constructed as a result of speculative investor demand for profits rather than a demand from audiences seeking entertainment (Hiley 2002:117).

In another instance in the UK, permanent cinema structures in the late 1910s appealed to the working classes due to their low admission prices. Burrows (2010), however, has argued that some UK cinema showmen, such as T.J. West, aimed his semi-permanent shows towards the wealthy classes. His relatively expensive admission prices deterred the working classes, who could not afford them. These prices were up to eight times more expensive than the standard threepence (3d) at the time (Burrows 2010:356). West believed that cheap admission prices lowered the character of entertainment, and equated them with the tastes of the working classes. He managed to maintain his own admission prices until 1913, when he finally reduced them to the standard in order to compete with the cheaper, permanent cinema venues that had begun to appear (Burrows 2010:358). Collins (1987:21) presents a similar finding following West's shift to the Australian market: she states that the prices he charged for attendance implied a preference for middle class clientele.

3.4 Architectural developments

Along with Allen (1979), Gomery (1992), and Merritt (1976), studies by Herzog have suggested that there is interpretative potential in studying cinema architecture and the implications of class construction. Herzog's article (1981) on American movie palaces and the history of their architectural style summarises the origins of American picture palaces in the 1920s, which grew to epitomise the grandeur and luxuriousness of popular historic cinemas. She argues that the decoration and architecture from picture palaces can be traced back to the 'primitive' exhibition spaces that preceded their larger descendants, including vaudeville theatres, nickelodeons, penny arcades, and travelling shows.

While most of these early venues appear to be targeted towards working class audiences, vaudeville theatres were considered a more 'dignified' form of entertainment, particularly the big-time vaudeville theatres that appealed to the middle classes. Employing a range of performance styles and content, rather than focussing on a single style, vaudeville is a form of 'variety entertainment'. Indeed, vaudeville emerged from earlier forms of variety entertainment, but developed into a more 'respectable' form of entertainment

Allen (1979:10) agrees that vaudeville performances were popular among the middle class; therefore, was a form of middle class entertainment. He argues that the integration of vaudeville acts into motion picture exhibition was a strategy to extend exhibition hours, but also attracted middle class audiences to cinema venues (Allen 1979:10). Vaudeville theatres in America had elaborately decorated interiors and exteriors, with architectural styles that gave way to what was seen later in movie palaces (Herzog 1981:22). Other movie venues, however, have been considered to appeal towards the working classes, and utilised targeted

forms of advertising and appeal, including posters, barkers (people who call out to passers-by of a show, highlighting main attractions), and light displays – both often used in combination. Herzog further argues that movie palaces in the US by the 1920s had adopted an architectural style and approach that combined the styles of these early movie venues; a mix of elegance from vaudeville theatres, and the more explicit displays from early cinema venues (Hiley 2002:118) to create what Herzog calls 'pseudo-elegance'. Her findings, interestingly, appear to complement the observations of Kenworthy (1933), who criticised the elaborate character of both theatre and cinema architecture in Australia, and argued that the desire for large numbers impacted upon the comfort for both audience and actors. Kenworthy believed in simplicity, and argued that the lack of appreciation for it was a result of poor education, which was shared by the majority of theatre-goers (Kenworthy 1933:242).

Chapter 4 : Methodology

This study focusses only on permanent cinema venues which encompass purpose-built cinema buildings, and buildings which were intentionally converted into a cinema before 1950, when a new era of film-watching emerged through the use of drive-in cinemas (SA Memory 2007; Simpson 2016) and with the introduction of television (Australian Government 2007; TelevisionAU n.d.). Town halls or other halls, institute buildings, and non-cinema theatres were not included unless they had been purposely converted to permanently house moving pictures. While a range of different venues showed films before the first permanent purpose-built cinemas, they were simply convenient spaces, and therefore do not necessarily or accurately reflect the intentions of the cinema proprietors in attracting a particular audience. Open-air cinemas are examined here briefly, but were not included in the data as they were not permanent structures. In line with the economic orientation of this thesis, it was assumed that the features of the building were determined by the owner's perceptions of audience tastes and what would attract an audience.

4.1 The study area: Metropolitan Adelaide

While cinemas existed in both urban and rural South Australia, this study is confined to those located in the metropolitan area. This sample was sufficient to address the aims of this thesis to determine the influence of social class on the development of cinema. Normally, in rural areas there was one cinema for the entire population of the town (Aveyard 2011:294), and this sample size was not conducive to the study of classed use of cinemas in terms of economic areas. Other aspects of rural cinemas have been studied by Bowles (2007, 2009), Walker (2007) and Aveyard (2011).

The boundaries of what constitutes ‘metropolitan’ Adelaide in this study are defined by the 1880 boundaries identified by the Department of Planning and Local Government (2009). The boundary encompasses Semaphore to the north, Seacliff to the south, Norwood to the east, and Glenelg to the west.

Figure 4.1. Adelaide metropolitan boundary in the 1920s. Image courtesy of the Department of Planning and Local Government.

Date range

The date range for recording was restricted to cinemas built between 1908 and 1949. The starting date of 1908 marked the construction of the first purpose-built cinema in Adelaide; while the 1949 marks the final year purpose-built cinemas were constructed before drive-in cinemas began to arise.

4.2 The five-point strategy of mass entertainment

In terms of recording this thesis adapted the five-point strategy of mass entertainment developed by theatre company, Balaban and Katz, in 1926. The adaption of this strategy was used to determine the main sets of variables (six in total with the addition of affordability) that were recorded for each cinema. This strategy was appropriate for this research because it was developed during the period that the cinemas under study were constructed; therefore, it provided insights into successful and publicised business strategies for mass entertainment during this period. In addition, this study identified a gap in Balaban and Katz's business strategy, and developed a model that filled this gap.

Balaban and Katz, originally a Chicago company, was known as one of the most successful theatre chain companies in America, and established the standards for running a national theatre chain. Gomery (1992:40) states that by 1924 the company was not only the most profitable of the all chains in America, but their strategy in attracting cinema patrons had also been adopted by other chains. Balaban and Katz identified the limitations of films alone in attracting audiences to theatres and enhanced the movie-going experience in various ways. Balaban and Katz (1926) argued in the early days of cinema that the exhibition space could complement and potentially enhance the experience of the audience (Gomery 1992:43). Their strategy employed five important factors which constituted their success which Gomery (1992:54) has termed 'the five-point strategy of mass entertainment'. These five factors are condensed into their key terms: location, building, service, programming, and air conditioning (or ventilation).

By the time Balaban and Katz developed the five-point strategy the nickelodeon era had come to an end and movie proprietors were already running successful and elaborate movie

palaces that attracted a middle class audience. Previous cinema proprietors had already identified the advantages of strategic placement of their business, elaboration and decoration, and extra services in attracting potential customers and retaining their current clientele, most notably Samuel 'Roxy' Rothapfel (Thorne 2006:71). Rothapfel is credited as a pioneer in picture theatre presentation, and tried different ideas to attract audiences, from using different coloured lights to employing ushers (Thorne 2006:71-72). The significance of Balaban and Katz's approach, however, is its succinct and structured outline for attracting greater numbers of patrons, particularly the middle classes. In addition, it is a culmination of ideas employed by other cinema businesspeople and reinforces the success and importance of these ideas by continuing their application. Subsequently, the five-point model was enhanced by a sixth factor in order to undertake this study. This six-point model is described in figure 4.2.

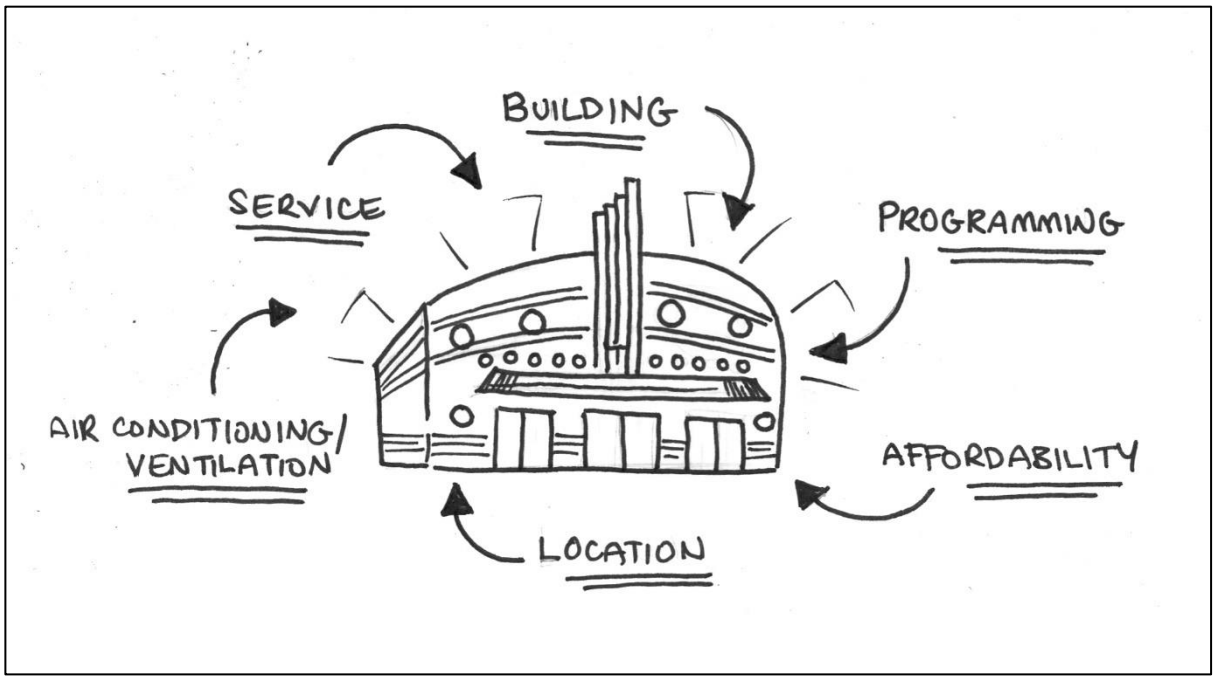

Figure 4.2. Six points (location, building, service, programming, air conditioning/ventilation, affordability) that were identified as key in running a successful cinema business. This business strategy was developed to include ticket affordability as part of a six-point model that was used to assess approaches in appealing to audiences. Image by author.

4.3 Physical recording of cinema buildings: exteriors

Three facets of Balaban and Katz' strategy refer to the physical aspects of a building that could be recorded through a standard archaeological standing structure recording. First, **location** refers to the often strategic placement of the cinema to help maximise visibility and therefore attendance of potential patrons. Unsurprisingly, many were built in entertainment districts and busy thoroughfares. Detailed addresses (street number, street name, and suburb) were obtained for all but four suburban cinemas. Street names were either found, or deduced based on available descriptions in relation to other buildings, and from the general shape and appearance of extant buildings. For the four cinemas mentioned, no street number could be given to these addresses, but street names and suburb could be found. One of these, originally situated in St Peters (the Anzac Picture Theatre), was destroyed by fire in 1920, and it is very likely that the remaining three have since been demolished or destroyed as well.

Location was recorded in terms of electoral division, the availability of public transport and whether the cinema was located on a main road, subsidiary road or corner. Main roads and subsidiary roads were defined according to the guidelines prepared by the Local Roads Advisory Committee for the Determination of Road Classification in South Australia (2008:8-9). The definition of main roads (or arterial roads) can be simplified as having 'a main function of forming the principal avenue of connection for large traffic movements, and distribute traffic to local street systems' (Local Roads Advisory Committee for the Determination of Road Classification in South Australia 2008:8). The definition of subsidiary roads (or local roads) can be simplified as having a main function of providing 'access to abutting property or access to a local area (ie, not through traffic)', and may be built to a lower standard as they cater for lower traffic movements (Local Roads Advisory Committee for the Determination of Road Classification in South Australia 2008:9).

Second, **building** refers to the form, style and appearance of the building itself. Herzog (1981) argues that cinema architecture adopted features of vaudeville theatre, a medium that tended to attract middle class audiences. Studies on cinema architecture have highlighted the ability of the design to surround the cinema audience with beauty, as well as immerse them in the atmosphere – these were considered part of the 'psychology of cinema architecture' (Thorne 2006:69). The external elements of each building were recorded via a recording form (see Appendix 1) divided into specific subsections relating to different features of the building, such as size, material and architectural style.

Size was recorded in terms of surface area, storeys and seating capacity. Material was recorded in terms of the construction materials as well as the actual cost of construction or refurbishment/modifications. Style was recorded in terms of overarching stylistic categories (e.g. Art Deco, Neo-classical, etc.), colour scheme and decorations. Where possible, both interior and exterior features were recorded (see section 4.2 for details on recording interior features).

Third, **air conditioning** proved to be a huge advantage when introduced to the theatre especially on hot days. Prior to air conditioning, however, ventilation systems were often included in the design of theatres and their effectiveness complimented in several newspaper articles for different cinema buildings around Adelaide. Consequently, ventilation has been coupled with air conditioning for this thesis as an aspects of cinema interiors. These were recorded in terms of their presence or absence.

4.4 Physical recording of cinema buildings: Interiors

Where possible the internal structure of cinemas was also recorded. This included features such as seating arrangements, decorations, and any modifications made in the building. These features are not always obvious, or are completely invisible from the outside. Internal features were also recorded to gain a more holistic idea of decoration and style of the individual buildings.

Unfortunately, the majority of non-operational cinemas could not be physically recorded on site due to at least one of a number of reasons: 1) extensive remodelling resulted in the removal of interior or exterior features; 2) extensive damage sustained by buildings (in most cases due to fire); 3) access was not granted to record interior features; and 4) access was not physically possible to record interior features. Partial access was possible at some former cinemas. In these cases, only some areas were closed, blocked or restricted by the owner. Areas that were accessible were the foyer, the former seating hall and, sometimes, ceiling areas. Full access to internal structures was possible at five historic cinemas.

In cases where internal access was restricted, archival research, which was conducted for all cinemas, became the sole source of data collection. In cases where the venue has been heavily modified ('gutted'), or completely demolished, photographs, newspapers, and archival materials were used to aid in recording. It may appear unnecessary to physically record extant cinemas considering the number of historic resources available on several buildings; however, while photographs, newspaper articles, oral histories, internet resources, heritage reports, and other resources have provided valuable information on the cinemas, they were not without their limitations. Photographs have been particularly useful as a comparative resource for past and present-day architecture, detailing, and modifications but are not always

readily available, do not exist, or have been destroyed. The availability of written records can also be limited. Some cinemas may have been better recorded than others, such as the Piccadilly and the Capri theatres (which are heritage listed buildings), so data is not always available for some buildings.

For both interiors and exteriors current and extant features of the building were recorded, and notes taken on any obvious or possible modifications made to the building. These observations were then cross-referenced with historical resources (newspaper articles, photographs, etc.) to confirm, or dismiss these observations. Modifications were classified under four different categories: repairs, renovations, restoration efforts, and remodelling. **Repairs** are modifications that attempt to fix any damages that have affected the buildings or its features. These damages are not intentionally made and may be a result of deterioration. **Renovations** can include the addition of features to, and removals from the original design of the building, but these changes do not alter the original function of the building as a cinema. **Restoration efforts** have been made to several cinema buildings in order to revive or maintain decorative features of the original design, but do not necessarily attempt to restore the cinema to its original working state if the building is not operational as a cinema at present. These efforts aim to restore features which were removed or damaged as a result of renovations or remodelling works conducted (that is, purposefully made) on the building previously, thus distinguishing restorations from repairs. **Remodelling** refers to an overall change in layout seen primarily in buildings which have been converted for a different purpose, and can include the removal of features.

4.5 Recording other aspects of cinema buildings

Two other elements of Balaban and Katz' service model refer to contextual details of how cinemas operated and what they offered patrons: service and programming. Affordability was added to the model to account for the financial aspect of the cinema. S**ervice** relates to the services and amenities that were offered to patrons. Today there continues a tradition of well-dressed ushers and usherettes leading patrons to their seats while reprimanding the loud and unruly ones – ushering, for example, counts as a service. Others include access to candy bars, toilets and crying rooms (a place to take babies and children for privacy or to reduce disturbance to others).

Programming relates to the entertainment mediums exhibited in the cinema. This term actually replaces the original term 'stage shows' that Gomery uses. In a successful attempt to draw middle class audiences, cinema proprietors drew on vaudeville theatre as inspiration and included live stage shows in their programs to accompany the film (Gomery 1992:50-53; Merritt 1976:61). To focus solely on stage shows, however, is to exclude other forms of live entertainment, including musicals, sing-alongs, and illustrated lectures (Klenotic 1998:468; Merritt 1976:61) which were also offered and attracted people to the cinema.

Affordability refers to the cost of tickets in relation to the average income of various social groups. One of the major attractions of the cinema was the affordability of tickets. Burrows (2010:356) and Collins (1987:21) argued that some early cinema proprietors adjusted ticket prices to suit their target demographic, while deterring others who could not afford them. This, then, is an important addition when considering class within the context of running a business.

Service, programming and affordability were all recorded from historical and other archival data, sourced from Trove, the Architecture Museum at the University of South Australia, and the State Library of South Australia. The recording form (Appendix 1) contained a section for documenting rooms and services provided, programming, and ticket prices as part of the building interior.

4.6 Ethics

The majority of extant cinema buildings are currently in use by a variety of businesses, therefore a letter of introduction was prepared for each business which stated the purpose of this research and current contact details if more information was required, or for future enquiries. Permission was always requested to record the building, both inside and outside. Prior to each visit, attempts were made to contact managers or owners via phone or email to: first, ask for permission to record the building; and second, to organise an appointment if necessary. Failing this, or if no current contact details were available, businesses were visited and access requested on-site. Upon meeting a manager or the owner of the building or business, the letter of introduction was offered, along with a brief explanation of the study. If and when permission was granted, *in situ* recording took place, taking special care in making observations and following the recording form. Photographs were taken of internal and external features using a Nikon Coolpix L120 camera.

4.7 Limitations

It was an aim of this study to record thoroughly as many of Adelaide's metropolitan historic cinemas as possible. Ideally, recording involved visiting and recording the external and internal features of the buildings *in situ*. However, there were a number of limitations.

While at least 32 of Adelaide's historic cinema buildings remain standing, only four remain operational as cinemas.

The major limitation of this research was that almost half of Adelaide's cinema buildings no longer exist due to demolition or destruction (usually by fire). Of those remaining, 10 were recorded in detail, two of which were based in the CBD. Three of the four operational cinemas were recorded.

Architectural descriptions from newspapers, photographs, personal reflections, etc. can potentially be inaccurate by inadequately illustrating architectural details that may be useful in this study. For example, newspaper articles detailing the decorations and features of cinemas may express some bias and exaggerate the aesthetic appeal of some designs or features over others. However, these descriptions and, indeed, personal reflections, are expressions of class and status differences and therefore of value to this thesis.

Descriptions of cinemas in the following newspapers were analysed as part of this study: *The Advertiser, The Register, The Mail, The Daily Herald,* and *The Laura Standard*. Information was recorded on descriptions of both the internal and external structure of buildings, construction costs, admission prices and any patrons that were identified. The level of detail in newspaper articles varied between different cinemas; some articles elaborated on the style and features of the inside and outside of the building, while others used vague and subjective descriptions, such as 'pretty' and 'cosy'. This information was incorporated into interpretations of the cinemas.

There were four cases in which two or more venues shared the same address, which was a result of one of two possibilities: 1) the original proprietors ceased operations and the venue reopened and was reused as a cinema at a later time, sometimes by another proprietor (for example, the Glenelg Theatre and the Seaview Theatre); and 2) the original proprietors ceased operations, the building was demolished, and a new cinema was constructed on the same site, sometimes under another proprietor (for example, the Arcadia Picture Palace and the Pavilion Theatre). In both cases, each cinema was treated as a separate entity.

Cases where venues sharing addresses were not considered separate entities included renovations and name changes. It was common for cinemas to change names as a consequence of changing ownership; therefore, these were not considered separate venues. In much the same way, venues that closed as a result of renovations and re-opened under a different name, were also not considered separate venues. These types of renovations were treated as temporary closures, as they were imposed on already-operational cinemas. Bearing this in mind, a total of 61 cinema venues were identified, with only four that were still in operation at the time of this study.

4.8 Discussion

This chapter details the methodology of this study in its interrogation of the embourgeoisement and revisionist theories on cinema development within the Adelaide metropolitan boundaries. In her study of gravestones as reflectors of ethnicity and status, Clark (1987) argues that the combination of both income and occupation provides a better indicator of class than income alone. She found income and occupation were strongly correlated, in that income increased as the occupational prestige increased, thus the combination of both factors would provide a more holistic indicator of class. Similarly, this study does not focus on a single element, but

applies a multifaceted approach to determining class and considers several factors. For example, cinema can refer to the individual building or the business; therefore, it is appropriate to consider the physical features, style, and ornamentation of the building, but also the financial factors of cinema as a business, such as admission prices, construction costs, and building location.

By adapting a model based on Balaban and Katz's (1926) five-point strategy of mass entertainment, this research adopts a multifaceted approach in determining class associations of Adelaide's historic cinemas. It considers the location, building, services, programming, ventilation, and a financial aspect of cinema buildings (including construction budgets and ticket affordability).

Chapter 5 : Results

Using a six-point business strategy (location, building, services, programming, airconditioning/ventilation and affordability) relating to the development of effective businesses, this research analyses the influence of social class on the development of cinemas in metropolitan Adelaide during the period 1908 to 1949. As discussed in section 1.4, class is defined as a discrete social or economic category. The particular aim of the thesis is to test the viability of two varying interpretations of social class and cinema, the embourgeoisement and the revisionist theories, within an historic Australian context. The former theory argues that the first cinemas were developed for working class people and only attracted middle class patronage during the 1920s, while the latter argues that the first cinemas were developed to attract all patrons, irrespective of economic class.

A total of 61 cinemas were identified as purpose-built cinemas, or buildings which were converted into cinemas. This includes four still functioning as cinemas, 27 extant buildings no longer functioning as cinemas and 30 destroyed buildings within the Adelaide metropolitan boundary. All of these were established between 1908 and 1949; three of the functioning cinemas, 24 extant buildings and 18 of those destroyed were located within suburban areas. Within the CBD boundaries, two cinemas were recorded in detail (see Figure 5.1), while 12 in the suburbs were recorded in detail (see Figure 5.2). Only features of extant buildings were recorded.

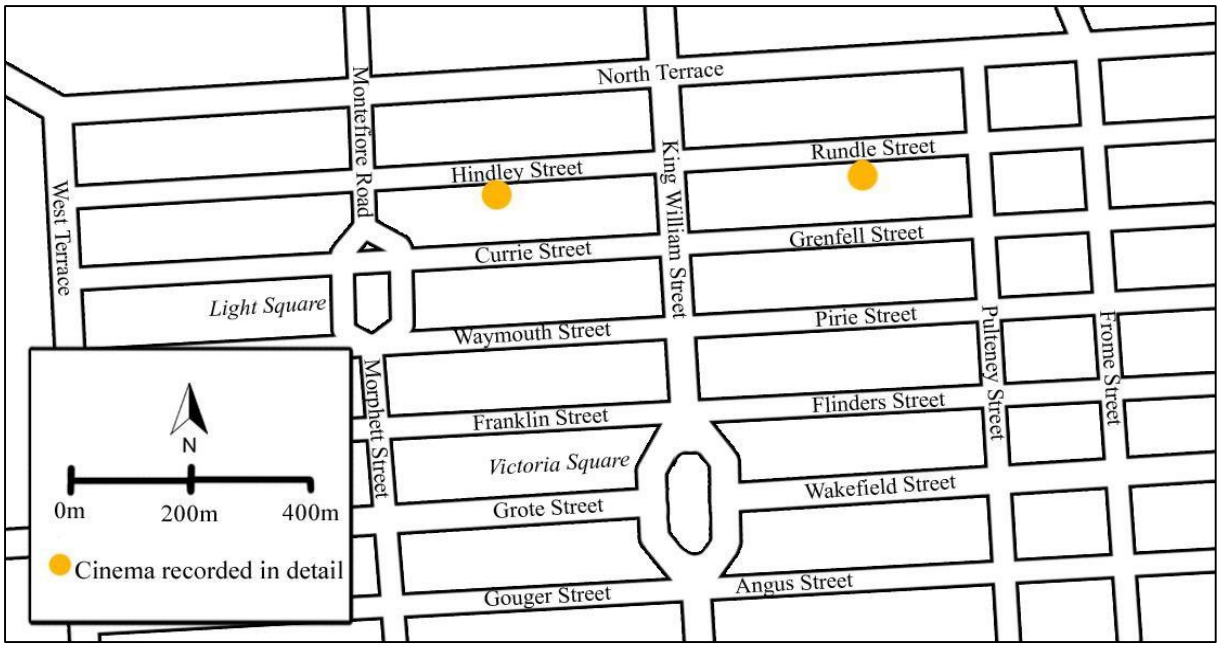

Figure 5.1. Locations of recorded cinemas within the Adelaide CBD boundaries (interior and exterior features recorded, and historic research conducted).

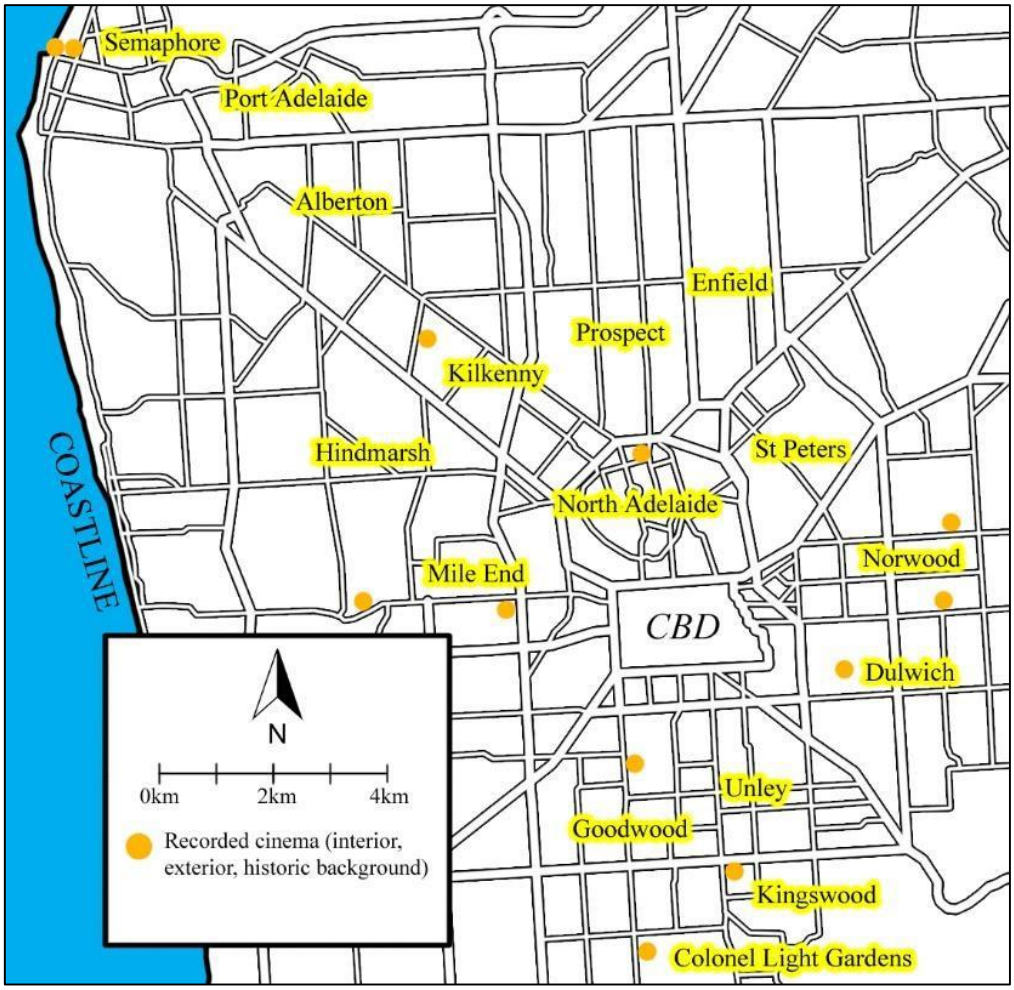

Figure 5.2. Location of cinemas that were recorded in detail (interior and exterior features recorded, and historic research conducted).

5.1 Location of cinemas

This study found that the location of cinemas largely supports the revisionist theory that the first cinemas were developed to attract both working and middle class patrons. Cinemas were located in a range of socio-economic areas, seeking to attract both working class and middle class patrons. Table 5.1 shows that, while the overwhelming majority of suburban cinemas were located in working class suburbs (29), they were also found in middle class suburbs (five), as well as suburbs with a mixed demographic of working and middle classes (six), and even suburbs with a mixed demographic of middle and wealthy classes (four). As discussed in section 2.3, some suburbs would often have more than one functioning cinema, especially in more populated suburbs regardless of class. This is especially true with the historically working class suburbs of Semaphore and Port Adelaide as well as in the working and middle class suburbs of Glenelg, Brighton and Unley (Marsden 1986). Very few cinemas were identified in the working class suburbs of Mile End and Hindmarsh.

Cinema Name	Suburb	Class of suburb
Alberton Ozone	Alberton	Working
Brighton Windsor	Brighton	Working and middle
Garden Theatre	Colonel Light Gardens	Working
Croydon Picture Theatre	Croydon	Working
Melba Dulwich	Dulwich	Working
Enfield Ozone	Enfield	Working
Roxy Everard Park	Everard Park	Working
Glenelg Ozone	Glenelg	Working and middle
Palais Theatre	Glenelg	Working and middle
Glenelg Theatre	Glenelg	Working and middle
Goodwood Star	Goodwood	Working
Goodwood Wondergraph	Goodwood	Working
Hackney Star	Hackney	Working
Hilton Lyric	Hilton	Working
Hindmarsh Star	Hindmarsh	Working
Kilkenny Odeon Star	Kilkenny	Working
Vogue Kingswood	Kingswood	Working
Lockleys Windsor	Lockleys	Working
Princess Theatre	Marryatville	Middle and wealthy
Piccadilly	North Adelaide	Middle and wealthy
Norwood Star	Norwood	Middle
Parkside Star	Eastwood	Middle
Parkside Windsor	Eastwood	Middle
Port Adelaide Empire	Port Adelaide	Working
Port Adelaide Ozone	Port Adelaide	Working
Prospect Ozone	Prospect	Working
Seacliff Windsor	Seacliff	Working and middle
Semaphore Ozone	Semaphore	Working
Semaphore Wondergraph	Semaphore	Working
St Morris Windsor	St Morris	Middle
St Peters Capitol	St Peters	Middle
Torrensville Star	Torrensville	Working
Unley Sturt	Unley	Working
Unley Palace	Unley	Working
Unley Ozone	Unley	Working
New Unley Star	Unley	Working
Walkerville Star	Walkerville	Working and middle
Woodville Star	Woodville	Working
Austral Picture Palace	Kilkenny	Working
Kent Picture Theatre	North Adelaide	Middle and wealthy
Anzac Picture Theatre	St Peters	Working
Seaview Theatre	Glenelg	Working
Strand Theatre	Glenelg	Working
Marryatville Ozone	Marryatville	Middle and wealthy

Table 5.1. Cinemas in suburban metropolitan Adelaide and the class of suburb.

Roads and traffic

This study found that visibility was an important aspect of cinema patronage. As indicated in Figures 5.3 and 5.4, the location of cinemas in relation to roads and traffic indicates that visibility was related to obtaining the maximum number of patrons rather than patrons of a particular economic class. This supports the revisionist theory that the first cinemas were developed to attract both working and middle class patrons.

The majority of venues were highly exposed to both pedestrian and motor traffic. Within the Adelaide CBD alone, out of the 16 venues identified, only five were not located on two of Adelaide's historically major commercial streets: Rundle Street (now Rundle Mall), and Hindley Street (see Figure 5.3). Other city theatres located further south of the Hindley-Rundle strip were also well exposed to pedestrian traffic. As shown in Table 5.2, 12 cinemas within the Adelaide CBD were on main roads and five were located on corners of main roads. None were located on subsidiary roads.

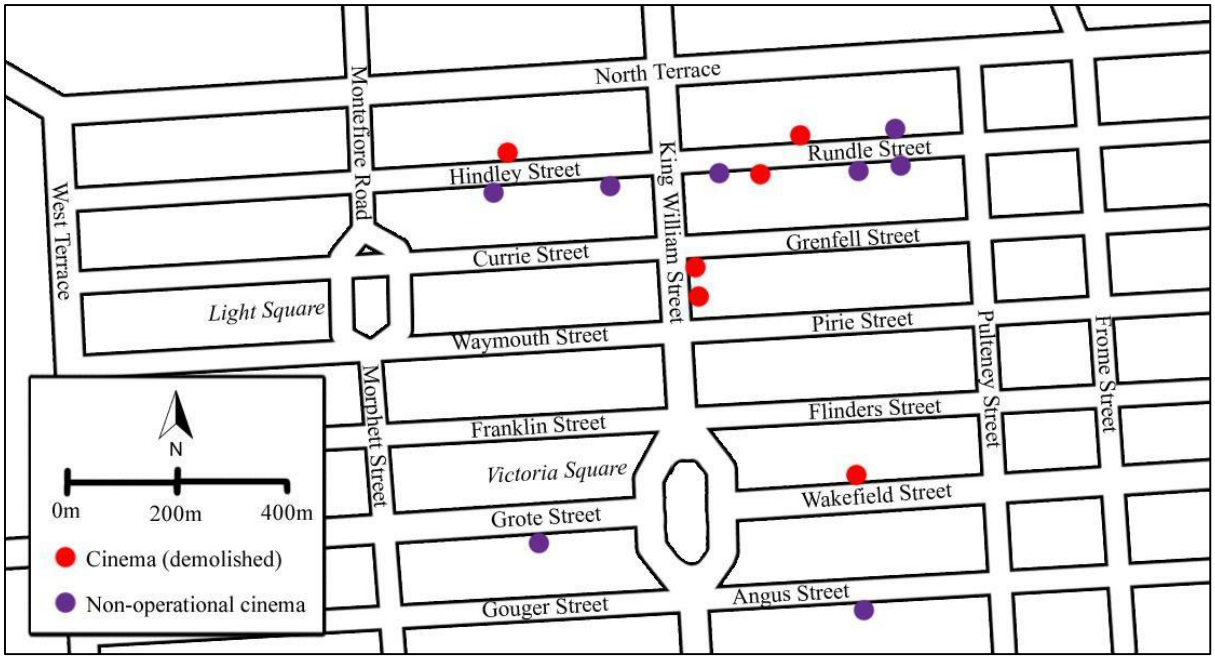

Figure 5.3. Cinema locations within the CBD boundary. Most are located on the high traffic Hindley-Rundle strip.

Cinema	Location	Road position
Adelaide Wondergraph	CBD	Corner
Empire Theatre	CBD	Main
Liberty Theatre	CBD	Main
Adelaide Grand	CBD	Main
Metro Theatre	CBD	Corner
The Pavillion Theatre	CBD	Main
Regent Theatre	CBD	Main
Savoy News Theatre	CBD	Main
Central Picture Theatre	CBD	Main
West's Olympia	CBD	Main
York Theatre	CBD	Corner
Arcadia Picture Palace	CBD	Main
Australia	CBD	Corner
Adelaide Star Theatre	CBD	Main
Times Theatrette	CBD	Corner
State Theatre	CBD	Main
Rex Theatre	CBD	Main

Table 5.2. Cinemas within the Adelaide CBD and their location on roads (main, side, or corner).

There is a general pattern showing that most suburban cinemas were built within approximately 5-6km from the CBD, with the exception of those built near the coast: Port Adelaide, Semaphore, Glenelg, and Brighton. These coastal suburbs were also some of the most populated suburbs in metropolitan Adelaide. As with their city counterparts, suburban cinemas were located on busy thoroughfares within close proximity of other entertainment venues, retailers, or areas with high pedestrian traffic. (see Figure 5.4). Unlike cinemas in the city, however, the majority of cinemas were located on corners of main and subsidiary roads, followed by main roads, then subsidiary roads: 30 were located on the corners, nine were located on main roads, and five were located on subsidiary roads (see Table 5.3). In addition to being found on tram routes (which is discussed below), these corner locations may have also increased the visibility of these large cinema buildings and distinguished them from surrounding buildings. Corner locations may have also increased accessibility by having a subsidiary road to (as defined in section 4.4) to assist in accessing properties. Land size may have also determined the choice of location.

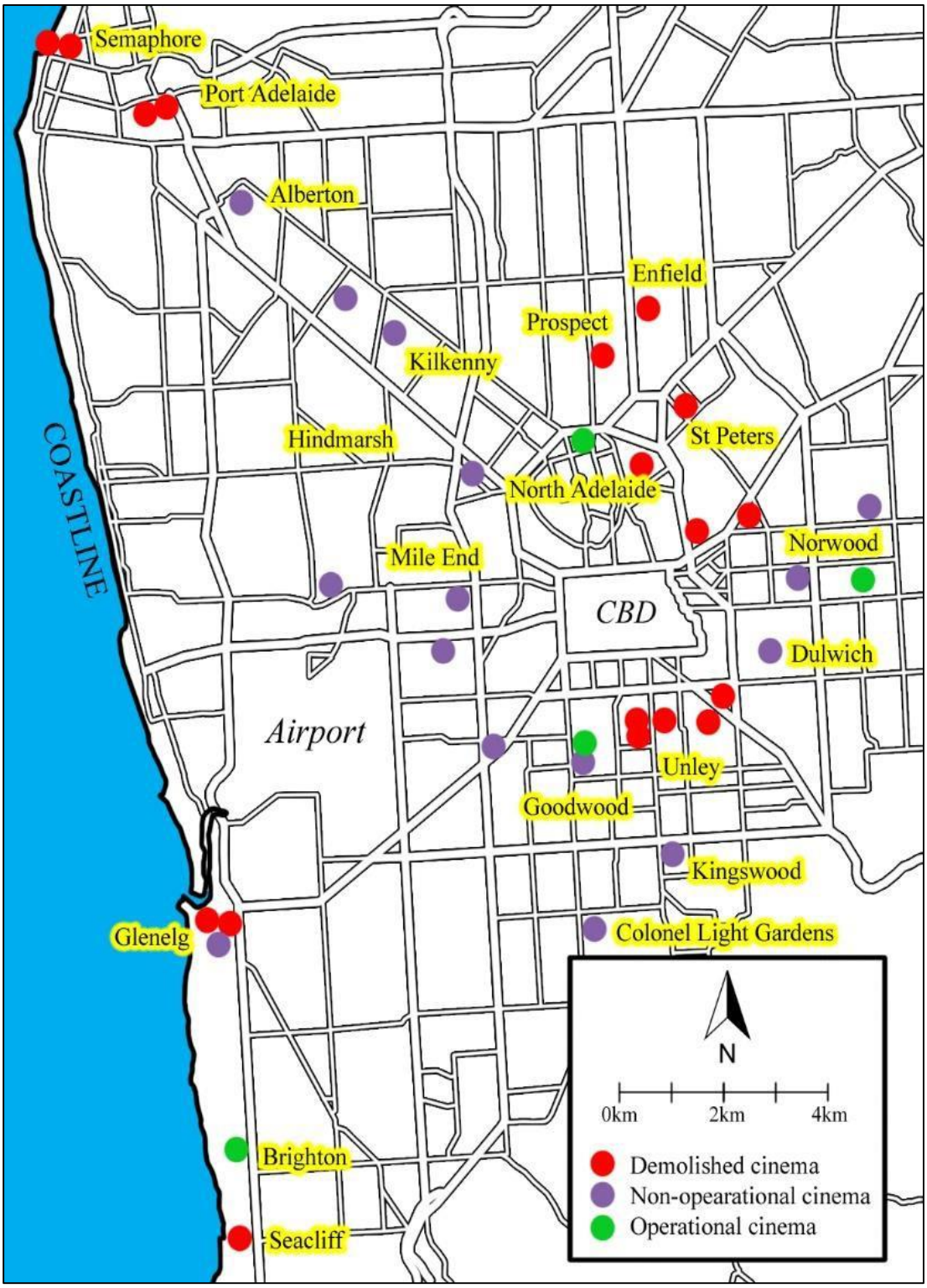

Figure 5.4. Cinema locations in suburban metropolitan Adelaide. Most are located on corners of main and subsidiary roads, then main roads, and only five located on subsidiary roads.

Cinema	Location	Road position
Alberton Ozone	Alberton	Corner
Brighton Windsor	Brighton	Side
Garden Theatre	Colonel Light Gardens	Corner
Croydon Picture Theatre	Croydon	Corner
Melba Dulwich	Dulwich	Side
Parkside Star	Eastwood	Main
Parkside Windsor	Eastwood	Main
Enfield Ozone	Enfield	Corner
Roxy Everard Park	Everard Park	Corner
Glenelg Ozone	Glenelg	Corner
Palais Theatre	Glenelg	Corner
Glenelg Theatre	Glenelg	Corner
Seaview Theatre	Glenelg	Corner
Strand Theatre*	Glenelg	Main
Goodwood Star	Goodwood	Corner
Goodwood Wondergraph	Goodwood	Main
Hackney Star	Hackney	Main
Hilton Lyric	Hilton	Corner
Hindmarsh Star	Hindmarsh	Corner
Kilkenny Odeon Star	Kilkenny	Side
Austral Picture Palace	Kilkenny	Side
Vogue Kingswood	Kingswood	Corner
Lockleys Windsor	Lockleys	Main
Princess Theatre	Marryatville	Corner
Marryatville Ozone	Marryatville	Corner
Piccadilly	North Adelaide	Corner
Kent Picture Theatre	North Adelaide	Side
Norwood Star	Norwood	Corner
Port Adelaide Empire	Port Adelaide	Corner
Port Adelaide Ozone	Port Adelaide	Corner
Prospect Ozone	Prospect	Corner
Seacliff Windsor	Seacliff	Corner
Semaphore Ozone	Semaphore	Corner
Semaphore Wondergraph	Semaphore	Main
St Morris Windsor	St Morris	Corner
St Peters Capitol	St Peters	Main
Anzac Picture Theatre	St Peters	Main
Torrensville Star	Torrensville	Corner
Unley Sturt	Unley	Corner
Unley Palace Picture Theatre	Unley	Corner
Unley Ozone	Unley	Corner
New Unley Star	Unley	Corner
Walkerville Star	Walkerville	Corner
Woodville Star	Woodville	Corner

Table 5.3. Suburban cinemas and their location on roads (main, side, or corner).

Public transport

While cinemas were located largely in prime locations on main roads, this study found that proprietors were also conscious of accessibility and public transport. Given that public transport was more essential for both working people than middle class people living outside of the CBD boundaries (Marsden 1986; State Library of South Australia n.d.), this concern with public transport can be taken to support either the embourgoisement theory that cinemas were designed to attract all economic classes.

Most cinema buildings are currently accessible by bus or train, being within 100 to 200 metres from a bus zone or platform. It was considered, however, that current public transport routes, subjected to relatively regular changes through the years, may not adequately represent systems that were previously in use, such as the Adelaide tramlines. Before its closure in the 1950s, the Adelaide tram system stretched extensively through the suburbs and linked back to the main hub in the CBD. From horse power to electric power, trams were the most popular and important means of public transport (Andrews et al. 1982); therefore, the historic tram routes were included (see Figure 5.5). Almost all cinemas were located near a tram route, with the exception of Brighton, Seacliff, Kilkenny, Woodville, and Alberton cinemas, which were instead located near a train station. The tram routes help explain why some cinemas were built on subsidiary roads, and why there was a lack of cinemas in other areas, such as the south-western suburbs and the far north-eastern suburbs. General development in the west and south-western suburbs was hindered by drainage and flooding issues before the South-Western Suburban Drainage Scheme in the late 1950s (Lipp n.d.). No cinemas were located in the far north eastern suburbs, which would have drawn on low populations, as these were country areas without public transport during the period under study (see Figure 5.5).

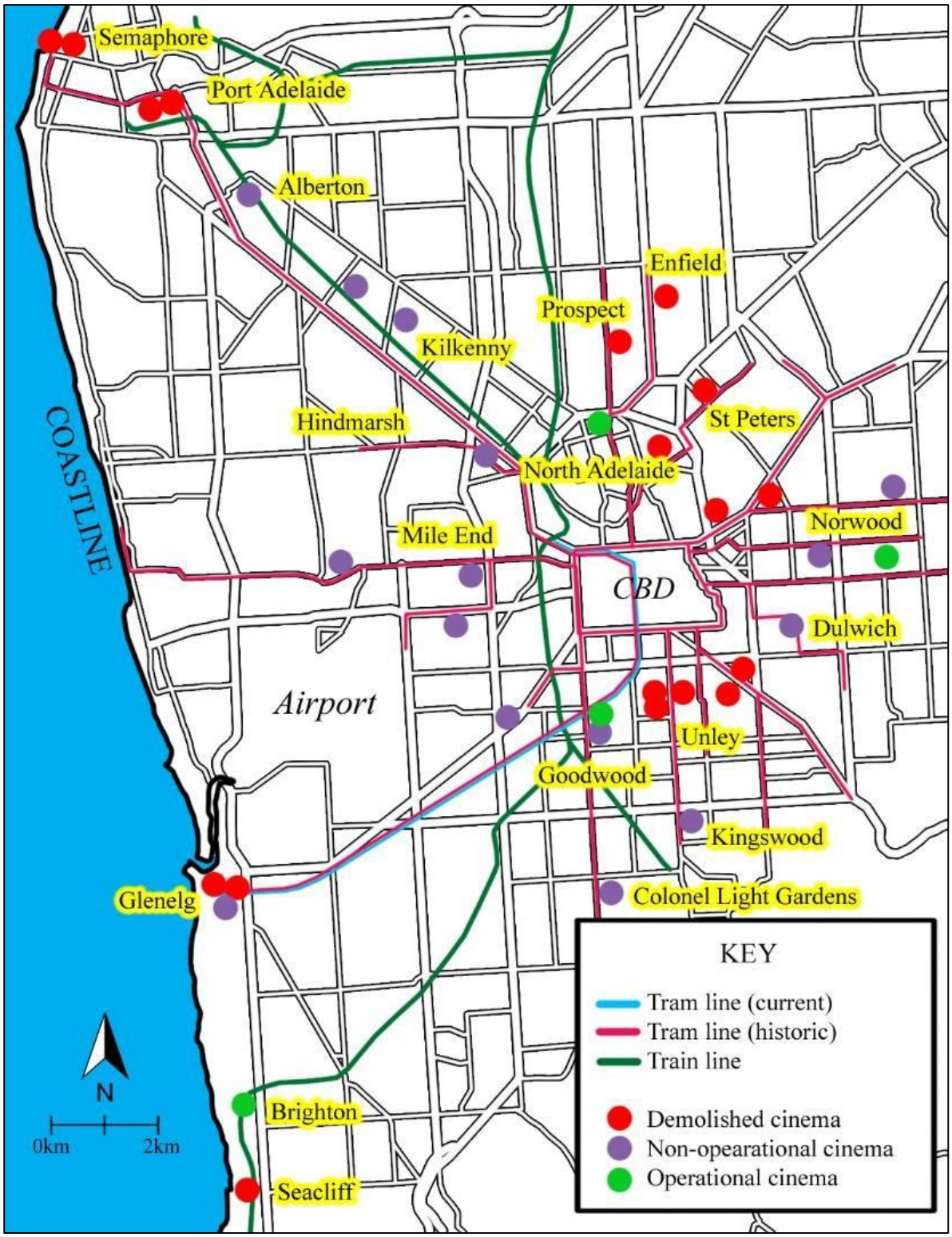

Figure 5.5. Location of identified cinemas with relation to Adelaide historic tram system, and train lines.

5.2 Buildings

Presentation

> In general style the frontage is highly ornamental, as is the case with all modern picture theatres in Australasian; the object being to make them attractive to passers-by, both day and night *(The Advertiser* 5 September, 1913, p. 19).

A critical question in this study is whether early cinemas were designed to attract an elite group of patrons (the embourgeoisement theory) or a wide group of patrons (the revisionist theory). This question was interrogated through an analysis of the internal and external design features of cinemas. The results indicate that these cinemas included design features that aimed to attract both working and middle class audiences, largely supporting the revisionist theory.

Contemporary descriptions of both the internal and external features of cinema buildings prior to the 1920s are inconsistent with the embourgeoisement view that such cinemas were 'small, dark, smelly, ghetto storefront[s]' (Thissen 2012:4) that were patronised primarily by the working classes. Journalists reporting on these cinemas placed them within a scenario of fast-paced technological advancement. Both internal and external features were described as being 'up to date' (*The Advertiser* 3 September, 1909:8), built on a 'novel plan' (*The Advertiser* 21 June, 1912:12), 'up to date' (*The Mail* 13 July, 1912:13) or the 'latest' design (*The Journal* 15 July, 1916:11). Detailed descriptions of the designs of particular cinemas include cinemas having an 'ornate appearance' (*The Register* 3 September, 1917:9, re: The Glenelg New Theatre) or 'ornate character', *(The Advertiser* 1912:12, re: The Pav) a 'handsome building' (*The Advertiser* 5 September, 1913, p. 19) and 'palatial' (*The Register* 30 November 1916, p. 4). In addition, the cinemas were described as 'spacious' and 'comfortably furnished' *(The*

Advertiser 1912, p. 12, re: The Glenelg New Theatre 9, re: The Pav) and 'capacious' (*The Register* 30 November 1916, p. 4). While elaborate features were described for a later period, such a roof design that was 'unique and clever' (*Observer* 16 March, 1929, p. 20), it is clear that these features augmented, rather than replaced, structural features that were already comfortable, ornate and spacious.

Cinema buildings were designed to modern architectural trends of the time, with features and decorations also deemed modern at the time of construction. As a result, while cinemas retained structural constants (screen, audience space, projection room), decorative features varied depending on the popular style or styles at the time.

One such style is the use of classic Greek architectural features that evoked a sense of a grand past (Arthur 2004:87). For example, ceiling decorations suggest that the interior of the Torrensville Star, built in 1916, and one of Adelaide's oldest surviving purpose built cinema. It is now currently the location of an office furniture store, though some features on the first floor remain intact. Exhibiting a neoclassical style, it has high ceiling, plain walls, and decorative cornices and plaster work that resembles classic Greek architectural features (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8). These architectural features are likely to have been designed to attract middle class as well as working class patrons.

Figure 5.6. Facade of the Torrensville Star. Taken by author.

Figure 5.7. Ceiling cornice of the Torrensville Star reflecting neoclassical style architecture. Taken by author.

Figure 5.8. Decorative ceiling panel from the Torrensville Star. Taken by author.

Part of the grandeur of the design included the herringbone pattern on the floorboards of the upper lounge (see Figure 5.9). Most of this remains intact, but repair efforts were made to address safety issues. The majority of the ground floor has been heavily renovated, though some original panelling remains partially exposed. Original and decorative support pillars remain intact in the office area of the current business. The first floor has been converted into storage space, but retains some original features, including the pressed metal ceiling, cornices, and remnants of what would have been a lounge area, and the projection booth.

Figure 5.9. Top of decorative pillar supporting a corner of the projection room. Herringbone patterned floorboards on the left. Taken by author.

Another example of a stylistic trend was the Art Deco movement, a style popular from the late 1920s up to the late 1930s and early 1940s. Several cinemas were constructed in the Art Deco style, and are exemplified by the Roxy, opened in 1937 in Everard Park (Figure 5.10) and the Vogue, opened in 1939 in Kingswood (Figure 5.11). This style was characterised by straight lines, stepped edges and bright colours; above all reflecting and representing technological and scientific progress (Striner 1990:21).

Figure 5.10. Facade of the Roxy Theatre, architect, Chris Smith. Taken by author.

Figure 5.11. Facade of the Vogue Theatre, architect, Lionel Greg Bruer. Ttaken in 2011 by Ken Roe.

The Art Deco style was eventually overtaken by the Streamline Modern style in the late 1930s, exemplified by the Piccadilly, built in 1940 in North Adelaide (Figure 5.12), and the Goodwood Star (Capri) built in 1941 in Goodwood (Figure 5.13). Like Art Deco, Streamline Modern became a symbol of technological progress from the 1930s, and was characterised by sleek, fluid lines and curves (Zuo and Jones 2007:4).

Figure 5.12. Facade of the Piccadilly, architects Evans, Bruer and Hall (in association with Guy Crick). Taken by author.

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Figure 5.13. The facade of the Goodwood Star (aka the Capri), architect Chris Smith. Taken by author.

Other factors such as the stylistic tastes of the cinema proprietor, and the use of a particular architect were considered in influencing cinema design or style. An examination of architects and the known cinemas of their design found that it is still more likely that cinema design was dictated primarily by the latest trends and styles, rather than the personal tastes of the proprietor or architect. One architect, or firm, may have been contracted at different times and consequently their stylistic ideas changed to reflect current trends. For example, architect Chris Smith was responsible for designing at least 12 of Adelaide's cinemas, as well as other civic buildings, from the 1910s up to the 1940s. While there are some variations between his designs within the same time frame (see Figure 5.14), stylisitc differences are more obvious between decades when stylistic trends were likely to have changed significantly (see Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.14. Cinema buildings designed by Chris Smith. L-R, T-B: Prospect Ozone (constructed 1923), Enfield Ozone (constructed 1926), Alberton Ozone (constructed 1924), Garden Theare (constructed 1927). Images of Enfield Ozone and Alberton Ozone courtesy of the State Library of South Australia. Images of Alberton Ozone and Garden theatre taken by author.

Figure 5.15. Cinema buildings designed by Chris Smith. L-R, T-B: Prospect Ozone (1923), Garden Theatre (1927), Roxy Everard Park (1937) and the Goodwood Star (1941). Image of Prospect Ozone courtesy of the State Library of South Australia, images of the Garden theatre, Roxy Everard Park and the Goodwood Star taken by author.

Further to the point of being 'up to date', The Princess Theatre (Marryatville) is a prime example of renovations that upgraded the original design to the latest at the time. Originally built in 1925, the theatre was extensively renovated both inside and out in 1941. The façade and interior were redesigned in the Streamline Modern style which had emerged at the time (see Figure 5.16). It still maintains a single screen, and is good example of the Streamline Modern movement (see Figure 5.17). No pictures were found that show its original design.

Figure 5.16. Facade of the Princess Theatre (now The Regal), Marryatville. It was renovated in the 1940s into its current design. Taken by author.

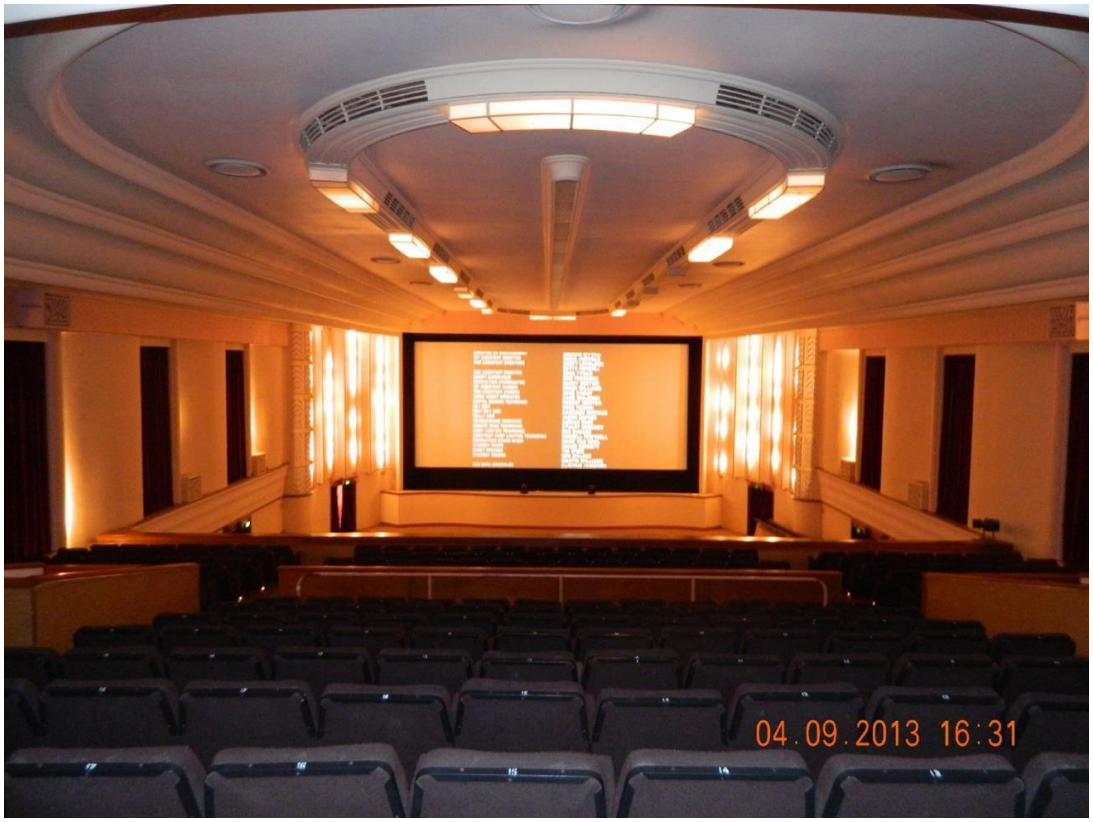

Figure 5.17.Auditorium of the Princess Theatre (now the Regal), heavily renovated in the 1940s into its current design. Taken by author.

Construction costs and modifications

Embourgeoisement theorists argue that early cinema buildings were small, ill-lit and overcrowded places. This view is not supported by the construction costs of cinemas in Adelaide. These theorists argue that middle class patrons were sought through physical changes to the building (elaboration and decoration), the length and content of film (viewing content), and the inclusion and formalisation of additional services to complement viewing pleasure (amenities) (Thissen 2012:49-50). While considerable money was spent on the construction and modification of cinema buildings, it is difficult to determine from the data if these sought to appeal to a particular class.

Construction costs were taken from newspaper articles which often detailed the features of the new cinema at the time. The most expensive cinemas between 1913 and 1940 were located in the CBD, which would have attracted a mixture of clientele rather than a specific class. These were the Regent Theatre (£200,000), followed by the State Theatre (£70,000), and the Adelaide Wondergraph (£60,000). The least costly was the Garden Theatre (£2,000), but this was not necessarily a reflection of the class of the area: originally £15,000 was budgeted towards its construction, but National Picture Limited had ran out of money. Further, there is considerable difference between the construction costs of two cinemas in Unley: the New Unley Star (£36,000 in 1928) and the Unley Ozone (£5,900 in 1940). Since the class construction of this suburb was unlikely to change dramatically within this 12-year period, the discrepancy in costs is likely to reflect budget constraints rather than construction methods based on attracting a particular class.

Embourgeoisement theorists argue that changes to the construction of cinemas were determined by the perceptions of middle class tastes; however, table 5.2 shows that they were

distributed in working, middle class and wealthy suburbs. Costs appear to coincide with the level of detail available in newspaper descriptions. 'Cheaper' theatres, such as the Torrensville Star (£6,000), Croydon Picture Theatre (£7,000), and the Unley Ozone (£5,900) received less attention in newspapers than more expensive buildings.

Year	Class of Suburb	Theatre	Cost (£)	2016 Equivalent ($)	Means of establishment
1913	CBD	Adelaide	60,000	6.7million	Construction
1916	Working	Torrensville Star	6,000	550,000	Construction
1917	Working - middle	Glenelg Theatre	10,000	880,000	Conversion
1923	Working	Croydon Picture	7,000	520,000	Construction
1923	Working	Prospect Ozone	9,000	670,000	Construction
1925	Working - middle	Brighton Windsor	20,000	1.5million	Construction
1925	Middle	St Peters Capitol	20,000	1.5million	Construction
1927	Middle	Garden Theatre	2,000	150,000	Construction
1927	Working	Woodville Theatre	13,365	990,000	Construction
1928	CBD	Regent Theatre	200,000	15.8million	Construction
1928	Working	New Unley Star	36,000	2.7million	Construction
1929	Working	Semaphore Ozone	9,000	650,000	Conversion
1936	Working - middle	Seaview Theatre	6,250	550,000	Reconstruction
1937	Working	Roxy Theatre	10,000	840,000	Construction
1938	CBD	State Theatre	70,000	5.8million	Construction
1939	Working	The Vogue	16,000	1.3million	Construction
1940	CBD	The Piccadilly	26,000	2million	Construction
1940	Middle	Unley Ozone	5,900	450,000	Construction

Table 5.4.Construction costs of various cinemas at various times, and the type of construction work conducted in its establishment (construction, conversion, reconstruction).

Restoration efforts have been demonstrated by very few of the remaining cinemas. The Vogue, now used as a church, has sustained some damage through the years, but efforts have been made to repair broken decorative plasterwork on wall panels (see Figure 5.18). The Goodwood Star, still in operation as the Capri, continues to be well-maintained by volunteers. Restoration efforts and repairs are constantly being conducted to restore and retain original features of the cinema; however, this is for the purpose of preserving heritage. Restoration was likely less of a priority than the renovation of current buildings or the construction of a new building entirely.

Figure 5.18. Damage to and attempted repairs on decorating side panelling of the Vogue. The building has sustained damage from natural deterioration through the years. Taken by author.

5.3 Services

A common feature of the cinema today is the candy bar, where patrons can purchase snacks and refreshments usually before film. Similarly, it was not unusual for a cinema building to accommodate other shops and coffee houses who sold refreshments. Shops tended to be included as part of the design, and not added later, and can usually be seen in the architecture: the door to the cinema in the middle, and usually two large windows or doors either side for the shops. The Arcadia Picture Palace appears to be first cinema in Adelaide to feature two shops flanking the sides of the entrance. Other amenities such as lounges, comfort rooms, and toilets had also become the norm and remained part of cinema designs through the decades.

There is no mention of ushers or usherettes as part of cinema services until 1928, following the construction of the Regent. A photograph of usherettes from the Adelaide Wondergraph was published in *The Advertiser* (26 December 1929:10). From other available photographs, ushers and usherettes were well-dressed and uniformed (see Figure 5.26), a tradition which continues in most cinemas today though roles and expectations of 'ushers' may have changed from 80 years ago.

Figure 5.19. Cinema usher, V.A. Stevens, who was employed by the Adelaide Clifford Theatre Circuit, Star Theatres, for 27 years. Taken in 1930 (photo courtesy of the State Library of South Australia).

5.4 Programming

Early cinema programs incorporated a variety of attractions likely to appeal to a broad range of people. Little mention was made of films as an accompaniment to live entertainment in Adelaide. Vaudeville acts were sometimes performed in cinemas such as the Goodwood Wondergraph, the Unley Star, and the Strand Theatre, but were independent from film sessions themselves, and vice versa. It was not unusual if a cinema was used for live

entertainment. The Empire Theatre, for example, on Grote Street was located within the City Markets (now the Central Markets). The Empire was also originally a live entertainment venue established in 1909, but quickly adopted films as part of their regular programming in 1910 when the proprietors (Lennon, Hyman and Lennon) established Lyceum Pictures.

Before the introduction of the 'talkies' in 1929, many cinemas could still accommodate live entertainment. Stages were specially built for orchestra members who played background music during a film, and were essential in the days of silent film. The overall size of venues, and the ability to move stall seats made them convenient spaces for other local activities such as dances or musical performances. In this way, cinema buildings served as multifunctional venues. For example, historic photographs show the Melba Dulwich being utilised for more than screening movies, such as presentations nights or other live performances (see Figure 5.20). Small stages can still be found in some cinemas post-1929, such as the Vogue Kingswood (see Figure 5.21), Hilton Lyric (now closed; see Figure 2.22) and the Marryatville Ozone, suggesting that cinemas could still be utilised as a multifunctional venue, but were still recognised as cinema venues, and not simply a hall.

Figure 5.20. The Melba Dulwich being used for other means, such as presentation nights and perhaps beauty pageants as well (c.1930). Image courtesy of One Rundle Trading Co. Photographer not known.

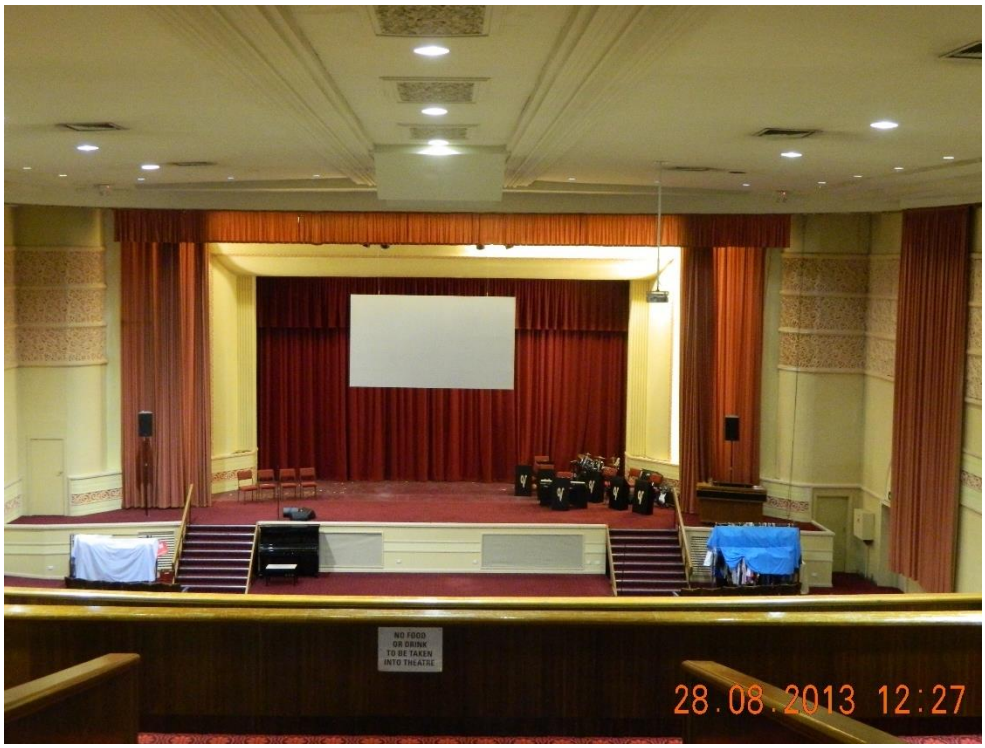

Figure 5.21. The stage at the Vogue Kingswood. Taken by author.

Figure 5.22. The small stage at the Hilton Lyric, partially covered by closed curtains. Taken by author.

5.5 Air conditioning and ventilation

Some structural features were designed to satisfy health and safety standards, but also increased the appeal for all classes. Amendments to the PPA in 1913 officially acknowledged

moving picture venues as places of public entertainment and were, therefore, officially governed by the Act. The Act mainly covered issues of public safety, the most applicable relating to fire safety. There is evidence, however, suggesting that proprietors took precautions relating to fire safety and maintained a means of ventilation for their patrons before the amendments were made. Newspaper articles on West's Olympia (*Evening Journal*, 5 December 1908:7), The Pav (*The Advertiser*, 21 June 1912:12), and the Central Picture Theatre (*The Advertiser* 12 July 1912:11) all made mention of the ventilation systems installed in the venues, such as the Pav's Tobin ventilators. The temporary canvas Pavilion theatre, erected in 1908, was also advertised as 'specially safeguarded against all possibility of overcrowding or fire or panic' (*The Register*, 31 August 1908:9). At least 31 of the cinemas identified had their ventilation systems explicitly highlighted in newspaper articles, but it is suspected that most if not all would have had ventilation systems in place if not for the comfort of their patrons, then in conforming to legislation. Further, only two cinemas were found to have been destroyed by fire while in operation: the Anzac Picture Theatre in 1920, and the Seacliff Windsor in 1959. They were not rebuilt.

Other venues that screened films such as the Empire Theatre (originally a live entertainment venue), and public halls had to, by definition, comply with the Public Entertainment Act 1910: "'Place of public entertainment' shall include any theatre, concert room…and any place used for dancing, or in which dancing is taught…and shall also include any other place, whether enclosed, or unenclosed, or partly enclosed, whereat amusement for the public is provided." (*Places of Public Entertainment Act 1910*).

5.6 Affordability

The model developed in this research added the additional category of affordability to Balaban and Katz's (1926) five-point business strategy. The results show that this category offers particularly clear insight into class-based motivations underlying the business strategies of cinema proprietors. Table 5.5 shows cinema admission prices from 1896 to 1941, based on newspaper advertisements.

Year	Theatre	Stalls	Dress circle	Lounge
1896	**Theatre Royal (first film exhibition)**	1s	2s	N.F.
1906	**Adelaide Town Hall (Kelly Gang)**	1s	2s	3s
1908	**New Pavilion (canvas theatre)**	6d	1s	1s6d
1909	**West's Olympia**	6d – 1s	>1s	>1s
1910	Port Adelaide Empire	6d	1s6d	N.F.
1911	Port Adelaide Pavilion (open air)	6d	1s	N.F.
1912	**The Pav**	3d	6d	N.F.
1916	**The Grand Theatre**	$3^{1/2}$d*	$6^{1/2}$d*	N.F.
1916	**The Pav**	$3^{1/2}$d*	$6^{1/2}$d*	N.F.
1916	Torrensville Star	3d	6d	2s6d
1924	**The York**	1s2d – 2s4d	N.F.	N.F.
1927	**The Pav**	$3^{1/2}$d*	$6^{1/2}$d*	N.F.
1927	**The York**	N.F.	N.F.	1s1d
1927	Semaphore Wondergraph	1s$4^{1/2}$d*	N.F.	N.F.
1928	**The Regent (Saturday night)**	1s - 2s	2s$5^{1/2}$d	3s
1928	**The Regent (other nights)**	1s - 1s6d	2s	2s$5^{1/2}$d
1928	**The Regent (day session)**	1s	2s	N.F.
1928	Enfield Ozone	1s9d*	N.F.	N.F.
c.1929	Semaphore Wondergraph	1s7d - 2s	2s6d	2s8d
1931	Garden Theatre	1s3d	N.F.	N.F.
1940	The Piccadilly (matinee)	1s	1s9d	1s9d
1940	The Piccadilly (evening)	1s – 1s9d	2s	2s4d
1941	Goodwood Star (matinee)	1s	1s9d	1s9d
1941	Goodwood Star (evening)	1s	1s9d	2s4d

*Table 5.5. Admission prices from 1896 to 1941 based on newspaper advertisements. Price range in 'stalls' represents the front and back stall admission prices. N.F. = not found. Bold names are city based theatres. * includes tax*

Admission prices from the earliest cinematograph exhibitions charged a minimum of one shilling (1s) for the cheapest seats, and 'good seats' (back stalls, dress circles, lounge circles) were charged higher accordingly. These prices suggest that the earliest audiences

were likely a mixture of class demographics. Take, for example, the average weekly wage of a skilled worker (carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, etc.) from 1892-1896 according to the 1901-1902 Australian Yearbook (Coghlan 1902): approximately 44s per week. A shilling admission constituted approximately 2.27% of a skilled worker's weekly wage, or the equivalent of $13.64 from a minimum wage earner in South Australia today (aged 21 and over working at a full-time rate at 38 hours per week). Table 5.6 below summarises the average men's wages from various occupations, and the percentage which a price of admission at the time constituted the weekly wage. The final column contextualises this figure against the current South Australian minimum wage of $600 per week (SafeWork SA 2012).

Year	Occupation	Average weekly wage	Admission price	Percentage of weekly wage	Modern equivalent at $600/week minimum wage
1892-96	Skilled worker	44s	1s	2.27%	$13.64
			2s	4.55%	$27.27
	Unskilled labourer	32s	1s	3.13%	$18.75
			2s	6.25%	$37.50
1908-09	Skilled worker	45s	6d	1.10%	$6.67
			1s	2.22%	$13.33
	Unskilled labourer	33s4d	6d	1.50%	$9.00
			1s	3.00%	$18.00
	Factory worker	30s8d	6d	1.63%	$9.78
			1s	3.26%	$19.57
1912	Manufacturing worker (minor wares)	36s6d	3d	0.68%	$4.11
			6d	1.37%	$8.22
1916	Domestic worker class	68s	3d	0.37%	$2.21
			6d	0.74%	$4.41
			2s6d	3.68%	$22.06
1924	Living wage	82s	1s2d	1.42%	$8.54
			2s4d	2.85%	$17.07
1929	Base wage	83s	1s7d	1.91%	$11.45
			2s	2.41%	$14.46
			2s6d	3.01%	$18.07
			2s8d	3.21%	$19.28
1940	Base wage	84s	1s	1.19%	$7.14
			1s9d	2.08%	$12.50
			2s	2.38%	$14.29
			2s4d	2.78%	$16.67

Table 5.6.Various admission prices against the average weekly wage of various occupation and minimum living wage (from 1924 onward), and its modern equivalent at the SA minimum wage.

The sixpence (6d) admission made entry more affordable, constituting approximately 1-1.5% of a worker's wages; the threepence (3d) even cheaper as it constituted less than 1% of a worker's wage. Admission price to wage percentages are the highest in the 1892-1896 period, constituting between 3-6% of an unskilled worker's wages, but lowered significantly towards the 1910s with the introduction of the threepence admission price. Admission prices rose again by the late 1920s, but still remained relatively cheap. Admission price to wage proportions remain relatively stable from the late 1920s to 1940s. This is also reflected in figures when taking into account inflation (see Table 5.7).

Year	Theatre	Stalls ($)	Dress circle ($)	Lounge ($)
1896	**Theatre Royal (first exhibition)**	-	-	-
1906	**Adelaide Town Hall (Kelly Gang)**	6.86	13.71	20.57
1908	**New Pavilion (canvas theatre)**	3.23	6.45	9.68
1909	**West's Olympia**	3.23 – 6.45	-	-
1910	Port Adelaide Empire	3.16	9.49	-
1911	Port Adelaide Pavilion (open air)	3.11	6.21	-
1912	**The Pav**	1.39	2.79	-
1916	**The Grand Theatre**	1.35	2.51	-
1916	**The Pav**	1.35	2.51	-
1916	Torrensville Star	1.16	2.32	11.59
1924	**The York**	4.36 – 8.73	-	-
1927	**The Pav**	1.07	2	-
1927	**The York**	-	-	4.01
1927	Semaphore Wondergraph	5.08	-	-
1928	**The Regent (Saturday night)**	3.70 – 7.40	9.09	11.09
1928	**The Regent (other nights)**	3.70 – 5.55	7.40	9.09
1928	**The Regent (day session)**	3.70	7.40	-
1928	Enfield Ozone	6.47	-	-
c.1929	Semaphore Wondergraph	5.73 – 7.23	9.04	9.65
1931	Garden Theatre	5.27	-	-
1940	The Piccadilly (matinee)	3.87	6.78	6.78
1940	The Piccadilly (evening)	3.87 – 6.78	7.74	9.04
1941	Goodwood Star (matinee)	3.70	6.47	6.47
1941	Goodwood Star (evening)	3.70	6.47	8.63

Table 5.7. Figures reflect past ticket prices in $, taking into account inflation. Figures are only approximate and calculated by the Reserve Bank of Australia Pre-Decimal Inflation Calculator (http://www.rba.gov.au/calculator/annualPreDecimal.html)

5.7 Discussion

In order to interrogate the validity of the embourgeoisement and revisionist theories, this chapter presents an analysis of the influence of social class on the development of cinemas in metropolitan Adelaide during the period 1909 to 1949, using a five- point business strategy (location, building, services, programming and airconditioning/ventilation). Embourgeoisement theorists argue that early cinema buildings were small, ill-lit and overcrowded places. However, the results overwhelmingly support the revisionist theory that cinemas prior to the 1920s were aimed at both middle and working class patrons. In addition, modifications to these buildings appear to be aimed at both classes rather than being driven by perceptions of middle class tastes, as revisionist theorists suggest. Embourgeoisement theorists argue that changes to the construction of cinemas were determined by the perceptions of middle class tastes (Thissen 2012:49-50), but cinemas in Adelaide were distributed in working, middle class and wealthy suburbs. Further, while considerable money was spent on the construction and modification of cinema buildings, it is difficult to determine from the data if these sought to appeal to a particular class.

Chapter 6 : Discussion

6.1 Gentrification: the embourgeoisement of the cinema?

DiMaggio and Useem (1978:143) state that the adoption of artistic interests, tastes, standards and activities associated with a social class helps to establish an individual's membership in that class. This is closely related to what is meant by the embourgeoisement of an institution. Embourgeoisement theorists argue that early cinema audiences consisted mostly of working class people, but in order to attract middle class patrons, cinema owners adopted various means and methods to appeal to middle class sensibilities. Several findings in this study suggest that this was not the case, and that the early cinema industry in Adelaide, though catering to middle class ideals in some respects, was indiscriminate of patrons in terms of social class and prestige. Ultimately, cinema was a business and relied on numbers to maintain it. As an institution, it provided a space in which a mixture of the classes could attend and socialise, thus exposing the working classes to middle class sensibilities and services (such as ushers and usherettes). In this way, the early cinema industry practised a combination of exclusivity (making the patron feel special) and inclusivity (creating an illusion of equality between the classes) (Slowinska 2005:589). This chapter expands on the results from this study with regard to early cinema and the influence of social class on its development, first relating discussion to the six-point model, and then to a discussion of censorship.

6.2 Location

The distribution of cinema buildings was not random. Sites were strategically chosen to maximise patronage, and resulted in Adelaide's cinemas being established on major roads, near public transport, and in areas with high pedestrian traffic such as retail and commercial centres. In seeking numbers, proprietors also placed their establishments in populated areas, and took advantage of Adelaide's popular and extensive tram network. Unsurprisingly, the

first proprietors focussed on the CBD – the centre of commerce and leisure. Early ventures from 1910 to 1920 saw cinemas also being established in populated suburban areas. Within this time frame, cinemas were established in five of Adelaide's most populated areas: Port Adelaide, Unley, Hindmarsh, St Peters, and Glenelg. This trend continued into the 1920s when there was a significant increase in the number of cinemas outside of the CBD as proprietors sought to expand to the suburbs. Proprietors targeted populated suburbs from all directions, following the same principles as before in determining a strategic site. That careful consideration of location was made is emphasised by the late establishment of cinemas in the west to south-western suburbs near what is now the airport – an area that was later developed in the 1950s

6.3 Building

Prior to the construction of permanent venues, canvas and open-air theatres were a temporary means of providing a place for early movie-goers. The New Pavilion canvas theatre, erected in 1908, was located on the corner of North Terrace and Pulteney Street; opposite what is now the Napier Building in the University of Adelaide. Early cinema venues were often described as crude and simple (Collyer 1974:4; Kaberry and Chard 1936:150), thus an immediate reaction is to associate them with the poor or working class. The New Pavilion, however, was described as roomy and comfortable (*The Register*, 31 August 1908:9). These temporary theatres certainly seemed to lack an aesthetic appeal, but compensated by providing comfort, space, and a traditional custom of divided seating. It is likely as well that these temporary theatres were a reflection of the hesitancy to build a permanent venue in light of what was possibly a 'passing craze', rather than a reflection of the type of audiences proprietors sought to attract. Indeed, in the decade before, it was roller skating that caught the attention of the public, but its popularity had dwindled by 1909 (Hiley 2002:112). Similarly, though the

moving picture novelty was well received in the 1890s, there was a lull in film exhibition between 1896 and 1906 in Adelaide – screenings were significantly reduced from 233 in 1897 to only 70 the following years (Walker 1988:374). Shirley and Adams (1989:14) further argue that the short films then available lacked the substance and continuity that warranted the establishment of permanent cinema venues. When the establishment of permanent venues was eventually justified by the reviving popularity of films, proprietors spent thousands of pounds in construction costs to house their businesses. The most expensive cinemas were found in the CBD and were arguably some of the most elaborate in their time, most notably the Regent theatre, built in 1928.

Decoration did not necessarily reflect the type of audience proprietors sought to attract, but reflected phases of cinema development. Early cinemas were large, impressive canvas structures, but were only temporary. The construction of purpose-built cinema buildings, such as West's Olympia, demonstrated a growing sense of permanency of the moving picture's popularity – the 'craze' was not simply a passing fad and was very quickly establishing itself as a legitimate and popular form of entertainment. This was further reinforced as proprietors invited notable figures to private sessions, such as the State Governor, the local Mayor, and councillors. Governor Bosanquet, for example, attended a private screening in the Arcadia Picture Palace and was 'delighted' by the show (*The Advertiser*, 3 September 1910:8). In 1913, he attended a screening of *Quo Vadis?* at West's Olympia, which Walker (1987:377) states helped to influence the perspectives of those who doubted the moving picture theatre industry's potential in becoming a permanent entertainment platform.

Early movie theatre proprietors were pressured to keep up to date with architectural trends, fashions, and the latest and best in films. Importance was placed on the modern of both the

cinema buildings, and the movies being presented. Newspapers often emphasised the latest building as being 'up-to-date' in design, and possessing the latest cinematic technology. In this way, the cinema came to represent the latest and the updated, which perhaps contributed to the closure of many of Adelaide's historic cinemas with the introduction of television. Two examples which illustrate this desire for the modern are the Hindmarsh Star and the Princess Theatre; established in 1916 and 1925 respectively. They were each extensively remodelled between the 1930s and the 1940s into the Art Deco style which had emerged at the time. The Art Deco movement was very popular and adaptable to many types of buildings – from homes to public halls – but more importantly, the stylistic shift of both cinemas towards a more contemporary design emphasised the importance of the modern in the presentation of the exhibition space, and the need to keep updated in design. The Princess (now the Regal) is still in operation, and continues to appeal to locals and non-locals.

Construction slowed in the 1930s, as most populated areas had at least one cinema established by this time. Opportunistic proprietors took advantage of the newly opened western suburbs as drainage schemes opened the areas for development, and of developing areas with growing populations such as Everard Park. Otherwise, one-third of new businesses were established in pre-existing cinema buildings which were renovated to conform with the latest trends – or in the case of the State Theatre, in new buildings built on the site of the old. Another third of new establishments were constructed in areas where other cinemas already existed and operated, but with updated features and designs, highlighting the importance placed on being modern.

6.4 Services

One of the key indicators of a middle to wealthy class audience was the employment of ushers and usherettes. By the mid-1920s, young people were employed and trained as ushers or usherettes to guide patrons to their seats. Their presence helped to emulate an atmosphere that

resembled those of high status hotels and theatres (Gomery 1992:50). According to Gomery (1992:49), the very position of an usher or usherette was highly regarded and it was 'an honor to be selected for the special job of usher'. It appears that the use of ushers and usherettes in Adelaide cinemas came later in comparison to American chains (*The Advertiser*, 26 December 1929:10). The earliest mention appeared in an article in *The Mail* from 1928, which detailed the opening of the new Regent theatre.

Other amenities such as lounges, crying rooms and toilets which sought to highlight the comforts and conveniences of the cinema. These services were standards in cinema design from as early as the 1910s, and would have appealed to different classes of audiences. While cinemas were often located in commercial thoroughfares, it was also not unusual for cinema buildings to incorporate spaces for cafes or sweet shops within the design. These shops worked to complement the impression of comfort and convenience, bringing refreshments or treats to movie patrons rather than have them seek elsewhere. In a sense, this helped to create a self-sufficient leisurely environment contained within a single building.

6.5 Programming

It was initially believed by cinema historians that the provision of an orchestra in the picture theatre was an indicator of gentrification; however, they were not so much a luxury as a necessity. Prior to the introduction of integrated sound in film (and the resulting emergence of 'the talkies' in the late 1920s), live music was a vital part of the movie session. Orchestras were established and hired to perform pieces that complemented the feature, and consequently were subjected to praise or criticism depending on the quality of their performance. By 1929, following the emergence of the 'talking picture', there were concerns that orchestras would be dismissed from cinemas and disbanded. Despite initial assurances

that Adelaide would 'not follow' other states (*The Register News-Pictorial* 5 July 1929:2), orchestras were inevitably dismissed from their roles.

Unlike picture theatres in Melbourne, early Adelaide shows were not integrated into a larger live show, but were an entity of their own (Walker 1988:372). Indeed, very few Adelaide cinemas accompanied any live shows with a feature film (and vice versa); instead, providing a space for other ventures, such as dancing, music performances, and meetings. The Empire Theatre was one of the few that provided both live and film entertainment in single sessions. This was likely a consequence of the Empire originally being a live entertainment venue. Moving pictures continued to increase in popularity and quantity, and with the services of the orchestra no longer required, the stage was gradually eliminated as a necessary part of theatre design.

6.6 Ventilation

Cinema construction was shaped and dictated by safety standards and regulations deemed necessary by the Governor. Venues of public entertainment since 1881 were subject to legislation, the first of which was the *Places of Public Amusement Act (PPA) 1881*, which required public entertainment venues to be licensed. In 1904, amendments to the Act first addressed safety issues, namely in the event of a fire and required that proprietors made 'reasonable provision' to address this issue. Further amendments in 1910 allowed the Governor to impose safety regulations on licensed entertainment venues, the majority of which continued to address fire safety and evacuation, but also sanitation and ventilation. It also first introduced a clause preventing licensed entertainment venues from operating on Sundays (without prior permission), at the risk of being issued a fine. The 1910 amendments also saw the first mention of the cinematograph, but simply as an apparatus that could be

used as part of the entertainment, not as a legitimate and independent form of entertainment on its own. It was not until 1913 that 'cinematograph or other picture show' venues were officially included in the legislative definition of 'public entertainment'. Cinemas were particularly vulnerable to fire due to the highly flammable celluloid film and the liberal use of electric lighting. By 1918, South Australian projectionists were required to be examined and licensed by the Government before they could operate a 'cinematographic plant in any place of amusement' (Behind the Scenes 1918:2).

Ventilation was not introduced to the cinema solely as an added luxury, but as a means of fire safety, and later a requirement under State legislation. Under the PPA Act, places of public entertainment, by law, required adequate ventilation as a health and safety standard. Prior to the amendments to the Act in 1913 that officially and explicitly recognised the cinema as a place of public entertainment, proprietors enforced fire safety and ventilation standards in their venues, suggesting that they did not entirely cater to legislation, but to the public as a means of attracting patrons to their venues. However, this also suggests some concern for public safety as well as protecting the business as an investment.

6.7 Affordability

From 1896, when the first documented screening of a cinematograph exhibition occurred, there was already a division in price. The Theatre Royal charged admission prices of one shilling (1s) to two shillings (2s), depending on where the patron sat. The division of seating arrangements and their consequent differences in prices suggest that the audience did not consist of one demographic, but of several. Admission prices varied depending on the location of the seat. Cheaper seats were located in the front stalls, while dearer seats were generally in the dress circle. An even dearer price was charged for reserved seats. Cheap seat prices,

however, were still expensive in 1896 compared to later years, when prices fell to half (by 1909), and even by a quarter (by 1912) of the original shilling price of a stall seat. Ticket prices from 1896 to 1906, when calculated against inflation, were some of the most expensive prices in Adelaide's cinema history. Potentially, however, members of the working class could enjoy the occasional film in the city.

This segregation of seating by ticket price was customary from the beginning, and it was not until the early 1910s that the construction and materials of dearer seats also reflected the prices that were charged (*The Advertiser*, 5 September 1913:5). Descriptions of dearer seats often painted them as being more comfortable, using such adjectives as 'plush' and 'wide'. In later years, two-seater lounges were added to the dress circle which could fit up to three people, but were more often patronised by couples, and affectionately called ' love seats' by some (Bourke 2013 pers. comm.). These two-person settees are particularly interesting. From as early as 1917, two-person settees and three-person lounges were installed in the dress circles and lounges of cinemas (*The Register*, 3 September 1917:9). The use of these seats potentially encouraged promiscuous behaviour, which embourgeoisement theorists claim proprietors sought to discourage, 'whether prostitution or merely clandestine intimacy' (Christie 2012:13). The use of these settees continued through the years.

Two suggestions arise from the use of divided seating in early establishments: 1) that proprietors sought to establish the legitimacy of films as an independent form of entertainment by mimicking the customs of the legitimate live theatre venues; and 2) that proprietors had multiple class targets. Middle class patrons could enjoy prime seats in the elevated dress circles of the new cinema, and working class patrons could enjoy the comfort of a cheap seat.

6.8 Government constraints

This research has demonstrated that a six-point business strategy was applied by proprietors to maximise profits by attracting a range of audiences. These actions were subject to two major constraints imposed by the government: the Federal Entertainment Tax and State-based censorship laws.

The Federal Entertainment Tax

Following the outbreak of WWI, a number of taxes were put into place in an attempt to provide financial support for the war effort, including an Entertainments Tax (or Amusement Tax); enforced by the *Federal Entertainment Tax Assessment Act* 1916. This affected places of entertainment that charged 6d or more for admission by placing a payable tax of 1d for prices no less than 6d and no more than 1s; and for prices over 1s: 1d for the first 1s and 1/2d for each 6d (or part of 6d) by which the payment exceeds 1s (Edmonds 2010:13; *Bendigonian*, 4 January1917:4; *Cairns Post*, 14 March 1917:6) (see Table 6.1).

Before the entertainments tax	After the entertainments tax
6d	7d
1s	1s1d
1s6d	1s7½d

Table 6.1. An example of admissions prices, and the result following the placement of the entertainments tax

Proprietors of amusement venues, including theatres and cinemas, voiced their concerns over the implementation of the Entertainments Tax. They argued that the tax would affect attendance rates, and even result in the closure of several venues. The tax was also called a 'class tax' and was claimed to be unfair and unjust by Harold Ashton of the theatre company, J.C. Williamson Limited (*The Register*, 2 October 1916:5). Collins (1987:19) has suggested that the tax caused consternation, especially among the 'poorer' classes, and that politicians

were quick to appeal to the working classes on the assumption that they would be most affected. Richardson (2005:150) has noted that a similar Entertainments Tax in the UK hastened the closure of smaller cinemas that poorer working classes could afford to attend. Unlike the UK, however, the introduction of the entertainments tax in Adelaide did not appear to affect patronage. Only one cinema closed between 1910 and 1919 (The Arcadia Picture Palace), and one between 1920 and 1929 (The Princess Theatre).

Censorship

Film censorship is perhaps the earliest means of gentrification being imposed on the moviegoing public in Australia as a whole. Within Victorian Britain, Sanders (2002) argues that social control was imposed on the working classes by means of laws and regulations, such as cinema censorship. Middle class social reformers, including the clergy and temperance groups, 'sought to improve the morals of both the audience and the subjects presented on the screen' by subjecting technologies to censorship and ideological control in an attempt to "distribute middle class codes of social practice to the 'lower classes'" (Sanders 2002: 97-98). Following the release of the famous *The Story of the Kelly Gang* movie in December 1906, newspapers reported the crimes of five youths who broke into a photo studio and stole the cashbox, and held up fellow school children with loaded revolvers the next day (Shirley and Adams 1989:18). There were concerns that the film could potentially corrupt individuals, and in April 1907, the first official censorship in Australia was implemented in Victoria. From as early as 1910, Adelaide-based temperance and religious groups protested the screening of moving pictures and the risk they posed to morals, especially those of children. Several newspaper articles highlight the concerns of these groups, as well as individuals who sympathised with them, including the Premier at the time, John Verran, who

was associated with temperance groups and often appeared on temperance platforms (Hunt 1990).

There were mixed views on the topic of censorship amongst proprietors and managers, the earliest being in 1910 regarding fight pictures (films dedicated in particular to boxing matches) (*The Advertiser*, 14 July 1910, p.9). While most appeared to be in agreement that fight pictures would not result in 'demoralising behaviour', some proprietors admitted that they would not show any films of the genre. Morley, the manager of the Lyceum Picture theatre, was quoted as saying, '[N]o reputable picture house would show the film' (*The Advertiser*, 14 July 1910:9). The article highlights that proprietors had to be cautious in their decisions to screen or not screen a film, but other factors such as the race of a fighter (or fighters) might have affected decisions: "Had the fight been between two white men our views might have been different" (*The Advertiser*, 14 July 1910:9). It also suggests that some specific cinemas attracted a particular demographic more than others, but this was not clear from the available data.

6.9 Conclusion

The aims of this study were addressed through the recording of Adelaide's historic cinemas. The embourgeoisement and revisionist theories were assessed by analysing data using a refinement of the Balaban and Katz strategy. Consequently, this thesis has challenged perceptions of early cinema as a form of 'lower class' entertainment within an Australian context. While the Balaban and Katz strategy was demonstrated by Adelaide's early cinema proprietors, it was insufficient to reveal class-based influence on cinema development, contrary to what was originally believed. Its principles are embedded within a business model of gaining maximum profits from a growing industry, and suggests, then, that cinema

proprietors were indiscriminate of audiences in terms of their social standing or prestige. Proprietors sought numbers, and in an industry that was still only establishing itself as a legitimate and independent form of entertainment, proprietors could not afford to be discriminate of patrons who could afford the admission prices. Class-based influence is better illustrated by other factors such as finance, legislation, and societal concerns and perceptions relating to the cinema. Findings from these points suggest that proprietors sought to appeal to a variety of demographics (mostly to those who could afford admission), but also to middle class conventions by applying customs already used in legitimate theatres such as classified seating (and the consequent price range), emphasis on comfort (legal requirements masked as luxuries), and compliance with censorship efforts and concerns. Consequently, findings from this study do not complement the embourgeoisement theory as early cinema audiences were likely a mixture of working, middle, and even wealthy classes.

Early cinemas were not hidden in storefronts of working class areas, but neither were they often found in particularly affluent areas. High exposure, public venues were hired to screen the latest films; from live theatre venues to town halls, and large canvas theatres erected on main roads and intersections. The use of temporary venues such as large canvas theatres was not a reflection of the targeted audience, but rather, a reflection of the hesitancy of investors and proprietors in establishing permanent venues for films and risking financial losses in the long term. Moving pictures were certainly popular, but many viewed them as a passing novelty, like roller skating a few decades before (Hiley 2002:112); thus short term investments were ideal during its height of popularity. Later, as proprietors and investors grew more confident in the popularity of the moving picture and its likelihood to remain popular for years, permanent venues were established in high exposure locations on main roads, near public transport in populated areas in and around the Adelaide CBD. This maximised

exposure, drawing in numbers that were essential in maintain the businesses, and signified the growing popularity of the medium, and pressed a greater sense of permanency as a legitimate entertainment medium.

A culturally significant aspect of the cinema was its closeness and relation to the historical and economic context of its time (Slowinska 2005:579). Popular styles reflect what is thought to be desirable (Devlin and Nasar 1989:334); appealing to different demographics depending on the messages and stylistic connotations of particular designs. In the case of cinema architecture in Adelaide, architecture and the level of elaboration did not necessarily reflect the types of audiences proprietors sought to attract, but reflected popular architectural trends of the time. While the use of elaboration in cinemas aided in appealing to cinema audiences, journalists emphasised size and especially the most 'up to date' features of the latest or upcoming cinemas, from interior design to screening technology. In this way, cinemas came to represent 'the modern' during the time of construction.

From the early 1910s, cinemas came to embody the acme of comfort and convenience; however, this masked the underlying legislative motives that required entertainment spaces to cater to health and safety requirements. It was not unusual for a cinema to have lounges, toilets, and crying rooms. Ventilation (the earliest cooling system), especially, was a legislative requirement addressing fire safety and health standards, while conveniently contributing to a comfortable and luxurious space. Ushers and usherettes appeared to be employed later than the American counterparts, and by that point, cinema had established itself as a legitimate and independent form of entertainment.

Findings from the financial aspect of the business, and issues surrounding censorship complement findings from the six-point strategy model. Relatively affordable admissions, but a variety of price ranges, suggested that audiences were a combination of demographics, and not a single or particular majority. Admission prices were at their most expensive between 1896 and 1906, the cheapest admission price constituting approximately 3% of an unskilled worker's wage. One shilling was the equivalent to a night's entertainment in a vaudeville theatre (*Daily Herald*, 18 November 1911:12; Worby 1988:26). This may have merited weekly cinema-going for an individual. Censorship, argued to be one of the earliest means of gentrification, was practised at the discretion of individual proprietors, and not the entire industry. Proprietors and managers took care in choosing which films to screen, but did not appear to discriminate against a whole genre.

6.11 Further research

While this study aimed to challenge generalisations of the cinema industry, its focus on the entire Metropolitan Adelaide area is still broad and generalises all cinemas within that boundary. There is still potential for further research in this field. Ideally, an individual history of each cinema should be produced to achieve a more holistic view of the Adelaide cinema industry and its development. It is not suggested to apply the five-point strategy as a means of identifying class-based influence on cinemas, but to instead focus on financial and ethnographic methods of identification. Amongst the additional sources of data, which, due to space and time constraints this study could not expand on, are personal experiences of the historic cinema audiences, and the films and genres shown at each venue. Research could also benefit on a study of the cultural significance of the cinema in different areas and time periods, focussing again on the personal aspect and experiences of the audience.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Recording form template.

EXTERNAL FEATURES

GENERAL INFORMATION

Address								
Cinema name (if applicable)								
Previously known as								
Year(s) of name change								
Status		Operational		Not in operation		Demolished		Building reused
Reused for		Hospitality		Office		Retail		Storage
		Other (provide details):						
Construction Date	**Opening Date**	**Closing Date**	**Demolition Date**					
Years in operation								
Source		Archives		Book		Building plaque		Internet
		Newspaper		Oral recollection				
Source reference(s)								
Photo JPG numbers*								

See attached pro forma for descriptions.

SIZE

Surface area (m^2)										
Height (m)		**Storeys**		1		2		3		4		>4

MATERIAL

Allocated budget for construction								
Actual cost of construction								
Construction materials								
Extent of modifications		No modifications		Few modifications		Some modifications		Heavily modified
Modifications made		Additions		Removals		Repairs		
		Restoration		Upgrades		Refurbishments		
Notes								

STYLE

Architectural style		Art Deco		Neo-classical		Streamline Moderne		Other
If OTHER, specify:								
Design theme(s)	*e.g. nautical*							
Colour scheme								
Existing decoration(s)								

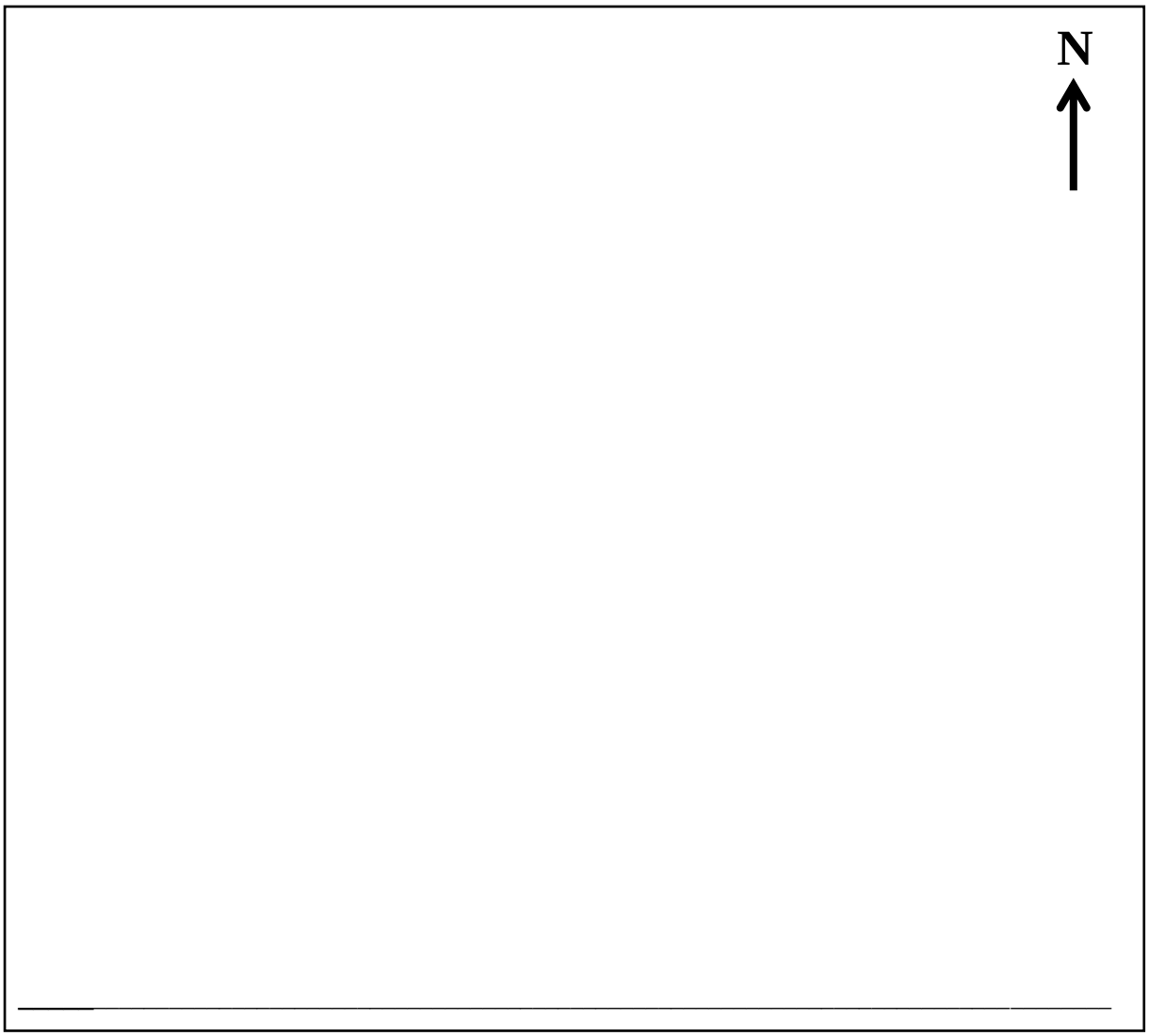
LOCATION

Electoral division		Boothby		Hindmarsh		Kingston	
		Makin		Mayo		Port Adelaide	
		Sturt		Wakefield			
Road location		Main road		Side road		Corner	
Public transport available		Bus		Train		Tram	None
Distance from public transport (i.e. station, or stop)		<100m		100-200m		200-300m	
		300-400m		400-500m		>500m	

N

ADDITIONAL NOTES (associated buildings, streetscapes etc.).

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS



INTERNAL FEATURES

SIZE

Number of screens		Single		Multi: 2		Multi: 3		Multi: 4		Originally single
Total seating capacity									
Seating arrangement		Stalls		Loge		Mezzanine		Balcony/upper stalls		Box
Rooms/services		Lobby		Auditorium		Foyer		Toilets		Crying room
		Stage		Air conditioning		Ushers		Ventilation		Other

MATERIAL

Construction materials								
Extent of modifications		No modifications		Few modifications		Some modifications		Heavily modified
Modifications made		Additions			Removals			Repairs
		Restoration			Upgrades			Refurbishments
Notes								

STYLE

Architectural style		Art Deco		Neo-classical		Streamline Moderne		Other
If OTHER, specify:								
Design theme(s)	*e.g. nautical*							
Colour scheme								
Existing decoration(s)								

Appendix 2: Recording results

Cinema Name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened	Closed	Demolished	Architect	Seating capacity	Originally opened by	Other names	Building type	Road position	Corner	Building cost (£)
Adelaide Wondergraph	27 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1913	1976	?	Garlick and Jackman	1800	Continental Wondergraph	Greater Wondergraph, Civic, State, New Civic	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	60,000
Empire Theatre	61 Grote Street	Adelaide	City	1910	1948	-	A. Barnham Black	1500	Lyceum Pictures	New Empire Theatre	Converted	Main	No	
Liberty Theatre	124 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1942	1964	-		385	Fullers Theatres Pty Ltd	Cinema Curzon	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Adelaide Grand	23 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1916	1976	-	RGG Assheton	1100	Alfred Drake	Mayfair, Sturt	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Metro Theatre	88 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1939	1972	1975 (remodelled)		1294	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Pty Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
The Pavillion Theatre	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1912	1930	1961	English and Soward, John Kirkpatrick	1200	Mr Harrison	The Pav	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Regent Theatre	101-107 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1928	2004	-		2300	Hoyt's		Purpose-built	Main	No	200,000
Savoy News Theatre	43-45 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1941	1966	?	Chris Smith	300	Savoy Theatres	Savoy News Luxe, Globe	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Central Picture Theatre	70 Wakefield Street	Adelaide	City	1912	1960	?	RRG Assheton	1400	Arthur John Charles Assheton	Star Theatre, New Star Theatre, Odeon Star, The Pantheon	Purpose-built	Main	No	
West's Olympia	91 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1909	1938	1938 (rebuilt)	Lionel Greg Bruer	3000	T.J. West	West's	Converted	Main	No	
York Theatre	66 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1921	1962	1962			Greater Wondergraph Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Arcadia Picture Palace	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1910	1911	1911		1000			Purpose-built	Main	No	
Australia	65 Angas Street	Adelaide	City	1929	?	-				Royalty Theatre	Unknown	Corner	Yes	
Adelaide Star Theatre	104 King William Street	Adelaide	City	1913	1980	?			Fullers Theatres Pty ltd	Tivoli, Majestic, Warner	Converted	Main	No	
Rex Theatre	127 Rundle Mall	Adelaide	City	1933	1961	1961		1400	Rex Theatre Ltd		Purpose-built	Main	No	
Times Theatrette	Cnr King William Street and Grenfell Street	Adelaide	City	1932	1933	?		200	Greater Union Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
State Theatre	91 Hindley Street	Adelaide	City	1938	1977	-	Guy Crick		Greater Union Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Main	No	70,000
Kent Picture Theatre	Stanley Street	North Adelaide	City	1921	?	?		1400			Unknown	Side	No	
Alberton Ozone	33 Fussell Place	Alberton	Suburban	1924	1964	-	Chris Smith	1400	Ozone Amusements Ltd	Alberton	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Brighton Windsor	1 Commercial Road	Brighton	Suburban	1925	-	-				Brighton Picture Theatre, Masonic Hall	Purpose-built	Side	No	20,000
Garden Theatre	501 Goodwood Road	Colonel Light Gardens	Suburban	1927	1962	-	Chris Smith	1900	National Pictures Ltd	Colonel Light Gardens Theare, Odeon Star, Garden Picture Theatre, Hoyts Ozone	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	2,000
Croydon Picture Theatre	South Road	Croydon	Suburban	1923	1962	?		1100	Croydon Pictures Ltd	Odeon	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	7,000
Melba Dulwich	20 Stuart Road	Dulwich	Suburban	1923	1960	-		592	Manny Finkelstein		Purpose-built	Side	No	
Parkside Star	61 Glen Osmond Road	Eastwood	Suburban	1923	1960	?	Kaberry and Chard	1500	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd	Odeon Star	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Parkside Windsor	96 Glen Osmond Road	Eastwood	Suburban	1937	1947	-				Parkside and Eastwood Institute	Converted	Main	No	
Enfield Ozone	189 Main North Road	Enfield	Suburban	1926	1967	?	Chris Smith	1000	Continental Wondergraph		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Roxy Everard Park	98 Anzac Highway	Everard Park	Suburban	1937	1961	-	Chris Smith	1000	Roxy Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	10,000
Glenelg Ozone	119 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1937	2009	2011	Kenneth Milne	2041	Ozone Amusements Ltd	Glenelg Cinema Centre, Hoyts Ozone	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Palais Theatre	112 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1922	1927	-	RGG Assheton	1400	Glenelg Picture Company	Strand, Odeon Village, Odeon Cinema 70	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Glenelg Theatre	17 Colley Terrace	Glenelg	Suburban	1917	1931	1999		1100	S.T. Percival	New Glenelg Theatre	Converted	Corner	Yes	10,000
Seaview Theatre	17 Colley Terrace	Glenelg	Suburban	1936	1959	1999					Converted	Corner	Yes	6,250
Strand Theatre*	112 Jetty Road	Glenelg	Suburban	1927	1956	-	Chris Smith				Converted	Main	No	
Goodwood Star	141 Goodwood Road	Goodwood	Suburban	1941	-	-	Chris Smith	1472	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd	New Goodwood Star, Theatre Capri, New Curzon, Capri	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Goodwood Wondergraph	147 Goodwood Road	Goodwood	Suburban	1920	1964	-	AH Michael	1200	Greater Wondergraph Ltd	The Ozone, The Curzon	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Hackney Star	23 Hackney Road	Hackney	Suburban	1940	1948	-				Windsor Hackney	Unknown	Main	No	
Hilton Lyric	145 Sir Donald Bradman Drive	Hilton	Suburban	1937	1961	-				Windsor Theatre Hilton, Theatre 62, Soldiers Memorial, Star	Converted	Corner	Yes	

Cinema Name	Address	Suburb	City/Suburban	Opened	Closed	Demolished	Architect	Seating capacity	Originally opened by	Other names	Building type	Road position	Corner	Building cost
Hindmarsh Star	210 Port Road	Hindmarsh	Suburban	1916	1990	-	Chris Smith	1000	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd	Star, Odeon Star, Cinema Italia, Cinema Europa, Windsor	Converted	Corner	Yes	
Kilkenny Odeon Star	58 David Terrace	Kilkenny	Suburban	1926	1959	-		1128	Croydon Pictures Ltd	Odeon Star, Kilkenny Picture Palace	Purpose-built	Side	No	
Austral Picture Palace	Kilkenny Road?	Kilkenny	Suburban	1922	?	?	Chris Smith		Austral Picture Palace and Theatres Ltd		Converted	Side	No	
Vogue Kingswood	25 Belair Road	Kingswood	Suburban	1939	1976	-	Lionel Greg Bruer	1350	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	16,000
Lockleys Windsor	362 Henley Beach Road	Lockleys	Suburban	1937	2013	-				Institute, Odeon Star	Converted	Main	No	
Princess Theatre	275 Kensington Road	Marryatville	Suburban	1925	1941	-	Chris Smith		National Pictures Ltd	Ozone, Chelsea, Regal	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Marryatville Ozone*	275 Kensington Road	Marryatville	Suburban	1941	-	-					Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Piccadilly	181 O'Connell Street	North Adelaide	Suburban	1940	-	-	Evans, Bruer and Hall (in association with Guy Crick)		D. Clifford Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	26,000
Norwood Star	Cnr Queen Street and The Parade	Norwood	Suburban	1923	1967	-	Kaberry and Chard, Chris Smith	2000	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd	Odeon	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Port Adelaide Empire	78 St Vincent Street	Port Adelaide	Suburban	1910	1960	?		830	Lyceum Pictures	Empire Picture Palace	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Port Adelaide Ozone	186 St Vincent Street	Port Adelaide	Suburban	1913	1968	?	Bruce, Wooldridge and Harral	1800	Ozone Amusements Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Prospect Ozone	85 Prospect Road	Prospect	Suburban	1923	1961	?	Chris Smith	1100	National Pictures Ltd	National	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	9,000
Seacliff Windsor	35 Wheatland Street	Seacliff	Suburban	1925	1959	1959 (fire)		550		Argosy	Unknown	Corner	Yes	
Semaphore Ozone	2 Semaphore Road	Semaphore	Suburban	1929	1960	-		1100	Ozone Amusements Ltd		Converted	Corner	Yes	9,000
Semaphore Wondergraph	65 Semaphore Road	Semaphore	Suburban	1920	1976	-	Emmett Brothers	1400	Greater Wondergraph Ltd	Star, Odeon Star	Purpose-built	Main	No	
St Morris Windsor	407 Magill Road	St Morris	Suburban	1931	1957	-			Cunnew Brothers	De Franco, Windsor	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
St Peters Capitol	32 Payneham Road	St Peters	Suburban	1925	1964	?	Kaberry and Chard	1900	D. Clifford Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Main	No	20,000
Anzac Picture Theatre	Payneham Road	St Peters	Suburban	1916	1920	1920 (fire)			Star Picture Company	St Peters Star	Purpose-built	Main	No	
Torrensville Star	107 Henley Beach Road	Torrensville	Suburban	1916	1954	-		1000	Star Picture Company	Star, Plaza Theatre,	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	6,000
Unley Sturt	100 Maud Street	Unley	Suburban	1914	1925	?	H. McLeon and Looser		A.W. Styles	Unley Ozone, Ideal Picture Theatre	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Unley Palace Picture Theatre	Cnr Arthur Street and Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1917	1930	1965			H.R. Clues	Wondergraph, Ozone, Star	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	
Unley Ozone	Cnr Arthur Street and Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1940	1963	1965			Ozone Amusements Ltd	Odeon	Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	5,900
New Unley Star	204 Unley Road	Unley	Suburban	1928	1965	1965			D. Clifford Theatres Ltd		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	36,000
Walkerville Star	62 Walkerville Terrace	Walkerville	Suburban	1949	1960	?				Walkerville Institute, Kings, Cameo	Converted	Corner	Yes	
Woodville Star	72 Woodville Road	Woodville	Suburban	1927	1974	-		1500	Woodville Star Pictures		Purpose-built	Corner	Yes	13,365