

**Monash University**

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## **Thoroughly modern coffee**

### Abstract

First Wave describes the post WWII proliferation of low quality coffee ... second wave is exemplified by companies ... mass producing higher quality espresso coffee for cafes and supermarkets. Third wave coffee makers are distinguished by their dedication to extracting the best from coffee in its purest, unadulterated form (Ross 2009).

An article in the *Melbourne Age* on 13 October 2009 left me feeling both annoyed and intrigued. The wave analogy implies Australia's coffee culture did not start until after World War II and that post-war migrants from Southern Italy brought the coffee drinking habit to Australia. The 'coffee snobbery' inherent in the article, and the subtle suggestion that third wave coffee is accessible only to distinguished coffee drinkers, is also intriguing. This paper dismisses the wave analogy as a way of explaining the development of a coffee culture in Australia and, instead, explores the relationship that Australians have had with coffee since the 1930s. It challenges the collective belief that post-war migrants from Southern Italy transported their coffee culture to Australia and asks the question; is an appreciation of taste and flavour a cultural asset belonging to an elite coffee drinking group or has it become important because coffee has lost its connection to sophistication and become a mainstream beverage?

### Biographical note:

After graduating, B Arts Geography (hons), Jill Adams pursued a career in hospitality in Paris. A qualified teacher, she is also a graduate of *Cordon Bleu Ecole de Cuisine* in Paris. She is currently Training and Development Manager of Coffee Academy, a joint initiative of Douwe Egberts Australia and William Angliss Institute, and is studying part-time towards a Masters in Oral History at Monash University. Her book *Barista: A guide to espresso coffee* (Pearson Australia) is used widely in training in Australia and overseas. Jill has an international reputation in the coffee industry and is a regular contributor to Australian and international coffee and tea industry journals. In 2007, she started working with Bill Bennett, a prominent tea and coffee broker, to record his account of his life in the tea business. Since then, she has been researching social and cultural change in Australia through the rich stories of people involved in our tea and coffee industries.

### Keywords:

Coffee – tea

First Wave describes the post WWII proliferation of low quality coffee...second wave is exemplified by companies ... mass producing higher quality espresso coffee for cafes and supermarkets. Third wave coffee makers are distinguished by their dedication to extracting the best from coffee in its purest, unadulterated form (Ross 2009).

## Introduction

This excerpt from an article in the *Melbourne Age* on 13 October 2009, 'A New Wave is Brewing', left me feeling both annoyed and intrigued. The wave analogy does not adequately describe Australia's relationship with coffee. It implies Australia's coffee culture did not start until after World War II and that post war migrants from Southern Italy brought the coffee drinking habit to Australia. The 'coffee snobbery' inherent in the article, and the subtle suggestion that third wave coffee is accessible only to distinguished coffee drinkers, is intriguing.

Third wave coffee drinkers appreciate the flavour nuances of single estate coffee; that is coffee that is sourced from single estates, farms, or villages in coffee growing regions. When processed carefully, it will have a distinctive flavour and taste profile that reflects the region and the culture of the coffee production. The flavour of coffee is influenced by many factors including: the characteristics of the region where it is grown and, the way it is grown, harvested, and processed after it is harvested. For the average coffee drinker, caramel, butterscotch, toffee, hazelnut, spice, and chocolate are added to coffee to improve its flavour but to third wavers, these flavour characteristics can be found within the roasted coffee bean.

This paper dismisses the wave analogy as a way of explaining the development of coffee in Australia and, instead, explores the relationship that Australians have had with coffee since the 1930s. It challenges the collective belief that post-war migrants from Southern Italy transported their coffee culture to Australia and asks the question: 'Is an appreciation of taste and flavour a cultural asset belonging to an elite coffee drinking group or has it become important because coffee has lost its connection to sophistication and become a mainstream beverage'?

## Coffee consumption before the second world war

Australians were predominately tea drinkers across all social and economic classes until WWII; but they did drink coffee. Coffee was expensive, whereas tea was cheap. George Spencer was an apprentice grocer until 1952, when he started working for Myers in its new supermarket. He comments:

Coffee wasn't heard of for the ordinary working person. It was the well to do people that had coffee. There used to be shops in Collins Street where they could buy it. Special shops (Adams August 2010).

People had conflicting perceptions about coffee. It was associated with both respectability and sobriety, and with idleness and crime. Andy May writes that coffee stalls in Melbourne in the 1870s, commonly located at busy street intersections, offered refreshments to late night city workers or the 'night-going public', theatre goers and shift workers. These were often places associated with idleness and crime.

By the turn of the century, the number of coffee stalls had declined, and by the 1920s, coffee stalls had been removed from the streets because of their association with crime. 'The street was to be left to the rats and shadows' (Brown-May 1998: 138).

However, at Mockbells, a Sydney lunch spot, coffee was promoted as the perfect accompaniment to the business lunch. In 1928, Mockbells Ltd., promoted its 'old matured specially imported Mocha coffee' as the best drink for busy businessmen.

It revives and restores lost nerve force and keeps the mind alert and fit for business problems ... Businessmen now make a habit of enjoying a light lunch during the day. They find that steaming hot coffee, freshly made, with bread rolls or sandwiches, constitute the ideal light meal (Mockbells Limited 1928).

In 1939, Mr Ernest Singer, intending to establish himself in the coffee business, published a series of letters in *The Australasian Grocer*. Singer was surprised to find that Australia had 'modern English cities, showing a strong American influence, with a greater amount of traffic than most European cities; marvellous gardens, a strong cultural life ... a friendly and hospitable population, which is proud of its development in such a short time!' Australia, however, had dreadful coffee despite its apparent modernity. Australian people, he wrote, 'could be made more familiar with coffee, the beverage which has given European and American family and social life a characteristic feature' (Singer 1939a: 19).

Singer also proposed that 'The whole conception of coffee drinking in this country was different from that of coffee drinking in Europe and America' (Singer 1939b: 555). In Australia, people drank tea and coffee with meals to quench their thirst; whereas in Europe and America people drank water with meals and a *demitasse* of coffee afterwards. The flavour and caffeine concentrate of a small cup of coffee was more rewarding than the caffeine and flavour of more diluted coffee he argued. Weak coffee [the way Australians drank coffee] 'punishes the drinker by the poorness of its taste' (Singer 1939b: 555). Chicory, which was often added, had nothing in common with coffee except its colour. Australia was not importing enough high quality coffee and 'the art of blending has still to be developed'. Coffee was not being roast or ground correctly.

It seems that a more highly developed standard of life demands a greater variety of things to drink. In Europe and America, besides coffee, a considerable amount of tea is consumed; in the same way slowly a need for a second national drink is making itself felt in Australia. The growing number of coffee lounges in the cities seems to prove the statement. But if Australia is changing from a tea drinking country to a tea and coffee drinking country certain conditions must be fulfilled first ... A freshly roasted and freshly ground coffee will give an excellent result irrespective of whether it is made in modern percolators, dripolators, American vacuum glass brewers, etc., or by the old fashioned pot method (Singer 1939a: 19).

The way coffee is brewed is at the heart of a good cup of coffee and Australians did not know how to brew coffee correctly. They brewed it the same way as they brewed tea, or they boiled it, or boiled it with milk and mustard; eggs shells or even dynamite were sometimes added (Singer 1939a: 19).

In the late 1930s, Australian soda fountains and cafés were introduced to the precursor of the espresso machine; a new method of brewing that promised to make a consistently good cup and thereby improve coffee's popularity. The *La Carimali* was in use in European countries but had not yet appeared to any great extent in the English speaking countries or America. It was an urn and had boiling water for hot drinks and used steam pressure to heat liquids. It could transform frozen milk to hot milk, make ice-cold soup steaming hot and infuse a cup of coffee in a few seconds. 'Milk bars are now afforded an opportunity of keeping abreast of overseas developments ... with the new *La Carimali* drink dispenser' (The Australasian Confectioner and Soda Fountain 1939: 41).

Coffee making is an entirely new process on this machine. The customer gives his order. The operator un-clicks from a faucet on the machine a very fine strainer, puts into it sufficient ground coffee, snaps it back into position, puts the cup underneath, turns the handle and lo, in a few seconds there is a cup of boiling hot coffee so perfectly infused that the grounds are entirely exhausted, and quite free of the flavour that comes with too long percolation – redolent, indeed to a new degree with the precious volatile flavouring element of coffee that are lost in long processes of infusion. The Carimali made it possible to serve any fastidious customer with a 'Moccha, Neilghu, Kenya, Turkish, Mysore, Jamaica, Costa Rica or Kona type or any blend of them,' rather than striking an average and presenting a 'take it or leave it' decoction (The Australasian Confectioner and Soda Fountain 1939: 41).

The *la Carimali* promised to deliver a consistently good coffee and change the way the public perceived the drink. 'Most dispensers have failed to make their fountains a place where the public could secure a good cup of coffee ... The result of having made such a poor impression upon the public is that you have to prove to them that you serve a good cup of coffee before you can do much business in this line' (The Australasian Confectioner and Soda Fountain 1939: 41).

and Soda Fountain Journal—March 23, 1939 41

**LA CARIMALI**  
The Wonder  
DRINK DISPENSER

**Milk Bar, Coffee Inn & Cafe Proprietors**  
— See this marvellous machine demonstrated without delay. —

Halves your electricity costs — — — —  
Halves your milk costs — — — —  
MUST double your turnover — — — — !!

Every conceivable kind of hot drink—Malted Milk, Soup, Coffee, Buns, Cocoa, Chocolate, Tea, etc., etc., dispensed on the one machine in five seconds. Does away with electric urns. Whips, creams and heats at the same time. No more stewed drinks—no more urns to clean out. — Speedy and hygienic.

CASH or EASY TERMS.

LA CARIMALI DISTRIBUTORS  
Sole Australian Agents,  
76 PITT STREET (Roussell), SYDNEY.

Fig. 1: *La Carimali*, *The Australasian Confectioner and Soda Fountain*, 23 March 1939, 41

### **Coffee's challenge to tea**

Tea suffered many setbacks during World War II. At the same time, Australian civilians and servicemen were introduced to glamorous, coffee drinking American servicemen stationed here during the war in the Pacific. This was to have a significant impact on our coffee culture.

When Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies, our traditional supply of tea was lost and Australia had to depend on an allocation of tea from Britain. With supply issues and shortages the price of tea rose. To stabilise the situation, tea was brought under government control in 1942 and a Tea Control Board was established under the National Securities Act. Rationing started immediately. The frustration and anger was expressed in letters written by civilians and organisations to the Division of Import Procurement. Tea was traditionally consumed as a 'pick me up', for pain relief, as a thirst quencher, for comfort, and was a necessary part of a worker's tea break.

The following extracts from letters represent just a few of many complaints. Francis Gardener wrote hoping for an increased ration:

Owing to the serious illness of my aged mother I am writing to ask if it were possible to increase my tea ration. I find it all together insufficient as the family have been called home. We have to sit up all night with her ... If you can see your way clear to grant this request I shall be very grateful [sic] (NAA:MP5/61,2 Letter from Francis Gardener, 14 June 1942).

Mr Earl Watson, a concerned sugar farmer in Queensland wrote:

Would you advise me how I am going to secure tea for the season ... as during the cane season neither myself or [sic] my men can drink coffee or cocoa (NAA:MP5/61,2 Letter from Earl Watson, 8 April 1942).

In 1950, rationing ended in Australia and, rather than being a time of great joy, it was a time of further frustration; the price of tea rose dramatically. Newly independent tea producing countries were producing less tea and, with the end of rationing, there was a sudden increase in demand. Tea remained under government control and the government subsidised the cost of tea but in 1955 the purchase of tea was returned to tea merchants and the government subsidy was removed. The price of tea rose instantly and dramatically. Peter Bennett, an employee of the Tea Control Board remembers:

Everybody had it at home it was a way of life to have tea and all of a sudden the price and people battled ... most of the battlers drank tea because it was cheap you know 80% of Australians were worried about the price of things ... when the prices went up that I am not sure ... if that happened today they would want to know what happened—who's making the money (Adams 2010).

By 1955 Australians had been grumbling about tea for almost 15 years; they had also been introduced to coffee and instant coffee. During WWII, with American servicemen in Australia, coffee consumption doubled. Australian tea consumption was at 7 lbs per person per year. Americans drank 13 lbs of coffee a year and only 1/2 lb of tea. Australian civilians were influenced by the coffee consumption of these

glamorous soldiers. Australian Servicemen were also influenced by American taste. The question of using coffee mixed with chicory for the Australian services was raised when the U.S. Navy personnel would not accept coffee and chicory and demanded a pure coffee supply. The Royal Australian Navy and the Australian Army developed a taste for pure coffee with the arrival of the Americans and they too refused to drink the coffee and chicory mix. This resulted in enormous waste when coffee and chicory was dumped and pure coffee was introduced (NAA: Series A1539 Item 1942/w/1041).

In 1945, civilian consumption of coffee was at six and a half million pounds annually and increasing. By May 1947, two years after the war ended, the sale of coffee during February was 729,460 lbs compared to 476,070 lbs in February 1945—a 54% increase (NAA: Series MP5/45, Item number Volume 3, Minutes of the Tea Control Board, 12th August 1946).

By 1945, major Australian tea companies were advertising coffee in newspapers. Bushells ran a series of advertisements in the Melbourne Argus in 1945 promoting coffee drinking and showing consumers how easy it was to make a good coffee.

Bushells used to say get a saucepan and put the coffee in – the coffee would float. The water never really boiled – the coffee would sink down through the water as it heated ... Mr Bushell said, “Coffee boiled is coffee spoiled” and Mr Bushell also said freshness is 50% of the value of coffee that is why they went for the vacuum packed coffee. (Adams October 2007).



Fig. 2. Advertisement for Bushells Coffee. *The Argus Thursday* 19 July 1945  
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article975544>

In 1947 Nestlé introduced instant coffee to Australia. This was to be the biggest challenge to tea drinking in Australia. Bill Bennett remembers this as a young boy working as a pot-boy for Bushells in Melbourne:

Philip [Bushell] was there and I had to do the samples for coffee. They had tins of Nescafé instant coffee and in those days there was lots of carbohydrate in it to blow it up. We tasted it against our roast and ground and essences and it wasn't a very good drink! Bushells were thinking of going into instant coffee and after tasting it they decided not to go into the instant coffee business because it tasted so bad! They made one of the biggest mistakes! Nestlé went into it in a big way. And a number of years later Bushells bought an instant coffee plant and put it in Sydney and tried to produce a very good coffee. Unfortunately they were using very high quality 'bright' Kenyan coffees and everyone said it had a bitter taste. And they could never match Nestlé (Adams 2007).

By 1952 Nestlé's Dennington plant in Victoria, was in full production with coffee now made from 100% beans and no carbohydrate. Nescafé accounted for 17% of all coffee consumed here. Instant coffee was convenient and modern. There was no mess and it made a perfect cup every time, and in just three seconds (Khamis 2009: 224-225).



Fig. 3. Nestlé Advertisement. *The Canberra Times* 5 August 1949, 2  
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2817126>

## The tea industry fights back

In 1963 the Tea Bureau, sponsored by the Government of Ceylon, conducted a national survey into the habits of Australian tea drinkers (Broadcasting and Television 1963). It concluded that Australians did not drink tea to associate themselves with a particular class or group or style of living. The three main reasons that people liked tea were that it was thirst quenching, refreshing and a good way to start the day. Tea was the most popular drink at the breakfast table for all socio-economic groups. Thirty per cent of Australians housewives did not realise that tea was cheaper than coffee. Fifty-two per cent of coffee consumed was instant. One reason given for coffee drinking between meals was that it was easier to make one cup. While most people were drinking tea, a considerable number were drinking another 'incidental' beverage.

In 1963, faced with declining tea consumption, The Tea Council, a group of tea merchants and representatives from producing countries, joined together to market tea. The Tea Council used radio, television, magazines and newspapers to promote tea to Australian consumers. Its marketing strategies were aimed mostly at the under 35s, who had been identified through market research, as the group that had turned away from tea, but also targeted women, migrants, upwardly mobile people, and families. But by 1974 it was clear that its efforts were not rewarded and it disbanded. By 1978, coffee consumption was almost at the same level as tea consumption in Australia.

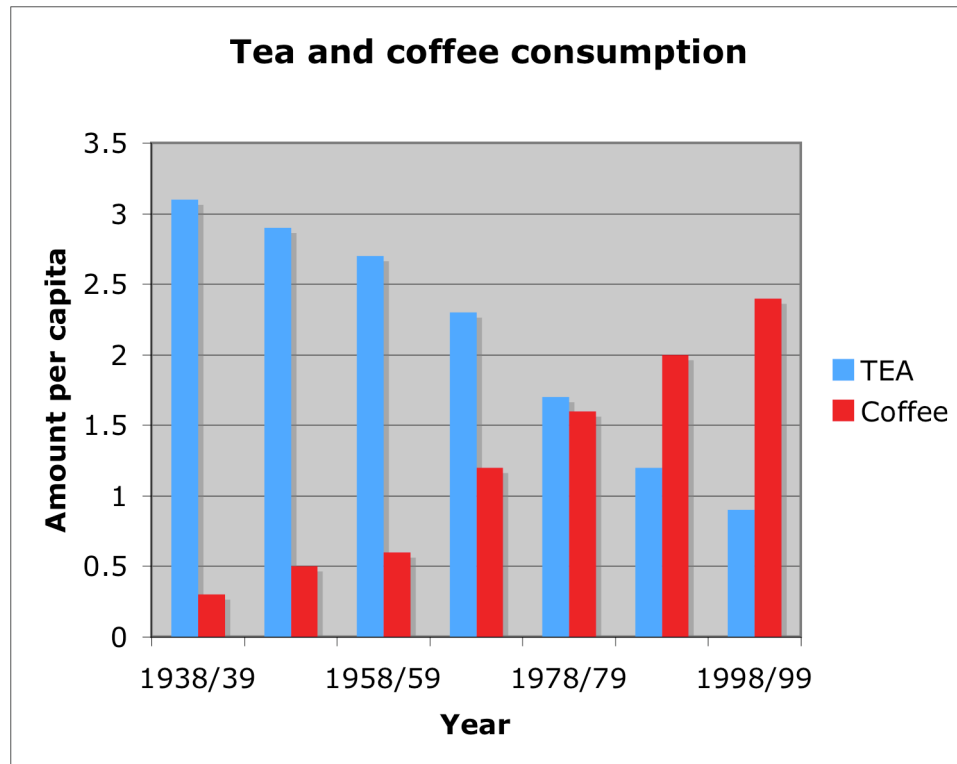


Fig. 4: Graph showing coffee and tea consumption, Average Consumption of Foodstuffs Australia, ABS 2000.



## Espresso bars and coffee lounges

During the 1950s, the espresso habit gained ground in Australia. New coffee lounges were imaginatively laid out, with ultra modern décor and streamlined fittings. Customers were ‘seduced by the novelty of the impressive-looking espresso machines, all shining chrome and knobs and pressure gauges’, and interesting food offerings such as pastries, sandwiches and gateaux. Quick counter service was often a feature along with table service for the customer with more time (Australasian Confectioner and Restaurant Journal, Editorial February 1956: 61). The real focus was not on coffee but on modernity, design and difference.

Gay espresso lounges and bars have mushroomed in the city and suburbs. In the nearer industrial suburbs particularly, they have brought bright splashes of colour into otherwise drab shopping areas ... Café espresso, as coffee made by this machine is called, has been the rage on the continent, in London, and in other parts of the world for some years, and its appearance in Australia is not only ushering in a new trend but popularising coffee drinking, but also introducing many smartly designed, spotlessly clean and attractively decorated intimate coffee shops (Australasian Confectioner and Restaurant Journal, Editorial 1956: 61).

The American Coffee Lounge in the Strand Arcade was the first espresso house in the heart of Sydney amidst ‘speculation as to the prospects for this continental method of coffee brewing in Australia’. It sold coffee in the cup as well as coffee beans over the counter. Repins, renowned in Sydney for good coffee, opened a new coffee lounge-restaurant in Pitt Street with a plate glass wall window, travertine frontage, and a mural depicting the history of coffee drinking world. Modern design was important as:

people come for short periods of time for leisure and refreshments ... The main requirements of a coffee lounge are an efficient layout and a decorative scheme of sufficient genuine interest to stand long and repeated scrutiny without becoming tiresome (Architecture and Arts December 1957: 43).

The Legend opened in Melbourne in 1957 and featured a large mural by artist Leonard French. Elizabeth Moser, who came from Rochester in Northern Victoria to Melbourne the same year to study interior design at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), recalls:

It as normal but it was night school ... I was with this group of arty people and we would walk down Swanston Street and go to the Legend because it was quite convenient to Swanston Street and get in there with our long black stockings and beatnik outfits and look at the Leonard French paintings and remember that once he was a sign writer so there was hope for us (Adams April 2010)

The Caprice relied on elegance, brass fittings, pure white plaster, and exposed bricks; whilst Mars in Sydney used an integrated series of conversation pieces on the spaceship theme to ‘make coffee drinking a sort of second childhood adventure’. Dr Ernest Fooks’ designed an open shopfront exposed to the street for The Capri in Footscray. This captured the style of southern Europe with Oregon beams wrought

iron screens and specially designed light fittings to create a feeling of open air. (Architecture and Arts 1957: 43).

Another interesting café was Galleria Espresso, designed by Sydney architect, Laszlo Ernst. The design featured new materials—chairs covered in a plastic material and lowered ceilings. This café was a gathering place for artists and art lovers; with an exhibition of works by Australian artists each month. The proprietor, Mr Mervyn Horton, was an authority on painting and a publisher and most of the staff were artists (Australasian Confectioner and Restaurant Journal 1956: 2).

When Mirka Mora opened Mirka Café at 183 Exhibition Street in Melbourne, ‘It became the toast of Melbourne and, because many interesting people came, one had to engage with writers, painters, musicians, actors, photographers, journalists and teenagers’ (Mora 2000: 77). Her friends came to help decorate the place; Julius Kane built the bar, Dawn and Ian Sime painted walls and ceiling, Clifford Last made a beautiful lamp to be hung from the ceiling, John and Sunday Reed lent some paintings and Lawrence Hope painted a painting of Woolloomooloo for behind the bar. Café Mirka was packed at night with theatre cast, crew and audiences looking for a place to eat and have coffee after the show. Coffee was mostly made on the espresso machine purchased at the same time as Pellegrini’s coffee machine, but Mora would make ‘café *a la main*’ (by hand) for two of her true coffee drinkers (Mora 2000: 77).

### **Roast and ground coffee, supermarkets, hotels, motels and Myers**

Parallel to the beginning of espresso coffee was an even bigger growth in the roast and ground coffee market. The first edition of *The Australian Gourmet* in 1966 featured a six-page article on coffee co-written by coffee retailer G. D. Repin. In 1969 Keith Dunstan wrote an article in *The Australian Gourmet* about his ‘coffee-olic’ brother:

The coffee-olic is a strange, curiously dedicated being. He is always buying new coffees, new blends, new percolators, new grinders.

He is on a tragic hopeless mission like the eternal search for the Holy Grail. He is looking for the perfect cup of coffee, which will put him in a state of euphoria and literally make the heavenly bells ring (Dunstan 1969: 5-6 )

In 1964, the coffee connoisseur was advised in *Home Beautiful* to treat coffee making with ‘near reverence milling his own blend of beans only minutes before using his own specialised equipment with fanatical care’ (Dalgleish 1964: 21). The sincere coffee lover was identified as a person, ‘who knows about coffee and at the drop of a hat will talk with passionate enthusiasm on the *only* way to make *real* coffee’ (Dalgleish 1964: 21).

In 1952, Myers opened a supermarket on the ground floor of its Lonsdale Street department store. George Spencer managed this area until 1983. He recalls:

That’s when things started to change as far as coffee was concerned ... We opened up in Lonsdale Street in 1952 ... We had a big roaster in Myer Melbourne, half was in

the reserve and the other half was in the shop and it just twirled around and twirled around the beans, and people could see it being roasted. But also we had a separate coffee counter which had about twelve varieties of coffee. People took to it just like that (Adams August 2010).

Supermarkets started opening up all over Australia and with supermarkets came new ways of shopping, and promoting and packaging products. Before Italian and Greek coffee roasters established their businesses in Australia, Robert Timms, now largely overlooked, was a key figure in Australia's coffee industry. Robert Timms supplied Safeway Supermarkets with free 'on loan' coffee grinders to achieve his aim of making fresh coffee available throughout Australia. David Watts was his National Sales Manager during the 1960s and recalls:

Timms set up roasting plants all over Australia ... I had a brief that Mr. Timms wanted fresh coffee to be available from Darwin to Southport in Tasmania ... and Robert Timms Coffee available to be purchased from Perth to Brisbane ... When I left Robert Timms it was the largest coffee company in Australia without any shadow of a doubt pure coffee not instant and we had every major outlet for coffee in Australia. We had Ansett, we had TAA, we had Qantas ... we had all the major hotels and David Jones (Adams April 2009).

Travel, tourism and dining out were becoming more popular and the hotel business was growing. Bruce Underhill, a sales manager for Harris Coffee and Tea would see a hole being dug in Melbourne's central business district and find out what was being built. If it was a hotel, he would try to get the account before construction was finished. Robert Timms was his main competition. He describes the coffee in hotels during this period:

In the Regent hotel there was a dining room and we had American metal ware machines which made double barrels of coffee and they serve three gallons a side. So if the dining room was full they could pull off coffee no hassle ... I used to have the Southern Cross, Windsor at one stage. I had the Hyatt, the Regent in Collins Street; all the big hotels. I used to look after them that was my thing ... coffee was ... they used to drink it more so than tea (Adams February 2010).

Not only was coffee more suited to the number of people being served, but it was also more suited to the new cuisines being served in hotels. Food changed from being very English to French, then à la Russe, and then the smorgasbord became popular. Coffee was a much better accompaniment to all these styles of eating than tea.

### **Italian and Greek coffee roasters**

Although Greek and Italian coffee roasters established their coffee businesses from the late 1950s on, espresso coffee as we know it today was not established until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Denis and Peter Patisteas arrived in Australia in 1955 and 1963 respectively, but only started roasting coffee after years of running takeaway cafes and coffee lounges. They bought Oasis coffee first and, as the business expanded, they were able to buy Griffiths Coffee. Giancarlo Guisti migrated from

Italy in 1960 and set up Grinders Coffee in 1962. He sums up the progress of his successful coffee business:

I bought a small coffee roaster, 15 kilos and put the roaster in the back of the shop ... and after a few months the shop started to pick up ... but 15 years later Mario [Mario's in Brunswick] came to me and said, 'Giancarlo you have good coffee why don't you go around and sell coffee?' Anyway I start to deliver coffee. I went to Mario twice a week to deliver coffee, then Mietta ... then after Mietta other coffee shops in the city they start to come to me and say, 'Giancarlo look can you deliver?' ... Then came Café Cucina ... after Café Cucina, Il Bacaro and on and on and I start to build the business like this to perhaps 200 kilograms of coffee that I was selling in the shop when I started to roast, I finished up with 15 to 16 tons in 2005 when I sold the business to CC Amatil [Coca Cola](Adams April 2009).

### **The modern coffee drinker**

How does coffee drinking retain its sophisticated aura when coffee drinking is an everyday common pursuit? Coffee drinking has become an everyday affair with the proliferation of cafes, fast food outlets, takeaway coffee, home coffee makers, and a society that seems unable to function without its daily coffee fix. Espresso coffee has lost the sophistication it started out with.

Ross's 'third wavers' separate themselves from mainstream espresso drinkers by their sophisticated appreciation of coffee's flavour and taste. Roasters source coffee beans from small single estates or farms and villages. They buy small amounts and work with growers to improve production methods on their farms. They 'bag' prize-winning coffees at specialty coffee auctions and they roast small batches of these special coffees promoting the individual flavour nuances of their specially sourced coffees. New wavers have rediscovered pre-espresso methods of brewing; it is impossible to appreciate subtle coffee flavours when the drink is awash with milk. In the words of Keith Dunstan's coffee-olic brother 'we [old wavers?] are all drinking "muck"' (Dunstan 1969: 6). New wavers are drinking, for instance, Los Deliros, a blend of *caturra*, *typica* and *bourbon Arabica* varieties ... violets, black cherry, baking chocolate and chocolate covered raisins.

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