

REFLECTIONS ON DON DUNSTAN'S CULTURAL AND CULINARY JOURNEY

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INTRODUCTION

Don Dunstan had a life-long interest, indeed passion, for food and drink. This interest had its apotheosis when Dunstan plunged into the restaurant industry as a restaurateur at the age of sixty-seven, with his health already in decline. This paper gives an account of Dunstan's journey with food and cooking in the context of his long devotion to social justice issues, and something of his unique contribution to politics, culture, tourism and the arts in South Australia.¹

Don Dunstan became Labor Premier of South Australia in June 1967, but his first Government survived only until April 1968. He returned to power in June 1970 and remained Premier until dramatically announcing his retirement on 15 February 1979, citing ill health as the reason. There had been no prior warning of this momentous political event, in fact not long before Dunstan had talked of a second decade as Premier.² At the time of his departure from politics, Dunstan had held the House of Assembly seat of Norwood continuously since 1953. As a local member of parliament, Dunstan was particularly skilled and committed. Former colleagues, Chris Sumner and Greg Crafter, are unstinting in their praise of his devotion to serving the needs of the Norwood electorate.³

As Premier, Dunstan introduced in a very short time a wide range of social justice and social welfare legislation into the Parliament, thus attracting considerable attention to himself and a good deal of mainly favourable, comment. His second Government continued to maintain a high level of social reform until the mid-seventies, when, for various reasons not solely related to the harsh facts of Australia's place in the world economic system, the pace slowed.⁴ However, in the late sixties and early seventies his was the fresh face of *New Labor* in South Australia: young; intelligent; enthusiastic and full of new ideas. Gough Whitlam similarly occupied centre stage on the Federal scene, and he and Dunstan were already described as 'bosom friend[s]'.⁵ Whitlam was as unlike his unlamented predecessor, Arthur Calwell, as could be imagined, while Dunstan bore no resemblance to his immediate predecessor, Frank Walsh. Dunstan was the first politician to actively embrace multiculturalism and significantly, by 1966 'was responsible for dropping the term White Australia from the Federal party's constitution.'⁶

As Attorney-General in the Walsh Labor Government of 1965-1967, Dunstan pursued one of his most important early social reforms using a Royal Commission to begin the well-overdue reform of South Australian liquor licensing laws, including the banishment of the notorious, but long endured six o' clock swill. Dunstan later claimed a seamless progression from his first licensing reforms to the more tolerant era of wining, dining and social drinking, that we now take for granted.⁷ Dunstan's bringing together of concern for food and drink, and more tolerant social attitudes began early in his life.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG DONALD

Dunstan developed his taste for exotic food as a child in Fiji. He was born in Suva in 1926 to expatriate South Australian parents. He was small and dogged by ill health, with a rather aloof 'sporting' father. In his early sixties, Dunstan recalled that he was 'a proud, priggish, precious, emotional child.'⁸ His mother evidently disliked little boys, which was unfortunate since he was something of a 'mummy's boy' and had to seek substitute affection from his Fijian house-girl.⁹ Although, nearing the end of his life, Dunstan recalled that it was his mother who gave him his first cooking lesson in Fiji, when she taught her young son to make lemon cheese tarts.¹⁰ As a five-year old he was packed off from the family home to a Dickensian boarding school in Suva. He soon became quite ill and was nursed at home until well enough to be shipped off to recuperate in South Australia. There he lived with a grandmother and maiden aunts at Murray Bridge. Instead of the tropical fruits and vegetables of Fiji he now tasted the meat and three veg, the Sunday roasts, and the cakes and puddings of Anglo-tradition. 'Dondies,' as he was affectionately known in the family, savoured the homegrown apricots, the peaches, the oranges and other local fruit, and helped pack the Vacola preserving jars when the surplus was bottled. In later life Dunstan enjoyed preserving the fruit from his own trees.

It was in Murray Bridge that his parents paid for the elocution lessons which provided the basis for the later production of that mellifluous speaking voice. One of his strongest Murray Bridge memories was of an annual church feast at Monarto, the place where the parents of his great grandparents had settled in 1840. Perhaps those happy childhood memories influenced his later, ill-fated choice, of Monarto as the site for a new city, planned to accommodate Adelaide's projected but unattained population overflow? A healthier ten year old Dunstan rejoined his parents and older sister in Suva, where he became even more aware of 'the smells of Indian and Chinese cooking. Clove, coriander, cumin, turmeric, cardamon and mustard, all combined with the smell of sandalwood incense to make a heady mix of aromas.' He was now allowed to eat curries and other dishes containing chillies and began a life-long addiction to capsaicin – the heating element in chillies. A 'fiery goat curry' often served by a Sikh friend of his father, became a favourite dish and stayed in his own cooking repertoire as an adult.¹¹ His actor friend Keith Michell, heavily in favour of macrobiotic diets, believes that Dunstan's love of 'hot' food led to his later affliction with stomach cancer.¹² The other memories that would influence Dunstan for the rest of his life were the examples of racial and other forms of discrimination he witnessed as an observant child in Fiji and in the schoolyard at Murray Bridge.

In January 1940 after the outbreak of World War II, the Matson Line conveyed Dunstan back to Adelaide so he could begin his secondary education at St Peters College, that bastion of the local Establishment. He lived with another aunt at Glenelg. As a dayboy and automatically an outsider, Dunstan was 'different,' a status further compounded by his exotic origins. At the end of that first year his father wrote to the headmaster, the Reverend Guy Pentreath, 'Donald seems very anxious to take up Law, and no doubt I will grant him his request.'¹³ His aunt was a lady of 'good works' and during the Depression had acted as Mayoress of Adelaide for her widowed father, Sir Jonathan Cain. This family connection was later the basis for the excoriation of Dunstan as a 'silvertail' and traitor to his class. Early in the war the aunt's two maids provided the unmemorable meals, but when they disappeared into

the war effort the aunt proved to be no better in the kitchen. As Dunstan put it, ‘She showed me how to cook scrambled eggs – invariably curdling them and producing hard curds swimming in whey.’¹⁴ Dunstan later turned to Escoffier in order to master the correct technique.¹⁵ He began cooking for the St Peters College scout troop when many of the masters enlisted, and bought his first cookbook – the beginning of a large collection. Cooking Dunstan decided, ‘was [both] fun – and fascinating.’¹⁶

Another master introduced him to charitable work for the *Common Cause*, a wartime organisation. Dunstan disclosed in a 1968 interview that he found the experience stirred his social conscience:

Through these activities I learned directly of the needs of the under-privileged in the community and I began to want to help them and remove injustices. Until then I was a young Liberal, politically.¹⁷

A law degree with a history major followed at the University of Adelaide. He also embarked upon a life-long

study of the history of food origins and uses and their effects on the daily lives and enjoyments [sic] of people in history as well as on patterns of trade and the movements of peoples and governments.¹⁸

After graduating LLB in 1948 he was admitted to the South Australian Bar, but married a fellow student, Gretel Ellis, and returned to Fiji with his bride in the following year. Dunstan began a law practise in Suva and in newfound domesticity started cooking for family and friends when his wife suffered a difficult pregnancy. A friendly government horticulturalist soon introduced him to the delights of growing his own fruit and vegetables as the basis for his cooking. The Fijian interlude ended in 1951 with the return of the Dunstans and their baby daughter to South Australia, where they set up house in George Street, Norwood. Dunstan became anathema to his Establishment peers by joining the Labor Party, and particularly so after winning the former safe Liberal seat of Norwood in 1953. His underlying intention was to make South Australia into his own social laboratory for change, using the Labor Party as his means to a somewhat utopian end.¹⁹ Dunstan later told an interviewer he

believed that it could be shown, in a developed industrial society, that the programs of social democracy, for democratising the community and making it a freer and a better and a happier place with deliberate government planning to that end [would work].²⁰

The aims of the new, non-conformist member for Norwood harked back to the founding traditions of this state in 1836, with freedom and happiness as components of the package presented to potential investors and immigrants. Along with those early ideals went a sense of being different to the other convict-based Australian colonies. Dunstan soon demonstrated his personal zest for being different.

Further afield, the winds of change had begun sweeping around the world in the mid-1950s, but not only in the arts: even the sleepy hollow of Adelaide began to stir. In 1959 television had arrived: to join the new culture of youth; the continuing stream of immigrants; supermarkets; frozen food; more motor cars; and working wives. The

next decade, among other things, introduced a sexual revolution with the oral contraceptive pill, marijuana, the Beatles, and the conflict in Vietnam. Younger Australians especially were travelling to Britain and Europe, some via the 'Hippie Trail' through Asia, and rejoicing in newfound foods. Back in Australia they helped fuel a growing food consciousness, fed by cooking shows on TV (with advertising campaigns by food manufacturers), ethnic food outlets (thanks to immigration and Asian refugees), and a burgeoning cookbook industry.

DUNSTAN'S POLITICS OF CULTURE, THE ARTS, TOURISM AND CATERING

Following the 1953 election Labor power broker and Dunstan mentor, Clyde Cameron, urged him to get rid of his 'plummy' voice.²¹ Dunstan declined, and 'the voice' became a trademark attribute and a potent parliamentary weapon, when combined with a formidable memory and a gift for histrionics. In today's terms the Dunstan of the early 1950s was a weedy looking 'nerd,' the proverbial seven-stone weakling, complete with horn-rimmed glasses. Nevertheless, he also turned down Cameron's invitation to have his tailor, Hugh Pozza, supply suits with padded shoulders, vowing instead that the shoulders in his suits would be his own. True to his word, Dunstan enrolled at American Health Studios in Morphett Street and began transforming himself into the very model of a modern man about town. Paramount influences on Dunstan's thinking in those early years were the 19th century socialists Robert Owen and William Morris. He also admitted to having 'been strongly influenced by the social and economic writings of the British socialist Richard Crossman.'²² Morris had a decided affect on Dunstan's attitude to dress, as well as stimulating his enthusiasm for food, wine and entertaining friends. The notorious pink shorts episode of 1972 and the Dunstan love of comfortable, if often flamboyant outfits had their origins in Morris's ideas on apparel. The *décor* for Dunstan's ill fated second, and last, restaurant venture, also owed some allegiance to Morris.

When Dunstan won government, the central importance of the arts and culture to his political vision were strongly evident. The long-serving Liberal premier Tom Playford, who Labor finally brought down in 1965, regarded the arts and tourism as frivolous and not worthy of government support. Dunstan thought rather differently. Although his Liberal rival, Steele Hall, had selected the site, Dunstan saw to it that Adelaide's remarkable value-for-money, Torrens-side Festival Theatre complex, came to completion. He recognised the need for a government-supported, professional theatre company and this also came-to-pass. His admiration for the ideas of William Morris influenced the establishment of the craft centre which became known as the Jam Factory. And it was Dunstan who saw the need and raised the standards of local practitioners, by importing master crafts people from overseas. During his university days Dunstan began a connection with the ABC, by acting in the radio plays that attracted a popular following in the post-war period. He subsequently became a life member of Actors' Equity and moved in the local theatre and arts scene, hence his strong support for the biennial Adelaide Festival of Arts. With the help of Phillip Adams he set up the highly regarded SA Film Corporation. Writing soon after Dunstan's death Tim Lloyd commented that:

Don Dunstan will always be associated with the renaissance that...swept through the arts. He convinced the community that the arts were, indeed,

fundamental.²⁴

DUNSTAN'S TOURISM PLAN

An early expression, when in government, of Dunstan's creativity and ambition for cultural and social change in South Australia centred on tourism. Early in 1971 Dunstan presented an ambitious ten-year plan for 'the development of tourist facilities' in South Australia to a number of public servants summoned to the Cabinet room. At the end of his hour-long presentation, the extent of Dunstan's tourism vision left many of his audience in a state of shock, just as he had calculated.²⁵ Their reaction was understandable, given that the South Australian Government Tourist Bureau existed in something of a time warp, carrying out its traditional function as a ticketing agency, while promoting the same limited and long-standing array of attractions in its own leisurely way, even down to the black and white brochures. At this time most of the State's tourist trade came from interstate motorists and their families, often with the faithful caravan hooked behind the family car. A former Dunstan press secretary later recalled that 'when Don started talking about tourism he was assumed to be dotty. It has taken a quarter of...[a] century to prove the extent of his sanity on the subject.'²⁶

a) The Service Sector and the Singapore Precedent

Finding inspiration from Lee Kuan Yew's Singaporean model of government investment in tourism,²⁷ and taking advantage of a State Department funded study tour to the United States during 1969 while he was Opposition Leader, Dunstan decided to turn tourism into an industry, thus rendering it eligible for loan assistance. His was perhaps the first significant move in this country towards promoting a service industry over the traditional sectors.

Apart from the prospect of more employment, Dunstan also aimed to reduce South Australia's reliance on motor vehicle and white goods manufacturing, since both industries suffered frequent cyclical downturns in demand by their predominantly eastern states' markets. He travelled to London and Rome after leaving the United States and saw rapid changes ahead, with a growing awareness of Australia as a tourist destination. The main factors likely to attract more tourists he believed, were the imminent introduction of *Jumbo* jet airliners, an awakening American interest in Australia as a place to visit and a similar situation with Japan, where a more open economic policy could also attract investors and businessmen. Dunstan wanted to capture as much of this potential market as possible.

b) The Development of Tourism and Culture in Metropolitan Adelaide

Dunstan pinpointed six major localities needing 'development,' beginning with metropolitan Adelaide. Victoria Square already provided the major focus for a consultant's planning report, with emphasis on providing convention facilities. Dunstan aimed to recreate metropolitan Adelaide as the convention mecca of Australia, but he also had other ambitions:

Specifically of relevance to tourism is the development of Adelaide as a

convention centre, as a centre for the performing arts, as an area where unique historic buildings and facilities are to be readily seen and enjoyed within the city proper or its immediate environs, and the provision of adequate entertainment and, particularly, eating facilities²⁸

In this one short paragraph Dunstan set out his impressive wish list: tourism; convention facilities; performing arts; restoration and utilisation of historic buildings; entertainment; and ‘particularly, eating facilities.’ Consultants had suggested as the centrepiece an 800-bedroom, convention standard, international hotel, at the corner of Grote Street and Victoria Square. Dunstan wanted at least one floor devoted to ‘catering for Japanese tourists and businessmen in a... traditional Japanese way, using the highest standards of Japanese design.’²⁹ By providing appropriate secretarial services, and traditional hostesses, teahouses, restaurants, saunas, in short, all the comforts of Tokyo, Dunstan thought that not only Japanese businessmen but also American tourists might be attracted. He failed to say whether the term ‘hostesses’ meant fully-fledged geishas or not. This was very heady stuff for the quiet backwater of Adelaide in 1971. Unfortunately for his tourism plans and South Australia, Adelaide remained the only Australian capital without an international airport until 1982. Coincidentally, the long-awaited international hotel on Victoria Square also opened in 1982, several years after Dunstan had quit the political scene.

c) Heritage, Culture and Tourism

In 1970 Dunstan had overridden his Cabinet colleagues to save historic Ayers House from the bulldozers. With his tourism briefing he now wanted the former North Terrace mansion renovated as a museum and home for the National Trust, with the inclusion of an up-market restaurant and a lesser, outdoor eatery added. Based on what he had seen in Rome he visualised a number of restored, horse-drawn carriages providing a ferry service for tourists staying at city hotels and dining at the Ayers House restaurants. Visitors to the Museum and the Art Gallery could also expect to find convenient restaurants at the rear of each institution. The Hayward family, owners of John Martin’s Rundle Street emporium, planned to give their Carrick Hill property to the State and Dunstan had already earmarked this for the Governor’s new official residence. The old Government House on North Terrace would then become a venue for state receptions and dinners, with the grounds opened up for pop concerts and children’s theatre. Across King William Road the newly commissioned Festival Theatre, when completed, would join the list of available convention venues. If required, more building space for development lay above the nearby railway tracks. Looking ahead to 1976, the plan called for the Old Legislative Council building to become a museum of the Wakefield Settlement scheme.³⁰

d) Tourism and Cultural Development in Regional South Australia

While Dunstan’s plans gave priority to the metropolitan area, his thinking did encompass ideas for regional development in South Australia. He argued that the Barossa Valley could safely be left to develop its own tourism plans for the moment and, in the great tradition of other Australian politicians, he proposed to leave the River Murray for ‘later studies.’ The South-East of the State shared a similar fate. Nevertheless, his plans did include thinking for the development of what he termed the ‘crescent,’ comprising Kangaroo Island, Goolwa and the unique Coorong; the

Flinders Ranges; and the three old Cornish mining towns on Yorke Peninsula.

Dunstan had returned from his visit to the United States armed with photographs and other information about a water sport resort established in Arizona by the White Mountain Apaches. He favoured this model as the basis for a tourist and Aboriginal cultural centre in the Coorong. Tourists tired of water-sports or fishing could be entertained with corroborees by troupes of Aboriginal dancers. The self-same dancers were also expected to run the centre. He nominated Goolwa as the central point for boat tours to the Coorong, packaged air tours to Kangaroo Island and motor tours to the vineyards at Langhorne Creek. All of this would require a large resort hotel at Goolwa complete with a casino, but one not equipped with poker machines. Dunstan was evidently happy with the concept of a casino, but wanted to see 'facilities without crude or vulgar garishness.' The profits from the combination of hotel and casino would help offset a potential shortfall in gambling taxes and hence, a reduction of \$3.5 million from the Commonwealth Grants Commission.³¹ Coincidentally, the Dunstan family's modest holiday house lay close by the proposed Goolwa site. A 'casino' Bill was introduced into State Parliament on 16 August 1973, but defeated on the floor of the House.³²

There were two development projects listed for the Flinders Ranges, the first was a spa resort at the Paralana Hot Springs near the Arkaroola Sanctuary. Dunstan said they were 'the only known hot-springs in Australia,' perhaps he meant South Australia. In any event, high levels of radioactivity in the spring water soon brought an end to the spa concept. The second project was further south near Melrose, where the sculptor William Ricketts wanted to turn Mt Remarkable into his very own 'holy mountain.' Dunstan grandly described the eccentric Ricketts as 'a major Australian artist,' and was prepared to poach him from the Victorian government by paying a slightly higher allowance. Perhaps fortunately for all concerned, Ricketts stayed in Victoria.³³

Dunstan thought the old mining towns, Moonta, Wallaroo and Kadina, and South Australia's Cornish heritage, had been too long neglected.³⁴ 'Remarkably picturesque' Moonta was his pick of the trio and ideally 'could become the centre of a Cornish floral festival.' Dunstan then moved on from festivals to food, by suggesting 'the promotion of restaurants with the best of Cornish recipes' and continued:

One of the top restaurants in England is a Cornish one, and I am obtaining information about the details of their menu and cuisine, and the use of traditional Cornish recipes. It was the Cornish who gave the pasties to South Australian cuisine and, properly cooked, Cornish pasties can be magnificent, but we should develop eating places in the area which won't only produce pasties containing turnips, tates and meat, but veal, venison, rabbit and game pies, and the like.³⁵

Even at this early stage it is clear that Dunstan had already established contacts in the British restaurant scene, while the ready availability of venison lay well over the horizon. But a good deal of what Dunstan proposed in 1971 eventually became part of the familiar Adelaide cityscape, just as the biennial Cornish Festival, or *Kernewek Lowender*, continues to attract thousands of visitors to the rejuvenated 'copper triangle.' Dunstan's role in initiating the Cornish Festival was important because of

his personal involvement and through the provision of seeding funds, but he is no longer mentioned in relation to the event.³⁶

DUNSTAN, FOOD AND RESTAURANTS: CREATING A MEDITERRANEAN ADELAIDE

Dunstan's tourism briefing made a scathing attack on Adelaide restaurants and catering facilities. He supported his criticism by playing a tape of the *Gallopings Gourmet*, popular TV chef Graham Kerr, lecturing a group of local publicans and restaurant owners along similar lines. Dunstan argued that 'the restaurant facilities in Adelaide at the moment are quite inadequate for international tourist standards'. He blamed 'Hungarians or Italian migrants' for this situation because, 'sometimes their cuisine starts off at somewhere near adequate standards but...it can then markedly decline.' The main problem though – or what Dunstan called the 'grave fault' - with the majority of Adelaide restaurants were their huge menus 'of supposedly individually cooked' but uneconomical dishes. Dunstan wanted to see a general conversion to 'about five major dishes,' which would allow the sale of 'good food at low cost on which an adequate profit...[could be] made.'³⁷ He believed the answer to inadequate catering standards lay with better training. Dunstan pushed the Education Department into action, organised State and Federal funding, and a new School of Food and Catering became a reality at Regency Park. This is now the world-renowned Regency Hotel School, with direct links to *Le Cordon Bleu* in Paris. In addition to the two establishments at Ayers House, the Dunstan Government also sponsored other restaurants.

Food figured prominently in Dunstan's tourist manifesto and his own burgeoning interest in food and drink had become central to his zeal as a political reformer and to his personal life. Dunstan especially enjoyed the Mediterranean cuisine and outdoor lifestyle on his extended 1969 trip. He was already familiar with the importance of food and wine in ethnic enclaves, thanks to the many meals and social events shared with his Greek and Italian constituents since 1953. A brief trip to observe and report on the bloody struggle for self-determination in the Cyprus of 1957 provided Dunstan with the first of numerous opportunities to sample the Mediterranean food and lifestyle.³⁸ By 1968 he was noted as 'something of the gracious liver,' with 'cooking and wine collecting' as his hobbies.³⁹ One of his aims was to take advantage of Adelaide's similar climate, by introducing outdoor eating and drinking with Rome and Athens as the models. As Premier he also established links with Malaysia and included Asian herbs and techniques in his cooking.

During the early years of his Premiership he patrolled the Adelaide restaurant scene with his faithful private secretary Steven Wright. Whenever possible the pair would leave Dunstan's office in the State Administration Centre at lunchtime and head for the day's targeted restaurant, with Wright carrying a basket of files under one arm. Once there they would order a meal and then work on the files over lunch. When the food and wine were finished Dunstan would make for the kitchen and deliver his verdict on the presentation, the dishes, the flavours, the ingredients and the wine. If he felt it necessary he would also give the chef advice on how to effect any improvements.⁴⁰ He provides a sample of this procedure in his celebrated 1976 cookbook where he details his method of cooking green, or French beans, as opposed

to the then standard practice of boiling them with bicarbonate of soda until soggy. The Dunstan method required tender young beans to be ‘topped and tailed’ and tossed with a finely chopped onion fried in butter for a few minutes, then he added about two tablespoons of chicken stock for a final brief simmer. Dunstan continued ‘I had to stand over a couple of chaps in Adelaide restaurants to get them to do this. They now happily claim credit for the praises of food writers of their restaurants for this dish.’⁴¹

While in government, Dunstan sponsored the establishment of various restaurant ventures in conjunction with a number of entrepreneurs. One of his most controversial associations was with the young and flamboyant John Ceruto, who also frequented the American Health Studio. One of Dunstan’s commendable characteristics was his intense support of close friends. In the case of Ceruto his friendship and support were misplaced, but nevertheless continued over a period of years. He arranged for Ceruto to obtain some minimal experience with friends in the hotel and restaurant trade and then secured a low-level job for his *protégé* in the Hospitals Department. Dunstan raised public service eyebrows by making Ceruto his trainee-catering officer, responsible for overseeing the improvements Dunstan wanted to bring about in the catering and restaurant industries. But before long Ceruto was holidaying in the United States and on his return to Adelaide resigned his position. Dunstan then helped Ceruto set up his own restaurant, which they named *The Red Garter*, in suburban Hilton opposite Theatre 62. The Government had compulsorily acquired the property ostensibly for road widening. However, it seems more likely that Dunstan assisted by his highways minister, Geoff Virgo had set the process in train as a favour to the proprietor of Theatre 62, John Edmund (Shuttleworth) and Ceruto. Thanks to Dunstan’s very visible support and a good chef, *The Red Garter* briefly became the pre-eminent place to dine.

Ceruto next moved on to a concept that embodied Dunstan’s aims for attracting tourists and locals to restaurants located in Adelaide’s city squares. Dunstan provided Ceruto with access to corporate backers who could qualify for government guaranteed finance and *The Coalyard* restaurant made its brief appearance in Hindmarsh Square. Dunstan wanted restaurants to provide good cheap, fresh, Mediterranean-type fare, preferably on the footpath in the open-air, and served with wine by the glass. *The Coalyard* embraced Dunstan’s concepts to the letter. Ceruto, however, proved unable to cope with the task of managing the venture and was shortly sacked by the proprietors. Before long, Dunstan finally severed his own unwise connection with Ceruto.

Dunstan devoted considerable time and energy towards the successful development of his government’s flagship restaurant, which became *Henry Ayers*. He handpicked the first lessee, Phil Cramey, a self-made restaurateur of Lebanese extraction and formerly from Broken Hill. Cramey was a staunch Labor Party supporter and he and Dunstan became friends. *Henry Ayers* opened with due celebration on 30 June 1973 and the cost of catering for 600 or so invitees exceeded estimates, because, as befitted the launch of this silver service establishment, the Premier insisted on proper crockery and cutlery, rather than their plastic counterparts. Earlier, Dunstan had issued a directive that *Paxton’s* bistro was to be used by public servants for official entertaining. *Henry Ayers* became the venue for state dinners and other grand occasions. Around the town, the private dining room soon became known as Dunstan’s room, or Dunstan’s dining room. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was not

amused at a Liberal Party function when informed that the restaurant was the Labor Premier's creation. 'What the hell are we doing here then?' Fraser demanded of his discomfited hosts, but deigned to stay on.⁴² Former Dunstan staffer Tony Baker, writing as restaurant critic, Sol Simeon, believed 'there is nowhere in Australia offering a more glorious setting in which to enjoy a plate of food, and take a glass or three.'⁴³ Four years later he also wrote:

Inevitably, a restaurant which sets out with the promise and ambition of a *Henry Ayers* must have its off days. But it can undoubtedly produce a truly memorable experience.⁴⁴

The French Ambassador and members of his party did not enjoy their 'truly memorable experience,' when they were violently ill following a Monday luncheon hosted by Dunstan in 1975. Members of a separate party in the adjoining room also complained of stomach problems. While Dunstan had been spared discomfort, suspicion fell upon his favourite Greek soup, *avgolemono*, which Cramey had prepared personally. The Metropolitan County Board investigated the matter and Cramey and his staff were given a lesson in hygienic food handling. Cramey also received an official warning and tested his relationship with Dunstan by having his solicitor handle the affair. Given the nature of the restaurant industry and its clientele, the occasional and inevitable complaint over food, service, or price, needs to be balanced against the more positive aspects. Naturally, Dunstan later claimed that 'the whole thing has worked splendidly.'⁴⁵ From his perspective that may well have been the case, but I find it difficult not to agree with some left-wing critics who dubbed Dunstan's venture 'restaurant socialism.' A defensive Dunstan responded, 'I don't see anything particularly wrong in people being able to go out and eat in a restaurant. I know a lot of working-class people who do.'⁴⁶ But the working class did not, of course, eat at *Henry Ayers*. One commentator suggested that 'to the man in the street the Athens of the South, The Design State, cottage industries and many other favourite Dunstanisms had little relevance.'⁴⁷ *Henry Ayers* restaurant in particular was one such 'Dunstanism,' since it catered exclusively for the top end of town. The Public Building Department outlaid at least \$298,200 on the restoration of Ayers House as a 'historical tourist complex.'⁴⁸

THE PRIVATE DUNSTAN – THE CLARA STREET RETREAT, THE COOKBOOK AND OTHER COOKING ADVENTURES

Dunstan's passion for food and culture also grew more important in his private life while he was in government. Perhaps this was best expressed in the creation of his property at 15 Clara Street, Norwood. He found a vacant block with the help of friends, began planting fruit trees and a vegetable garden while his dream house took shape. Unlike the suburban norm, Dunstan's house was designed around the kitchen. He moved into Clara Street and his personal retreat in 1974. Dunstan called this his 'cave' or his 'snail-shell,' and sheltered there, away from the daily pressures of a high profile political life. He maintained that cooking for a wide circle of friends and tending his herb and vegetable gardens saved his sanity.

One such friend was Michael Angelakis of seafood fame, who Dunstan had met on his Saturday morning shopping expeditions to the Central Market. Angelakis supplied both seafood and friendship for the rest of Dunstan's life. He was one of those who

helped Dunstan establish Clara Street and the pair shared many culinary and other adventures. In Michael's bachelor days he and Nick Bolkus shared a flat in North Adelaide. Late one Saturday afternoon, with two girls invited for dinner, Angelakis set out to make Dunstan's aioli dressing to serve with a large lobster. He was following the recipe in the Premier's cookbook, but in his haste to set the scene for seduction, dripped the olive oil too quickly and the mixture failed to emulsify. Panic-stricken, he 'phoned Dunstan and said 'Don I've f**ked up this mayonnaise, what do you do? He said 'Listen, by the time you leave and get here I'll have some made for you. I drove like a bat out of hell.' A few days later Dunstan sent Angelakis a copy of *A Seducer's Cookbook*.⁴⁹ In the first few lines of his own cookbook Dunstan mentions both the *Joy of Sex* and *A Seducer's Cookbook*, thus confirming the importance of both food and sex to a confirmed sensualist. Dunstan was seldom happier than in the selected company of his friends at Clara Street, where he delighted in demonstrating his culinary prowess. For him this was performance theatre, whatever the occasion and whichever segment of his astonishingly wide variety of friends formed the audience. The circles of friends might overlap, but all shared a similar experience. Their host used food as a metaphor, a metaphor for his love. The food varied with the seasons: in mid-winter, after serving a rather bucolic selection of dishes, he would often take up his position at the head of the table and read selections from a favourite work, Lawrence Stern's *Tristram Shandy*, to his captive audience.⁵⁰ In summer, curries, or meats from the outdoor barbecue with copious salads from his garden and a reading from the metaphysical poets: the poems of John Donne or Andrew Marvell were favoured to keep his guests entertained. Dunstan's birthdays were the occasion for special celebration, along with Christmas day, which started with breakfast and continued on with successive waves of friends and family. As focal point and provider, Dunstan attached much significance to these events.

The celebrated Dunstan cookbook appeared in October 1976, and 40,000 copies in two print runs sold in a matter of months. Dunstan said that he wrote the book at the urging of friends and because 'so many people have asked me for tips and recipes.'⁵¹ One of those who encouraged his interest in Asian cuisine and in publishing the cookbook was his most recent research assistant. Adele Koh was also skilled in the kitchen and taught Malaysian Chinese cooking at evening classes. The glamorous pair became man and wife on 22 December in the year of the cookbook. Don Dunstan's cookbook proved to be his most successful work, and attracted a flock of women voters to the Labor cause, contrary to the forebodings of Labor Party officials. There were also critics on both sides of the political divide who believed this latest Dunstan stunt betrayed the dignity of his office: they were well and truly outnumbered. Because he was still very much State Premier and at least as well known in the eastern states as those other Labor giants of the 1970s, Whitlam and 'Nifty' Neville Wran, his high media profile provided much useful publicity. The cookbook is generally recognised as being a decade ahead of its time, in part because of Dunstan's emphasis on using fresh, preferably home grown fruit and vegetables, with traditional and Asian herbs. The gardening Premier's hitherto secret vice had been publicly revealed early in 1974, when he was interviewed 'standing in a clump of manure at the bottom of his garden.'⁵² The manure came from his own fowls, which he raised for their fertiliser and for the table. He was the first to call for a 'fusion' of European and Asian cuisines, and proposed a 'distinctive...[but] inevitably derivative...[Australian cuisine] which will take the best from everywhere.' He wanted to see a 'second considerable awakening of food consciousness.'⁵³ Not a second coming but rather an

awakening of the collective Australian palate, such as occurred post World War II in the wake of European migration. Dunstan emphasised the importance of his culinary-based lifestyle with these lines:

Those who are engaged about policy, and therefore in political disputation and all the stress and unpleasantness it can bring, need to be able to retreat from it. My retreat is my garden, my kitchen, and the happy company of my friends.⁵⁴

Cooking a meal for Dunstan was not something to be entered into lightly, even by friends who were passably handy in the kitchen. Former MP and Attorney-General Peter Duncan unwisely set out to impress Dunstan, although describing himself as ‘a fair to poor pub cook.’⁵⁵ He invited his then mentor to dinner at his North Adelaide unit on a Friday night, worked out a menu, ‘cooked it on the Tuesday night and made a thorough hash [sic!] of it.’ In a state of panic Duncan phoned Phil Cramey at *Henry Ayers* and sought his help. An unsuspecting Dunstan duly presented himself at 7.00 pm and was served tasty *hors-d’oeuvres*, which Cramey had delivered at 6.30. At 8.00 the impressive main course arrived at Duncan’s back door and was spirited into the oven. Cramey had already faxed ‘details of what it is, a bit of bull shit about the cooking and you can carry it off.’ Duncan indeed carried off the deception, only choosing to reveal the truth at a testimonial dinner to the terminally ill Dunstan at Norwood in 1998. As Duncan recalls the occasion:

I outed myself and told him about the dinner that night. He said to me something like “Peter,” he said, “I knew that night that the food was that good that you were badly cast as Attorney-General... Now that you’ve told me that it was Phil’s food the picture fits more perfectly to my recollection of you both.”⁵⁶

DUNSTAN IN THE WILDERNESS

The cookbook marked the beginning of Dunstan’s new status outside the political arena as a knowledgeable and dedicated ‘foodie.’ The death from cancer of Adele Koh in October 1978, ill health and the cumulative stress of his office, saw Dunstan resign from Parliament in 1979. He retreated to Perugia in Italy, where he spent some months recuperating, learning the language, and savouring the food. Back in Adelaide he presented the *Capriccio* program for the ABC in 1979, tried his hand briefly at editing *POL* magazine, wrote and appeared in the ‘Dunstan Documentaries’ for the ABC (based on his 1978 book), and flirted with commercial television in a short-lived cooking show *Fun in the Kitchen*. Just prior to his exit from politics Dunstan bought a small property near Cardwell in Queensland where he lived in a caravan, and planted tropical fruit trees and other exotica. This was an alternative but impractical, second hideaway. The failure of the cooking show left Dunstan unemployed, and with Labor out of office in South Australia, he accepted Premier John Cain’s offer of a job as Victoria’s Director of Tourism. Given his still recent high profile as Premier and unflagging promoter of all things South Australian, this was not a clever move. Dogged by controversy and under constant attack by a virulent Opposition Party and one or two media foes, with two years of his contract yet to run, Dunstan resigned late in 1986 and returned to Norwood, bloodied but still defiant. Before taking up the story of his final years, a brief return to 1984 is necessary, in order to connect still another link with food.

DUNSTAN AND GASTRONOMY

A scant three years after the first Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, almost fifty of Australia's wine and food devotees gathered at historic Carclew in North Adelaide for the inaugural 1984 Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. Among those present was the chairman of the Victorian Tourism Commission, Don Dunstan. The symposium's thematic title, *The Upstart Cuisine*, was provided by Gay Bilson of Berowra Waters restaurant fame, who also cooked the lunchtime lobster on the opening day. Dunstan chaired a long seminar session where participants discussed the question: "What can we do about Australian cuisine?" Eight years earlier in his cookbook, Dunstan nominated the humble domestic chicken as the most suitable basis for an Australian cuisine. The ideas in his cookbook led the way in 1976. He now led his fellow gastronomes in considering what could be done, given the consensus view 'that something needs to happen for it to change or for it to improve.'⁵⁷

What the participants seem not to have realised is that change and improvement had already begun, at least in Adelaide, thanks in no small measure to their chairperson. Dunstan had cleared the way by liberalising the political and social climate, by establishing the new School of Food and Catering, by his Government sponsorship of restaurants, by his own long involvement with the food and wine scene and by his cookbook. Colin and Maggie Beer moved to South Australia and set up their renowned *Pheasant Farm Restaurant* because of Dunstan. They were two of many in the food, wine, and arts communities who came from interstate and overseas, attracted by news of the Dunstan-led renaissance in this state. The now rightly famous chef Cheong Liew says he found the courage to open his original and very successful Neddy's restaurant on Hutt Street in 1975 because Dunstan had established a 'political' climate that was conducive to such a move.⁵⁸ Stephen Downes has written that 'Cheong married East and West in the kitchen'⁵⁹: he also sought out and used only fresh ingredients, the same concepts that Dunstan had consistently preached.

Dunstan did not attend the second gastronomy symposium in 1985, also held in Adelaide, but by the time the third gastronomy gathering arrived in March 1987 he had already (and very publicly) quit his job with Victorian tourism and returned to his Norwood home. As luck would have it, the third symposium took place in Melbourne and one cannot help but wonder what thoughts were in Dunstan's mind when he arrived back in Victoria. In any event he chaired two of the sessions and contributed 'cold duck' to the welcoming 'tea' at Stephanie Alexander's restaurant. His was an even more notable presence at the fourth symposium, 'Food in Festivity,' held in Sydney in October 1988. Dunstan was the keynote speaker and called his paper *Tradition and Renewal in Australian Gastronomy*. Much of what he had to say recapitulated his own part in changing South Australia's licensing laws, introducing government supported restaurants and his 'creation' of the School of Food and Catering. He added the admission that 'I was bitterly accused of "restaurant socialism" by the radical students of the day.' On other occasions in his public life Dunstan revealed his acute sensitivity to criticism. In this instance he responded by adopting the labelling used by his long-time political opponents. 'Today those students are enthusiastic chardonnay socialists, happily munching away in the enormously increased number of restaurants of quality.'⁶⁰ Further on in his address he drew a parallel between his setting up of the *Jam Factory* craft centre in Adelaide and

the ‘temples of newly creative cooking’ established by the likes of Gay Bilson, Stephanie Alexander, Philip Searle, and Maggie Beer, with their flow-on effect improving the standards of other restaurateurs.⁶¹

Dunstan contrasted the traditional meat and three veg, still being served in many Australian homes and small town pubs, with the increasing influence, thanks to immigration, of Mediterranean and Asian-based cuisines. While the old dripping-pot could still be found, calamari had readily found its way into our vocabulary and onto our tables. Dunstan finished his paper on a positive note:

The restrictive and poor standards of the old Australian tradition in some areas of cookery have been replaced with a tradition providing not only better standards, but infinitely greater variety, and much more creativity. We are only at the beginning of creating a new tradition of excellence in Australian cooking, spiced by that variety which enriches life.⁶²

Food authority, author, and academic Barbara Santich, later summed up his address:

His interpretation of ‘gastronomy’ stressed the culinary side, but his then-and-now comparisons relating culinary modes to lifestyle revealed an enormous shift in Australian values and customs.⁶³

Enormous changes had clearly taken place, including the restaurant revolution that Dunstan had helped prime in Adelaide. This had spread to Melbourne and Sydney and would dominate the cuisine of the continent by the end of the century.⁶⁴ One of the highlights of the 1990 Adelaide symposium *The Pleasures of the Table* was Dunstan’s wrap-it-yourself lunch. This innovation featured Chinese pancakes, rice paper, lettuce cups, and Indian roti with a variety of fillings. One of these was the fiery, Punjabi goat curry remembered from his childhood in Fiji. Cheong Liew thought that Dunstan’s ‘wrapping lunch’ was ‘one of the best things...[he] has ever done.’⁶⁵ Dunstan’s participation in the gastronomy symposia confirmed his fascination with every aspect of the culinary art, his readiness to learn from others, and his equal willingness to share his own lifetime of learning.

RETURN TO CLARA STREET

Away from the glare of public life, Dunstan was an intensely private person. He never ‘came out’ as a bisexual. As far as he was concerned that was his business, part of his private life and not to be spelled out to a prurient press or public. The private Dunstan was not given to displays of physical affection, but used food and hospitality to express his otherwise inexpressible love for the other, in this case friends and family.⁶⁶ Once established in Melbourne however, he moved more visibly in the gay scene. This led to his involvement in the unfortunate *Monsignor Porcamadonna* incident, when he launched a gay book and allowed himself to be photographed with a well-known activist of that *nom de guerre*, who paraded in clerical robes. The press had a field day and Dunstan put the Italian community offside. He had always enjoyed thumbing his nose at convention and Establishment stuffed shirts, but this was a serious lapse of judgement on his part. More importantly as it proved, while Dunstan was still in Melbourne he formed a relationship with a young, Hong Kong Chinese university student, Steven Cheng. Before long the two had set up house

together at Clara Street. Cheng also loved food. Dunstan taught Cheng how to cook and introduced him to the Adelaide restaurant scene, then encouraged his partner to complete appropriate courses at the Regency Hotel School. In January 1992 Dunstan, a non-smoker, but long exposed to passive smoking, was operated on for throat cancer and subsequently given a clean bill of health.

DON'S TABLE RESTAURANT

The pair opened *Don's Table* restaurant on The Parade at Norwood in July 1994: Dunstan turned sixty-eight two months later. The reason Dunstan gave for undertaking the restaurant venture at such a late stage in his life was to provide employment and security for Cheng, who was now a qualified, though inexperienced chef. Early publicity for *Don's Table* emphasised Cheng in the leading role and Dunstan's contribution confined to the occasional cameo performance as *il Padrone*. He might spend part of his time chatting to patrons over a glass of wine, contributing ideas for Cheng's menu, or simply enjoying a meal with friends. In fact, like any number of good cooks, Dunstan had wanted his own restaurant for years and it soon became apparent that *Don's Table* was aptly named.⁶⁷ This was the real explanation for what many of his friends and admirers regarded as a bizarre move, given Dunstan's age and poor health. The restaurant furnished him with personal satisfaction and fulfilment: it marked the culmination of Dunstan's long search for self.

Cheng proved unable to cope with the stress of opening for business, but fortunately for Dunstan, a number of his professional friends in the trade responded to his pleas for help and took turns in the kitchen. As close friend Maggie Beer said 'they were so at sea. They didn't have a clue.'⁶⁸ One of the problems solved was an excessively long and complicated menu, the very thing Dunstan had complained of in his tourism brief of 1971. *Don's Table* survived the early traumas and Dunstan's name and his presence ensured the restaurant's popularity. He contributed fresh vegetables and herbs from his garden, together with sauces, preserves and olives, scoured the state for other quality produce, cooked some of the dishes, and played host on most nights of the week. In September 1995 Dunstan underwent major surgery for stomach cancer, but resumed his workload at the restaurant before the year ended. The business outgrew the premises on The Parade and Steven Cheng's older brother Chilli, a Hong Kong based investor, entered the picture.

DON'S TABLE RESTAURANT II

The Cheng family was reported to have paid \$450,000 for a nineteenth century, two-story bluestone house on Kensington Road and a small adjoining property. The second *Don's Table* opened there in July 1998 and once again the concepts were largely Dunstan's. His long admiration for the design work, lifestyle and political thoughts of William Morris, were now given pride of place with the decoration of a small dining room with original Morris curtains, replica furniture and other memorabilia. Dunstan gave further rein to his particular historical bent with a planned display of artefacts and old recipes, to demonstrate the evolution of cooking and food in South Australia. In an echo of Clara Street, he also attended to the landscaping, planting a number of fruit trees and establishing a herb garden. Dunstan finally achieved his 'long held dream,' with the new restaurant clearly superior in every way

to its predecessor. Sadly, the triumph soon gave way to disaster when the Cheng family withdrew financial support, following complaints by Dunstan about certain activities not directly related to the conduct of the restaurant. By September, Dunstan and Steven Cheng found themselves in an untenable position, with no option other than to walk out of the business. Two months later Dunstan learned he had terminal lung cancer. Dunstan had never lacked courage, and in spite of this final blow, he still managed to preside over the launch of the revised version of his cookbook in December 1998. He died peacefully at Clara Street on 6 February 1999 in the company of friends and family. In accordance with his wishes, they continued to share food, wine, and conversation, in celebration of his life. During that last day, in typical Don Dunstan fashion, he insisted on giving his long-familiar instructions for making pumpkin soup to his daughter, Bronwen, herself an experienced cook.

CONCLUSION

Don Dunstan was a remarkable South Australian. Some have commented that he was a man ahead of his time; not so, he was of and for his time. But his campaigning for social justice, the arts, individual freedom, Aboriginal land rights, multiculturalism, gay rights, freedom from censorship, and individual happiness, continued on after he had left the political circus. Apart from the easy access to wine and food that we now enjoy, and largely take for granted, his presence is still palpable in the affairs of this state.

Dunstan was certainly fallible, and perhaps went too far at times when practising his favourite dictum: I am a man. I count nothing human foreign to me. Nevertheless, he had flair, imagination and great enthusiasm for life. It was this last quality that he wanted others to see and to share.

Long after Dunstan had quit politics he remarked to an interviewer that he was constantly amazed by the amount of attention he was still paid by the media. ‘I look around at my contemporaries,’ he said. ‘After eight years out of the political scene they just seem to fade gracefully away. I wish I could fade at times.’⁶⁹ Less than a year before his death, that wish had still not been granted. On 21 April 1998 he delivered the first ACTU sponsored Whitlam Lecture in Adelaide, to an audience of several thousand who filled the Entertainment Centre. The organisers had originally booked a venue to accommodate a few hundred, as word got around the numbers grew exponentially. Dunstan’s theme was, *We Intervene or We Sink*, a powerful attack on the privatisation policies of the Liberal Party led by John Howard, their attachment to economic rationalism, and opposition to supporting social justice issues. This was a final *tour de force*: after experiencing only two years of Howard’s way, Dunstan had already seen what lay ahead for Australia:

Mr Howard is inviting us to pursue the policy of lemmings – to rush over a cliff and find ourselves free in a market place sea in which we will drown.⁷⁰

Early in 2004 and eight premier’s post-Dunstan, McGregor Tan Research conducted a survey of 400 people for Jarvis Marketing. Much to the surprise of the researchers

almost two-thirds of people questioned in a comprehensive public survey knew of Mr Dunstan and his unique era in South Australian politics.⁷¹

From many of those surveyed a ‘consistent theme...[was] pleasure to live in the Don Dunstan era. Nothing was too difficult, a buzz about the place.’ Even more recently the SA Democrats, falling towards annihilation in the polls, co-opted Dunstan’s image (a bad likeness), and ‘his vision for a fair and just society,’ in their campaign advertisements. According to their ads ‘Rann’s Labor has corrupted Don Dunstan’s legacy,’ [and in] this election, Don Dunstan would not vote Labor.⁷² Apparently the voters were not impressed by this bizarre ploy and reduced the Democrats percentage of the vote even further. Dunstan’s shade no doubt enjoyed a quiet chuckle.

Famed chef Cheong Liew has often been described as the father of Australian cuisine. In his view Dunstan was the grandfather.⁷³ The former School of Food and Catering, now the internationally recognised Regency Hotel School, is likely to remain Don Dunstan’s most tangible memorial. The importance of food, tourism and the arts to the vitality and vibrancy of culture were central aspects of Don Dunstan’s political vision, and his legacy in these areas continues to resonate and shape the uniqueness of South Australian society.

Notes

¹ The story told in this paper mainly derives from P. Strawhan, *The Importance of Food and Drink in the Political and Private Life of Don Dunstan*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 2005, and related research.

² Bruce Muirden, 'Don To Bat 9 More Years,' *Nation Review*, 22-28 September 1977.

³ Interview with Greg Crafter, Adelaide, 6 June 2001. Interview with Chris Sumner, Adelaide, 20 October 2005.

⁴ Andrew Parkin, 'Transition, Innovation, Consolidation, Readjustment: The Political History of South Australia since 1965,' in *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History* (ed), Dean Jaensch, Netley, South Australia, 1986, p 311. See also pp 317-320 for 'An evaluation of the Dunstan Decade.'

⁵ Douglass Brass, *Australian*, 20 July 1966.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Much additional reform in this area had to wait until the Bannon Labor Government implemented most of the changes recommended by Peter Young's *Review of the South Australian Liquor Licensing Laws*, Adelaide, June 1984. This report was commissioned by the Bannon Government on 14 February 1983. Peter Young was assisted by Allan J Secker.

⁸ Dunstan to Craig McGregor, *Good Weekend*, 6 March 1987, p 11.

⁹ Don Dunstan, FUSA, Dunstan Collection, Food and Wine Articles, 'My One True Love,' c 1998, p 1. A version of this manuscript was published in *My One True Love*, Caro Llewellyn (ed), New South Wales, 1999, after Dunstan's death. An abridged version from the Llewellyn book appeared in the *Adelaide Review* of September 1999.

¹⁰ Terry Plane, *Australian*, 19 December 1998.

¹¹ Don Dunstan, 'My One True Love,' p 3.

¹² Interview with Keith Michell, Glenelg, 5 December 2002.

¹³ Dunstan Collection, FUSA, Allan Patience Papers, Box III.

¹⁴ Don Dunstan, 'My One True Love,' p 4.

¹⁵ Don Dunstan, *Don Dunstan's Cookbook*, 1976, p 34.

¹⁶ Don Dunstan, 'My One True Love,' p 4.

¹⁷ Brian Buckley, *Bulletin*, 3 February 1968, p 24.

¹⁸ Don Dunstan, 'My One True Love,' p 5.

¹⁹ Don Dunstan, *Felicia*, 1981, pp viii-1.

²⁰ Don Dunstan, Interviewed by Andrew Dodd, ABC Radio National, 1992.

²¹ Ibid, p 34.

²² Brian Buckley, *Bulletin*, 3 February 1968, p 24.

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- ²³Don Dunstan, *Felicia*, 1981, p 194.
- ²⁴Tim Lloyd, *Advertiser*, 13 February 1999.
- ²⁵Interview with Rod Hand, McLaren Vale, 21 December 2000.
- ²⁶Tony Baker, *Sunday Mail*, 7 February 1999.
- ²⁷Dunstan made this disclosure in an interview by Susan Mitchell, 'Last of the Medici Princes,' *Weekend Australian*, 20-21 January 1996.
- ²⁸State Records South Australia (SRSA), GRG 75/1/708/1973, Premier's Department file, 'National Tourist Development Week Committee.' The 16-page document is titled 'Tourist Development in South Australia, p 3.
- ²⁹SRSA, GRG 75/1/708/1973, p 9.
- ³⁰SRSA, GRG 75/1/708/1973, p 5.
- ³¹SRSA, GRG 75/1/708, p 11.
- ³²SRSA, GRG 75/1/730/1973, see also GRG 75/1/657/1973 and GRG 75/1/523/1973.
- ³³SRSA, GRG 75/1/708/1973, pp 13-14.
- ³⁴The Dunstan family mainly hailed from Cornwall, although it seems Don Dunstan's great-grandfather, Walter Allan Dunstan, came to South Australia via California. Dunstan's grandfather, another Walter Allan, fell victim to the hard realities of farming in South Australia's north and died by his own hand at Wilmington in 1893. Dunstan to John Creeper, Flinders University of South Australia (FUSA), Dunstan Collection, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 5 August 1975.
- ³⁵SRSA, GRG 75/1/708/1973, p 14.
- ³⁶Ros Paterson, Kernewek Lowender, Website, (<http://www.kernewek.org/kl/history>), 17 February 2002.
- ³⁷SRSA, GRG 75/1 708/1973, pp 6-7.
- ³⁸Don Dunstan, FUSA, Dunstan Collection, *Felicia* manuscript. This section was edited out before publication, c 1980.
- ³⁹Brian Buckley, *Bulletin*, 3 February 1968 pp 24-25.
- ⁴⁰Interview with Steven Wright, Goolwa, 1 March 2001.
- ⁴¹D A Dunstan, *Don Dunstan's Cookbook*, Adelaide, 1976, p 94.
- ⁴²Interview with Phil Cramey, Longwood, 21 March 2001.
- ⁴³*Sunday Mail*, 3 August 1975.
- ⁴⁴Sol Simeon, *Eating Out in Adelaide*, 1979, p 38.
- ⁴⁵Don Dunstan, *Felicia*, 1981, p 181.
- ⁴⁶*National Times*, 12-17 May 1975.

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- ⁴⁷S T Barnard, "South Australia," in *Sir Henry, Bjelke, Don baby and friends*, Max Harris, Geoffrey Dutton (eds), Melbourne, 1971, p 55.
- ⁴⁸SRSA, GRG 75/1/373/1972, Public Building department minute to the Premier, 8 June 1973.
- ⁴⁹Interview with Michael Angelakis, Adelaide, 6 February 2001.
- ⁵⁰Interview with Chris Winzar, Goolwa, 14 March 2002.
- ⁵¹Don Dunstan, *Australian*, 16 October 1976.
- ⁵²Helen Covernton, *Sunday Mail*, 17 February 1974.
- ⁵³Don Dunstan, *Don Dunstan's Cookbook*, 1976, p 28.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid*, p 8.
- ⁵⁵Interview with Peter Duncan, North Adelaide, 27 June 2001.
- ⁵⁶*Ibid*.
- ⁵⁷*Proceedings, First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy*, Barbara Santich (ed), Adelaide, 1984, p 47.
- ⁵⁸Interview with Cheong Liew, Adelaide, 14 March 2001.
- ⁵⁹Stephen Downes, *Advanced Australian Fare: How Australian cooking became the world's best*, Crows Nest, NSW, 2002, p 79.
- ⁶⁰*Proceedings, Fourth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy*, Anthony Corones, Graham Pont and Barbara Santich (eds), Sydney, 1990, p 30.
- ⁶¹*Ibid*, p 35.
- ⁶²Don Dunstan, *Proceedings, Fourth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy*, 1990, p 36.
- ⁶³Barbara Santich, 'Remembrances of Symposia Past,' *Proceedings, Ninth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy*, 2003, p 6.
- ⁶⁴Gilly Smith, *Australia: New Food From The New World*, London, 1998, p 18.
- ⁶⁵Interview with Cheong Liew, Adelaide, 14 March 2001.
- ⁶⁶Interview with David Hay, Adelaide, 4 March 2002.
- ⁶⁷Interview with Cath Kerry, Adelaide, 27 May 2002.
- ⁶⁸Interview with Maggie Beer, Adelaide, 24 April 2001.
- ⁶⁹Dunstan and Liz Johnswood, *Woman's Day*, 1 June 1987, p 9.
- ⁷⁰Don Dunstan's, Whitlam Lecture, "We Intervene or We Sink," *Australian Options*, no 14, Goodwood, South Australia, September 1998, p 13.
- ⁷¹Rex Jory, *Advertiser*, 27 April 2004.
- ⁷²An example may be found in *Adelaide Review*, 10-23 March 2006.

⁷³Downes, op.cit., pp 78-79.