



## **Fitzroy History Society Oral History Project 2015-2017**

### **Transcript of interview with Barry and Margaret Pullen**

(Interviewed by Meg Lee and Hilary McPhee from the Fitzroy History Society 30 May 2016)

Barry and Margaret Pullen talk about their house purchase in North Fitzroy in 1971 when a young married couple. Significantly they discuss their involvement in the community response to residents' fear of losing homes through imposed demolition orders from the Housing Commission. They also discuss the nature of the surrounding community and their actions to improve facilities and democratise council meetings.



## START OF TRANSCRIPT

Facilitator 2: So Barry and Margaret, thank you very much for this. What originally brought you to Fitzroy?

Margaret: Well, we lived separately around Carlton and the University. I lived in the outer suburbs before that. And we got to like that sort of area. But we're also big bushwalkers and we were a bit inclined to think oh, maybe we'll live out where the trees are but then we started living here and we have stayed. At £4000 a pop for a house in Carlton it began to look a bit expensive. Anyway, we did look at some over there and then actually fell across North Fitzroy. [0:47]

Facilitator 1: What years are we talking about?

Margaret: 1965, we bought the house in November 1965 and moved in in the beginning of 1966.g...

Barry: Yeah, a very dramatic purchase. We bought at auction. Well, it was a very dilapidated house for both of us, as well as the one next door, it was part of a sale

Margaret They'd been here, almost originally since 1888, the 'Corbens', the name on the front door. The house was built in 1869, and been only in two families over for over 100 years, it's wonderful house. really.

Barry: The Corbens' name's still on the house...We actually looked at both to see which one, as they were being auctioned on the same day, and initially we thought the two storey one next door - which has been altered now. - But when we looked at it we found that it was too narrow and we actually liked this one. This one was fortunately being sold first and it was a huge attendance at the auction. I think we were possibly the only WASPs there. There was a huge number of people and it was very lively, we [thought we] wouldn't be successful.

Anyway we bid for it and we were defeated. We as usual, bid above our set [price for] ourselves. So that was just about it. Then we bid for the next house. After the auction and then when they went inside the house there was a big commotion. Then the auctioneer came out and said they were developers, apparently, who were bidding. They thought they were bidding on both houses., So he had to start the auction again. [2:41]

But the auctioneer wanted to start from my last bid, and I said we can't do that, we've got to start from the beginning. After a while I realised that no one else



was bidding and we were going to leave. Then the auctioneer said, make one more bid and we got the house.

Facilitator 1: And you have been here ever since?

Margaret: Yes, yes.

Barry: That's right.

Margaret: I mean we've got no reason to shift and we're lucky- it's flat now.

Facilitator 2: Can you describe the community?

Margaret: As Barry said we were the only WASPs [white Anglo-Saxon persons] we knew and what we remember distinctly is I could just about say the street, Greek, Greek, Greek, Italian, Italian, Italian, it was like that.

Barry: A lot of very lovely old ladies.

Margaret: Yes these old, I'm sort of thinking these elegant old ladies who I sort of feel they were left behind when the tide went out, sort of, because some of them being widows and some of them single. They were very proper ladies in their 70s and 80s very much the makeup

Facilitator 1: Were there young families?

Margaret: Yeah, the migrant families, yes and often, as you would know, a lot of people living in the same house, the parents, and grandparents and kin. The street was pretty well supervised because often the grandmothers would be sitting out on the verandas, the daughters and sons would've gone off to the factories and other places and the kids would play around the streets.

[4:16]

There were little shops close by, of course. There was one in Delbridge Street and 'Busy Bee' down there and one in Falconer Street. I think was just on its last legs.

Facilitator 2: Were they operating as milk bars?

Margaret: As milk bars, yes, and this one called themselves a dairy but it was really so that you could go...

[Over speaking]



Facilitator 1: Was the milk bar where people made phone calls as it was in other parts of Fitzroy?

Margaret: Oh, I don't remember that.

Facilitator 1: People would go to the milk bar to ring up because they didn't have the phone on.

Margaret: Oh right., yeah. I don't know [audio skip] around here even, yeah, right. ... The Saltmarsh's down the street and I suppose they were the first we met. Don Saltmarsh was the local minister for the Methodist Church

[Over speaking]

Barry: The house is still there but it's not a manse anymore.

Margaret: Actually, she came knocking, as an Avon lady and because I didn't get much time, I mean I had three kids. She expected me to be speaking slowly so we'd understand her and her eyes popped. She saw our house looked like a messy student [house] and then we went on from there. They introduced us to the Jordans because they'd had a lot of old church connections too. Then through, the Jordans introduced us to others

[5:44]

Then independently the other first young WASPy couple that we knew were Peter and Priscilla Stapleton, at the bottom of Rowe Street. They blew our minds they were so bohemian.

Barry: They were pretty lively.

Margaret: Yeah. It was quite slow, it was really just the very beginning, this area began to change.

Facilitator 1: And were you both working in the area at that stage? What work were you doing then?

Margaret: Barry was still in Aviation House...

Barry: I was doing engineering type work.

Margaret: I was still studying

Barry: Doing psychology.



Margaret: I'd been working in counselling and psychology at the Commonwealth Service but our first child was born in - so by the time we moved to North Fitzroy I'd just about stopped work. I was in the public service in those days. Anyway, the house was, as Barry said, pretty dilapidated. It had one power point, the water that came through the mains was [unclear] and so there was, Barry had to...

Facilitator 2: Was there an internal toilet?

Barry: No.

Facilitator 1: Right out the back?

Margaret: No.

Barry: Just underneath where the Mulberry tree is.

Margaret: The house finished here and then out the side into a ramshackle veranda where the laundry was. The copper was where I'm sitting.

[7:04]

I think there was a chimney there, maybe the stove was there on the other side. Anyway, it was a kitchen and laundry...

Barry: We can't find a photograph we once had of the original house ...I think it might - I mean this is conjecture - but I think often the kitchens were kept separate because of fire risk. So you had to go out through the porch, and walk along and then come in. That door wasn't there, we added that once we built this extension.

Margaret: They'd actually moved the bathroom in there, hadn't they, and there was two rooms there ...

Facilitator 1: Your activism, you both became activists quite quickly?

Barry: Oh, well as I started to say the Jordans and us became quite friendly and at one of the first dinner parties that we ever had I think Renata and Brian (Howe) might've come, I can't remember exactly. But we were talking about, a common thing was the idea of the threat of demolition of houses for clearance by the Housing Commission. The thought was, that you were safe from demolition, if you were north of Fenwick Street, wasn't it?

Margaret: I think.



Barry: But then there was the talk about the Brooks Crescent and maybe even over here further in North Fitzroy. There were some other issues like the ...

[8:40]

Margaret: Random demolition of things and...

Barry: Connie (Jordan) I think, suggested that we form an association, and that's where Fitzroy Residents' Association started. There was a meeting and then there was, there was a range of issues which you would know, that the Fitzroy Residents' Association knew. But a big one was the possibility of houses being demolished because demolition orders were still being put on houses all around.

Facilitator 1: Demolition orders?

Barry: Demolition or repair orders which could turn into demolition orders.

Margaret: The SES had actually said to us oh, he implied - I think I'm right about this - that he implied that he had sort of made sure we didn't get one on this. Because it didn't have any, didn't tick any of the boxes. Not proper running water, blah, blah, blah, You could just find that you were in trouble with the Housing Commission very quickly.

Barry: The Fitzroy Residents' Association just started off with a meeting and then the usual things about somebody would act as the secretary. I think Louise (Elliot) was a very early secretary. ...And Brian Howe, the Jordons, plus a couple of people from South Fitzroy and gradually there was an architect, (Keith Ross) I can't recall his name, anyway he lived in South Fitzroy. So, we quickly had a smattering of people who we had met and had ideas.

Margaret: Yeah, there were all these, there seemed to be a lot of things that we thought could be done better. I think we all felt that the Council was too compliant. We weren't politically involved, we didn't even join the ALP perhaps until '69 or something. So, it wasn't through that, it was back the other way.

Facilitator 1: Yes, it was community based.

Margaret: Then we saw that the way to - well, we were big ALP [supporters] anyway and then we saw the way to influence things was via council,

Barry: The local ALP branch met in a rotunda in the Edinburgh Gardens. The bandstand.



We used to have to go through the door and sit around the circle and look around the pole that was in the centre. The first time we voted at a council election we didn't vote for the ALP. Because we went down there and we were very surprised to find we had six votes, wasn't it?

Margaret: It was only because you owned a house.

[11:45]

Barry: We owned a house and we lived there. It was the system. We got a vote as the owner and a vote as the person who lived there. For some reason it was, I feel it was six votes

Margaret: I think it might've been three each.

Barry: Three each. Anyway, and then we were approached by a very nice old man who turned out to be a bit of a rogue who was an Independent and he told us all the terrible things that the Council was doing and what he was trying to do and so on. So not knowing anything else we gave him six votes. I don't think he got elected though because it was a pretty Labor area and he would've been defeated by the Labor candidate.

Margaret: It was all so confusing. Three people approached us with Labor on their ticket and they were all called various things, it wasn't obvious. I mean we'd known about the DLP, but it was someone else, independent Labor or something.

Barry: That's right, yeah. I think he called himself independent Labor and then there was the Labor Party and then there was the DLP. So we got a quick education, mainly through people like Alan Jordan and that, already pretty wise about these things.

Margaret: I suppose the other big issue, like very locally, was the school especially when we had the baby. Naomi was born in 1966 so she'd be starting school in 1970. Jordan's girls were a little bit older so they were raising the school issue which was one of the big local issues

Barry: There was a very large number of portables -the school yard was full of portables.

Facilitator 2: Was this at Fitzroy North Primary School?

[13:25]

Margaret: Yes.



- Barry: Margaret and Renata (Howe) got involved, well, they organised the protest. It was to get rid of the portables.
- Margaret: There was one and a quarter acres and nearly 1000 kids that was the protest. There was another minister Don Shepherd, Anglican, I think.
- Facilitator 1: So the churches were very involved in those?
- Barry: Margaret wouldn't have called herself an atheist, I might've, but we got mixed up with a very Christian crowd quite quickly. ...nearly every second person we met seemed to be in one church or the other and they were all great people and active, active Christians in different ways....
- Margaret: Yeah, they were.
- Barry: I suppose the other thing was the library, we went down to the library and you know Ernie Harridans and that, you'd know that story. ...But we were amazed. Here was this man who was up to his fourth career, I think, as a librarian, been a coach maker and something else, a salt of the earth person, and he had the shoeboxes, he had handwritten cards in shoeboxes on the desk. He was a volunteer librarian running the whole thing and the remnants of what had been a grand Victorian library were sort of around the shelves and he had all sort of westerns and other things and children's books that he'd collected somehow.
- So we thought that, when we finally got to join the Labour Party it was one of the things we said to the Council, 'why don't we fix up the library?'
- Barry: But we didn't get much traction on that.
- Facilitator 1: Because there was no money for the library, for books?
- Margaret: Well yes, it wasn't really in their orbit of thinking. about I presume and that was one of the things. But I saw from the first minutes of the FRA that the book purchasing seemed to get going fairly early, probably because Louise was hanging around there. Our memory of that trip to the library seemed to happen independently. I feel as though that was before we even knew anyone else-just wandered down as something to do, I mean to have a look at the library.
- Barry: Yes. They were sort of parallel. The constitution, because there were a variety of different political interests. The constitution of the FRA specified that it would





never endorse candidates for local council elections.

16:22]

.... So, that motion was carried and that protected those in the Labor Party, from being part of an organisation that would be actually against the Labor Party.

The issues about demolition of houses - which Louise would be a good person to talk to about as well, as she was dynamite on that issue - a lot, some had occurred really just by developers. Buy a large property like the couple down here, there was two beautiful nearby that were demolished for flats. That was an issue that was taken up pretty generally, but the other bigger theme was the threat of high rise development down in South Fitzroy and the demolition of the church and the other small buildings there.

Facilitator 1: That came first, didn't it?

Barry: Yes, definitely. That actually led to a very big public meeting in the Town Hall and that wasn't over so much against the Commission, that was - I think it's mentioned there isn't it ...

Margaret: Council of Social Services, Fitzroy Council of Social Services. I don't know how that was set up.

Barry: ...associated with VCOSS as well. I think the Brotherhood might've had some hand in it, but their position was really that you shouldn't be putting so many people concentrated in an area without providing the social services and the schooling and all the things that went with it. So they called a public meeting at the Town Hall which was chaired by the Mayor at the time, Les Martin. That became known as the great public meeting by which all future public meetings ... it was folklore...

Margaret: In joke. [18:24]

Barry: In joke, that's right. Because it, migrants and nationalities, they came en masse and the meeting became uncontrollable

Facilitator 1: Why did it become uncontrollable?

Barry: Because they really came because they were concerned about the demolition of their houses, not about the social issues. So the good folk who were concerned about providing social services -the social workers and that, they were just wiped and the meeting became about demolition –The meeting was very big, it was



standing room only - and Les lost control. Les was quite a decent person, he's died now [but] [audio skip] a railway worker and a union man, he was used to being able to rule meetings with just regulations and read the standing orders. He was just wiped and a motion of no confidence was passed...

Facilitator 1: Who took control when he was wiped?

Barry: Well, Clyde Holding, who was there sensed what was happening and Clyde's very good on the stump speaker and he kind of went there and stood up and said well, 'What I think people are worried about and sort of, yes, yes.' So order was restored and he chaired the rest of the meeting. But then it was pandemonium, everybody was standing up, and I'm not sure whether it was Brian Howe or Brian and somebody else said, we need to form a committee to actually pick up all the issues.

Then somebody started to list the social issues and stopping houses being demolished. Then the usual - well, what turned out to be the usual thing - put up your hand if you want to go on the committee. I think about 20 people, including the ones who were from these VCOSS type, plus a whole lot of others and that's the way the meeting ended. So, as Margaret said, our 'in joke' is that no meeting since then, in Fitzroy, can stand up and be a proper public meeting unless there's at least one successful dissent from the chair.

[20:53]

Margaret: So that's how, the Social Services Council started, that wasn't the FRA start.

Barry: I'm not clear on that, you'd have to check that. Because I don't know whether it was an interim, perhaps - Brian and Renata would probably know. It would either be that they'd formed it themselves already, the social workers and that got together or the Brotherhood and others, or that they more properly thought that they'd have more credibility if they formed it at a public meeting which was kind of a bit of the way that people thought then, very democratic kind of approach.

Facilitator 1: Yes, sure.

Barry: That was the same idea that the formation of the Fitzroy Residents' Association occurred at a public meeting and a motion was prepared and that that we do a formal association and then have blah, blah, blah. So yeah, it may have been that, but you could find that out. That's a matter of record.



- Facilitator 2: Incredibly productive for such a very large meeting....
- Barry: I suppose if you stood back from it and didn't see the pandemonium you would've said it actually achieved a lot of things. It certainly - I'm not sure whether, I mean we met people like Louise and other people and some that I can't remember their name...
- Facilitator 1: As a result of that meeting?
- Barry: Well I'm not sure of that, or whether the first - certainly at the first meeting of the FRA a lot of people met each other who turned out to be to work together and sometimes very long friendships resulted, some which are still around today.
- Margaret: Meg was asking how it flowed over with your getting into council, I think You didn't get onto council until 1993 ... [22:56]
- it was all sort of part of the same sort of activity, wasn't it? But in council, of course, you had more clout and others got on at the same time, a couple of independents.
- Barry: If I tell it from my point of view there was a bit of discussion and different views within elements of the Fitzroy Residents' Association, particularly Brian and Alan, Connie, and some others, who saw that public housing was needed and felt that that wasn't a bad thing that the State Authority, the Housing Commission, was trying. But at the same time saw that it was not necessarily being done in the best way.
- So Alan Jordan suggested that we do a survey of the people and by this time Brooks Crescent had been designated as the next area for demolition in North Fitzroy. So Alan drew up a questionnaire and Alan and I went around for several weekends doorknocking and getting people to answer our questions. Then, didn't do it as formally as this, after we talked to a family or that we would go in the street and write down, in a proper form, yeah.
- Facilitator 1: You were trying to find out what by doorknocking?
- Barry: We were trying to answer the question as to what would happen to the people. Anyway, Alan drew that questionnaire, which Alan is a professional, a story about Alan, but I was a total novice. We took our cameras around and that's when we took the photos and we got invited into homes in the most friendly way, by both



old Australians and by Italian families and Greek families, who gave us a glass of homemade wine or something. [25:12]

We went around like that, and it was really mind blowing for me. Alan eventually articulated it all in a concise report., But the thing was we could see that there's these people who had bought their houses and spent their effort fixing them up, they were not going to be helped by their house being demolished. So we came away quite distressed about what was happening. The Ockers were mostly, or many of them, were not homeowners, they were still tenants, so they weren't in a good position either.

So over about three weekends we got very...

Margaret: You were reporting on the state of the houses, too, because the Housing Commission was saying these are all rubbish. We've actually still got the box, there's a manila folder for each house, there's a few missing, but it was each house. There is a photo of each house with the questionnaire.

Barry: Yeah.

Facilitator 1: You've still got that?

Margaret: We've still got the bulk of it, yes.

Facilitator 1: That's fantastic yes, yes that must go to the State Library of Victoria....

Barry: Alan reported to the others, that they didn't read it, we should try and do something to, if not stop it -modify it. That started a campaign which Brian played a big role in initially. I mean ... he took over the Methodist ministry at a time when the church was going to be demolished, the cathedral. Though an effort was made to save the older Sunday school I think, an historically important old building, he managed, I think, to get some funds out of it.

So instead of a campaign of saving the church he started the Centre for Urban Research and Action and actually employed people and that operated out of the church in Napier Street

[27:24]

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It included people like Andrew Burbidge and Kaye Hargreaves and [they all] became workers there [audio skip] people involved. That really became a strong force working with the locals and took it further than Alan and I's survey.

Facilitator 1: ... but your survey was the initial jumping off point for all of it, right?

Barry: Yes it was, well certainly for me, it made me convinced. I wasn't motivated really by saving the houses then, I was about people. Now other people were very influential in different ways. Andrew McCutcheon could see that these houses could be repaired and he had seen these sort of things happening. He was providing that architectural kind of backbone that it didn't have to be done this way, you could do it as a mixture perhaps.

Then Louise became a great fighter. She would save the last house, even the ones that some of us would say, well that'll fall over soon, so why are we trying to save it? Louise would point out that it was a very big important part of history even though it was a timber shack. If you didn't have timber shacks you wouldn't know that some people lived in them once. So she was a pretty hard core preservationist. Then we found - getting finally to the point - that there was no assistance from the Labor Councillors.

The Labor Councillors had sort of seen that housing was good and modern housing was better than the old housing, that's paraphrasing them because they were a bit more in-depth in their opinions than that. But they certainly were either over-awed by the Commission or its bureaucracy or they didn't know how to fight. That prompted us to think of standing for council and I was one of the first people who stood. The ALP endorsed me after a bit of a battle....

Margaret: Which was an interim arrangement, I mean that was a whole other story, the internal machinations of the ALP.

[29:51]

Barry: Yes, not a popular endorsement.

Facilitator 1: Because you weren't old Labor, or...

Barry: Yeah, well the Labor, it was a pretty interesting, the whole Labor story is a very interesting one because to their credit they had withstood the split and not gone with the DLP, so they'd maintained their status and that wouldn't have been easy. Some of them were Catholic and so there's another story there.



Facilitator 1: Of course, of course.

Barry: We weren't admiring them for their lack of action and some of them worked against me in the first election and I was defeated. Well actually it was drawn....

Margaret: We were pretty naïve, too.

Barry: It was drawn and we had a recount...

Margaret: That's right, I forgot that.

Barry: Oh sorry, I was one vote down and then there was a recount and I was assisted in the recount by Paul Coghlan, who is somebody you should, really must interview., He is now a retired Supreme Court Judge, Justice to be accurate. At the time the existing councillors controlled the Town Clerk and the person who defeated me and the recount made it equal. The argument was put forward by the leader of the caucus, Joe Byrne that since he had attended one meeting, even though the Town Clerk had announced that he would decide it by a toss of a coin, that that set a precedent- so he should be elected and not me.

[31:52]

So that was sort of a bit of a wakeup call about politics. So I stood again the next year and got elected.

Margaret: It was hard for the existing Labor Councillors. Remember they'd been around a long time doing stuff and here's these usurpers, I remember Jenny Miller saying, 'Oh, people come in on white chargers and everything but...'

They were, as Barry said, they were good but they didn't think of standing up against the Government.

Barry: Yeah, and they were not bad councillors - in the sense of - if you had a problem with your lane or your rubbish ...or anything like that. When you phoned and got council, you would have a book, carbon copy, and if somebody made a complaint you filled in the complaint and tore off it and gave that to the engineer or the town clerk and you had a copy of the complaint. So at a council meeting you could get up on your hind legs and say, why hasn't that lane been fixed?

So at a certain level they were good representatives, but the very idea of taking on the Housing Commission or the freeways...

Margaret: Or the Board of Works and the freeways.



- Barry: ...which were coming was the next sort of issue, or just growth in traffic.
- Margaret: Or getting into the press like this, they were appalled.
- Barry: They said that...
- Margaret: Barry got done at the ALP [unclear]... [33:21]
- Barry: We went [unclear], yeah there was...
- Facilitator 1: Because you'd used the media, was that the issue?
- Margaret: Yes, yes and disgraceful and so on and, yeah, communist.
- Barry: At the next branch meeting in the rotunda there was a lot of talk about all the stuff at the school and stuff in the press which they saw as attacking the system and so they said it was just a group of communists. I went but, 'but that's my wife'.
- Margaret: [And] my daughter because [Ann] happened to be here...
- Barry: Anyway, and Brian was there and we were sort of, you know. So I think we became more of a force to be reckoned with once we lost our temper, before then we'd been very polite members of the group. So there's another story there, we can't go through that, but as a result the combination of Brian and Kaye Hargreaves and Andrew Burbidge from CURA supporting the residents and being very democratic about it. ...Then I got together with Terry Carney, South Fitzroy and later became Professor Carney at University of New South Wales... and Giovanni Strocchi, or Jack Strocchi, who had been a, he ran the garage, the garage in Church Street. ...We formed a defence committee, went around and...
- Facilitator 1: Defence meaning what?
- Barry: Defending the houses because the Commission would buy a house and then if they succeeded in buying a house they would lift the roof off or demolish it. Then we managed to get, through Halfpenny, bans put on but then scab labour was going to the houses and knocking them over or taking the roof off so they'd rot. [35:47]
- We used to go around at five o'clock or six o'clock in the morning with cameras and photograph them use the bricks that they threw at the them to try and stop that. Because if they were photographed they knew that it wasn't a very good



idea to be photographed as scab labour. You might have somebody from the wharfies come around and catch you. So we weren't liked for that. So the result of those things and some frequent action eventually halted high rise in Melbourne which was finally admitted.

Margaret: This has all been recorded somewhere...

Facilitator 1: Yeah, there's a lot on the history of the Housing...

Barry: Yeah, there's various lines on that.

Facilitator 1: But it's how it's affected your lives, that's your contribution

Barry: I suppose I'll end with saying that I suppose all of the people that were a bit involved got a bit noticed in the Labor Party eventually and that probably led to me getting preselected for a seat in Parliament. It was a sort of a journey....

Facilitator 1: How many years did you serve on Council?

Barry: Only five.

Facilitator 1: I bet they were incredibly intense years.

Barry: I had a, that's a different story, but I got a job working for, not Tom Uren but in that Department [DERD], for the area improvement program where I went around all the suburbs but not the inner city. They were going to do the inner city but they were frightened by the politics. It included in the outer east and the north, and so on and my job was to go out and talk to

[27:32]

community and councils, particularly engineers and that. That's why I got the job because they thought I had the background. Then we lost the election, Whitlam went....

Margaret: But you left council because you thought it was a...

Facilitator 1: Just before we stop talking about council, because it was obviously a very different council, you saw council changing, didn't you?

Barry: Yes.

Facilitator 1: That's, can you just tell us a bit about that? Because I don't think that's documented anywhere.





Barry: Oh. Right, well the first group of people that got on, we were more middle-class people. We actually, as Margaret I suppose hinted at, we actually got on rather better when we had the numbers with the old councillors. We were kind of sensible enough or democratic enough to actually make people like Billy Peterson chair of the public works committee and other people like Les Peel and that, so and then people after meetings would have a drink in the mayor's room and so on and we shared out the prizes.

That was also quite good from the point of view of working with Collingwood, because Collingwood hadn't had that kind of revolution and the old guard were still in charge at Collingwood. The fact that we had Billy Peterson and them, it kind of meant - and I think we were smart enough to realise that you don't take over something completely and we had different roles. We didn't, I never became mayor but I was commissioner of the works and other people took their turns. Les Sotiriadis, a Greek councillor, was Mayor and Les Peel and so on.

But nevertheless the new council was very aggressive on issues like fighting the freeway and working with Carlton and North Melbourne and that to try and get the heritage legislation and other things done which wasn't the sort of thing that the Council would've ever done before.

[40:06]

Networking like that, and establishing a social planning office and building up the social staff there on the argument that, I remember, there are grants and money to be available. I mean if you don't have a, like South Melbourne in particular led the way in getting money for social work because they had someone who could write submissions.

We followed that fairly pragmatic path. So the Council slowly changed and then new people came on, and there were a couple of very good independents, too.

Margaret: Brian Lennon and John Stelling.

Barry: They wouldn't join the Labor Party, we would've liked them to because they were both very talented and great councillors. But they had a horror or something, they would not take the step.

Margaret: ...Some people aren't joiners.

Barry: We were on the same page but there was a bit of unease - yes, that's true and a different history I might've been with them. But the Labor caucus was quite



disciplined, and the councillors were quite active. Like Paul and I used to go around and look at every permit and others did the same, Glen Elias and - [the teacher]?

Margaret: Ted Rush, - he was a bit later I think.

Barry: Yes, Ted Rush. So then we'd actually have a genuine discussion in caucus, pros and cons of detail.

Facilitator 1: These are building permits?

Barry: Building permits and planning permits

[42:06]

Barry: ...and things to control traffic. Then we'd go into council and Paul, who was a bit of a leader, would just move the motions. The independents felt hurt about that, I think, but that was the way it worked and they didn't join the ALP.

Facilitator 2: Can you talk a bit about evolution?

Barry: Yes, I opposed it, yes, because I thought that it was a mistake to have a Fitzroy social planning office, we should have had a Fitzroy-Collingwood social planning office as Collingwood had Connie Benn. In Brunswick Street there's a centre now it's named after her ...I thought it was Connie Benn, I might be wrong. No, there was a different social worker, I don't think, we've got to check that.

[43:23]

... All I'm saying, is that Paul and I, in particular, had a different view to some of the others in that really it should try and find common ground with Collingwood and then we'd do a lot of things. But in the end we lost that partly because they could never find agreement about a site for a common office. Finally, we got a good site in Fitzroy and so we set up there. ... And that was good as you say. It took council forward into that area, in a networked.

Facilitator 1: Mm, and what were you doing at this point Margaret? Were you very active too.

Margaret: Yeah, fairly on the outskirts of things. But I'm, well I was home with the kids and got involved in, even before the children were at school, the school stuff and eventually the kindergarten because the freeway was coming. So that was, that was what. When I started to get involved and because of all the background stuff



of delivering pamphlets and all those sorts of things, that were ongoing. But initially at home with the children, I remember a couple of times being a bit lonely. My friends were all still working and not living here.

[45:09]

Facilitator 1: The kids were where at school?

Margaret: North Fitzroy. ... We've got three daughters, one in '66, '68 and the last one '73. Barry had just gotten his job and I was sort of doing a lot of the home work and we were still renovating through all this, there'd be painting and all those sorts of things. Yeah, I'm not a big out in front sort of person, but do a lot of other work,

Facilitator 1: You got very involved in the politics of the local school?

Margaret: That's right, and the school and kindergarten politics were very important, I mean it was a very poor school, apart from the fact of size, and with nature of kids attending. But you just can't believe these days what people make in fetes and things. I was on the mothers' committee at one stage and we'd have a few sausage rolls and pies on the Monday and make a few dollars and that was the end of it. That eventually went through the same sort of transition but again I think we were pushing out older people who'd really been soldiering in there for a long time.

Because I think the migrants, this is why I said, anyway I think a mix of people under the radar in a strange country and don't cause any ripples. Also they were flat out busy, everyone was working, lots of kids, both parents working and so on. So they didn't really take any role in the school I remember. Naomi, our oldest, I remember, was one of four Anglo children. So as the proportion of parents, there were just about half a dozen Anglo children.

[47:03]

Well and then the same sort of thing happened in the kindergarten (Isabel Henderson now in Rae Street) and as you know I suppose it was run by the philanthropic ladies. I hadn't come across those ladies before [laughs].

They'd come and have their meeting, the parents had nothing to do with anything. I laughed one day because I said to Anne Coghlan, who knows these things better, better brought up I suppose.



[47:35]. But oh,

no the mothers' club, the committee has a meeting today, this Thursday, she said, why are they meeting [it's] Oaks Day?

Barry: I remember you telling me.

Margaret: Yeah, so it was really good. There was Lady Grey Smith, Mrs Guest, biscuits, the various ones, but that was sort of, it was sort of nicely handled I think from their point of view. They could sort of see - and they saw there was, they were wasting their time really, there were other more worthy causes when they could see we could support ourselves. Some of us got onto the committee, myself and Ann (Coghlan) and a couple of others officially, so it was a sort of a gentle moving on.

Then eventually of course the [audio skip] [thing/then] we started to get agro about the road coming through and then I left before that was all settled. But [apparently] I went on some deputation to the Premier, I've seen some letter but I can't remember anything about it.

Barry: You were secretary for a while, weren't you?

Margaret: Of the kindergarten community, yes.

[48:45]

Barry: You had a vote, didn't you about the site of the kindergarten. It could've been renovated there but people felt the lead in petrol was too severe.

We got a new kindergarten it was quite a big. - That might've been why you went to the deputation.

Margaret: It started when I was there and then Anella and others handled it through to when the Liberals [christened the] site. Because that was a different fight, there was a fight to get it allowed to be moved and then what would happen to it over at Brooks Crescent. I looked at the old minutes recently because it just really takes you back and it said, 'Mrs Barry Pullen said this and Mrs Paul Coghlan said that, you just forget. You were sort of [submerged]...

Barry: Yeah, identity.

Facilitator 1: We were all trying to change things, weren't we? To make things better.



Margaret: That's right, yes ...There was a long campaign. I think Naomi was in Grade 4, so she was six I suppose. It was hard because the way they got rid of portables they had to buy more land along Fergie Street, so that was a bit hard. We had to leave those houses, here we are, we shouldn't do that.

[50:10]

Then the numbers plummeted ... people shifted and now of course it's escalated so that whole new school [built] the 10 portables initially and then a little wing at the end of the old primary school, and then it burnt down and so they had to put up four more portables The worst thing about, about the portables and leaving them was that meant almost zero play space and it was interesting I was in, well for me too getting to see the ethnic makeup and the things that happened.

The mums would come along at lunchtime with food and so on and at that stage they were pretty much told don't play out there, don't come in there. So yes, it was...

Facilitator 1: The battle for the freeway, were you in the ALP?

Barry: The main battle was before I got into parliament, [which was in]1982. I was working for the Commonwealth. ... we protested and lay down in front of the freeway one night and we all got rounded up about 4:00am or something, So that was quite late. it must've been '77-'78 I suppose, which will be documented and what went on....

Margaret: But at the same time, I can't quite remember, we were very worried about the thing called the S2 - do you remember that - which was supposed to go up the Merri Creek. They were into all the creeks ...When Barry went for preselection I remember the old council didn't even know apparently there were plans on the map to go right through that line. I think they were a bit shocked when [they were talking] about that.

Barry: The Labor Party was changing a bit centrally too, so the question at preselection you could not know anything about planning costs

[Facilitator 1 looking at photographs 52:20 to 55:15]

Margaret: There was a bit of renovating to do.

Facilitator 1: So this is the tree that's so beautiful that's just...



Margaret: Yes and he tried to, there's another one - he put a prop on it. ...That's [the first] prop has been driven into the ground and then a few years ago we got the...

Facilitator 1: You got another one I can see, yes.

Margaret: ...man to come with the telephone poles.

Facilitator 1: So how come you've got such a long backyard? This part's... Had the lanes been taken in by it?

[55:48]

Margaret: It's a very strange subdivision, we were sort of wondering if something happened at the time and then someone else did show us the old subdivision. There were six of us this long and we were, and the people behind, their noses are on their back fence, so you sort of wonder - and we have seen something that suggests that there was a road going to go out to Michael's or a lane to go out to Michael's.

Facilitator 1: It was planned, so the dunny, where was the outside dunny

Margaret: Just out here.

Facilitator 1: Where did the dunny man go, down the side?

Margaret: The sewerage goes right out the back. ... The original sewerage plan was apparently 1901, was it Barry?

Barry: Yes, yes.

Facilitator 2: So you weren't on night carts.

Margaret: Not while we were here. [56:55]

Facilitator 1: No, but they came up in the back here.

Margaret: The outer suburbs they were...had night carts at Chelsea and Cheltenham where I'd lived.

Facilitator 2: South Fitzroy did too. ...used to have holes in the wall.

Facilitator 1: Oh yes, absolutely. No, no that's right. The landlords didn't want sewerage, they resisted it for ages.

Margaret: It was their expense.



Facilitator 1: Did you do a lot of this work yourself? The pulling down and the renovating and the...

Barry: Yeah, we did. That was a barn in one of those lovely houses that got demolished.

Facilitator 1: Is that still there, the barn?

[57:55]

Barry: No.

Facilitator 1: No, it's gone. Louise would've wanted that.

Barry: There was two very fine houses down the street which now...

Margaret: The architect you were trying to recall in South Fitzroy that was very involved in the early formation of the Residents', was that Miles Lewis?

Barry: No.

[Aside discussion 58:10 to 1:00:19]

Margaret: Barry's father was a plasterer so he was a big help. There were literally holes in the walls and the old lady had died here. And there's only been [very few changes] which was fantastic in a way because we didn't have to, there wasn't the out [built/build] cream brick that you wanted to demolish or something, was very lucky, and it was basically solid. There were these holes, and Barry would say, 'oh that's alright Margaret, it's just a hole!'

Facilitator 1: You could live with your kids in all kinds of spaces then. We all did, didn't we? When we were fixing things up in these old places.

Margaret: Yeah that's right.

[Aside discussion 60:58 to 63:18]

Margaret: Physically some of the things that Barry and I will sort of get [audio skip] later on was I'll mention something, I mean one of the things, physically, when we came the lack of trees in the street.

Facilitator 2: The trees in North Fitzroy.

[63:46]



Margaret: You know Edwardes Park?

Facilitator 1: Yes, I do know.

Margaret: Yes, it's called Edwardes Park, the corner of Falconer and Kneen there's a real...

Facilitator 1: Those were the days when trees were pruned to within an inch of their lives. ...Oh God, it just broke your heart. There were stumps left when the pruners had gone through.

Margaret: When Barry was on council and he talked about getting grants. They accessed some of that RED money from the Whitlam...

Facilitator 1: Yes of course, the RED scheme. All of that funded all sorts of things, didn't it?

Margaret: Yes, you had to have a certain proportion of employment. I think they might've got something, they might've managed to wangle some library stuff out of that...

Facilitator 1: I think that's when the library got going because there was money for it and as publishers we were very conscious of the libraries. The local libraries had no money to buy kids' books and we were trying to donate things to go to the

[65:04]

libraries and talk to kids and we were doing little children's books and there's lots of them. The posh suburbs had children's libraries and the poor suburbs didn't. ... So there was all of that going on. But Whitlam, the RED scheme money did fund some libraries I think.

Margaret: Some of that, and this got some and I remember, and they extended Edwardes Park. At that stage it was about half the size

[65:30]

The grant came in and they didn't have much time so they sat up late at night thinking of things.

Facilitator 1: Is there a, it's Edwardes with an e.

Facilitator 2: It's spelt incorrectly.

Margaret: Oh right.





Facilitator 1: It's like Urquhart's Bluff - the endless conversations about whether it's Urquhart or Urquhart's. ...can I see some more photos please?

[66:15]

Margaret: That's our, from our family album and it had sort of fallen apart and I'd had it out for another reason recently.

Facilitator 2: That's the house ... and there's our first paint of the house...

Margaret ...and the garden is back to where it was now as you can see, walking up the front path you're going to get...

Margaret: But when I came to look there weren't as many photos as I thought. I think there's a big drawer up there of [negatives], but it's not that easy to go through the old negatives ...

Facilitator 1: Is that Barry up on the roof?

Margaret: Yes.

[67:03]

Most of our social life came out of fundraising things, for the ALP. I don't know whether there's any more in here but I took these out because these are mostly just doing the side way and this is the kitchen as it was in there. That's where this door is, on the other side.

Facilitator 1: Oh, that's a really interesting thing. I think that should be photographed, that's terrific. It's a fundraising at the Town Hall ... the ALP candidates for the Local Council. It's exactly what we've been talking about.

[Aside discussion 67:45 to 69:12]

Facilitator 2: ...what's been said. The [Brooks] Crescent file, particularly along, Brooks Crescent?

Barry: The residents were in a difficult bind because, on one hand they were threatened, so they wanted to get on with their lives and because of the [69:56] opposition the Housing Commission lifted their bids a bit. So some of them felt vacant, they didn't, and they were very doubtful that they'd ever win. So that was a tension. We were supporting them but we couldn't guarantee how it would be.



Facilitator 1: Did they come to you or did you go to them? The Brooks Crescent residents. They weren't organised or were they?

Barry: They were organised, well Kaye Hargreaves and Andrew Burbidge who were employed by CURA, they were outreach and they, basically Brian was, he'd spent time in Chicago and he was influenced by Saul Alinski and the whole idea of supporting community action. So that was all very new and so they were assiduous in calling meetings and working with the residents.

Margaret: The residents themselves hadn't got any organisation before that, had they?

Barry: They sort of formed [a Residents' Association] and then Jack Strocchi and me, mainly, a few others, we formed a separate thing That will be the Improvement ...the [Gruman] committee and we had weekend afternoons where we went, where they'd demolished and we cleaned it up and cut down the weeds that was sort of everybody got together and we'd have a barbecue or something afterwards. So we were kind of the, that side of it, while the others were sort of working out the tactics of how to [combat it]. But a big factor in the whole thing was a guy called Norman Yarr, and he was the manager/secretary – of the shoe factory, Porter Shoes ...

[72:19]

Barry: They were on the site. So one difference between this site and, say, Carlton was - though in Carlton there was a couple of pubs weren't there - but you had these couple of shoe factories actually on the site which they had to buy and demolish in order to do their development. Now Norm was representing Porter Shoes and he came to the public meetings that we organised - Norm lived in outer suburbs somewhere.

Margaret: Templestowe.

Barry: Templestowe, but he, like me, he got kind of really transformed by [listening] to the plight of the people. So Norm really went beyond his responsibility and he organised the factories to provide some money to support the court case on the argument that the factory owners would do better if they worked with, in getting a better deal in the end. So he played a pretty behind the scenes powerful role and he was very skilful, very bright.

We got to know him very well, in fact, we've stayed in his house, now in Queensland, but we got to know him very well and he produced the files. We had



the Supreme Court case and we got an adjournment The case was going to come again. The Commission said we've got enough money to throw you out the door we'll break you and that didn't [audio skip] he worked for Norm. So Norm and I created these files and worked here many nights, with [audio skip] me taking photo-, printing all the photographs and...

[74:29]

Facilitator 2: This is Brooks Crescent?

Barry: Norm got, because we had won the court case we got hold of all the files from and Norm photocopied those and then we went around and photographed and we found that sometimes that the demolition order said that this house the bricks were bad and it was a timber house! Sometimes it was full of inaccuracies. So we did a file for every house. Norm in the end was very disappointed that it was settled. He was very important...

[Aside discussion]

Facilitator 1: He thought you could defeat the Housing Commission altogether?

Barry: Oh, he wanted to win. He thought the treatment of the residents was outrageous, he became quite involved.

Facilitator 1: They were mainly renters?

Barry: No, no they were owners, mostly migrants So that was sort of the way it ran until we finally went on a deputation or the Government came and we could tell when we walked in the room that from the demeanour of the Commissioner that they'd had enough. They'd been beaten, that they'd been overruled by Hamer (Premier) and they were going to compromise and then out of that meeting there was formed a Brooks Crescent committee which we were represented. The idea of doing, not high rise, but where there'd been gaps and where houses were still intact [audio skip] owned they would be [audio skip] and made [audio skip] and where everybody who wanted to stay could stay in their houses.

So it was a repair thing and we had architects helping us think that through. The big compromise which affected it was that they said that they were now, they had the problem with Holmesglen and they said we'll do three storey and five storey piggyback type ones but we wanted to do them in concrete. Louise didn't approve of that, of course, and she was right, as she often is, but not pragmatic in



the sense that here we had one and she wanted it all done in brick and matching and so on. She wasn't the only one, we all thought that, but we thought here is an opportunity to actually medium density housing for the public....

Facilitator 1: It was the first compromise, With the Housing Commission? was it? ...but the architects were doing something that hadn't been done...

Barry: They'd never done an infill. No, that's right. It was a major, to leave it, it was meant that it would be pepper and salted rather than the demolition. Because they'd been influenced by Le Courbousier and all this idea of maximum open space and so on.

Facilitator 2: Barry, I believe that the Brotherhood of Saint Laurence in Palmer Street ... Just behind the Brotherhood there.

[78:20]

Facilitator 1: Can we just talk briefly about the RED scheme and the libraries and Whitlam and the difference that that, the Commonwealth, made to the local area like access etc.

Barry: The other areas which were declared area improvement areas and run by DERD and that I worked on, they did a lot of major things....

Margaret: In other suburbs you mean.

Barry: In other suburbs. Like there were plans to concrete the Moonee Ponds Creek and that and instead of that gave money to council to work out agistment.

[79:40]

Maribyrnong, the old gardens there, the historic gardens. So my job was all around that. Now, that never occurred here because it was going to be next then Whitlam was thrown out. But, so we got most out of it, surprisingly, by the RED scheme...it stands for actually...

Margaret: Regional Employment Development ... Because 'the E' was important, you had to have a certain amount of employment...and Hilary remembers the library grant.

Barry: Well it was amazing because the Council put up these fairly pathetic ideas for getting the money and the Council laws, we were there, and we thought we could get more money than that. So we had a brainstorm about 10 o'clock at night until



about one in the morning in council chamber and got ideas from the librarian which deliver books to pensioners and so on and to buy the trucks and uniforms for the people who went around so they looked good. To get music and start a library and renovate some of that - it was all done very fast.

So that was done like that with the librarian, who as a bit of a card, throwing ideas in and then we had problems with Edinburgh Gardens. So we dreamed up that we'd have a library put in there. We expanded this little park...

Margaret: Yes, I was showing them that picture of Edwardes Park.

Barry: There were a whole string of things all done ad hoc and everybody, ... I think the engineer was very sceptical. Then we got everything.

[81:48]

it was a one off, that was a wonderful. ...We did it all, heady days.

Barry: We had a drink in the mayor's room afterwards, we probably got home about 2:00am.

Facilitator 1: It came and went is my impression of the FRA...

Barry: The FRA was quite influential as a group in linking up with the North Melbourne association, East Melbourne association and The Carlton association. These networks were quite important....

Margaret: [I think Laurie O'Brien] was very involved in the Carlton...

Barry: Yes, and particularly on historical things. [82:39]

Barry: Once I was on the Council it was very intense. Louise, (Elliott) I remember moving a motion about the Merri Creek but nothing much came of it except it was on the books. But Louise and you should question Louise and Philip Bull Certainly Louise. But I think they drove it with Northcote and in the end got Friends of the Merri Creek established and a whole lot of things happened.

But it started during that period I was on council but didn't move until those ones got onto it. The historic stuff came a bit later, too, social planning [audio skip] - that lost momentum when the money started to run out.

Facilitator 1: We've both read your speech to Parliament, of course, Which is a terrific speech. You brought a great deal of your Fitzroy experience to that role, didn't you?



Barry: Yes. I was very fortunate getting into [unclear] and I think that's what sometimes I think is precious about it. But I was very happy to be a member, to represent such a fantastic area which included, to start off with, South Melbourne as well. [There were] issues and all the things, with lot of railway land and all that. I never really imagined that I would actually need to go further, I was very content with that role. It was, compared to my working life up to there I had much more responsibilities

Margaret: A connection with the community.

[84:53]

Barry: Yeah, I liked engineering.

Margaret: Different from drawing plans.

Barry: Yeah, I liked engineering and all that, I thought that's a great mission but that was different. Then I got a Ministry. I got housing and public works and very ironical because a lot of people that I had worked with when I was an engineer were now working for me, including people who were much senior to me when I was an engineer. But we got on alright and I treated them well enough that they worked well for me in planning.

So I had a very fruitful time there and I never thought that I wanted to become treasurer or - there is a sort of a sense of hierarchy and it's really quite wrong, it's particularly wrong in relation to social issues. Like very often the female members of parliament got the most difficult portfolios. I mean things with family violence and - finance and that is a dawdle compared to actually...

Really, it is. You've got all these high powered, the top public servants gravitate to those areas so a lot of advice, but they're the ones that are seen to be the prizes, where the people get these supposedly lesser portfolios which are really, really tough. But that's a side issue, you don't sort of realise that until you've been in it, seen the problems that people like Kaye Setchers had to face. I mean some of the women probably [were] very stressed.

Margaret: Pauline Toner.

Barry: Pauline Toner, yeah. tough portfolios, you can't, you take them away with you when you go home.



Facilitator 1: Were you lobbied endlessly by the local community because of your access? Was that a problem for you two? ...Being lobbied.

Barry: All the time.

Margaret: Yeah. I mean you just expected it I suppose.

Facilitator 1: Tell us about it.

Barry: No, handling it is a, is really just, well it's not easy to solve but you can solve problems. But people who moved into streets which had a lot of traffic in them would then want closures in Scotchmer Street and closures in Wellington Street. You had to as gently as possible tell them that you knew that was in this when you bought that house, and it was cheaper because of that. But you wouldn't say that

[Laughter]

So you'd sort of say well, we can consult on that. That's part of, that's why politics is not a perfect game. We had a few victories. We got the, we lost the freeway completely, though a bit of salvage done. We got underground the powerline which I played a role which has never been revealed on that.

[88:15]

Facilitator 1: Can you reveal it now?

Barry: Oh, I can't really...All I can say is that I, behind the scenes, put together a union kind of coalition [audio skip] work to show that the economics of under head rapidly catching up with the overhead and [Richard Wynn] went down there one [day] when the protests were on and came a back a bit shocked.

Margaret: Yeah. Richard Wynn.

Barry: I was, I sent him into see John Cain and just to tell John Cain not me what actually he saw down there and [audio skip] police, our police were sort of beating up the residents. But Dick said but John Cain then asked me was there an alternative. Oh yeah, so I went and talked to the board and the minister and proposed that we have a review and we got a very good person [unclear] of the Brotherhood, [audio skip] yeah, to chair it. Who had been the chair of the Land Conservation Council.

Facilitator 1: Yes, I'll probably know his, no, well you'll get it first.



Margaret: He lived in [unclear]...

Facilitator 1: Yeah. [89:44]

Facilitator 1: Anyway, it was an inquiry...

Barry: Yeah, and anyway he had the inquiry and that gave everybody a go and it let [Fordham] off and [unclear] off the hook because there was a process and the economics [unclear] got closer so there's - we got grounded and everybody claimed credit.

Facilitator 1: thank you for that.

Barry: I think we covered most of the things.

Facilitator 2: Is there anything else to say?

Barry: I don't know what your final product will look like. The [story of] railway land has never been told properly. (Circle Railway Line)

Facilitator 1: Hasn't it?

Barry: No, and that's a very interesting story. ...the Railway Walk...

[90:44]

Margaret: Brian Stagol was on one of those walks and he said something about that I think he, I mean just yeah I think it's nuances rather than anything. I mean there was a lot of opposition as you know...

Barry: Terry [Nott's] a good guy...But there's still, I don't know, he might tell it as it occurred but it was a clash of different instincts and two or three councillors lost their seats because they stood up for their position and [unclear].

Margaret: Yeah I think, and it's still around a bit, open space is sort of sacrosanct whereas sometimes it can be, if it is put to community...

Barry: We had very good advice, too, it was actually like a lot of things. If you do the work it often comes together. One of the people, [the planner] made a very good point which is an old kind of dangerous joke at this point really that if you have like we've got the elderly person housing fronting a park you get free surveillance and you get - and that's the way a lot of it went. Whereas if you have back fences and it all there you don't know what it turns out, it may turn out to be not a nice





place to be. So, but that argument didn't get traction with the ones who wanted to dedicate it.

[92:26]

Margaret: I mean it's reasonable to, you know, the idea that it's incremental and you eventually lose everything, it's good that people are keeping an eye. But there's just no balance I suppose.

Barry: One little thing I'll finish with - I got moved on by Joan (Kirner, Premier) to Education, and Andrew McCutcheon took over and we had the opening finally of the railway land. So then along came some people with kids in a pram and presented flowers to the incoming residents and then they, we talked and then they said we were embarrassed because we opposed this.

Margaret: The other bit that came out of the railway land, of course, was the [VCARI], the old [unclear] in the power station, so that was a bit of lateral thinking is the way I saw it. Now it's all sort of [audio skip] viable but it was a nice...

Barry: Yes, and the architect who did that was Peter Sanders, who I paint with now, and that's brilliant. But it's collapsed unfortunately....

Barry: Well the late, I'm not sure why, I'd really like to find out. Because they did have a problem, it's beautiful really and you could go there and you'd have a cappuccino and a bun. There were a lot of couples and then what would happen would, one of the [partners in the] couples would [not be able to cope] anymore and there was no high-care [for them]. They tried to get a bit more land to build a high-care place in association with it and they were defeated by resident opposition and other things.

So they had a high care out north so I think they progressively transferred [residents there] so I'm not sure what they do with it now. But somebody told me recently, they can't do it anymore.

[94:32]

Margaret: I think the viability of the funding's a problem because [of the] big upkeep.

Barry: Yeah, also you can't, with the funding you can't really make it work unless.....you've got about 100....Can't do it for 50, anyway that's a different story. Sort of [an ongoing] story.



Margaret: Me looking back I suppose it's incremental, a bit here and a bit there and a bit sort of [unclear] being around a part of all those things. over the years. So I mean school and kindergarten [audio skip] being here, it's been great.

[Aside discussion]

Facilitator 1: But the schools it, it's cyclical isn't it? .... You know all that.

Margaret: Yes in a way it's a whole new one.

[95:24]

Margaret: ...When our kids were here quite a few people [unclear] [audio skip] some of the next wave went over to Princes Hill, especially when we got to the high school level. Then of course it did become a bit difficult, our girls all took themselves off to [audio skip] it was [audio skip], it's the whole thing about the view of education at that time. It was a bit tricky.

**END OF TRANSCRIPT**