Supporting argument and evidence for objection to the removal of No 38 Moreton Terrace, Dongara from the Shire Heritage List.

Statement of Significance for 38 Moreton Terrace, Dongara

No 38 Moreton Terrace, known by a variety of names over the years, is of local heritage significance because it is a key surviving element of the optimistic, compact Edwardian townscape of Old Dongara, it illustrates the peak of rising Dongara’s pre-Great War development and then its dissipation in the traumas of war, it provides evidence in the townscape of a century of developing a local tourism industry, especially in providing dining and entertainment experiences, and opportunities for local businesswomen to develop independent incomes and a place in local society, it evidences some of the dubious business practices of local landed interests that attracted the attention of the tabloid press, it is intimately associated with the businessman Irwin Moore, representative of the first generation of native-born Irwinish and their dreams of economic renewal as a prosperous modern seaside resort town, it is the key symbolic gateway to Dongara’s old heart, beyond which lies the town proper and its high street, it is the most intact Edwardian Italianate styled building in the shire, its architectural values link it with the locally listed Dongara Hotel (Item 1225), it is the only surviving original Edwardian shopfront and commercial street alignment in the shire, its black swan symbolism illustrates Westralian identity within the local sense of place, it is the largest surviving free standing rubble stone commercial building on Moreton Terrace in which the stonework remains publicly visible, it is an outstanding exemplar of local and regional rubble stone construction in an urban setting, it remains an intact example of the diminishing inventory of historic rubble stone buildings in the Batavia region, it is the sole surviving Edwardian rubble stone warehouse type building in Dongara, its site has potential for archaeological evidence to have survived relating to the relatively undocumented practices of wheelwrighting and blacksmithing in the shire, and it remains socially very important to the sense of place and Irwinish identity of many local residents, especially those who grew up in Dongara during the mid-late twentieth century.

No 38 Moreton Terrace may upon further investigation be of State heritage significance because it is intimately associated with the significant squire, businessmen, politician and Westralian patriot Samuel Fortescue Moore MLA and the gentry firm of SF Moore & Co., it is associated with a history of the emergence of independent businesswomen in a small country town after the Great War that may have resonances state-wide, it is associated with a counter-narrative of resisting the White Australia policy that may have state-wide implications, its architectural values link it with the State-listed Old Geraldton Town Hall (Item 1058), Geraldton Club (item 1069), Adelaide Steamship House, Fremantle (Item 939) and Fremantle Markets (Item 1006), it may have associations with or be the work of the significant Western Australian architectural firm of Oldham & Cox, its black swan emblem connects it with bigger histories of Westralian patriotism and secessionist identities, and it is a significant surviving and intact exemplar of large scale rubble limestone construction for a commercial purpose in an urban setting that is increasingly rare in the region and possibly across the State.
Planning and Heritage Reasons

- The building has been identified as a heritage place since 1983 (Indicative Place, Register of the National Estate, and Classified, National Trust WA Register). Nothing has happened in the last 33 years that reduces its heritage significance. There are no reasons to de-list on that basis.

- The building was identified in the Shire’s Municipal Inventory in 1998 for its aesthetic values (as an entry statement to Dongara), and for its high historical values (for its associations with SF Moore). Nothing has happened in the last 18 years to reduce those values. There is no reason to de-list on that basis.

- The Municipal Inventory ranked the place as ‘Category 2’, deserving of a high level of heritage protection, and eligible for maximum incentives to the owner under the Town Planning Scheme. Nothing has happened to reduce that Category 2 ranking. There is no reason to de-list on that basis.

- The place is listed on the Shire of Irwin Town Planning Scheme No 5 (2008) Local Heritage List. Section 7 of the Scheme notes the purpose of listing is to facilitate the conservation of places of heritage value, and ensure development occurs with due regard to heritage values. Given the assessed heritage values of the place, these provisions need to be actively enforced by Council and guide any future development on the site. There is no reason to de-list on that basis.

- The site is located within a historic precinct, and surrounded by other heritage-listed sites. Those in the immediate vicinity are the War Memorial, the Dongara Hotel (Irwin Arms) and the Moreton Bay Fig Trees along Moreton Terrace (all listed on the State Register of Heritage Places); and the War Memorial Park, the Old Road Board Office, Delmage’s Blacksmith Site and the old Dongara Bridge site (the last two with archaeological potential), all listed in the Municipal Inventory. Section 3.4 of the Draft District Structure Plan (April 2013) identifies such heritage assets as being the key to community values and opportunities to create heritage and cultural precincts that define the community’s sense of place. Nothing has happened since to reduce these values. There is no reason to de-list on that basis. Instead, there is every reason to resist de-listings, and actively work to enhance and conserve local heritage places and, as the Draft District Plan Structure says, support community values and the community’s sense of place.

Associational Significance

- The building’s association with SF (Samuel Fortescue) Moore JP, as identified in the local heritage listing, is significant. Moore lived at Dongara between c1867 and c1901. His home ‘Moorlands’, rebuilt in 1918 after the fire of 1911, still survives on the Brand Highway. Around 1901 Moore’s son Irwin Moore took over his Dongara businesses, and SF moved to Perth. In 1904 he was elected to parliament as the member for Irwin, a seat he held until 1914. SF campaigned as a Ministerialist candidate, supporting opening-up the sandplains to farmers, and opposing Federal interference, but was known as ‘Silent Sam’ because he spoke little in parliament. He lost the seat in 1914 to the Labor candidate in an election in which the contest was between Labor’s support for developing Denison Harbour or Moore’s support for expanding the Midland railway network. SF Moore had previously run, unsuccessfully, for the senate in 1903

2 see for example, ‘Odds and Ends’, The Midlands Advertiser, 4 September 1914, page 6; ‘Rambling Remarks’, The Midlands Advertiser, 30 October 1914, page 3
as a WA Nationalist-Protectionist. He was chairman of the Irwin Road Board for many years, postmaster at Dongara 1872-1874, president of the WA Pastoralists’ Association, a director of the Western Australian Bank (branch in Hunts Road opened 1894), a Commissioner of the Supreme Court of WA, and a member of the Church of England Synod. But he was as flawed as any man, and apart from his ‘Silent Sam’ epithet, SF Moore had other detractors in the local community. He was a perpetual rival of Francis Pearce, and both men had a reputation for giving credit rather than cash to local farmers for their produce and later foreclosing on their land. In 1913 SF Moore was the subject of a scandalous story in the Truth newspaper over his habits of evading payment to his Indian contractors, in an infamous legal case fought in the Dongara courthouse. 38 Moreton Terrace featured in the scandal because Abdul Saboo, the kangaroo and dingo hunter engaged by Moore, had visited SF Moore & Co’s office in the west wing of 38 Moreton Terrace trying to obtain payment for his unpaid work in order to pay a debt he owed Pearce & Herbert. He was rebuffed there by Irwin Moore with “opprobrious epithets”. The Saboo case offers many insights into the working relationships between large landholders and emigrant labour, especially at a time when the White Australia policy was being imposed, and into the ways in which migrants of colour from elsewhere within the empire, who spoke English and were familiar with British legal systems, could still, at least in rural areas such as the Irwin district, get press and public support for attempting to resist being exploited by the old squirearchy.

Figure 1: Abdul Saboo

Abdul Saboo, as depicted in the press, at the time of his unsuccessful attempt to claim, in Moore’s office at 38 Moreton Terrace and later in the Dongarra Local Court, unpaid payments from SF Moore & Co

‘The Mohammedan versus Moore’, Truth, 19 April 1913, page 9

SF Moore and his brother WD (William Dalgety) Moore share an entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, which is a recognised measure of historical significance in Australian as well as local history. His significance is also attested by the mourners at his funeral in 1921 including the premier, James Mitchell and future premier Hal Colebatch. SF and WD were nephews of George Fletcher Moore, one of WA’s first judges, an explorer, extensive land holder, recorder of Nyungar languages and champion of Aboriginal people in the colony, who assisted Frederick Chidley Irwin when he was acting governor, and was one of the first colonists to visit the district after George Grey’s expedition (Point Moore is named for him). He also has an Australian

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*a ‘Senate Election’, Mount Magnet Miner & Lennonville Leader, 21 November 1903, page 3; ‘The Senate Elections’, The Northam Advertiser, 2 December 1903, page 3
*b ‘Death of Mr SF Moore’, Geraldton Guardian, 14 May 1921, page 4
*c ‘Rambling Remarks’, The Midlands Advertiser, 30 October 1914, page 3; see also Sr Mary Albertus Bain, Ancient Landmarks, UWA Press, Nedlands 1975, chapter 12 ‘Barter Systems’
*d ‘The Mohammedan Versus Moore | Dingo Doings at Dongarra | Black and White Court Proceedings’, Truth, 19 April 1913, page 9
*e unfortunately, Abdul Saboo is not listed in the Dictionary of Western Australians, Volume V ‘Asian Immigrants to WA 1829-1901’, UWA Press, Nedlands 1988
Dictionary of Biography entry. 38 Moreton Terrace is thus associated with an illustrious and wealthy old colonial family, and especially with the success of its many business and commercial ventures, its political and industrial controversies, and its gentry social ties. 38 Moreton Terrace was built for Irwin Moore about mid-way through SF Moore’s parliamentary career, and in its imposing built form expresses the wealth SF and his family accumulated over the years in Dongara. This historical value attributed to the place in the local heritage listing is confirmed. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical association significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- Irwin Samuel Moore was typical of his generation, succeeding colonists such as SF Moore, investing his inheritance in the local community with a confidence and panache characteristic of the Edwardian period and evident in the solidity of the building and the elegance of the corner shop and parapet façade. As it was being built for Irwin Moore by a Mr Martin, it was reported in April 1911 that the building “will be a decided improvement to the town when completed”. Irwin Moore was a leading figure in the Progress Association, along with other men and women of his generation, and captain of the Dongara Association Football (now AFL) team. He regularly presented the annual awards at the Dominican Ladies College. The Progress Association campaigned for establishing a tourist industry in Dongara, and in 1913 it was reported

“It looks as though Mingenew was reaching out for the honour of being Sleepy Hollow, now that Dongarra is showing an inclination to shake itself into activity and prosperity. I hear the seaside resort has about seventy persons camped at the beach ... arrangements are being made to open the new store building erected at Dongarra by Mr Moore some time back. With a live storekeeper there, the Beach trade would be better catered for, which would greatly add to the attractions of Dongarra as a seaside resort.”

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Figure 2: SF Moore & Co’s new building not long after it opened, c1912
Irwin District Historical Society collection

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‘Dongarra News’, Geraldton Guardian, 22 April 1911, page 1


‘St Dominick’s Convent, Dongara’, The Midlands Advertiser, 24 December 1909, page 3

‘Mingenew Notes’, The Midlands Advertiser, 7 March 1913, page 3
The new storekeeper was Frank Herbert, who operated his businesses from early 1913 in Irwin Moore’s new shop at 38 Moreton Terrace, after selling his farm to Clarkson Brothers. Herbert’s cheap prices caused retail prices to fall in the town, and he was popular, well liked and ‘numerously connected’. It was reported that Irwin Moore had retired from storekeeping “so that he [Herbert] should be sure of success”.

Herbert was also civic minded, being a member of the Irwin District Agricultural Society that was headed by Irwin Moore, and a trusted local businessman, being one of the administrators appointed to dispose of the £11,000 estate of William Criddle the Younger in 1914, which he did from the new premises. Herbert transferred the business in 1916 to the firm of Pearce & Herbert, and the building was known as ‘Pearce & Herbert’s’ well into the 1920s while SF Moore & Co appear to have remained the landlord. Pearce & Herbert continued in the same civic spirit. In 1922, the shop windows featured a display of artworks created by local school children from kerosene tins. This was part of a new philosophy in State schools to address “the overproduction of penmen and underproduction of workmen [but, as schoolmaster Mr Foxcroft said] because a boy is likely to spend his life in the country is no reason for excluding the pleasures of culture. Art is not for the city alone”.

38 Moreton Terrace is thus closely associated with the rising generation of the first native-born Irwinish people personified by Irwin Moore. That association with the desires of an optimistic new generation for a progressive and civic minded community, seeking to build a local tourism industry to diversify the district’s economic base, and in the 1920s seeking to cultivate the next generation, is reflected in the modern windows of Pearce & Herbert and its impressive corner façade. For this reason, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical association significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

**Historical Significance**

- This building is now about 105 years old. Its age alone makes it a remarkable survivor. The site was owned by SF Moore in 1911 when, soon after the loss of his store and house at Moorlands, East End it was reported:

  “Mr SF Moore MLA has decided to build another store at Dongarra, to replace the one destroyed by the recent fire. The location of the new store will be opposite the Dongarra Hotel”.

In this context, ‘opposite the hotel’ means to the east of the hotel, and it also meant moving his business into the growing town from the rural East End. SF Moore was by this time living in Perth and the family business of SF Moore & Co was managed by his son Irwin Moore. Placed in the wider context of other listed buildings such as Delmage/Smith House (Moreton Terrace, c1900, demolition recently approved by Council), Russ/Brand Shop (Moreton Terrace, c1901), Healy Newsagency (Moreton Terrace, early 20th century), Plester House (Moreton Terrace, c1915) and the Dongarra Hotel renovation (1908), 38 Moreton Terrace is the last built in a group of Edwardian buildings that collectively mark a period of optimistic growth in Dongara’s history. Moreton Terrace was developing at this time as the town’s ‘high street’, distinct from the row of civic and religious buildings watching over the new commercial quarter from the ridge of Waldeck Street. This change occurred after the opening of the Dongara-Denison bridge in 1889 which re-oriented transport routes away from the south side,
Quarry Hill and Walton’s Ford to the flatter, flood-free north side of the river.20 The opening of the railway in 1894 disrupted sea transport through Port Denison in favour of rail transport through Dongara. The Moreton Bay Fig Trees and the Old Road Board Office also date from this period, as do the surviving Italianate-style facades of the Dongara Hotel, highlighting the new ‘high street-beach road’ axis. As a group, the places from this period show a new and compact Edwardian townscape, a ‘new’ Dongara confidently succeeding the old, scattered colonial village. The visual grandeur of 38 Moreton Terrace on the key crossroad, along with these other buildings and the consolidation of the high street, mark the succession to the early colonists by the first generation of locally-born women and men such as Irwin Moore, the beginning of a distinctive ‘high street’ within the town, and the confirmation that Dongara was finally a permanent town of some note and ambition. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical significance and must remain on the local heritage list.

- The visual grandeur of 38 Moreton Terrace, displaying a civic confidence and pride marking a new direction by a new generation, also belies a sense of melancholy that befell that generation, and can only be understood with hindsight. It was the last major new building in Dongara before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The bright new generation were unknowingly on the cusp of a catastrophe that would change their lives forever. One-third of the district’s enlisted young men were killed in the war”. Many more returned traumatised physically, mentally or emotionally. Many families never saw loved ones again, unable to even visit a grave. Many women lost husbands, fiancés, sons and futures never to be realised. Reginald Moore, SF Moore’s talented second son and Irwin’s younger brother, was killed at Gallipoli and his body was never recovered. Edwardian Dongara’s display of confidence and energy is evident in the façade of 38 Moreton Terrace, but that façade also masks the personal and communal trauma that followed as the war unfolded. The war memorial formally commemorates the losses of war, but 38 Moreton Terrace takes us back to that cusp between peace and war, when another future seemed not only possible but on the verge of attainment. Its classical elegance is imbued with a sense of broken dreams. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical significance and must remain on the local heritage list.

- The history of tourism in Dongara and Port Denison begins during this Edwardian period (see further below).21 Much more research is needed, but it is clear that Irwin Moore’s construction of the new building in 1911 was, in some ways, a speculative venture that reflects his belief in the future of both a rising tourism industry, and the ‘new’ Dongara that was a healthy, carefree seaside resort supported by an expanding railway network annually delivering visitors from the Midlands and Goldfields during the hot summer months. However, the new building also had the functional purpose of being SF Moore & Co’s Dongara office. The west wing contained a large produce or store room at its western end of 8.5 x 4.2 metres, accessed from the south side yard, with two small offices, one facing Moreton Terrace with a window to the street (probably Moore’s manager’s office) and the other containing a built-in strong room for keeping cash and valuables.22 By July 1915 Irwin Moore had left Dongara when he enlisted in the 10th Light Horse in Fremantle, giving his address as Cliff House, 

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22 Anne Jefferys and Lyn Broad (eds), *One Small Port, Three Names: A History of Dongara Port*, Irwin District Historical Society, Dongara 2009, Chapter 9 ‘The Port becomes a Playground’ and Chapter 10 ‘Summer Holidays at Port Denison’
23 pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re floor plan and room dimensions
Claremont (his father SF Moore’s house). SF Moore & Co seems to have ceased trading as a business firm at this time. Irwin Moore never returned to Dongara, and by 1920 was a farmer at Carnamah. By that time, the uses of 38 Moreton Terrace had well and truly changed from the premises of the old gentry firm of SF Moore & Co to the new businesses that marked the ‘Roaring 20s’. The story of tourism and travel links the history of 38 Moreton Terrace across the war to the very different world after the war. For this reason, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- Pearce & Herbert’s store operated in the shop from 1916 to 1926, but for some 35 years after 1920 the building also housed a succession of recreational and tourism-related businesses. The Carlton Tearooms opened in 1920 (probably named after a popular venue in Perth well-known for live concerts and music programs that were broadcast live on radio 6WF) with an open-air dance hall and a billiards room in the main west wing rooms while Pearce & Herbert continued to trade in the corner shop. The tearoom was probably in the large store or produce room at the west end of the building, as there is evidence the walls were painted with a mural depicting people relaxing in sunny beachside gardens with, what was becoming the quintessentially Dongara motif, crayfish. The billiards room may have been part of the corner shop, partitioned-off to create a second 8.5 x 4.2 metre room on the other side of the offices, while the open-air dance hall is likely to have been an enclosed space opening off the courtyard verandah. In 1927, after Pearce & Herbert’s store closed, a branch of the Elite Supply Company (drapery) of Geraldton began operating in the corner shop, and Parker & William’s motor garage business opened west of the building next to WD Moore’s old barn. In 1932 the Carlton Tearooms were re-named The Cabaret which, despite its name, remained a tea rooms and dance hall. It may be from this time that, combined with the cellar beneath the ‘tea room’, the Carlton or Cabaret acquired a reputation as a sly-grog venue. The original Carlton Tearooms in Hay Street Perth adjoined the Rex Carlton Cabaret, often advertising bridge evenings, dances, and ‘AM-PM Evening Parties’. The Rex Carlton Cabaret, for example, advertised in 1932 “for the first time in Western Australia, after theatre supper dances”. Between them, the two venues catered to a young crowd from mid-afternoon until late into the night. Press reporting and advertising on events at the Carlton and the Cabaret in Perth was extensive during the 1920s and 30s, and the similarity of names and the evidence of wall murals (the ‘luxurious’ and ‘gay’ decoration of the Rex Carlton was often described in the press), as well as hints of a grog cellar, strongly suggest there is no coincidence in the names and possible uses of the west wing of 38 Moreton Terrace at this same time. This all requires much more research, but the tantalising possibility that Dongara has its own salubrious history of the Roaring 20s cannot be dismissed. For this reason, 38 Moreton Terrace is of historical significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- By 1934, when the whole property at 38 Moreton Terrace came into the possession of the Brennand family, the Roaring 20s were over and the Depression had set in. Jack and Betsy Brennand had been running a store in Latham, but had to close because of the Depression. Jack senior then began working in the railways, while Betsy took over

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26 Pearce & Herbert also ran a store at Mingenew, see Elizabeth Nelson-Broad, The Caroline Connection: Pioneers of the Irwin District, the author, Perth 2005, pages 46-52
27 GWF (i.e. Westralian Farmers Co-op) could be received in Dongara from 1924. For a history of the station, see [http://watvhistory.com/2012/08/the-6wf-story-part-1-of-3/](http://watvhistory.com/2012/08/the-6wf-story-part-1-of-3/), accessed 16 December 2016
28 pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re mural
29 pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re cellar and sly grog story
the tea rooms. 

At around this time, advertising of the Elite’s Dongarra branch ceased, and then the tea rooms or café business probably moved from the west wing to the now-vacant corner shop. The Brennand’s son, Jack junior, took over the operations of Parker & Williams motor garage. The dance hall and billiards room were closed, and the corner shop tearooms gradually became known as Brennand’s Tearooms. With the changed ambience, the tearooms acquired a more sedate reputation until it closed in 1951 after Betsy Brennand became unwell. Brennand’s motor garage business continued next to the building, also supplying electricity to the town from WD Moore’s old barn, and became the Brennand’s focus of commercial activity. In a special supplement in the Western Mail in 1936, Dongarra was described as having “sporty golf links … the home of the famous Dongarra Crays ... its old buildings and the main street lined with Moreton Bay Figs reminds the traveller of an old English village”. All the local stores advertised in the supplement, as did Brennand’s garage – with just a mention of the tearooms (see figure 3 below). It is around this time that tourist marketing added ‘historic old Dongarra’ to the healthy seaside attractions of Denison as drawcards for the intending visitor.

During World War Two, Jack Brennand junior served in the 7th Geraldton Battalion of the Volunteer Defence Corp, as did many other Irwinish men. The Corp was instructed by another local businessman, storekeeper Corporal David Brand, who had been injured and discharged from the AIF after campaigns in North Africa, Greece and Crete.” After the closure of the tea rooms in 1951, No 38 Moreton Terrace was, for the first time, solely a residential building. The west wing was known in the family as

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33 see also Shire of Irwin 2014-15 Oral History, transcripts of interviews with Ronnie Smith, in which he refers to the corner shop as ‘Brennand’s Café’.

34 pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re Betsy Brennand’s illness and closure of the shop, dated to arrival of Rev Copeland at St John’s Church of England, confirmed by list of rectors in church

35 ‘Through the Victoria District’, Western Mail, 15 October 1936, page 24


'granny’s side’, the home of Betsy and Jack senior while the south wing was known as ‘mum’s side’, housing Jack junior and his young family. Around 1957-58, the west wing was renovated for the family’s use, including the installation of a modern kitchen in the big west room. Notable evidence in the building is the installation of a lower ceiling (above which the mural survived), and a new west-looking kitchen window with a sightline to the motor garage. After about two decades of residential use, the Brennand’s moved to a new house at No 4 Moreton Terrace, and commercial operations returned to the shop as a temporary branch of the National Bank with staff quarters in the rest of the building. That was followed by a succession of food and café ventures in the late 1970s/early 1980s, then between c1985 and c2005 the restaurant from which the current name of the building as ‘Tokos’ originates. All of these retail and service businesses were made possible by tourism and the growth of motor vehicle transportation, which by the 1970s had rendered passenger rail unviable. Throughout all these changes of occupants and uses, the exterior physical fabric of the building continued to look much the same, but nevertheless recorded its recent history in changes such as replacing the original roofing iron with ‘colourbond’ metal sheeting, and the timber verandah posts with metal posts. This is a testament to the integrity of its original design and construction and continuing utility. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace has historical significance, and must remain on the heritage list.

Figure 4: 38 Moreton Terrace in c1983 and 1941
(Left) both wings c1983 with ‘Dees Country Kitchen’ in corner shop, unpainted stonework? original roof iron and timber verandah posts (image RNE ID9648),
(Right) west wing, 1941, from back courtyard, with door into former tea room or dance hall, after c1957/58 the kitchen, unpainted stone (image Brennand family)

- The succession of tourism and entertainment businesses at 38 Moreton Terrace after 1920 are linked by a notable characteristic: the succession of women proprietors. From 1922, Mrs Dolly Macintyre ran the Carlton Tearooms, then in 1927 Mrs Williams took over the property and, while her son and his business partner opened Parker & William’s motor garage she ran the tearooms in the west wing, and the Elite Supply Company branch in the corner shop. The Elite Supply Company was based in Geraldton, where Mrs Bennetts was in charge of the Ladies Department and responsible for all the selection and purchasing of stock. The Dongarra branch was their first, and was run on the same “go-ahead policy” with all ladies’ stock carried in

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* pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re names and occupants of the two wings
* pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, re new kitchen
both shops under the slogan “The Progressive Draper”.¹¹ The Elite Supply Company made much of its large window displays in its advertising in Geraldton and Dongara. The Elite’s marketing to its young female customers drew clear links between fashionable women’s clothing, the new lingerie, healthy recreation, the beach, tourism, its large shop windows and the company’s modernity and progressivism, as shown below in the small selection of the extensive newspaper advertising during Mrs Williams’ management of the Dongara branch in the shop at 38 Moreton Terrace. Some idea of how lucrative drapery was at this time can be gauged from the increase in expenditure on clothing from 15% of average incomes in 1900 to 35% in 1920.¹² Displaying clothing and drapery also meant drapery businesses lead the way in the demand for shops with large picture windows, such as those on 38 Moreton Terrace. They were also major employers of women, with women increasing from 17% of shop assistants across Australia in 1891 to nearly 48% in 1911.¹³ The Elite Supply Company reflected these trends, which continued into the inter-war years.

Figure 5: The Elite Supply Company’s advertising

Mrs Williams was responsible for re-naming the tearooms The Cabaret in 1932. In 1934 Mrs Betsy Brennand took over the property and while her son Jack took over the motor garage she continued to run the tea rooms (usually known as ‘Brennands’) until 1951 a year before she died.¹⁴ The Dongara Branch of the CWA met at the Carlton/Cabaret from its foundation in 1930 until at least 1934, and Mrs Williams made it available to the CWA for meetings and bridge evenings without charge.¹⁵ The original Carlton Tearooms in Perth was operated by proprietress Miss J Taylor.¹⁶ Other local tourist businesses were also run by women at the time, such as the Denison Guest House, advertising in 1935 “clean, homely accommodation, apply Proprietress, telephone 35”.¹⁷ After the Great War, Dongara’s women assumed many new roles, especially in commerce where they could generate independent incomes. The post-war women of Dongara can be contrasted with pre-war counterparts when, during the Saboo Scandal (see previously) in 1913, it was alleged in court that Irwin Moore’s

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¹³ Webber and Hoskins 2003, page 86
¹⁵ ‘Personal’, Geraldton Guardian & Express, 21 July 1934, page 2
¹⁷ ‘Holiday Resorts’, West Australian, 9 November 1935, page 26
payment of £1 10s to a Miss Sanderson for 2 days’ typing was a “princely sum” that, if true, would see Perth emptied of female typists heading for Dongarra!” Miss Sanderson’s convenient departure for England as soon as questions were raised in the Saboo case about faked documents in Moore’s paperwork only raised more questions, such as just how much did Moore really pay his female staff? Before the war, the 1913 Post Office directory listed, apart from the Dominican nuns, nine independent women in Dongara (8% of the town’s population), compared to the 1923 listing of 20 independent women (20% of the town’s population), in 1933 13 independent women (14%) and in 1943/44 11 independent women (18%).

Although the town population listed in the directories halved over this period from 113 in 1913 to 60 in 1943/44, the proportion of independent women remained much higher than before the war. Pre-war, half the independent women were farmers, the others employees, after the war they were mainly small businesswomen or listed no occupation, suggesting at least some were war widows and mothers supported by the new war pensions introduced in 1917.

No 38 Moreton Terrace would appear to be representative, rather than unique, as a place for Irwinish women who emerged from the war as traumatised as their men, but perhaps more resilient and able to move into new occupations, set up new businesses, grasp new opportunities in tourism and entertainment, and live with more independence than before. These were the women who had incomes to spend in the Elite’s Dongara branch and the tea rooms at 38 Moreton Terrace. Women’s history in Dongara needs much more research, but the mid-20th century history of 38 Moreton Terrace suggests it is a place with a high potential to contribute to understanding that history. From the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s, most of the businesses that operated from the shop were again run by women. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace has historical significance, and must remain on the heritage list.

Aesthetic Significance

- 38 Moreton Terrace forms a ‘gateway’ structure marking the entrance to both Moreton Terrace and Point Leander Drive. The vernacular Edwardian Italianate style of the corner shop (similar to the west end of the Dongara Hotel façade, which points to a similar architect or builder) was intended to be assertive and have landmark qualities, and after 105 years those qualities remain strongly evident. Just after its completion in 1911, it was reported that “This building is quite an ornament to the town, being built of stone and provided with large modern windows. Indeed, it is quite the finest building in the store line in the whole of the Midlands.”

In 1913 the shop façade was described as “...the most imposing in Dongarra”. These qualities are enhanced by the colonnade-like corner verandah, which is in keeping with Italianate forms that responded to the local Mediterranean climate, along with the asymmetrical façade of the overall L-shaped building, the faceted character of the splayed tower-like corner, the solid load-bearing walls and the picturesque relationship between the building and its setting. The entry in the Register of the National Estate in 1983 specifically emphasised these values:

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* ‘The Mohammedan Versus Moore | Dingo Doings at Dongarra | Black and White Court Proceedings’, Truth, 19 April 1913, page 9; £1 10s has the equivalent value in 2016 of $175.
* Irwin’s Historical Society notes, 8 December 2016.
* for a discussion of Italianate styles, see Richard Apperly et al, A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde 1989, pages 70-73. For this submission, the term ‘Edwardian Italianate’, formulated according to Apperly’s typology, is preferred over ‘Free Classical’ or ‘Free Style’ attributions
* ‘Midlands Notes | Dongarra’, The Midlands Advertiser, 6 October 1911, page 6
* ‘Dongarra Doings’, The Midlands Advertiser, 27 June 1913, page 6
"A commercial building of architectural importance ..., significant for its form and use as a large L-shaped storehouse with a corner shop as part of the building form and environmentally important for its contribution to the townscape at the junction of the main street of Dongara and the road to the port."

These are aesthetic qualities that are a positive embellishment of Moreton Terrace’s character as Dongara’s High Street, and have been recognized for over 30 years. The aesthetic value attributed to the place as an ‘entry statement’ in the local heritage listing is confirmed. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace is of aesthetic significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- No architect or designer has been identified for 38 Moreton Terrace. However, the modernisation of the old Irwin Arms to become the new Dongarra Hotel was designed by architects Oldham & Cox, who operated between 1905-1918, and were a significant architectural firm in WA history." SF Moore was agent for the sale of the hotel in 1905, described as a stone and brick building of 30 rooms and “the only hotel within 30 miles”. William Criddle, after selling his Dongarra Hotel to the Dominican Sisters in 1901 for use as a convent, bought the Irwin Arms, re-named in ‘Criddle’s Dongarra Hotel’, and after adding a Billiards Hall to the east end, substantially renovated it in 1908 with a completely new Edwardian Italianate façade to Moreton Terrace.” He engaged Oldham & Cox to design and manage the ‘alterations and additions’.

Oldham & Cox’s other work includes many commercial buildings in Fremantle (for example, McLwraith’s Building, Phillimore Street 1919), the Geraldton Town Hall 1907 and possibly York Town Hall 1911, as well as the Freemasons Hotel and Club Hotel Geraldton 1907, Commercial Hotel Mingenew 1908 and Geraldton Club 1912, and homesteads such as Opawa at Mingenew 1910 for W Kerr Esq, Tipperary at York 1912 for WG Burges Esq and Moomuinooka near Geraldton 1913 for DE Grant Esq. Oldham had previously been in partnership with Joseph Eales, and their buildings with design attributes similar to the Dongarra Hotel and 38 Moreton Terrace include the Adelaide Steamship House (Mount Street, Fremantle 1908) and the Esplanade Hotel (Marine Terrace, Fremantle 1897, now much altered). Eales’ Federal Hotel (William Street, Fremantle 1904) and Swan Hotel (Queen Victoria Street, Fremantle 1923) also show some affinities." Oldham & Cox also designed a number of large stone stores and shops in Geraldton at this time, probably similar to the stone construction of 38 Moreton Terrace. Of these, Old Geraldton Town Hall, York Town Hall, the Geraldton Club and Adelaide Steamship House in Fremantle are listed on the State Register of Heritage Places.

The similarities between the Dongarra Hotel façade and Geraldton Town Hall (balustrade parapets, decorated pediments, L-shape [before removal of Council chamber]) and 38 Moreton Terrace and the Commercial Hotel Mingenew (decorated corner verandah pediment over splayed corner, large windows, corner verandah [now removed from the Commercial Hotel], L-shape), point to the signatures of Oldham &

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*For Sale For Sale The Dongarra Hotel’, West Australian, 15 September 1905, page 2

*‘In the Matter of the Deceased Estate of William Criddle’, West Australian, 15 September 1913, page 3


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Cox’s work on important buildings in the region during the Edwardian period, illustrating the results of the tender notices for their work. Style and tender notices confirm Oldham & Cox as the architects of the Dongarra Hotel renovations and suggest an involvement with designing 38 Moreton Terrace. The classically decorated pediment and parapet (38 Moreton terrace) and pediment and balustrade parapet (Dongara Hotel) are also evident in much of Oldham’s commercial work of the same period. The similarities in the L-shape, splayed corner, large windows, corner verandah and decorated pediment of 38 Moreton Terrace are signatures of known Oldham & Cox buildings, and the connections between Moore, Dongarra Hotel, Oldham & Cox and 38 Moreton Terrace all point to an area of research that needs to be undertaken. There is a clear suggestion that Oldham & Cox had a role in, or at last an influence over, the design of 38 Moreton Terrace. The significance of 38 Moreton Terrace, if it can be established as the design of Oldham & Cox, will be greatly enhanced. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace is of aesthetic significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- The street facades of 38 Moreton Terrace are aligned to the site edge and street corner in ways that are typical of commercial buildings in large urban centres of the period, but rare in Dongara (I can’t think of another original example, although historic photos show long-gone examples). The use of large windows, the recessive doorway that increases the window display area, and the verandah to shade the large windows from the sun and heat, relate to the new styles of shops being built at the time and adapted to the local climate. It is the only original Edwardian shop front left in Dongara, and the only example of the corner shop with recessive doorway, making it a rare example of its type in the Dongara context. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace has aesthetic significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

- The pediment atop the splayed corner displays a moulded swan on a disc surrounded by ornamental swags, currently painted white on a brown background. Whether the swan was originally painted black might be revealed by a conservation investigation, but the similarity between the swan on a disk and the black swan on a gold disk on the WA flag is not a coincidence. SF Moore, as noted previously, was a strongly patriotic Westralian politician, who opposed federation in the 1890s. The list of mourners at his funeral in 1921 is like a roll call of members of the secessionist Dominion League of the 1930s. SF’s son and Irwin’s brother, Reginald, was killed at Gallipoli while serving under Lt Col Noel Brazier who, permanently disabled by his war wounds, was later a prominent secessionist leader in the 1930s drawing returned servicemen to the cause. In 1931 the Irwin Road Board voted to support secession. In the 1933 secession referendum, Dongarra voted 153 yes, 42 no, Irwin 20 yes, 3 no, and Strawberry 13 yes, 2 no, strongly contributing to the 72% vote for secession in the Greenough electorate. The black swan on a gold disk, as well as being the WA state emblem, was also an emblem of the secessionist movement, and its location at the pinnacle of the gateway building to both Dongara and Port Denison conveyed a message of Westralian patriotism. Presumably Irwin Moore chose to emblazon his new building in this way for both his personal and family patriotic reasons, and to attract patriotically-minded customers. The architect Charles Oldham used the black swan motif on a number of his significant buildings, including Fremantle Markets (1897), and was well-versed in its application. It is the only such example I know of in Dongara, and its rarity is another argument as to why 38 Moreton Terrace is of aesthetic and historical significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

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40 for some understanding of store-front design, see Kimberley Webber and Ian Hoskins, What’s in Store: A History of Retailing in Australia, Powerhouse Publishing and NSW Heritage Office, Haymarket 2003
41 ‘Irwin Road Board | Meeting at Dongarra’, Geraldton Guardian & Express, 14 March 1931, page 6
42 ‘Greenough Electorate | Final Figures’, Geraldton Guardian & Express, 15 April 1933, page 3
43 for more on the use of black swan symbolism on buildings, see Alex George and Charmaine Cave, Swanning Around Perth: An exploration of the black swan in our city, Four Gables, Kardinya 2014
Technological and Scientific (Archeological) Significance

- 38 Moreton Terrace is one of the diminishing stock of rubble stone buildings, the traditional building material and technique of the shire and region, that remain intact and largely in their original form. Many such structures have already been lost, either through neglect or demolition, or greatly altered with new materials such as cement render or obscured by later additions. Some survive in the countryside as picturesque ruins, but the nature of rubble construction means they don’t survive long if they are unused and neglected. This makes surviving examples in town that remain inhabited and in the public eye, especially commercial buildings, even more valuable. There have been examples in the immediate vicinity of 38 Moreton Terrace from the Edwardian period that have unfortunately been demolished for commercial expediency before the Municipal Inventory was adopted, such as the former CWA Rooms, and a butchery and chemist shop terrace, all on the site now occupied by the shops at 31-37 Moreton Terrace. Like 38 Moreton terrace, their frontages were on the building line, and the terrace shops each had a large street window. Their loss in the mid-1980s was a loss in the diminishing resource of historic rubble stone commercial buildings, and also a loss to the distinctive character of Dongara, especially the high street character of Moreton Terrace. The beautiful warm natural limestone of the external walls of 38 Moreton Terrace were unfortunately painted over sometime in the early 1980s, but the stone texture at least remains evident in the streetscape. These historic stone buildings set Dongara apart from surrounding towns and contribute to its desirability as a place to live and visit (as previously noted as far back as 1936). Any further loss, especially a building of the magnitude of 38 Moreton Terrace, would degrade Moreton Terrace’s character and further impoverish the incrementally diminishing inventory of old rubble stone buildings in the Irwin shire and the Batavia region. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace has technological and scientific significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

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* examples of unpainted natural limestone external walls still evident in Dongara, from roughly the same period, include the Old Headmaster’s House (1893), Old Post Office (1894), Royal Steam Roller Flour Mill (1894), Brady’s (c1900), Old Methodist Manse (1901) and Old Road Board Office (1910) – these dates suggest 38 Moreton Terrace was the last major rubble stone building constructed in Dongara.
No 38 Moreton Terrace is now a rare survivor in the shire of a building exhibiting the traditional warehouse or store dimensions. By the 1860s, warehouse construction generally took the form of roughly 9 metre x 4.5 metre modules arranged in a row to which more modules could be added. These dimensions were determined by the span that could be achieved by a timber king-post truss type roof structure resting on the side walls of each module. Even when new materials and technologies allowed for greater spans, the convenient 9 x 4.5 module persisted well into the 20th century.

As noted earlier, the west wing contained a large produce or store room at its western end of 8.5 x 4.2 metres, accessed from the south side yard, with two small offices, one facing each other across a passage that also linked to the second 8.5 x 4.2 room next to the corner shop room. These proportions are consistent with the characteristics developed in the harbour-side and rail-side warehouses in Sydney during the 19th century, and can be found elsewhere in historic Australian port towns. The deep-set, high-level clerestorey windows in the external walls are intended to provide ventilation over the stacked stores while reducing heat and light, and the verandah over the corner shop windows similarly reduces light and heat on the large windows. These are adaptations to the hotter, drier Mediterranean climate of the Batavia region characteristic of attempts to develop ‘climatic architecture’ around the turn of the 20th century. Unfortunately, comparable other large store or warehouse buildings at Denison have been demolished over the years, as have the long sheds of the Royal Steam Roller Flour Mill, making comparisons difficult with other similar local structures. If the Oldham & Cox stone stores designed in Geraldton in the early 1900s could be identified, it may be possible to make comparisons with them. No 38 Moreton Terrace is now a rare survivor of the warehouse form in the shire. For these reasons, 38 Moreton Terrace has technological significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

The site of 38 Moreton Terrace is likely to contain archaeological potential. The site was previously occupied by a number of small buildings that formed Hinchcliffe’s wheelwright and blacksmith yard and shop until 1911 when it was relocated closer to WD Moore’s barn (on left edge of Figure 8, later Brennand’s powerhouse). The potential for evidence of these buildings, and of the wheel making materials, techniques...
and business, to remain beneath the current ground surface is high, with a potential to provide evidence of the provision of transport support services, the transition from horse to motor power, and the historical development of Dongara town in the late Victorian/early Edwardian period that is not available in the documentary record. For this reason, 38 Moreton Terrace has scientific (archaeological) significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

Figure 8: Hinchliffe’s wheelwright & blacksmithy, on the site of 38 Moreton Terrace, c1907. Image: Irwin District Historical Society collection, #IMRE 0643

Social Significance

- 38 Moreton Terrace has significance for me, and I am sure for many others of the generation who grew up in Dongara during the 1960s and 70s. The Brennand family, who then lived there, are relatives of mine and I often played there when the shop, used then as a storeroom, was full of secluded and intriguing spaces to explore, including on top of the front window display cases. The recessed shop doorway was a perfect place for playing numberplates with views of all cars entering and leaving Dongara (before the highway by-pass was built). The back yard was an oasis of lush green lawn (recently planted in figure 4) and large spreading Japanese pepper tree (still visible at far-right of image in figure 4) enclosed by the L-shape of the building’s inner stone walls and a long enclosed verandah. I imagined it to be like a Spanish or Arabic courtyard. Beyond that were some of Mr Brennand’s permanently parked old cars (a Vanguard I particularly recall) that just called out to kids to climb in and out, exploring, being where we shouldn’t be, with the added thrill of knowing Mrs Brennand would likely appear out of the garage at any moment, calling “what are you kids doing?” as we scattered every which way. 38 Moreton Terrace was always an imposing building in the landscape of my boyhood, with a strong capacity to provoke the imagination. It is a place of which I have very fond and lasting memories. The number of requests I have received from local and former residents to make a submission opposing the de-listing clearly indicates the strong social values of the place that are shared by me and many others. It is very important to our sense of place and to our identity as Irwinish women and men, even if many are not able to clearly articulate these values. For this reason, 38 Moreton Terrace has social significance, and must remain on the local heritage list.

* pers. comm. from Brennand family, 14 December 2016, confirmed existence of lawn and trees, historic photos suggest the lawn was planted in 1940 or 1941.
Figure 9: Memories, whether comprehensive or fragmentary, are crucial to a community’s sense of place, and caring for historic buildings provides opportunities to refresh memories and express a community’s social values. Image L. Baskerville 2016