



HERITAGE
COUNCIL
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

REGISTER OF HERITAGE PLACES

DRAFT – Register Entry

1. **DATA BASE No.** 25436
2. **NAME** Kakulas Brothers and Greek Residential Group, Northbridge
(from c.1890s)
3. **LOCATION** 185-187 William Street and 120-124 Aberdeen Street, Northbridge
4. **DESCRIPTION OF PLACE INCLUDED IN THIS ENTRY**
Lots 552 and 553 on Deposited Plan 301683 being the land within Certificate of Titles Volume 1488 Folios 323, 324, 345, 346, 354 and 355.
Lot 169 on Deposited Plan 222985 being the land within Certificate of Title Volume 1966 Folio 904; Lot 100 on Deposited Plan 31554 being the land within Certificate of Title Volume 2219 Folio 813; Lot 228 on Deposited Plan 35649 being the land within Certificate of Title Volume 2224 Folio 820.
5. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA** City of Perth
6. **HERITAGE LISTINGS**
 - Register of Heritage Places: -----
 - National Trust Classification: -----
 - Local Planning Scheme – Heritage List:

P16434 Kakulas Bros Wholesale Goods	26/08/2014
P19925 William Street Conservation Area	26/08/2014
P15764 House (fmr), 120 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	17/03/2015
P15765 House (fmr), 122 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	17/03/2015
P15766 House, 124 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	17/03/2015
 - Local Heritage Survey:

P16434 Kakulas Bros Wholesale Goods	28/03/2023
P15764 House (fmr), 120 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	28/03/2023
P15765 House (fmr), 122 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	28/03/2023
P15766 House, 124 Aberdeen St, Northbridge	28/03/2023
 - Aboriginal Sites Register -----
7. **ORDERS UNDER SECTION OF THE ACT**

8. HERITAGE AGREEMENT

9. STATEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Kakulas Brothers and Greek Residential Group, Northbridge comprises three residences in Aberdeen Street, Northbridge (c.1890s, 1897, 1912), and a shop (c.1903) in William Street, Northbridge. The place has cultural heritage significance for the following reasons:

The place is an important demonstration of the burgeoning cultural diversity and demographic change which started to take shape in Western Australia in the inter war years (Factor A).

The place, and its use by Greek migrants from 1929, is indicative of a period when many Greek families, particularly from the island of Castellorizo, moved to Northbridge which became the social, commercial, and religious centre of Greek cultural life in Western Australia, and is a rare display of the types of businesses established by these migrants, and where they lived, (Factors A and B).

The place has the capacity to demonstrate the lives and contributions of non-British migrants in Western Australia in the inter war and post-WWII period. It is emblematic of the migrant experience of overcoming adversity and illustrates the importance of relationships within migrant diasporic communities in supporting newer migrants to build successful livelihoods in new countries (Factor A).

The Kakulas Brothers store is an excellent example of a family-run continental grocery business and rare as one that has continued to operate in its original location, managed by the founding family, for over 90 years. The store became a known Greek community hub, and is also significant to many non-British migrants, particularly from southern Europe, stocking imported products that were not readily available in existing stores (Factors B and E).

The place has a high degree of social value to the Greek community for its long-standing association with Greek migrants since 1929. It is particularly associated with the well-known Kakulas family, who emigrated from Castellorizo in the early-twentieth century, and long-serving Greek Orthodox priest, Reverend Christophoros Manassis (Factors E and G).

The place, and in particular the Kakulas Brothers' store's longevity and increasing popularity over time, demonstrates the slow but eventual wholehearted embracing of mediterranean food and culture by the wider Western Australian population (Factor A).

This wave of migration from the island of Castellorizo from 1890 onward left a lasting legacy on the State, with the majority of Greek-descendants in WA originating from there (Factors A and B).



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PLEASE NOTE: This Assessment Documentation¹ is intended to provide sufficient information to consider the place for inclusion in the State Register. It is not intended to provide a complete record of the history of the place or its physical presentation.

10. THE PLACE



Figure 1: Kakulas Brothers Wholesale Goods (above) and 120-124 Aberdeen Street, Northbridge (below).

Kakulas Brothers and Greek Residential Precinct, Northbridge is a discontiguous precinct comprising three residences at 120-124 Aberdeen Street, Northbridge (c.1890s, 1897, 1912), and a Vernacular Federation-constructed shop (c.1903) with Inter War Free Classical detailing located at 185-187 William Street, Northbridge. The place is associated with Greek migration to WA, particularly from the island Castellorizo², and the community established in Northbridge in the inter-war period, where many families lived and developed businesses.

¹ The documentation for this place is based on the heritage assessment completed by the Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage in June-July 2025 with amendments and/or additions by the Heritage Council.

² There are various spellings of the island's name, but both Castellorizo and Kastellorizo are the most common.

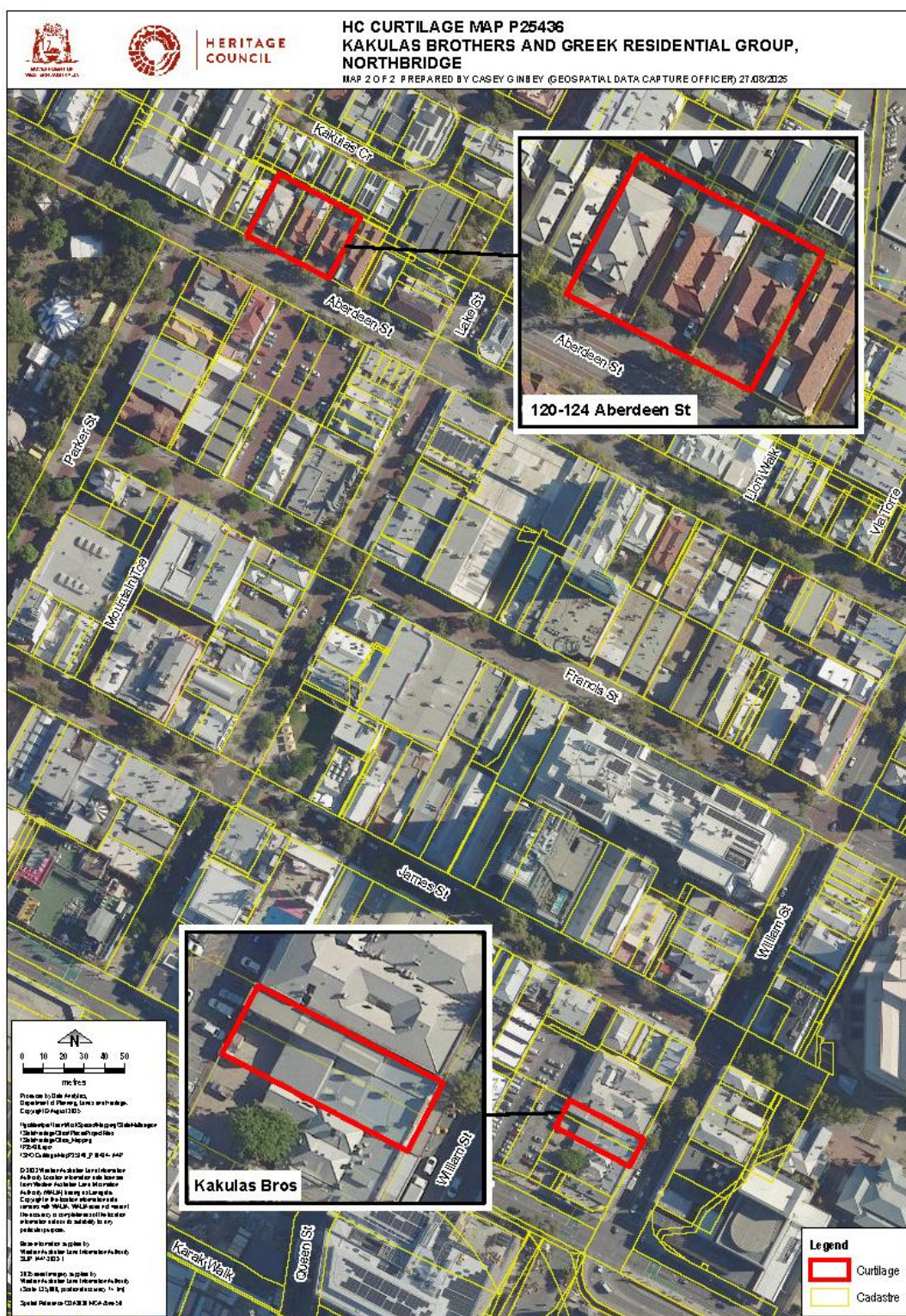
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Documentation amended:



11. DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Northbridge

As a result of the gold boom in the 1890s William Street, named Hutt Street before 1898, rapidly grew into a commercial hub with the city expanding north of the railway line.³

The building at 185-187 William Street (now Kakulas Brothers store) may have been constructed c.1903 and originally comprised three separate tenancies. The street number varied, though it was first recorded as 183, 185 and 187 William Street from 1923.⁴ The shops were occupied by several businesses over the years, including a tailor/milliner, painters, fruiter and confectioner, refreshment rooms, and an oyster bar (1915-1922), managed by Castellorizian A. Passaris between 1915-1922.⁵

Greek Immigration to Western Australia

A small number of Greek immigrants were living in WA in the nineteenth century, though there does not appear to be a specific migration pattern during this time. The first arrival from the island Castellorizo was Athanasios Avgoustis, who settled in WA in 1896 and used the anglicised name Arthur Auguste. Auguste was the first leader of the Castellorizian Association (Brotherhood), formed in 1912.⁶ Others soon followed and by 1914, approximately 140 Castellorizians had immigrated to WA. Castellorizo had been under Turkish control up to 1913, during which time taxes and trade controls had crippled the island's economy and religious restrictions impacted its cultural life. During WWI, the island was occupied by the French and subject to extensive Turkish shelling and German bombing raids, leaving the buildings and infrastructure severely damaged.⁷ As the island's prosperity declined, many inhabitants migrated to the United States, Australia, and other areas.⁸

Although there was a strong preference for British migrants in the early twentieth century as stipulated in the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* (known as the White Australia Policy), this did not prevent the arrival of Greek migrants in WA. By 1921, a total of 576 Greek-born residents were in WA, the majority being males. Though most Greek migrants settled in the metropolitan area (particularly Perth and Fremantle), many ventured to the goldfields and south-west regions, though distribution across the state was extensive.⁹

In the inter war years, Northbridge became a popular area for Greek migrants to settle, especially after a new Hellenic Community Hall was built on Parker Street in 1925. By the 1930s, Northbridge was firmly established as the Greek community's

³ Heritage Council of WA Registration documentation, P3795 *William Street Precinct*, May 2001, pp.10-11.

⁴ The street address from Post Office directories varies between 249-251, 187, 185a/185b-187 and 183-187 William Street between 1903 to 1949. The street address 249-251 William Street first appears in 1903.

⁵ Based on review of Post Office directories from 1910 to 1949, <https://slwa.wa.gov.au/collections/collections/post-office-directories>, Historic Aerial imagery from 1948, via Landgate Map Viewer Plus, and Sewerage Map dated 1949, available from Retro Maps.

⁶ Reginald Appleyard & John N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, 2002, p. 5-13, 16, 44.

⁷ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*. pp.42, 102

⁸ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, pp.,15, 42, 102.

⁹ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, pp. 36-39.

'residential, cultural and religious heartland'¹⁰ with the area acquiring a Greek character. Greek families purchased existing houses in Aberdeen, Francis, Lake, Newcastle, Pier, Parker, Shenton and John Streets, close to the Hellenic Hall (c.1925 building replaced in 1969) and Greek Orthodox Church (built 1937). Boarding houses for single men were along William and Roe Streets.¹¹ Many migrants living in Fremantle and regional areas also moved to Northbridge. Residences occupied by Greek families generally had lemon and olive trees, and often grape vines, planted in their gardens to create a sense of their Mediterranean origins. By 1935, nine Greek families lived in Aberdeen Street, when twelve years previously there had been none.¹²

Newcomers either formed new businesses or sought employment in already established Greek-run businesses, such as restaurants, cafes, and other shops or markets. Most these businesses generally catered to the growing Greek and Southern European communities.¹³

Kakulas Brothers

One of the Greek-owned businesses established in Northbridge during this time was Kakulas Brothers grocery store, founded in 1929. The Kakulas are one of the many Greek families originally from Castellorizo. Evangelos Kakulas initially settled in Fremantle in 1923 with his son Stavros, where they sold fish door to door and later ran a fruit stand outside the railway station. Evangelos' brother, Bartholomeus, had immigrated to Fremantle in c.1912 where he operated a fruit shop.¹⁴

After a period working at the Port Pirie lead smelter in South Australia, where a large Castellorizian community had established, Evangelos purchased the Teeny Thomas Ginger Beer store at 185 William Street, Perth in 1929, which comprised the central store of the building where Kakulas Brothers now stands.¹⁵ As the name suggests the store sold ginger beer and was staffed by Evangelos and his two eldest sons, Stavros and Michael (who arrived in 1926 with the remaining family), before branching out into eggs, fruit and tobacco.¹⁶

By the 1930s the store was importing products from Greece stocking olives, olive oil, bags of beans, lentils and chickpeas amongst other products appealing to European migrants. Given many of these products were not available in most other stores, the shop was frequented by Greeks, Italians, Macedonians, Albanians, and Yugoslavs.¹⁷

¹⁰ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, p. 137.

¹¹ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, p. 137.

¹² *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, pp. 195-196.

¹³ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, p. 124, 137, 141.

¹⁴ Transcript of interview with Stavros Angelo Kakulas, interviewed by Gail O'Hanlon, 1997, Call Number OH2873, pp. 7-8, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C_Rb1817354; *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, p. 260; National Archives of Australia, Series No. PP9/4, Kakulas, Evangelo Stavrianu – Passport and or travel documents; National Archives of Australia, Series No PP302/1, WA13074, Kakulas, Stavros Evangelos.

¹⁵ *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, pp. 125, 141; Interview with Stavros Kakulas, pp.17-19; 'William Street Northbridge Shops', photograph, Illustrations Ltd., 1954, Call Number 8292B/28871/2, 3, 4, 5, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C_Rb2599530.

¹⁶ Interview with Stavros Kakulas, pp. 17-19.

¹⁷ Interview with Stavros Kakulas, p. 24.

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Evangelos passed away in July 1936 and the store continued to be run by Stavros and Michael, later joined by younger brother George (Irakli) after he finished school. Along with food products, the store sold Greek newspapers and established a Greek library, where customers could borrow Greek books. The store became a community hub and the brothers would provide assistance to newly arrived migrants.¹⁸

Greek Orthodox Church

The first purpose-built Greek Orthodox Church in WA, the Cathedral of St. Constantine and St. Helene (1937) in Northbridge was constructed using funds raised by the Greek community and took over the role of their place of worship from the adjacent Hellenic Hall.¹⁹ Reverend Father Christophoros Manassis was installed as its priest. Born on the island of Chios, Manassis immigrated to Melbourne in 1924 and later found work at Port Pirie. In 1925, Manassis was ordained as a Greek Orthodox priest and was transferred to Perth the following year, where he conducted services at the Hellenic Hall. Along with his duties in Perth, Manassis also travelled to the goldfields and south-west regions to support the Greek population living in these areas.²⁰

Greek Associations - Aberdeen Street Residences

No. 120 Aberdeen Street

Purchased by Peter, son of Bartholomeus Kakulas, and Pelagia Kakulas in 1933,²¹ the c.1890s residence at No. 120 Aberdeen Street (numbered 126 until 1907) was the family home.²² Both had separately emigrated from Castellorizio in 1918. Peter initially lived in Fremantle but later moved to Northbridge after opening a fruit shop there in 1930 with his brother Arthur, which later expanded into a coffee shop (1935-1942). Peters Greengrocers was located at 160 Murray Street (no longer extant) and operated into the 1970s, eventually managed by son Nicholas.²³ The family opened another business in 1951, Peters by the Sea in Scarborough, that still operates today (2025).²⁴ Pelagia became the sole owner following Peter's death in 1967, until she passed away in 1992. The property was then transferred

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- 18 'Iraklis George Kakulas', Castellorizo Family History, Accessed June 2025, <https://www.castellorizo.org/histories/kakulasi01.jpg>
- 19 Heritage Council of WA, Assessment Documentation for P4641 *Cathedral of St Constantine & St Helene*, pp. 7-8.
- 20 Australian Dictionary of Biography, *Christophoros Manassis (1898-1980)*, by John N. Yiannakis, Accessed June 2025, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/manassis-christophoros-11048>
- 21 Cancelled Certificate of Title Volume 657 Folio 167.
- 22 Transcript of interview with Nicholas Peter Kakulas, interviewed by Stuart Reid, 11 July 1996, Call Number OH2709/4, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C__Rb1757180 pp. 2-5; The property is first listed in Post Office Directories from 1883-1894, which is the earliest available directories, but it is likely the building dates c.1890s. J.A Campbell is listed as the occupant until 1917, when it is listed to J.R Campbell until 1933.
- 23 'Peter Varthalamos Kakulas and Pelagia Kakulas', Castellorizo Family History, Accessed June 2025, <https://www.castellorizo.org/histories/kakulas03.jpg>; Photograph of Peters Greengrocery, 160 Murray Street Perth (1934), taken by Illustrations Ltd., Call Number 8292B/A/9296/1,2, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C__Rb2768242?lang=eng; Transcript of interview with Nicholas Kakulas, pp. 2-5.
- 24 City of Stirling Art and History Collection, Peters By the Sea, Accessed July 2025, <https://collections.stirling.wa.gov.au/nodes/view/12517>

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to their sons Bartley and Theo, both lawyers. In 1958, Bartley established BP Kakulas, which became Kakulas and Kakulas when Theo joined in 1960.²⁵

No. 122 Aberdeen Street

Reverend Manassis purchased 122 Aberdeen Street in 1931 where he lived with his family.²⁶ The residence was built c.1897 and numbered 128 Aberdeen Street until 1907.²⁷ Manassis was the first Greek resident to occupy a house in this block of Aberdeen Street. In 1957 he became the foundation priest at the Annunciation of Our Lady (Evangelismos) Church, West Perth, where he served until retirement in 1975.²⁸ No. 122 remained in the ownership of his family until 2022.

No. 124 Aberdeen Street

Stavros and Michael Kakulas purchased 124 Aberdeen Street in 1930, a Federation Queen Anne residence built in 1912, one of several properties in Northbridge owned by the brothers.²⁹ By 1939, they had purchase 129 and 131 Lake Street (no longer extant), 20 Moir Street, and two additional houses in Moir Street. The properties were leased to tenants.³⁰ At this time, the brothers opened a second store at 317 William Street (1939) which also provided 'Australian' goods. It closed in 1970.³¹

By 1940, the Australian Hellenic Progress Association was holding its meetings and social events in 'a bakery behind the Aberdeen Street premises of Michael Kakulus'. Michael had in the late 1920s been one of four founding members of the Association, a men's youth club. In 1952-53 it amalgamated with a parallel girls' club to become the Hellenic Youth Association. Both AHPA and HYA particularly catered for Australian-born Greek young people and remained strongly associated with the Hellenic Community of Western Australia.³²

A 1954 sewerage map shows the layout of the three residences. Numbers 120 and 122 have similar layouts, though a brick extension was built at the rear of No. 122 (extant). In the 1954 plan all three residences had either galvanised iron, cement, or weatherboard freestanding structures and extensions at the rear, though the others are not extant.³³

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- 25 Cancelled Certificate of Title Volume 657 Folio 167; John N. Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the Golden West: Greek Migration, Settlement and Adaptation in Western Australia Since 1947*, 2009, p. 300; 'Bartley Peter Kakulas QC and Nellie Kakulas (Nee Palassis)', Castellorizo Family History, Accessed June 2025, <https://www.castellorizo.org/histories/kakulasb03.jpg>.
- 26 Cancelled Certificate of Title Volume 710 Folio 197; Wise's Post Office Directories, 1932, <https://slwa.wa.gov.au/pdf/battye/pods/1932/0019.pdf>; Interview with Stavros Kakulas, p. 46, 48.
- 27 Property is first listed in Post Office Directories in 1897.
- 28 Australian Dictionary of Biography, *Christophoros Manassis (1898-1980)*, by John N. Yiannakis, Accessed June 2025, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/manassis-christophoros-11048>
- 29 Certificate of Title Volume 1066 Folio 482
- 30 Interview with Stavros Kakulas, p. 21, 27.
- 31 Interview with Stavros Kakulas, pp. 18-20, 30, 67; 'About', *Kakulas Brothers Est 1929*, Accessed June 2025, <http://kakulasbros.com.au/about>; 'Domestic Announcements - Deaths', *Western Mail*, 6 August 1936, p. 4.
- 32 John N. Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the Golden West: Greek Migration, Settlement and Adaptation in Western Australia since 1947*, p. 96, 98, 100
- 33 Metropolitan Sewerage Map, City of Perth, Last review date 19 February 1954, Accessed via RetroMaps.

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Post World War II

After WWII, peace treaties saw the island of Castellorizo demilitarised and returned to Greece. At the time, there were only 663 people remaining on the island, but around 1,500 Castellorizians in Western Australia. The population of predominantly Castellorizian pre-war Greek migrants were foundational in both the establishment and the continuation of Greek community networks, organisations and facilities in the State. Post war migration further increased the number of Greek families in the area, along with other immigrant groups (notably Italians), and Northbridge further developed into an inner-city working-class area.³⁴ Kakulas Brothers was an important centre for these groups and the business continued to expand in the 1950s. New products were introduced including Greek olives, nuts and dried fruits, pasta, and peeled tomatoes, catering to the newly arrived migrants.³⁵

An interview with Stavros Kakulas in 1997 provides some interesting insights into the early and yet slightly unusual adoption of mediterranean foods into the wider Australian diet, which demonstrates that the current Western Australian penchant for mediterranean cuisine took a while to develop:

“...a lot of those lines we bought, stock fish and ling fish, anchovies – Australians didn’t use those. [They] never used olive oil either.... After there was a factory that made macaroni in Fremantle. The Australians used to buy macaroni for custard, they used to make custard with macaroni. And vermicelli for soup, that’s all. Spaghetti they never used, they didn’t like all that stuff”.³⁶

The Kakulas family continued to be heavily involved in Greek organisations through the twentieth century, including the Hellenic Community of WA and the Hellenic Club.³⁷ Women of the Kakulas family were involved from at least the mid-1950s in the Hellenic Women’s Society, a social and philanthropic association.³⁸ Several members of the Kakulas family have been awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia.³⁹ In the 1970s, Stavros, Michael, and George Kakulas, along with the Hellenic Community of WA, donated ten acres in Forrestfield used to construct a Greek Orthodox church and monastery, named the Holy Monastery of Saint John.⁴⁰ They were later recognised for their services and contributions to the church.⁴¹ Michael Kakulas was chief chanter at the Greek Orthodox cathedral from the inter

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- 34 Heritage Council of WA, Assessment Documentation for P4641 *Cathedral of St Constantine & St Helene*, p. 7.
- 35 ‘About’, *Kakulas Brothers Est 1929*, Accessed June 2025, <http://kakulasbros.com.au/about>;
- 36 Interview with Stavros Kakulas, quote p. 25.
- 37 Both Stavros and George Kakulas served as treasurer of HCWA, and all brothers were committee members. Stavros Kakulas was also Secretary and Treasurer of the Hellenic Club for a period. Peter Kakulas served as President of the Hellenic Club for a period, and Treasurer and Committee Member of HCWA. ‘Peter Varthalamos Kakulas and Pelagia Kakulas’, *Castellorizo Family History*; ‘Stavros Evangelos Kakulas’, *Castellorizo Family History*.
- 38 John N. Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the Golden West: Greek Migration, Settlement and Adaptation in Western Australia since 1947*, pp.138, 260. Eleni Kakulas was the first president of the HWA and Pelagia Kakulas the first treasurer (for 50 years). Katina Kakulas was a key fundraiser for the Forrestfield church project.
- 39 Including Pelagia Kakulas (1983) for service to ethnic welfare; Bartley Kakulas (2016) for service to the Greek community of Western Australia, and to the legal profession; Michael Kakulas (2010) for service to the community of Perth through the Cathedral of Saints Constantine and Helene; Accessed via Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Australian Honours Search Facility, <https://honours.pmc.gov.au/honours/search>
- 40 ‘Holy Monastery of Saint John – Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia’, *The Monastery – About*, Accessed July 2025, <https://stjohnmonastery.com.au/the-monastery/#history>
- 41 ‘Local Greek Community News’, *Mediterranean Voice*, 1 February 1972, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/250074140>

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war years until late in his life, and in later years was appointed an Archon of the Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the highest honours in the Greek Orthodox Church.⁴²

In 1990 Evan Stavros and George Junior, sons of Stavros and George, joined the Kakulas Brothers business, though the founding brothers continued to work at the store. A warehouse was purchased in Wellman St, Perth for wholesale and additional storage.⁴³ By this time, it appears the business had taken over all three previously separate tenancies of the William Street building.⁴⁴ In 1994, George Senior's daughter Eleni Kakulas established 'Kakulas Sister' in Fremantle, providing a similar range of products to the Northbridge store. A second store opened in Nollamara in 2004, and Little Sister Delicatessen opened next to the Fremantle store in 2015.⁴⁵ In 2017, Evan and George purchased the William Street building.⁴⁶

As of 2025, two of the three residences (excluding 122 Aberdeen St) are owned by descendants of the original Greek owners and are leased as office spaces. The Kakulas Brothers store is still operating at its original location managed by Evan and George Kakulas and continues to provide a similar range of products.⁴⁷

12. PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Kakulas Bros Wholesale Goods (c.1903)

Siting

The store is located at the southern end of William Street in Northbridge, approaching the intersection with Roe Street, and north of the Perth railway line. William Street forms a relatively intact commercial precinct including shops and restaurants with surrounding buildings dating from c.1880s-1925. The streetscape opposite the store forms the State Registered *William Street Precinct*.

⁴² Kaitlyn Offer, 'Michael Kakulas, co-founder of Kakulas Brothers, dies aged 101', in *PerthNow* 3 June 2014, <http://www.perthnow.com.au/news/western-australia/michael-kakulas-cofounder-of-kakulas-brothers-dies-aged-101/story-fnhocxo3-1226941458725> ;

⁴³ 'About', *Kakulas Brothers Est 1929*, Accessed June 2025, <http://kakulasbros.com.au/about>;

⁴⁴ 'William Street, Perth and Northbridge: Part One', Photographs by Betty Smith, 1982, Call Number BA1530/3855-3895, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C__Rb3800033; 'Kakulas Bros. store, 183 William Street Northbridge', photograph, Richard Woldendorp collection of photographs, c.1993, Call Number BA1611/68, 946, 1798-1799, https://encore.slwa.wa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C__Rb2438734.

⁴⁵ 'About Us', *Kakulas Sister*, Accessed June 2025, <https://kakulassister.net.au/about/about-us>

⁴⁶ Helen Shield, 'Third generation Kakulas Bros owners spend \$5.2 million to buy back their eclectic William Street store', *Perth Now*, 11 March 2017, <https://www.perthnow.com.au/wa/third-generation-kakulas-bros-owners-spend-52-million-to-buy-back-their-eclectic-william-street-store-ng-63f5789fb6578d3c0480ed67fde819d7>

⁴⁷ 'About', *Kakulas Brothers Est 1929*, Accessed June 2025, <http://kakulasbros.com.au/about>.



Figure 3: The buildings abutting Kakulas Bros (left) form a relatively intact precinct. Adjacent businesses as of 2025 include restaurants, a live music venue, a convenience store, and shop.



Figure 4: Portion of the State Registered streetscape P3795 William Street Precinct (Roe Street to right) opposite the store.

Exterior and Interior

The building is a vernacular Federation era single-storey commercial structure of face brick, with Inter War Free Classical parapet detailing. The building was initially split into three separate tenancies, which have since been combined into a single retail space (c.1982-1993). The store is overall in good condition.



Figure 53: The building is face brick with brick piers to a stepped parapet that features the moulded lettering 'H.E.C'.⁴⁸ A flat awning, which has not changed form since all three previous tenancies were combined, features the store's name (February 2025).



Figure 6: The shopfront has three bays with a recessed central entrance. Signage above the door details the store's name. The immediate entrance is tiled and leads to timber flooring which continues throughout the shop (February 2025).

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'H.E.C' is believed to be attributed to Henry Ebenezer Clay, a civil servant and poet who died in 1896. It is not clear whether Clay was involved in the construction, but if so, the building would date pre-c.1903. Further research is required to clarify: 'Kakulas Bros Catering for the community', *Visit Perth*, Accessed October 2025, <https://visitperth.com/see-and-do/living-northbridge/living-northbridge-kakulas>; 'Henry Ebenezer Clay (1844-1896)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Accessed October 2025, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clay-henry-ebenezer-3231>.



Figure 7: The shopfront is not original and was likely constructed when the tenancies were combined (c.1982-1993). Excluding the central entrance, each bay comprises three large, glazed window panels with three smaller windows above. Beams separate the bays which distinguish the original tenancies (February 2025).



Figure 8: This area is the former southern tenancy. The former central tenancy is to the right and is distinguished by metal beams, demonstrating the original extent of the space. Timber floorboards extend throughout.

The interior was refurbished between 1995-2000. The rear was constructed during this time and replaced the enclosed original storage/staff area. The main ceiling has also likely been replaced. This section leads to the back door, near an enclosed office/staff area. The front portion of the store is the retail space (February 2025).



Figure 9: This area is the former northern tenancy and has retained the original wall with built in shelving separating the retail and storage/staff spaces. The floor in the retail space is tiled.

120-124 Aberdeen Street, Northbridge

Siting

The three residences are located on the northern side of Aberdeen Street approaching the intersection with Parker Street. Aberdeen Street runs in an east-west direction from Lord Street (east) to Fitzgerald Street (west). The streetscape is largely mixed use with varied building materials and finishes (dates ranging mainly from c.1890s-1910s). The buildings are surrounded by mixed use office and residential buildings, a nightclub, an outdoor carpark, and Russell Square. The *Cathedral of St Constantine & St Helene*, and the adjacent Hellenic Community Centre are in close proximity on Parker Street.



Figure 10: View of residences from corner of Aberdeen and Parker Streets. No.124 is to the left but is hidden in this photograph (July 2025).



Figure 11: View of buildings and carpark opposite the residences (right side, not pictured) on southern side of Aberdeen Street. Photograph was taken approaching the intersection with Lake Street (July 2025).

120 & 122 Aberdeen Street (c.1890s and 1897)

Two single storey rendered brick residences with elements of the Victorian Italianate style. Numbers 120 and 122 have very similar overall form and detailing, with hipped gable and tiled roofs. Though the documentary evidence indicates the buildings were constructed at different times, they may have been built using a similar plan. Both residences have an asymmetrical, painted façade with a gable end and small porch with concrete floor. Both front yards are paved from the building to the footpath, with small plantings, except for a large Norfolk Island Pine and Lemon tree in front of No.122. Both residences are used as office spaces and are in overall good condition.

Notable external detailing for both residences include:

- Tiled roof
- Stone quoining with alternating bands of plain and vermiculated rustication, a masonry technique that contrasts smooth and rough textures
- Lancet vent in the gables
- Decorative brackets under eaves
- Front timber doors with side panels and leadlight windows with Federation Queen Anne elements (art nouveau inspired leadlight windows and double-hung sash windows)



Figure 12: Façade of 120 Aberdeen Street, which is painted grey. The façade features two casement windows, which may not be original, and were possibly installed during works c.1950s (July 2025).



Figure 13: The front door has retained its surrounding side panels and leadlight windows (July 2025).



Figure 14: The façade of 122 Aberdeen Street features a single and twin set of double hung sash windows that are framed by heavy rendered moulding. A driveway runs to the rear of No. 122 (July 2025).



Figure 15: No. 122 has a porch verandah with a tiled roof and concrete floor. The eastern side of the verandah is enclosed with timber (c.1980s). Like No.120, the front door features side panels and leadlight windows (July 2025).



Figure 16: The façade of No. 122 features stone quoining with alternating bands of plain and vermiculated rustication, which is consistent with No. 120 (October 2025).



Figure 17: A rear extension was built over several phases, and the rendered brick portion is likely the original extent of the building (c.1897). Two brick extensions, one serving as the former kitchen (not pictured), were likely built around the same time (pre-1954, possibly 1930s, with modifications). The former kitchen was re-roofed in c.1974. The plasterboard enclosure was built c. 1981 and connects to the c.1930s brick kitchen extension and opens to a rear courtyard (October 2025).

Interior – 122 Aberdeen Street

The interior of No. 122 is mostly intact. The layout of the original (c.1897) portion of the building has been retained, with seven rooms (one original room appears to have been split into two, likely after 1984), and a rear living area, and extensions constructed pre-1954 and c.1981. Majority of these rooms have been converted into office spaces. Additions and modifications have occurred over time including updated kitchen and bathroom spaces. The building is maintained and in overall good condition, though there is evidence of damp in the c.1897 portion.

Notable internal features include:

- Fireplaces with surrounds
- Timber doors and frames
- Timber skirting boards
- Floorboards retained in several rooms

The interior of No. 120 has not been inspected. Works were undertaken to No. 120 c.1950 which may have altered the interior.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Transcript of interview with Nicholas Kakulas, p. 11.



Figure 18: Example of room in c.1897 portion No. 122. The original fireplace and surrounds have been retained. Original floorboards are likely to be extant underneath the carpet. This room may have been part of an originally larger room, as indicated by the brick partition wall to the left of this image (October 2025).



Figure 19: View from c.1981 extension to brick kitchen (c.1930s). The French doors with decorative glass panels are painted black, with two double hung windows with decorative panels on both sides (October 2025).



Figure 20: Front entrance hall with archway. The ceiling has been retained with original cornices and decorative ceiling plasters. False ceiling panels have been installed further along the same hallway and in several adjoining rooms. The hallway floor has been replaced, though original skirting boards have been retained (October 2025).

124 Aberdeen Street (1912)

This building, fronting Aberdeen Street, is in the Federation Queen Anne style with an asymmetrical façade and return verandah. The place has been converted into an office space, is well maintained, and in excellent condition, with the exterior maintaining the majority of its original features (detailed in images below).

The interior is predominantly intact and has maintained its original floor layout, comprising five bedrooms, kitchen and bathroom, store, entry hall and hall, and a rear room that was likely a common lounge. The majority of the original bedrooms have been converted into office spaces.

Notable internal details include:

- Timber floorboards
- High plaster ceilings and decorative ceiling plasters, including ceiling roses
- Fireplace surrounds
- Four-panel timber doors with brass hardware



Figure 21: Stretcher bond faced brick with tuck pointing characterises the south elevation. There are two projecting bay windows with painted, rendered sills. The corrugated iron roof is a gable and hip roof, featuring twin gables with decorative painted render infill. Rendered brackets sit below the gables and eaves, and the eaves have timber slats to the underside. There are four brick and rendered chimneys with terracotta pots atop (April 2025).



Figure 22: The entrance is at the eastern elevation. A concrete driveway is to the right of this image (April 2025).



Figure 23: The verandah is painted concrete and has square decorative timber twin posts. Between the posts are arched timber valances. The verandah is unlined, with a single pitch roof (April 2025).



Figure 24: The timber entry door and side panels feature leadlight windows (may not be original) (April 2025).



Figure 25: This room is the first door to the left of the entry hall. Notable features include timber floorboards, brick fireplace with timber surround, plaster ceiling with decorative cornices and ceiling rose, bay window and timber double hung windows, timber picture rail, and decorative wall vents (April 2025).



Figure 26: The original kitchen has been converted into an office space (April 2025).

13. COMPARATIVE INFORMATION/THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Thematic Analysis

This analysis is based on the Thematic History of Western Australia⁵⁰ (WA Thematic). The following themes, key events and phases are relevant to the history of the place:

Economy – Commerce

- 1904 – Greek migrants moving off the goldfields to establish cafes and fruit and vegetable stores, both in Perth and in regional towns.
- 1923 – Italian-owned re Store opens and becomes the longest surviving of migrant grocery stores that emerged in the inter war years.
- 1929 – Greek-owned Kakulas Brothers grocers opened, one of few long-lived migrant grocery stores that emerged in the inter war years.

Peopling WA – demographic development

- 1870 – Antoni Fossilo (Phasoulas) jumps ship at Albany to become the first Greek to arrive in WA.
- 1890 – first recorded formal Greek migration to WA (from Castellorizo), only a handful (mostly male) but seeds of string-migration of Castellorizians over many decades, such that the island dominates WA Greek origins to the present.
- 1890-1900 – Large scale immigration; population quadruples in ten years (also many who come and go within the decade).
- 1901 – Immigration Restriction Act (Federal) implements a 'White Australia' policy, based on 1897 WA Act.
- 1903-1913 – approximately 55,000 migrants. Up to 2/3 migrants assisted or nominated migrants, mostly British.
- 1916 – riots/vandalism/looting at Kalgoorlie targets Greeks, especially destroying Greek property (shops and restaurants).
- 1916-1920 – Maltese and Greek migration to Australia prohibited.
- 1925-1929 – immigration quotas for all non-British Europeans reduced (nationally) in response to perceived 'influx' of Southern and Eastern Europeans.
- 1930-1936 – immigration of non-British Europeans restricted to those with close family ties.
- 1946-1955 – national immigration program aiming to significantly increase size of Australia's population; Programs to resettle Europeans displaced by WWII see continental migrants including Eastern Europeans (Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Romanian) and Mediterranean (Greek, Italian, various Slav). Migrants sent through International Refugee Organisation and also bilateral agreements with individual European countries, including Greece.
- 1954 – Continental European migrant population reaches 53,854 (8.4% of WA population), up from 14,321 (2.9%) in 1947 due to post-WWII assisted migration schemes; comprises predominantly Italians (17,295),

⁵⁰

'A Thematic History of Western Australia' (incl. Framework Spreadsheet & Narratives). Prepared for the Heritage Council of WA by Clare Menck, Historian, June 2018.

Dutch (8,490), German (5,361), Polish (5,130), Yugoslav (4,584), Greek (3,213).

International Links

- 1921 – USA restricts migration from southern Europe; increases in same migrants (especially Greeks, Italians, Slavic peoples) coming to Australia.
- 1922-23 – mass expulsion of Greeks from Asia-minor seeks Greek migration increase around the world, including to Australia.
- 1924 – USA further restricts immigration of southern Europeans.

Cultural Life – Religion

- 1914 – Greek Orthodox priest appointed to Perth: Germanos Helious/Illiou.
- 1936 – Greek Orthodox church opens in Perth (first Orthodox church in WA).

Comparative Analysis

Places associated with non-British migration to Western Australia

The arrival of non-British migrants in the pre, and post-WWII period had a significant impact on the history and development of Western Australia. The following State Registered places are associated with this phase of migration:

- P2676 *Luisini Winery Group* (RHP) (1929-1896) – formerly the largest privately owned winery in WA, established by Ezio Luisini, an important patron of the Italian community in WA. From 1929 to the 1960s, the place was well known as the first place of employment in WA for many new Italian migrants.
- P3103 *Marrinup Prisoner of War Camp* (RHP) (1943) – an archaeological site comprising the remains of a Prisoner of War Camp, which held approximately 600 German and Italian prisoners of war. The prisoners of war were employed in the south-west agricultural and timber industries to alleviate labour shortages caused by the war.
- P3363 *Port of Fremantle Passenger Terminal* (RHP) (1961-62) – has national importance as the point of entry for tens of thousands of migrants arriving in Australia due to the Federal Government's post-war immigration policies and has special importance as the site of first landfall and first impressions of Australia for these arriving migrants.
- P4760 *Main Roads Migrant Camp (fmr), Narrogin* (RHP) (1948) – three prefabricated, transportable corrugated iron Nissen Huts used to resettle displaced persons, refugees and former military personnel forces following World War II.
- P6126 *Northam Army Camp* (RHP) (1934-1960s) – the camp held approximately 3,500 Italian Prisoners of War during World War II, who contributed to the home front effort.
- P20203 *Fremantle Club* (RHP – part of P25225 *West End, Fremantle*) – in 1920, due to an increase in Italian immigrants post-World War I, the

Italian Club was formed and established in this former hostel in Bannister Street. In 1927, it became 'Club Giovane Italia', a popular venue for Fremantle's Italian community to eat, drink, dance, and gamble.

- P25228 *Harvey Agricultural College (fmr)* (RHP) (1940-) closely associated with the German and Italian men who were either internees or personnel at the internment and training camp during World War II. The place has significance to the descendants of Italian internees, and Italian and German prisoners of war, whose family members were interned at the No. 11 Internment Camp between 1940 and 1942.

Greek migrants in WA

Kakulas Brothers and Greek Residential Group, Northbridge is more specifically associated with Greek migrants, and the strong community and identity they created in the Northbridge area during the inter war years. There are two State Registered places which tell this story:

- P4317 *Tower House, Northbridge* (RHP) (1898) – a two-storey residence that was purchased by the congregation of the Church of Saints Constantine and Helene, used as a rectory from 1952 until 1985, and then as a Greek community language school in the late 1960s. It is still (2025) owned by the Hellenic Community of WA.
- P4641 *Cathedral of St Constantine & St Helene, Northbridge* (RHP) (1935-37, 1969) – the first purpose-built Greek Orthodox Church in WA and became the Orthodox Cathedral in 1972. The place was built in 1936-37 with funds raised by the comparatively small community, and remains highly valued for its long religious, spiritual and social associations with the Greek Orthodox community.

The following State Registered and Assessment Program places are associated with the Greek community across WA:

- P348 *St Patrick's Anglican Church (fmr) & War Memorial, Rathmines* (East Bunbury) (RHP) (1908) – this church was used by the local Greek Orthodox community until a purpose-built church was available. The United Hellenic Association of Bunbury was established in 1937, and the community conducted services in Anglican churches until a hall was built in the 1950s.
- P2206 *New Oxford Cinema, Leederville* (Assessment Program) (1927) – in the 1970s while known as the Olympia Theatre, the place featured Greek and Italian films, reflecting the changing demographic of the area.
- P8599 *Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation of Our Lady, West Perth* (Assessment Program) (1970) – the land was purchased by the Greek Orthodox community in 1958, where the original Anglican Church was used for services. The church was demolished and replaced with the existing church in 1970. Father Manassis was the parish priest between 1958-1973.

Shops and continental grocery stores

The Kakulas Brothers store has been operating as a continental grocery store since 1929. The following places, also noted below as comparable residences in Northbridge, are also comparable as shops:

- P11509 *Aberdeen Street Precinct* (RHP) (from 1883)
- P15226 *Commercial Building & Attached Residence* (RHP) (1907)

In addition, the following State Registered places are examples of shops or commercial areas in Northbridge:

- P3795 *William Street Precinct* (RHP) (from 1880s) – a large group of commercial buildings in Northbridge, located opposite the Kakulas Brothers store, 1925 which reflect the broad social and economic changes and cultural diversity in WA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The group continues to be a commercial, residential, entertainment, and cultural precinct.
- P15026 *Shops & Offices* (RHP) (1922) – a row of attached shops at 109 Fitzgerald St and 377-387 Newcastle St. Many of the occupants were from different cultural backgrounds, including Italians in the 1930s and 1940s, notably the Re family (further detailed below).

The following places are most comparable to Kakulas Brothers as examples of continental grocers in Northbridge and Fremantle:

- P953 *Princess Theatre (fmr)* (within P25225 *West End, Fremantle*) (RHP) (1912) – the store Kakulas Sister has operated at this building since 1994.
- P15772 *Shops, 311-319 William Street, Northbridge* (Below Threshold) (1919) – the Kakulas Brothers opened up a second store within this precinct at 317 William Street, that operated between 1939-1970. This store was primarily run by Michael Kakulas and provided goods for Australian customers.
- P27025 *Commercial Building, 105-113 Aberdeen Street, Northbridge* (Local Heritage Survey) (1897) – This building was the original location of the Re Store, a continental grocery store established in 1936 by John Re, the son of a Sicilian immigrant and grocer. The store was popular with migrants, providing Italian foods, books, and magazines. The Re Store is still operating, run by descendants of John Re, though it is now located opposite the original site at 72 Lake Street, Northbridge.⁵¹

Residential Northbridge

Residences 120-124 Aberdeen Street were occupied by Greek families from 1931, with two residences still owned by their descendants in 2025. During this time, many Greek families purchased existing houses in Northbridge, particularly near the Hellenic Hall and Greek Orthodox Church (1937). The following Northbridge residences are entered in the State Register. Some of the below residences were owned by Greek migrants for a period:

⁵¹

City of Perth Heritage Place Record Form, P27025 Commercial Building, Adopted 28 March 2023.

- P2695 *Three Cottages, Northbridge* (RHP) (1860s; 1890s) – a cohesive group of Colonial residences with Victorian/Federation style additions located at 62-66 Aberdeen Street. While on the same street as 120-124 Aberdeen Street, these three cottages do not appear to have been occupied by Greek families.
- P3854 *Two Attached Houses & Separate House, Northbridge* (RHP) (c.1897) – comprising three Federation Italianate style residences located at 213-223 Newcastle Street. Between the 1930s-1970s the land was Greek owned with the residences leased to tenants, however this has not been attributed to the significance of the place.
- P3992 *Brookman and Moir Streets Precinct* (RHP) (1897-98, 1940) – an intact precinct of two streets in Perth comprising 59 residences and a shop, representative of ‘working class’ rental accommodation from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. From the 1930s, several residences in Moir Street were owned by Greek families, and approximately one third of residents of Greek origin in 1949.
- P11509 *Aberdeen Street Precinct* (RHP) (from 1883) – a row of houses along the same street as 120-124 Aberdeen Street, comprising 154-188 Aberdeen Street. The place reflects the diversity of cultural changes and events, particularly the increasing presence in the area of central and southern European migrants.
- P14892 *Three Attached Houses* (RHP) (1907) – comprising three attached residences at 17-21 Palmerston Street. The group reflects diversity and demographic changes as a result of post-war immigration, with Greek and Italian owners noted.
- P15226 *Commercial Building & Attached Residence* (RHP) (1907) – a two-storey commercial and attached two-storey residence located on the corner of Newcastle and Palmerston Streets. Ownership in the late 1940s indicate Greek owner/occupiers.

Conclusions

The above indicates there are a number of State Registered places that demonstrate the presence of non-British migrants, including those hailing from Greece in WA, including in Northbridge in the inter war years. However, *Kakulas Brothers and Greek Residential Group, Northbridge* provides an example with strong associations to this group, with a successful business owned and run by a notable Greek migrant family, and the location and type of residences they and other Greek families lived in for a good part of the twentieth century. In addition, although there are other State Registered places in Northbridge that are known to have been occupied by Greek families from the inter war period onward, this association has not been acknowledged in the documentation for these places.

14. FURTHER RESEARCH

APPENDIX 1 - ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

This section identifies the cultural heritage values of the place. Values that make a strong contribution to the place's cultural heritage significance are also included in the Statement of Cultural Heritage Significance above. In determining cultural heritage significance, the Heritage Council has had regard to the factors in section 38 of the *Heritage Act 2018* (see **Appendix 2**). Cultural heritage significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for individuals or groups within Western Australia.

It is considered that the place warrants inclusion in the State Register against the following factors relevant to cultural heritage significance:

(A) **Historic Value - evolution or pattern WA history**

An important demonstration of the cultural diversity and demographic change which occurred in Western Australia in the inter war years, the place, and its connection to Greek migrants from 1929, is indicative of a period when many Greek families, particularly from the island Castellorizo, moved to Northbridge to establish businesses and live. Northbridge subsequently became the social, commercial, and religious centre of Greek cultural life in Western Australia. This wave of migration from Castellorizo over many decades has left a lasting legacy, with the majority of Greek-descendants in WA originating from this island.

The place has the capacity to demonstrate the lives and contributions of non-British migrants in Western Australia in the inter war and post-WWII period. It is emblematic of the migrant experience of overcoming adversity and illustrates the importance of relationships within migrant diasporic communities in supporting newer migrants to build successful livelihoods in new countries.

The place, and in particular the Kakulas Brothers' store's longevity and increasing popularity over time, demonstrates the slow but eventual wholehearted embracing of mediterranean food and culture by the wider Western Australian population.

(B) **Rarity**

The group of three former Greek-occupied residences, located within a block of the Greek Orthodox Church which remain predominantly owned by descendants of the families, and the Greek-owned Kakulas Brothers continental grocery store are a rare example of a group of buildings that demonstrate a strong association with the high number of Greek migrants that occupied Northbridge in the inter war years.

The Kakulas Brothers store is an excellent example of a family-run continental grocery business and rare as one that has continued to operate in its original location, managed by the founding family, for over 90 years.

(C) **Scientific Value**

Factor not relevant to the place.

(D) **Representativeness**

The precinct represents the strong Greek influence in the State, particularly in Northbridge, throughout the early to mid-twentieth century. It demonstrates the type of businesses established by Greek migrants, the area in which families settled, and the impact their presence had on the culture, diet, and social fabric of the State.

The precinct reflects the diversity of cultural and demographic changes that occurred in Western Australia in the inter war years, particularly the increasing presence of central and southern European migrants.

(E) Social or Spiritual Value

The precinct has a high degree of social significance to the Greek community, for its long-standing association with Greek migrants, notably the Kakulas family who have been heavily involved in Greek community affairs since moving to Northbridge in the 1930s.

The Kakulas Brothers store became a known-Greek community hub, with the brothers providing support to newly arriving migrants. The store has significance to many non-British migrants, particularly from southern Europe, stocking imported products that were not readily available in existing stores, which it continues to do so since opening in 1929.

(F)⁵² Aesthetic Value

The buildings at 120-124 Aberdeen Street form an intact group of former residences dating from the Federation period, and part of a relatively intact precinct of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century buildings along the north side of Aberdeen Street between Parker and William Streets, Northbridge.

The Kakulas Brothers store contributes to a relatively intact streetscape of late-nineteenth century commercial buildings along William Street, Northbridge.

(G) Historic Value - person, group or organisation

The precinct is associated with the well-known Kakulas family, Greek migrants from the island Castellorizo, and with long-serving Greek Orthodox priest, Reverend Christophoros Manassis.

(H) Scientific Value - creative or technical achievement

Factor not relevant to the place.

⁵²

For consistency, all references to architectural style are taken from Apperly, R., Irving, R., Reynolds, P. *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture. Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1989.

For consistency, all references to garden and landscape types and styles are taken from Ramsay, J. *Parks, Gardens and Special Trees: A Classification and Assessment Method for the Register of the National Estate*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1991, with additional reference to Richards, O. *Theoretical Framework for Designed Landscapes in WA*, unpublished report, 1997.

APPENDIX 2 – FACTORS S.38 HERITAGE ACT 2018

In determining cultural heritage significance, the Heritage Council must have regard to the factors in section 38 of the *Heritage Act 2018*. These factors, and their equivalent values are listed below. Cultural heritage significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for individuals or groups within Western Australia.

- (A) Importance in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Western Australia's history - Historic Value**
- (B) Importance in demonstrating rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Western Australia's heritage – Rarity Value**
- (C) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Western Australia's history – Scientific Value**
- (D) Its importance in demonstrating the characteristics of a broader class of places - Representativeness**
- (E) Any strong or special meaning it may have for any group or community because of social, cultural or spiritual associations – Social or Spiritual Value**
- (F) Its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by any group or community – Aesthetic Value**
- (G) Any special association it may have with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in Western Australia's history - Historic Value**
- (H) Its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement – Aesthetic/Scientific Value**

