

Attachment B

Appendix 1 – Heritage Assessment
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82-84 Dixon Street, Haymarket

Heritage Assessment

Version 1.0 DRAFT

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for

City of Sydney Council

by

Hector Abrahams Architects

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1. History

The building at 82-84 Dixon Street was built for the firm of Kwong War Chong, which occupied no. 84 until 1987. The history of this firm and its social context has been described by Michael Williams in his 'Historical notes on 82-84 Dixon St'¹ (Appendix 1). The purpose of the present study is to focus on the building and changes to it over time, addressing sources not included in the Williams study.

On 13 September 1909, Phillip Lee Chun, of Sydney, Storekeeper, purchased the subject site from the City Mutual Life Assurance Society for £1300.² This was one of the earliest acquisitions of land by a Chinese person in what would later (1920s) become Sydney's Chinatown district in Haymarket.³ The site consisted of 13 1/2 perches (341m²) being Lots 24, 25 and part of Lot 26 of Dickson's subdivision. Phillip Lee Chun immediately made an application under the Real Property Act, and was subsequently issued a Certificate of Title (Vol 2034 Fol 209) on 8 February 1910.

The land was vacant at the time of purchase. The City of Sydney rating assessment for the site in 1907 recorded the owner as Margaret Cook and described the site as 'Land'. However, as late as 1900, there was a group of three two-storey houses on the site. Two of these houses, all constructed about 1870, were the subject of an incendiary attack in 1897.⁴ The rear facades were intact in 1900 when the houses were photographed during cleansing operations in response to the outbreak of bubonic plague (Figure 1).⁵ (Whether the houses were demolished as a result of cleansing operations has not been determined).

In September 1909, the City approved plans by Evan Evans, architect, for a pair of three-storey stores on the site, prepared for Mr Lee Chun (BA 1909/0599). Each floor was essentially an open space, with the front half of each floor level marked 'Store' and rear half 'Living Room'; a hatch connected the ground and first floors. Evans advertised tenders for construction of the store premises on 21 September 1909.⁶ In November 1910, the firm of Kwong War Chong advertised its new location in the *Chinese Australian Herald* with an illustration of the building (Figure 2).⁷ In 1911, the first occupants of the new building were listed in the Sands Directory: Moon Hong Jam & Co restaurant and Kwong Hop, butcher, at no. 82, and Kwong War Chong & Co, tea merchants, at no. 84, where Phillip Lee Chun, importer, was also listed individually. The rate assessment of the same year describes the properties as constructed brick with iron roof, of three storeys. The house & shop at no. 82 had eight rooms, and no. 84 had only seven.

¹ Included in the entry for 82-84 Dixon Street as part of the Chinese Australian Community Heritage Study, 2005 [referred to in endnotes as Williams 2005]

² Old System Deeds Conveyance Bk 890 No 208

³ Fitzgerald, Shirley, 1997, Red tape, gold scissors : the story of Sydney's Chinese, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p. 157

⁴ 1897 'DIXON-STREET FIRES', The Australian Star, 3 August, p. 5.

⁵ See Views taken during Cleansing Operations, Quarantine Area, Sydney, 1900, Vol. III / under the supervision of Mr George McCredie, F.I.A., N.S.W. ff 138-9 (State Library of NSW)

⁶ 1909 'Advertising', Sydney Morning Herald 21 September, p. 4.

⁷ 1910 'Advertising' Guang yi hua bao [Chinese Australian Herald] 12 Nov 1910 p. 5



Figure 1: 'Rear of 84, 86 Dixon Street', 1900. These buildings were demolished prior to the construction of the current buildings in the early 20th century. (Source: Views taken during Cleansing Operations, Quarantine Area, Sydney, 1900, Vol. III / under the supervision of Mr George McCredie, F.I.A., N.S.W. ff 138-9 (State Library of NSW)).

Phillip Lee Chun was a partner in the firm of Kwong War Chong, which had been established in 1883 in Campbell Street. The firm moved to the new location at 84 Dixon Street in 1910-11, where it continued to trade until 1987. The store also had branches in Hong Kong and Shekki. It was linked closely to the Zhongshan province in southern China, and to market gardeners and merchants in country New South Wales. Stores such as Kwong War Chong typically acted not only as traders (both importing and exporting) and merchants, they also acted as agents for Chinese residents in Sydney and country districts, transmitting monies to relatives in China, assisting with paperwork and taxes, providing accommodation, and even repatriating the remains of Chinese persons who died in Australia.

One recollection of the Kwong War Chong store is that it hosted Sunday lunches for market gardeners from Long Du, the district that Phillip Lee Chun was from. The gardeners would stay overnight in upstairs dormitories after selling vegetables at the markets on the Saturday, and the

Sunday lunches were an important opportunity for them to socialise before returning to their often-isolated gardens.⁸

In addition to these services for the local community, the Kwong War Chong company was invested in maintaining the trade relationship between Australia and China, and in Chinese politics. Kwong War Chong was one of eight Chinese trading concerns that contributed funds for the establishment of a shipping line between Australia and China in 1917.⁹ Lee Chun himself received a medal and diploma from China in recognition of his efforts in fundraising £640 for the Chinese republican rebellion led by Sun Yat-sen.¹⁰

Phillip Lee Chun owned the site until December 1925. At that time, he sold it to Lee Loy, a market gardener from Botany, who leased it back to Chun immediately. (This lease remained operative on the certificate of title until 1971.) In July 1929, Loy sold to Harry Lee Hing Yee (merchant) and Arthur Lee Hing Won (law student), both sons of Phillip Lee Chun, who carried on the Kwong War Chong store after their father's death in 1934. In 1965, Arthur Lee Hing Won was registered as the sole proprietor following the death of Harry Lee Hing Yee. Eva Lee (widow of Harry) and So Lin Wang Pang leased no. 82 from December 1970.¹¹

82 Dixon Street

In 1912, a fatal fire occurred at the Moon Hong Jam restaurant at 82 Dixon Street. The newspaper account of the fire provides a description of how the building was occupied:

Fatal City Fire / Chinese Restaurant Destroyed / Employee Burnt to Death.

The three-storey restaurant of Moong, Hang, Jan and Co., 82 Dixon-street, was early this morning destroyed by fire, and Ung Gow, the cook, was burnt to death. The restaurant was part of a fine structure erected and occupied within the last six months, and known as the Canton Buildings. Next door to Moong, Hang, Jan and Co.'s is the shop of Kwong, War, Chong and Co., and opposite stands the bulk stores of Anthony Hordern and Sons...All over the locality may be seen the signs of Chinese merchants, who do most of the wholesale trade for their country. The restaurant was closed at midnight and the two partners, Choy Shick and York Sing, who comprise the company that conducts the place, went over the three floors to see that everything was all right. The cook, Ung Gow, went to his bedroom on the first floor, while the partners left for their homes at Glebe ... The fire ... gained a big hold, and the destruction of the interior was a certainty. the flames had eaten up everything on the ground floor[,] burnt out the first floor, and were attacking the third section of the building. The shop next door was in danger...which was only separated by a red-hot brick wall. The work the men did to prevent the destruction of Kwong War and Co.'s was praiseworthy, for the damage is only estimated at a few pounds...The building was owned by Phillip Lee Chun, and was insured in the Union Insurance Co. for £1250."¹²

⁸ Williams 2005, p. 2

⁹ 1920, 'The Luck of Lumb Liu: Story of the China-Australia Line'. *Smith's Weekly*, Sydney, Saturday 12 June, p.3.

¹⁰ 1914, 'The White Wolves: Who and What They Are, Australian Support for Chinese Rebellion', *Mudgee Guardian and North-Western Representative*, Thursday 9 April, p. 30.

¹¹ Certificate of Title Vol 2034 Fol 209

¹² 1912 'FATAL CITY FIRE.', *The Sun*, 6 January, p. 9.

Plans by architect LS Robertson to reinstate no. 82 following the fire (BA 1912/0048) show the ground floor partitioned into two shops, one on either side of the central front door, and partitioning on the first floor to create several rooms, all with direct access to the stair.

Kwong Sing, dealer, occupied no. 82 in 1913, and the Council rate assessment books show that between 1913 and the early 1930s, various occupants operated from the site (consistently described as a three-room store), including:

- Lee Frou (1918)
- Yee Hop (1921, 1924, 1927)
- Kwong Hop (1930)
- Lee Chick (1931)
- Lee Jack (1932)
- Yee Hop (1933)

The Xiangyi Long Du Tong Sen Tong ('same place society' for people from Zhongshan) met upstairs at no. 82. Typical of the mutual benevolent societies based on geographical kinship found throughout the Chinese diaspora, it was formed in 1906 and functioned until the 1930s. Similar societies for people from Zhongshan were established in other Pacific ports, including San Francisco and Honolulu, where they still exist to the present day.¹³ A photograph of a gathering of this society hung in the Kwong War Chong shop premises for many years.¹⁴

Changes to no. 82 occurred in three general phases—the mid-1940s, the mid-1950s and the early 1970s. In 1947, the ground floor of the shop was partitioned (to plans submitted by Peddle Thorp & Walker) to create an office, kitchen and butcher's shop.¹⁵ In 1955, Henry Henry Lum Mow proposed to use ground floor as a cafe involving internal alterations and installation of kitchen equipment, cool room and mechanical ventilation. City building inspectors recorded in 1956 that the work, which included new stairs, was not completed to the approved plans. Amended plans were subsequently submitted and approved, but not executed as late as October 1960 when new occupiers carried out new unauthorised work, superseding the outstanding work.¹⁶

Eva Lee and So Lin Wang Pang opened the Hingara Chinese Restaurant in 1971, and the current configuration of no. 82 is a result of the alterations made at this time. When the restaurant closed forty-six years later in 2017, it was described as which a 'stalwart' of Chinatown's restaurant scene.¹⁷ Kwong War Chong at no. 84 had a similar status as a stalwart of Chinatown when it closed in 1987 after some 77 years at the site. In 1988, the City received a development application to use the front ground floor of the premises as an aquarium and florists. The old Kwong War Chong store's bench top was reported in the 1990s to remain in place, despite the changed retail nature of the shop.¹⁸ The year 1971 also marks the beginning

¹³ Williams, Michael, 2018, *Returning Home with Glory; Chinese Villagers around the Pacific, 1849 to 1949*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, pp. 115-116

¹⁴ Fitzgerald, Shirley, op. cit., pp. 72-3

¹⁵ CoS Archive Series 135 Item 1947/0678 Building Inspectors Card. 82 Dixon Street. Shop. Application to erect partitions ground floor.

¹⁶ CoS Archive Series 135 Item 1956/0394 Building Inspectors card. 82 Dixon St Sydney. Application to make alts to form café.

¹⁷ <https://www.goodfood.com.au/eat-out/news/chinatown-stalwart-to-serve-last-dumplings-20170721-gxfucw>

¹⁸ Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 224

of Council discussions with a Dixon Street Chinese Committee on the identity of a larger Chinatown district extending beyond Dixon Street into the area of the soon-to-be-vacated Sydney market houses. By the mid-1970s some Chinese-style street lighting was installed in Dixon Street, and in 1979 the street was pedestrianised. The Lord Mayor officially opened the new Chinatown, complete with *damen* arches, in 1980.¹⁹

KWONG WAR CHONG & CO., 84 Dixon Street, Haymarket Sydney.

號 昌

荷併姓接字音家及菓
司表棧代門諸包代子
事明石理牌君派梓菜
人希岐金來光到友蔬
李爲連信顧府付快
春留蛙香使祈立金捷
騰心棧港得照取信無
啟是合連收英回悞



和 廣

顧極稠道糖牌臣正啟
遠相漆藥京專街埠者
近宜器材菓辦第近本
付如磁各海唐八新號
到兼器款味山十街設
並貴俱絲雜茶四市在
代客全巾貨米號之雪
辦賜價綢地油門迪梨

Figure 2: A 1910 advertisement for the newly opened Dixon Street premises of Kwong War Chong & Co. (Source: 1910 'Advertising' *Guang yi hua bao* [*Chinese Australian Herald*] 12 Nov 1910 p. 5)

¹⁹ Fitzgerald, op. cit., pp 190-1

2. Physical Analysis

82-84 Dixon Street is a three-storey brick building in the Edwardian style. It is in generally fair/good condition. The upper floors of the façade incorporate rendered detailing including window sills, cornice and parapet. The front windows on the first floor of 82 Dixon Street have been replaced, as has the surrounding brick replaced with new brick of mismatched colour. On the ground floor, the timber shop front of 84 Dixon Street is original, with detailing in the corner of the window frames that is possibly Chinese-inspired. The stone-clad and rendered shop front of 82 Dixon Street, which incorporates tri-fold doors, likely dates from the 1970s.

The interior of 82 Dixon Street is a 1970s restaurant fit-out. The ground floor has an open seating area, bar, and full kitchen at the rear which includes a connection to 84 Dixon street. The first floor has an open seating area with larger tables and a stage. The second floor appears to have been used as storage, with a large section enclosed by partitions.

The interior of 84 Dixon Street appears to have largely retained its original layout, with some changes occurring over the course of its history. On the ground floor, the front consists of a shop fit-out which appears to be predominantly of the mid-late 20th century with some elements possibly dating from an earlier period. A low mezzanine level has been installed above this area, presumably for storage purposes. At the rear there is a large room containing the shaft for a goods lift and two cold storage units. This opens to a small courtyard. The first floor contains a hand-operated goods lift, kitchen, a bedroom, and a substantial collection of furniture, appliances, and ephemera. At the rear there is a balcony above the ground floor courtyard. The second storey incorporates a bathroom, bedrooms, and a number of early partitions, as well as a bench and laundry area. A timber staircase leads to a door opening on to the roof.

The roof is saw-toothed, divided into front and back by rendered brick wall. The cladding, corrugated steel, appears to be in generally good condition and is likely not original fabric.

3. Description of Site

The subject site is 82-84 Dixon Street, Haymarket in the central Sydney district known as Chinatown.

The boundary of the site is the boundary of land title Lot 1, DP 66034.

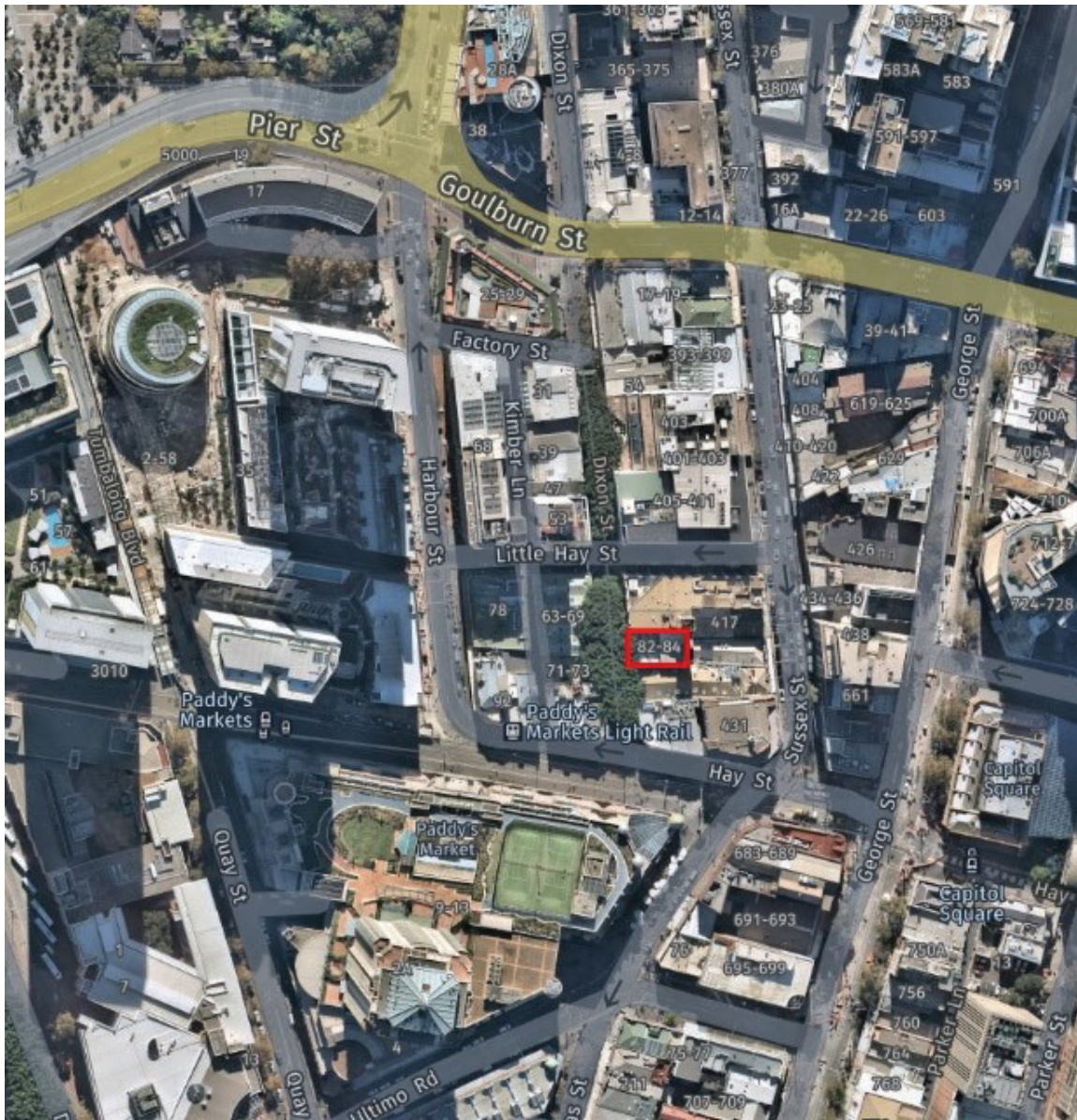


Figure 1: 82-84 Dixon Street, Haymarket is shown by a red rectangle. (Source: NearMap with HAA overlay)

4. Comparative analysis

Retail associated with Chinese and other diasporas

Wing Hing Long & Co. Store, Tingha

Constructed in the late 19th century, the Wing Hing Long & Co store is a rare example of a Chinese-owned country general store. It is listed on the State Heritage Register because of its historic and continuous connection to the Chinese community in Tingha and the insight it provides into the contribution of Chinese-Australians to the history of retailing in Australia. The store includes a large collection of movable heritage, consisting mostly of products – including grocery items, toys, clothing, shoes, stationery, and hardware – as well as advertising, which dates from the inter-war period to the late 1990s.²⁰

Abikhair's Haberdashery Store, Albury

Constructed in 1907, this shop has changed relatively little since its establishment by the Lebanese Australian Abikhair family, representing a historically significant building in terms of its evidence of both retail and Lebanese migrant history. The majority of its significant “fixtures, furniture, equipment and stock were either sold off or acquired by the Albury Regional Museum.” The shop is still in use as a clothing store, though no longer operated by the original owning family.²¹

The Paragon Café, 63-69 Katoomba Street, Katoomba, NSW

Constructed in 1909, two shops were leased in 1923 and combined to create the present-day Paragon Café, completed by 1936. The café is a rare example of an inter-war refreshment room with surviving interiors and shopfronts. It is also of significance as a tourist destination and as a food business established in the early twentieth century by Greek migrants. It is listed on the State Heritage Register.²²



Figure 2: Paragon Café, Katoomba. (Source: 'The Paragon', NSW Heritage Inventory)

²⁰ 'Wing Hing Long & Co Store' NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 4 June 2019.

²¹ Joy McCann, 2002, *A Lot in Store: Celebrating Our Shopping Heritage*, NSW Heritage Office, p. 54.

²² 'The Paragon', NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 24 June 2019:

<https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5051727>

Niagara Café, 142 Sheridan Street, Gundagai

This café was opened in Gundagai by immigrants from Greece in 1902.²³ It still contains much of its original furniture and fittings, including booths, mirrors, and a vintage neon sign.²⁴



Figure 3: Niagara Café, Gundagai, NSW. (Source: HAA)

Shops and shopfronts

R Shott and Sons Umbrella Shop, 60 George Street, Launceston, Tasmania

Built in 1860 and formerly used as a grocery store, the Shott family moved their umbrella business to its current premises in 1920, vacating the neighbouring shop they had established in 1907. Still run as a shop by the National Trust, it contains original fittings and a collection of ephemera.²⁵



Figure 4: Paragon Café, Katoomba. (Source: 'Old Umbrella Shop', National Trust)

²³ Visit Gundagai, 'Niagara Café', accessed 17 June 2019: <http://www.visitgundagai.com.au/24-2/>

²⁴ Visit NSW, 'Niagara Café', accessed 17 June 2019 <https://www.visitnsw.com/destinations/country-nsw/riverina/gundagai/food-and-drink/niagara-cafe>

²⁵ Tamara McDonald, 'Umbrella empire intrigue', *The Examiner*, 27 August 2016, accessed 17 June 2019: <https://www.examiner.com.au/story/4118767/umbrella-empire-intrigue/>

Stores and warehouses

Former Noyes Bros warehouse including interiors, 115 Clarence Street, Sydney

Constructed 1910-11, this is a representative example of an early Federation style warehouse in one of Sydney's earliest warehouse districts. It has historic and architectural significance, and makes 'an important contribution' to the streetscape of Clarence Street. It forms part of a collection of industrial and warehouse buildings within the City of Sydney which provide evidence of Sydney's industrialisation during the early 20th Century.²⁶

Shorter House including interiors, 193-195 Clarence Street, Sydney

Built in 1938, this was an office, showroom and store for ceramics merchants John Shorter Ltd. It has historic significance as evidence of Sydney's widespread import and retail industries and aesthetic significance as an example of inner-city warehouse in the Art Deco style. It contributes to the streetscape of Clarence Street. It forms part of a collection of industrial and warehouse buildings within the City of Sydney which provide evidence of Sydney's industrialisation during the early 20th Century.²⁷

Former Shelley warehouse including interiors, 185 Clarence Street, Sydney

Built in 1909 as a warehouse for wine and spirit merchant Norman Shelley, the height and design quality of the building provide evidence of the growth of industry and commerce in central Sydney during the period. The building is an example of noted architect Arthur Pritchard and a remarkably intact example of an inner-city Federation style warehouse. Extant historic lifts and pipework provide evidence of the function hydraulic machinery before the widespread use of electricity.²⁸

²⁶ 'Former Noyes Bros warehouse including interiors', NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 17 June 2019: <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5062503>

²⁷ 'Shorter House including interiors', NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 17 June 2019: <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5062504>

²⁸ 'Former Shelley Warehouse including interiors', NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 17 June 2019: <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?id=5062496>



Figure 5: Hydraulic lift cable room (Source: 'Former Shelley warehouse including interiors, NSW Heritage Inventory)

Former Warehouse including cartway, courtyard and interior (formerly 340 Kent Street), 338 Kent Street, Sydney

This former warehouse building has aesthetic significance as a fine example of a Federation warehouse style with Romanesque detailing. It is evidence of a once common pattern of warehouse development in Sydney and of the general proliferation of warehouses in the Sydney area at this time.²⁹

²⁹ 'Former Warehouse including cartway, courtyard and interior', NSW Heritage Inventory, accessed 17 June 2019:
<https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?id=5062496>

5. Assessment of Significance

5.1. Ability to demonstrate

Guidelines from the NSW Heritage Office emphasise the role of history in the heritage assessment process. A list of state historical themes has been developed by the NSW Heritage Council, in *New South Wales Historical Themes Table showing correlation of national, state and local themes, with annotations Dated 4 October 2001*.

The table below identifies fabric, spaces and visual relationships that demonstrate the relevant historic themes in evidence at 82-84 Dixon Street.

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Notes
2 Peopling Australia	Ethnic influences	82-84 Dixon Street, the Kwong War Chong building, was an important connection from Chinese diaspora people in Australia to China, particularly to the Zhongshan province. This connection had commercial and social dimensions, and extended to stores across New South Wales. The building was one of the earliest in what is now Sydney's Chinatown to have been commissioned, owned and operated by a person of Chinese descent, being built in 1909.
2 Peopling Australia	Migration	The Kwong War Chong building provided accommodation, assistance, goods and services to Chinese diaspora people in Sydney and New South Wales beginning in the early 20 th century, including those who worked at the market gardens. It also provided a close social and commercial connection to the Zhongshan province, including the sending of remittances and repatriation of bodies after death.
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Commerce	82-84 Dixon Street was used by various commercial enterprises, most notably as the Kwong War Chong building, from its construction until 2017. It housed some of the earliest businesses owned-and-operated by people of Chinese descent, largely selling goods of Chinese origin, in what is now Sydney's Chinatown.
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Industry	82-84 Dixon Street acted as a shop and store, selling in Sydney and distributing to elsewhere in the state primarily goods imported from China.

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Notes
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Technology	82-84 Dixon Street contains a rare example of a hand-operated goods lift.
4 Building settlements, towns and cities	Utilities	82-84 Dixon Street was used as a meeting place for the Xiangyi Long Du Tong Sen Tong ('same place society' for people from Zhongshan province). This was typical of the mutual benevolent societies based on geographical kinship found throughout the Chinese diaspora. The Kwong War Chong company performed a number of social services for the Chinese diaspora community on the premises.
4 Building settlements, towns and cities	Accommodation	82-84 Dixon Street was used as a distinctive form of short-term accommodation, including by Chinese diaspora market gardeners.
8 Developing Australia's cultural life	Social institutions	82-84 Dixon Street was the site of Sunday lunches for market gardeners from Long Du – this was an important opportunity for them to socialise before returning to their often-isolated gardens.
9 Marking the phases of life	Birth and Death	The Kwong War Chong company repatriated the remains of Chinese persons who had died in Australia.
9 Marking the phases of life	Persons	82-84 Dixon Street is associated with the Chinese diaspora community of New South Wales in the early 20 th century, and later to the Chinese Australian community of Sydney, because of its continual use since its construction as a place of Chinese Australian commerce, accommodation, and social activity.

5.2. Assessment against NSW heritage assessment criteria

Criterion (a) *An item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area)*

82-84 Dixon Street is historically significant as a largely intact example of an early 20th century Chinese Australian shop, associated store and accommodation – the Kwong War Chong building. In particular, it is highly significant as one of the earliest Chinese-owned buildings in Dixon Street, which developed into a Chinese precinct and is now the centre of Sydney's Chinatown. This significance is embodied in the intact exterior of the whole building and in the interior architecture of 84 Dixon Street – including original façade, shop front, partitions, doors, stairs, and hand-operated goods lift. The significance is equally embodied in the historic ephemera contained within 84 Dixon Street which includes packing-crate furniture, washing machines, bathtubs, calendars, crockery, merchandise, and personal effects.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Shows evidence of a significant human activity	Yes
Is associated with a significant activity or historical phase	Yes
Maintains or shows the continuity of a historical process or activity	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	
Has incidental or unsubstantiated connections with historically important activities or processes	No
Provides evidence of activities or processes that are of dubious historical importance	No
Has been so altered that it can no longer provide evidence of a particular association	No

Level of Significance: STATE & LOCAL

Criterion (b) *An item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area)*

The building is highly significant for its strong association with the Chinese diaspora communities of Sydney and New South Wales in the early 20th century. The Kwong War Chong company, which commissioned and was headquartered in the building, formed part of an extensive network of business, industrial and social relations among Chinese Australians in this period. This included providing accommodation for market gardeners and raising funds for the establishment of an Australia-China shipping line. The firm was closely linked to south-east China, with stores in Hong Kong and the Zhongshan province, and provided a connection to this area that encompassed a wide variety of social and commercial services - from the sending of remittances to the repatriation of bodies after death. 82 Dixon Street also served as the meeting place for the Xiangyi Long Du Tong Sen Tong a mutual benevolent society for people

from Zhongshan province. The use of the building by Chinese Australian-owned and operated retail businesses was continuous from its construction until 2017.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Shows evidence of a significant human occupation	Yes
Is associated with a significant event, person, or group of persons	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	
Has incidental or unsubstantiated connections with historically important people or events	No
Provides evidence of people or events that are of dubious historical importance	No
Has been so altered that it can no longer provide evidence of a particular association	No

Level of Significance: STATE & LOCAL

Criterion (c) An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or in local area)

82-84 Dixon Street has some local aesthetic significance as it possesses a generally intact Edwardian façade and shopfront, which are representative of the historic Edwardian character of the Haymarket area. It contributes positively to the streetscape.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Shows or is associated with, creative or technical innovation or achievement	No
Is the inspiration for a creative or technical innovation or achievement	No
Is aesthetically distinctive	Yes
Has landmark qualities	No
Exemplifies a particular taste, style or technology	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	
Is not a major work by an important designer or artist	Yes
Has lost its design or technical integrity	No
Its positive visual or sensory appeal or landmark and scenic qualities have been more than temporarily degraded	No
Has only a loose association with a creative or technical achievement	No

Level of Significance: LOCAL

Criterion (d) An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons

82-84 Dixon Street is significant for its social association with the Chinese diaspora community of Sydney and New South Wales. One of the earliest buildings in Dixon Street – now Chinatown - to be commissioned, owned and operated by people of Chinese descent, it provided accommodation, goods, and numerous vital social and commercial services to Chinese Australian people in Sydney and throughout New South Wales during the 20th century and until 2017.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Is important for its associations with an identifiable group	Yes
Is important to a community's sense of place	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	
Is only important to the community for amenity reasons.	No
Is retained only in preference to a proposed alternative	No

Level of Significance: LOCAL

Criterion (e) An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area)

82-84 Dixon Street has some significance for its archaeological research potential as it was constructed on the site of a series of 1870s cottages, which were demolished between 1900 and 1907, before the construction of the current building.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Has the potential to yield new or further substantial scientific and/or archaeological information	Yes
Is an important benchmark or reference site or type	Yes
Provides evidence of past human cultures that is unavailable elsewhere	No
Exclusion Guidelines	
The knowledge gained would be irrelevant to research on science, human history or culture	No
Has little archaeological or research potential	No
Only contains information that is readily available from other resources or archaeological sites	No

Level of Significance: LOCAL

Criterion (f) *An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area)*

The interior and associated ephemera of 84 Dixon Street is particularly significant for its rarity as a generally intact example of an early 20th century shop, store and accommodation associated with the Chinese diaspora communities of Sydney and New South Wales.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Provides evidence of a defunct custom, way of life or process	Yes
Demonstrates a process, custom or other human activity that is in danger of being lost	No
Shows unusually accurate evidence of a significant human activity	Yes
Is the only example of its type	No
Demonstrates designs or techniques of exceptional interest	No
Shows rare evidence of a significant human activity important to a community	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	
Is not rare	No
Is numerous but under threat	No

Level of significance: STATE & LOCAL

Criterion (g) *An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places or environments (or a class of the local area's cultural or natural places or environments)*

82-84 Dixon Street is significant for its representative value as a generally intact early 20th century shop, store and accommodation in central Sydney.

Inclusion Guidelines	Check
Is a fine example of its type	Yes
Has the principal characteristics of an important class or group of items	Yes
Has attributes typical of a particular way of life, philosophy, custom, significant process, design, technique or activity	Yes
Is a significant variation to a class of items	No
Is part of a group which collectively illustrates a representative type	Yes
Is outstanding because of its setting, condition or size	Yes
Is outstanding because of its integrity or the esteem in which it is held	Yes
Exclusion Guidelines	

Is a poor example of its type	No
Does not include or has lost the range of characteristics of a type	No
Does not represent well the characteristics that make up a significant variation of a type	No

Level of Significance: LOCAL

5.3. Statement of Significance

82-84 Dixon Street is historically significant as a highly intact early 20th century Chinese Australian shop, associated store and accommodation – the Kwong War Chong building. It is one of the earliest Chinese-owned buildings in Dixon Street, which developed into a Chinese precinct and is now the centre of Sydney's Chinatown. This significance is embodied in the façade of the building, and in the interior of 84 Dixon Street – including shop front, partitions, doors, stairs, and hand-operated goods lift - and the historic ephemera contained within the building which includes packing-crate furniture, washing machines, bathtubs, calendars, crockery, merchandise, and personal effects.

The building is highly significant for its strong social association with the Chinese diaspora communities of Sydney and New South Wales, and possibly other places, in the early 20th century. The Kwong War Chong company, which commissioned and was headquartered in the building, formed part of an extensive network of business, industrial and social relations among Chinese Australians in this period. This included providing accommodation for market gardeners, raising funds for the establishment of an Australia-China shipping line, and to support the Chinese republican rebellion led by Sun Yat-sen (1913). The firm was closely linked to south-east China, with stores in Hong Kong and the Zhongshan province, and provided a connection to this area that encompassed everything from the sending of remittances to the repatriation of bodies of the deceased. 82 Dixon Street also served as the meeting place for the Xiangyi Long Du Tong Sen Tong a mutual benevolent society for people from Zhongshan province. The use of the building by Chinese Australian-owned and operated retail businesses was continuous from its construction in 1909 until 2017.

The interior and associated ephemera of 84 Dixon Street is highly significant for its rarity as a relatively intact early 20th century shop, store and accommodation associated with the Chinese diaspora communities of Sydney and New South Wales.

Additionally, 82-84 Dixon Street has representative significance as an intact early 20th century shop and store within central Sydney.

82-84 Dixon Street has some significance for its archaeological research potential as it was constructed on the site of a series of 1870s cottages, which were demolished between 1900 and 1907, before the construction of the current building.

82-84 Dixon Street has local aesthetic significance as it possesses a generally intact Edwardian façade and shopfront, which are representative of the historic Edwardian character of the Haymarket area. It contributes positively to the streetscape.

6. Listing Recommendations

In view of the considerable significance of 82-84 Dixon Street to New South Wales for its historical, associative, and rarity values, it should be listed on the New South Wales State Heritage Register.

In view of the above, and also in consideration of its significance to the local area of Sydney for its aesthetic, social, representative and potential archaeological value, 82-84 Dixon street should be listed as a heritage item in the City of Sydney Local Environmental Plan.

7. Management Recommendations

The below recommendations are drawn solely from a consideration of the significance of the place. They do not consider, as similar recommendations in a Conservation Management Plan would, the owner's requirements or other factors such as financial implications.

7.1. Obligations arising from significance

The high cultural significance of the place identified in the statement of significance obliges its conservation and good management (Burra Charter Article 2).

The significance is embodied in the place. Place means site, area, land, landscape, building of other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views. Place also includes fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places, and related objects. (Burra Charter Article 1).

7.2. Conservation of fabric

The building is in a somewhat dilapidated state and requires conservation works in order to conserve its significance. Further assessment is required in order to determine the precise nature of the required works. The following issues requiring attention have been observed by the authors on site:

- Concrete render spalling from exterior window sills.
- Lower window sills at 82 Dixon Street have been removed.
- First floor cornice detail appears to be cracked and bowed outward at no. 82.
- Rear balcony at 84 Dixon Street requires stabilisation to make it safe.

7.3. Tolerance for change

While the building must necessarily be considered as a whole, it is also recognised that the significance of the place is largely embodied in the fabric of 84 Dixon Street, with the fabric of 82 Dixon Street being less significant. As such, separate management recommendations are provided regarding tolerance for change at each address.

84 Dixon Street

- There is minimal tolerance for change to 84 Dixon Street, where there is a great deal of significant original fabric and ephemera.
- The greatest possibility for change exists at the front interior of the ground floor, which appears to have been altered with a new fit out. Further inspection is required to confirm this.
- In the remainder of 84 Dixon Street, significant fabric including the façade, shop front, partitions, staircases, doors, hand-operated goods lift, and the historic ephemera contained within the building (which includes packing-crate furniture, washing machines, bathtubs, calendars, crockery, merchandise, and personal effects) should all be conserved.
- The current interior plan of the building and layout of its rooms should be conserved.

82 Dixon Street

- There is substantial tolerance for change to 82 Dixon Street, where there is minimal surviving fabric of any significance.
- The upper levels of the façade should be conserved, and repair or restoration may be considered.
- Restoration of the shop front to match that of 84 Dixon Street should be considered.
- The interior of the building appears to contain no surviving significant fabric, with the possible exception of surviving timber floors, and stairs to the second floor and roof.
- Otherwise, the interior has a high tolerance for change.

7.4. Future use

The significance of 82-84 Dixon Street arises in large part from its continuous use as a place of Chinese Australian commerce and retail, as well as accommodation. Its future use is therefore highly relevant to the conservation of its significance.

84 Dixon Street

The significance of the place is largely embodied in 84 Dixon Street and its associated ephemera. They are of such significance borne of intactness that the most appropriate use to ensure the conservation of significance would be as a museum demonstrating domestic and commercial life of Chinese diaspora people living in Sydney in the early-mid twentieth century. In this case, the museum could also incorporate interpretive exhibits on the function of the Kwong War Chong company and other companies like it in providing a social connection to communities in China, conducting commercial relationships with other stores across New South Wales, and promoting the interests of Chinese Australian people. Similar museums have been established successfully all over the world, including New York's Tenement Museum, which explores the immigrant history of the United States through guided tours of two conserved tenement buildings, and Glasgow's Tenement House, which explores life in early-20th century Glasgow.

Further, 84 Dixon Street would possibly be an ideal location for other exhibits or cultural activity regarding any topic related to Chinese immigration to Australia (and New South Wales in particular), Australians of Chinese descent, or connections between Australia and China. The Chinese Museum, in Melbourne, offers a precedent for this, with the difference that it is not housed in a space of particular significance in itself to Chinese Australian history. There is substantial empty space, particularly on the second floor, which would allow for exhibition, cultural or community space. Much of the ephemera could also be rearranged within 84 Dixon Street to potentially permit more space for these uses, provided that great care is taken to present it in a way that is consistent with its status as a lived-in space. Interior partitions, fixtures, fittings, and any ephemera that is fixed down should not be rearranged or moved.

Consultation with the Chinese Australian community would be required in order to establish any such museum and cultural space.

If the current fit-out of the ground floor shop is found on further investigation not to be significant fabric, it is possible this part of 84 Dixon Street could be used for retail or restaurant purposes, provided that this did not negatively impact on the significance of the place or significant fabric.

If the recommendation to conserve 84 Dixon Street as a museum is not pursued and the ephemera, fixtures and fittings are destroyed or removed, the historical, associative and rarity aspects which comprise the major part of the significance of the place will be lost.

In this case, the aesthetic and representative significance of the building as an Edwardian-era shop and store incorporating a hand-operated goods lift should still be conserved. Conservation of the façade, including the shop front, and the goods lift would be the primary considerations. Possible future uses similar to those outlined for 82 Dixon Street, below, would be acceptable.

82 Dixon Street

82 Dixon Street contains little significant fabric and its significance is embodied in its use by the Chinese Australian community for a number of purposes over the course of its history. Any of the following uses would be appropriate for the building: retail, dining, accommodation, community centre or facility, exhibition space, or to house administration and other facilities for a potential museum at 84 Dixon Street. Other uses may also be appropriate. Any proposed use should be considered in view of the significance of the place to the history of the Chinese community in New South Wales, and to the establishment of the Chinese precinct in Dixon Street.

8. Appendices

8.1. Historical notes on 82-84 Dixon St by Michael Williams

The buildings on 82 and 84 Dixon St were erected around 1910 when the land was purchased by Phillip Lee Chun and the Kwong War Chong & Company was set up in 84 Dixon St. The Kwong War Chong was established in 1883 in Campbell St by several partners, including Phillip Lee Chun who had come to Australia in 1874. The store moved to 84 Dixon St in 1910, where it operated as a general store and trading company until 1987.³⁰ The adjoining site of 82 Dixon St was rented out to a number of individuals and stores throughout the same period.³¹

Phillip Lee Chun was one of Sydney's most successful Chinese merchants, eventually buying out all his partners in the Kwong War Chong and converting it into a family owned business. All the partners, except one, arrived in Sydney before 1902 and all except one had returned to China by the 1930s.³² The Kwong War Chong was a classic example of an overseas Chinese store; selling imported Chinese goods and foodstuffs to local Chinese market gardeners, acting as a distribution point for similar stores located throughout NSW and Qld, and providing services such as dormitory accommodation and remittance transfers to its customers from the same local district in China. These Sydney-based stores were able to provide services that reached back to the villages because they were part of a network of stores related by ownership and/or common partners in Hong Kong and the home districts.³³ Kwong War Chong & Co. was typical of many such stores, run by people from Zhongshan County, south China, and was used by market gardeners and others from that county.³⁴

This link with a particular locality or county was essential to the operation of the store. It was not sufficient that the owner was 'Chinese' and sold largely to other 'Chinese'. Phillip Lee Chun was from Long Du, a small district within the County of Zhongshan in the Pearl River Delta region of China. This meant that he could speak the Long Du dialect and had sufficient contacts to guarantee the transfer of remittances back to the villages and families of his customers. In fact by the 1930s Phillip Lee Chun's connections were so successful that he had established not just connection with similar remittance stores in Hong Kong and Long Du, as was usual among overseas Chinese merchants, but had actually founded branch stores in both Hong Kong and the Zhongshan County capital of Shekki.³⁵

³⁰ Interview with Norman Lee, Sydney, 25 September 1997 (1 & 10) and AA (NSW), SP42/1; N59/3386, Kwong War Chong & Co., 'Particulars form', 30 October 1951.

³¹ City of Sydney, Assessment Books: Lang Ward, 1902-1918, Roll 88 and Phillip Ward, 1924-1950, Roll 51.

³² Australian Archives (NSW), SP42/1; N59/3386 Kwong War Chong & Co., "Particulars form", 30 October 1951.

³³ The 'General Merchants' firm of Sun Sam Choy had 25 partners, only five were in Sydney, nine were in Newcastle, one in Glenn Innes, eight in Hong Kong and a further two in Canton. AA (NSW), SP42/1; C29/48, Ping Fun, Certificate of Registration of a firm with the Registrar-General, Sun Sam Choy – General Merchants, no.3, 694, 5 June 1906.

³⁴ Interview with Norman Lee, 25 September 1997 (2). For a map of counties of the Pearl River Delta areas, south China see Michael Williams, *Chinese Settlement in NSW - A thematic history* (Sydney: Heritage Office of NSW, 1999) <http://www.heritage.NSW.gov.au>

³⁵ In Sydney, the Kwong War Chong (廣和豐), in Hong Kong, the Kwong War Fong (廣和丰) and the Kwong War Cheong & Co (廣和祥) was the branch in Shekki.

The Sydney stores such as the Kwong War Chong used their links and partnerships with those in rural NSW to transfer remittances to the villages and imports from China such as birds' nests, smoked duck, lychees and medicine herbs.³⁶ The Kwong War Chong also stocked the type of goods people might want to take back with them to the village, boiled lollies, Arnott's biscuits (plains not creams), umbrellas, shoes and tools.³⁷ The Kwong War Chong also hosted a Sunday lunch for Long Du market gardeners who would come in every Saturday to sell their vegetables at the markets and stay overnight at in the upstairs dormitories. This Sunday lunch was the sole recreation and opportunity for socialisation for the gardeners who lived the rest of the week on their gardens.³⁸

The stores also provided services for those members of the Chinese community who were from the same locality in China. While people could use stores run by those from other localities, for sending remittances and other services relative to their villages they would not have been useful.³⁹ The stores with connections to the County of Zhongshan such as Wing On, Onyik Lee and the Kwong War Chong, paid fares, purchased tickets, arranged Immigration Restriction Act paperwork, provided accommodation and even lent money for the first remittance home, including a letter written by the firm's scribe if necessary.⁴⁰

Remittances to the family in the village were a significant part of the lives of Chinese people in Australia before 1949.⁴¹ Nineteenth century remittances may have been in gold but by the 1930s, bank drafts were more common. In this case, a store collected the individual remittances from its customers and a standard letter was written to the family, usually by the store's clerk, to accompany the payment.⁴² The Kwong War Chong, for example, charged a

³⁶ Hong Sing of Reservoir St, Surry Hills sold to stores in Tenterfield, Emmaville and Tingha, AA(NSW), SP1122/1; N57/2220, Chang Wai Sheu Sing. Janis Wilton, *Chinese Voices, Australian Lives* (University of New England, Ph.D., 1996), p.133, for details of northern NSW connections with Sydney. For imports, AA (NSW), A1026, Correspondence in connection with Immigration Restriction Act 1904-12, vol. 3, report, 'Check on importation of Chinese Goods', Collector of Customs to Comptroller-General, 5/6/08.

³⁷ Interview, Norman Lee, Sydney, 25 September 1997 (1 & 10) and Australian Archives (NSW), SP42/1; N59/3386, Kwong War Chong & Co., "Particulars form", 30 October 1951.

³⁸ Interview with William Lee, 20/3/99.

³⁹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling & Immorality and charges of bribery against members of the police force* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1892), p.115, as San Tin reported of his Lodging House, 'only friends and countrymen [of his district or county] stop there'. C. F. Yong, *The New Gold Mountain: the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921* (Richmond: Raphael Arts, 1977), p.46, discusses this feature of the stores. Interview with Arthur Gar Lock Chang, Sydney, 7 March 1998 (Tape 2, B, 0.00).

⁴⁰ *Royal Commission*, p.115, lines, 4567-71, Sam Tin reported that as many as 50 stayed in his lodging house 'when they have been going away to China, or going into the country'. Victor Gow remembers he and his father in the 1920s staying above the Kwong War Chong store, Dixon Street Sydney, on buying trips from Wollongong. Interview with Arthur Gar Lock Chang, Sydney, 7 March 1998 (Tape 2, B, 0.75) & Victor Gow, 30 October 1997 (9).

⁴¹ Breakdowns of figures are not available but in 1927 the Manager of one Sydney Bank stated, 'In this Branch alone, the Hong Kong exchange sold by us yearly averages £600,000.' William Liu papers, Box 1, ML MSS 6294, Letter, 16/8/27, Manger, C.A. Morgan, The English Scottish and Australian Bank Ltd to Mr W. J. L. Liu.

⁴² *Royal Commission*, p.55, line, 2126; Shirley Fitzgerald, *Red Tape, Gold Scissors* (Sydney: State Library of NSW Press, 1997), p. 47, refers to an early mishap which may have encouraged the use of a safer system. Interview with Norman Lee, Sydney, 25 September 1997 (2). When the Bank of China began to take over all remittances after 1949 it issued a standard letter form to accompany remittances that may

small commission on each remittance and consolidated them into a single draft drawn on the English, Scottish and Australian Bank in pounds sterling. The draft was then sent to the Hong Kong branch of the Kwong War Chong, where it was converted to Hong Kong dollars and then into Chinese dollars for the money to be sent to the Zhongshan County capital Shekki. The store's branch in Shekki then distributed the money to the families, either by their collecting it or by it being delivered to the villages by the firm's clerks. A receipt, which included a letter back to Sydney, would be signed and returned to the shop in Dixon St, where it was set up on a rack in the front window for people to collect.⁴³

This was the system used by most *huaqiao* with small amounts to remit. It was a system that relied on family-like connections among people from the same village or locality. Something banks could not offer. Despite this, elements of mistrust could be present. A remittance customer once complained that his family had not received their money and accused Phillip Lee Chun of stealing the remittance. Phillip Lee Chun was sitting outside his shop in Dixon St one evening, "taking the air" when, according to his son Norman Lee, he was suddenly struck on the head by a piece of "two by four". The man later apologised when his family sent word that they had received the money.⁴⁴

Merchants such as Phillip Lee Chun performed a number of functions within both the Chinese and wider community through their ability to in some measure 'cross the racial barriers' that were such a prominent feature of the times. They did this by being leading members of organisations within their communities. Phillip Lee Chun for example was a member of the Xiangyi Long Du Tong Sen Tong (香邑隆都同善堂), a *tongxianghui* (同鄉會) or 'same place society' for people of Zhongshan origin which met upstairs in 82 Dixon St and which assisted its members in such social functions as the return of the poor and deceased to their villages in China.

Phillip Lee Chun was also a member of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce which among other functions negotiated cheaper fares for impoverished members of the Chinese communities who the *tongxianghui* were assisted to return home. More generally, the purchase of tickets for ships was another matter handled by the stores in both Sydney and Hong Kong.⁴⁵ In this, the average Chinese person had little choice as shipping agents preferred not to have to deal with Chinese

have been modeled on that created by the stores' scribes. Such a letter had 5 points: best wishes, write more often, let me know when received, have received your letter & tell how to spend the money in another letter. Mar Letters, no.264, Bank of China notice, 5 June 1944.

⁴³ Interview with Norman Lee, Sydney, 25 September 1997 (2,3 &4). Miao Wenyue 繆文雨 & Gao Huanzhang 高煥章, "Shiqi yinye de huiyi" 石岐銀業的回憶 (Recollections of the Shiqi silver industry), *Zhongshan wenshi* 中山文史 (Zhongshan Cultural History), Vol.1-3, [1962-1965], 1989, pp.88-90, discusses commissions earned between Shiqi and Hong Kong. The Tiy Loy & Co. of the Gao Yao people in Sussex St. Sydney still have such a letter rack, now used only for correspondence.

⁴⁴ Interview Norman Lee, Sydney, 25 September 1997 (5).

⁴⁵ Such arrangements go back to at least the 1880s, when tickets purchased in bulk in Hong Kong would be sold in the villages regardless of names on tickets, SP42/1, C33/7368, Harry Chun Fook, memo Collector of Customs to Deputy Crown Solicitor, 18/9/33, & Fitzgerald, *Red Tape, Golden Scissors*, p.26.

people directly.⁴⁶ The stores knowledge of European ways, English and the capacity of the store managers and merchant's class position to override, to some extent at least, racial bias was a significant factor here.

For similar reasons Phillip Lee Chun and the Kwong War Chong were also important in assisting those applying for a 'Certificate Exempting from Dictation Test' (CEDT) whenever they wished to visits their families in China and to return to Australia. The filling in of the application forms and filing them at Customs House were carried out by those in the stores such as the Kwong War Chong whose clerks had sufficient skills in English.

As a result of his role in assisting both his fellow Chinese and the Immigration Restriction Act administrators Phillip Lee Chun became very well known to the Customs officials, being described in their documents as a 'well known Chinese'.⁴⁷

While nearly all of Phillip Lee Chun's original partners returned to China, he remained permanently in Australia with his wife, raising a large family. One son, William Jingsen Lee was sent to be educated in Hong Kong at age 12, but returned to enter Sydney University and became Sydney's first barrister of Chinese origin. Another son, Arthur Lee was also university educated and became a Professor of English at Amoy University. Other sons, Harry and then Norman Lee took over the Kwong War Chong in Dixon St after Phillip Lee Chun's death in the 1930s. His only daughter, Lily Lee accompanied the body back to the village and then settled down in Hong Kong.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ '... if an ordinary Chinamen came to book a passage they would refuse to take his money; he would have to book through a Chinese merchant.' *Royal Commission*, p.99, lines, 3982-83. Yong, *New Gold Mountain*, p.80.

⁴⁷ AA (NSW), SP726/1; Register of Certificates Exempting from the Dictation Test, 1902-1959.

⁴⁸ Interview, Lily Lee, Hong Kong, 24 November 2000

8.2. Author photographs



Figure 1: Exterior from Dixon Street.

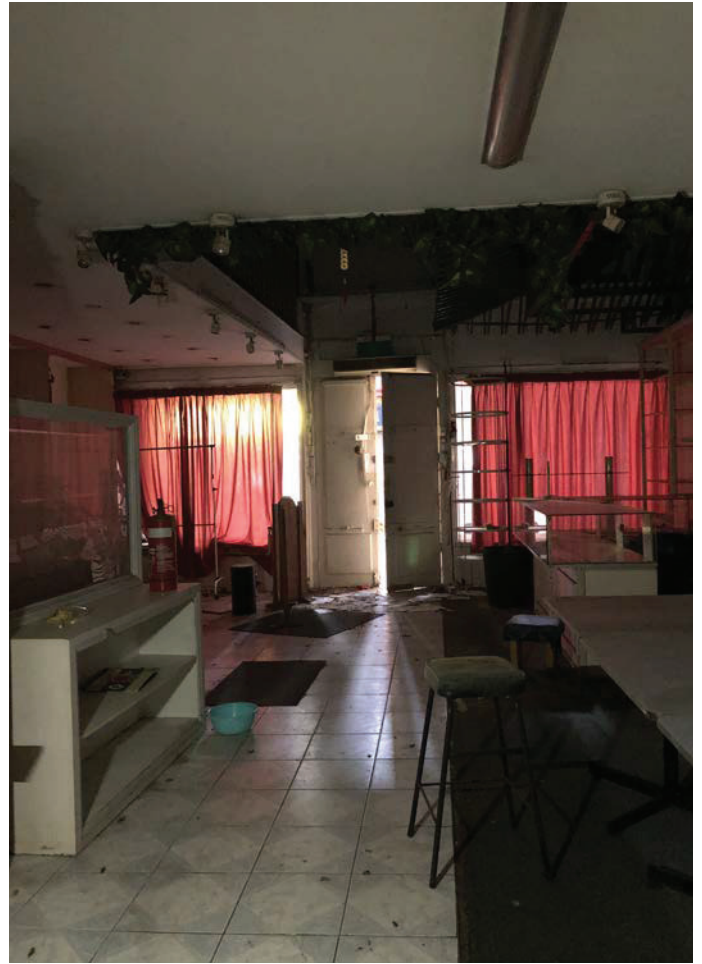


Figure 2: 84 Dixon Street ground floor.



Figure 3: Hand-operated goods lift and assorted ephemera, first floor, 84 Dixon Street.



Figure 4: Goods lift mechanism.



Figure 5: Rear balcony, 84 Dixon Street, showing packing crate furniture.



Figure 6: First floor, 84 Dixon Street, including assorted ephemerata.



Figure 7: First floor kitchen, 84 Dixon Street.



Figure 8: Historic staircase, fixtures and washing machine, 84 Dixon Street.



Figure 9: Second floor partitions, 84 Dixon Street.



Figure 10: Second floor bedroom, 84 Dixon Street.



Figure 11: Coat hook with sculpted detail.

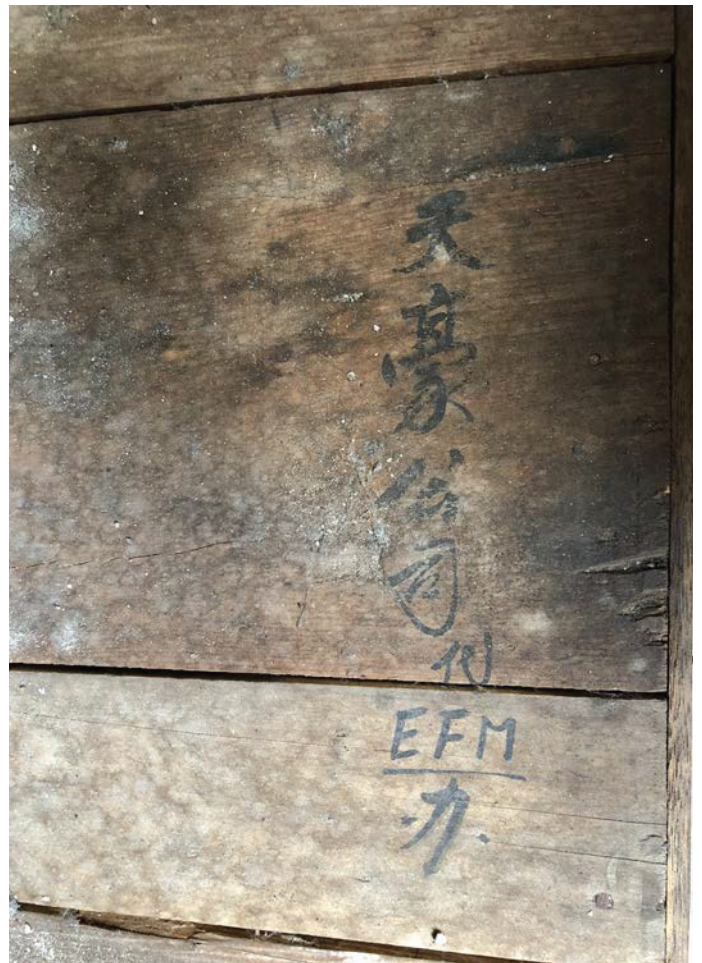


Figure 12: Close-up of packing-crate furniture.



Figure 13: Calendar dating from 1982, 84 Dixon Street.

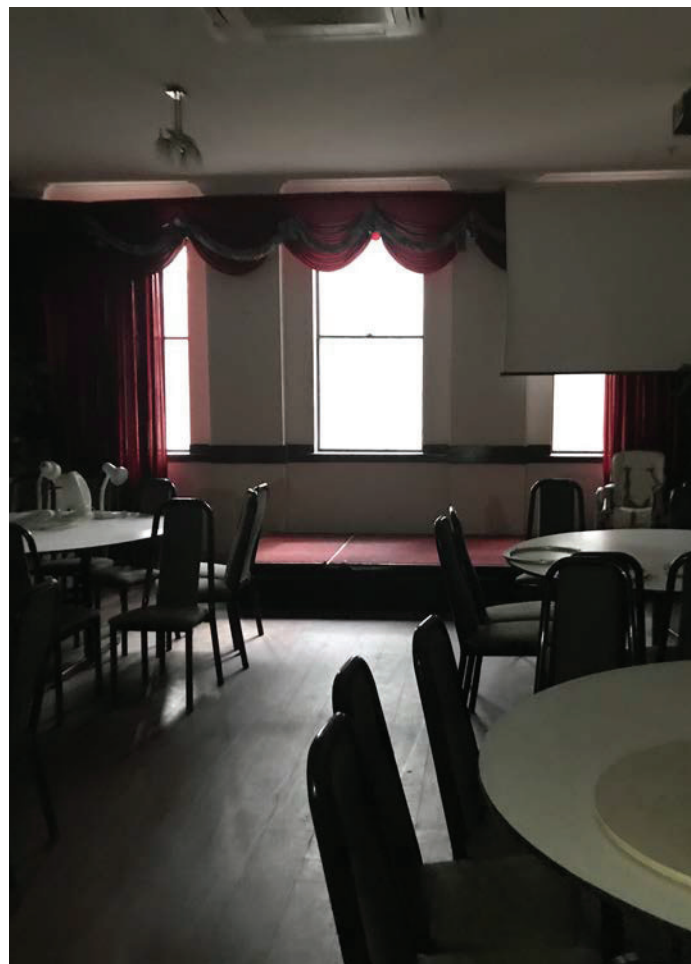


Figure 14: First floor, 82 Dixon Street.



Figure 15: Roof.

8.3. Historic plans 1909 and 1912

