

The Architecture of Discipline – The Perth Drill Hall

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Then they worked us – Gawd! They worked us, til we knoo wot drillin’ meant;
Till men begun to feel like men, an’ wasters to repent,
Till we grew to ‘ate all Egyp’, an’ its desert, an’ its stinks:
On the days we drilled at Mena in the shadder uv the Sphinx. (sic)¹

So cries Ginger Mick while preparing for his part in the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. Ginger, the Australian hero of *The Moods of Ginger Mick* by C. J. Dennis, is a rough character of unsavoury reputation but soft heart from Melbourne who answers the call to arms. His experience is cathartic and he finds himself transformed from a “tough”, at odds with society and the law, into a disciplined and resourceful soldier. Ginger is killed in action and dies a “gallant gentleman”. At the heart of Ginger’s transformation is the concept of discipline and as a soldier he reflects on why his past life had been difficult.

We never ‘ad no discipline, that’s wot we wanted bad,
It’s discipline that gives the push its might.
But wot a time we could ‘av give the coppers if we ‘ad,
Lord! We’d capchered Melbourne in a night (sic)²

Discipline through drill was the key to transforming a rabble into an effective and moral fighting force. Military drill is the repetitive training of soldiers as a form of teaching and usually involves marching and manoeuvres with weapons –together and in time. It may also mean repetitive training in other military procedures such as the taking apart and cleaning of weapons by specific disciplined actions.

Like so many other enlisting soldiers, Ginger may well have marched out from a drill hall on his way to Gallipoli. Military drill halls were often the place of enlistment, induction and assembly in times of war. However the primary purpose of the drill hall was as a space to practice drill and mould soldiers to a particular pattern.

This paper is concerned with the idea of discipline as manifest in military drill and the architecture of the drill hall. I argue that the drill hall is a place that supports and reinforces the concept and practice of discipline and drill. Moreover, through the moral and religious use of discipline and drill – reinforced through its adoption by organisations such as the Boys’ Brigade – such places also support the inculcation of responsible and moral behaviour.

In canvassing these issues, the Perth Drill Hall at Swan Barracks in Western Australia will be used as a case study. The Perth Drill Hall is one of the state’s oldest, extant, purpose built drill halls and provides a rich historical and environmental context in which to discuss the objectives of this paper. The Hall, built in 1896 for the burgeoning Volunteers Movement, was the first building on the Swan Barracks site. It served as a drill hall until 1992 when Swan Barracks was abandoned by the military and the site sold

– albeit with heritage protection. Through the Perth Drill Hall case study this paper also argues that the interpretation of heritage buildings needs to take cognizance of underlying social practices that generate spaces. Architectural heritage is often described and interpreted in terms of style, function and architects' intentions but very seldom in terms of generating social practices and resultant architectural strategies. The paper begins with a discussion of the Western Australian historical and architectural context of the Drill Hall followed by the concepts and practice of military discipline as a background to its design. Finally there is an analysis of this building as a space that supports these concepts.

Contexts

The Perth Drill Hall is located in Frances Street Perth opposite the Western Australian Museum. The Hall is contained within the confines of the Swan Barracks site – once Headquarters for the Fifth Military District – located in the Perth Cultural Centre which includes the Museum, Art Gallery and Alexander Library. The Perth Drill Hall has been chosen for study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is one of the few remaining intact and accessible drill halls in Western Australia and, together with the Barracks, makes a significant contribution to knowledge of the development of the military in Western Australia. Secondly, compared with other Australian states, there is a dearth of study on the history of architecture in Western Australia and particularly of military structures. In terms of the context described above, this paper opens up opportunities for further study of drill halls in Western Australia and nationally. This paper is part of ongoing research on military establishments, including drill halls, conducted through the Australian Regional Research Unit at Curtin University of Technology.

As discussed in more detail later in this paper the Drill Hall was a product of the development of the military volunteer movement in Western Australia and was built on crown land north of the Perth town centre in 1896. The location was central enough for access by the Perth Company of WA Rifle Volunteers who shared the space with local school cadets. The next year a two storey stone administration building was built directly adjacent and facing Francis Street and this was increased to three storeys in 1910. The main drill space measures a respectable 30.5 metres by 18.2 metres with the long axis running east and west. A row of rooms occupies the entire north elevation. The space is spanned by an elegant curved corrugated iron roof supported on a spidery truss system that takes the roof to a height of 10.6 metres, not including the continuous ventilation raised above the longitudinal apex of the roof. The floor is a thick suspended jarrah timber floor meant to take the punishment meted out by volunteer boots. At the east and west ends of the hall are large highlight windows. The stone administration building is crudely butted into the drill space on the south. Entry to the drill space was generally through a large passage that ran through this stone building to the hall – now closed off with a barrier wall. On the second floor of the stone building and protruding into the Drill Hall was a balcony allowing the Commandant to observe the space from above. The balcony has since been removed. Except for the balcony and the curved roof, the basic plan of the drill space was repeated at other centres in W.A. including Victoria Park Drill Hall, Subiaco Drill Hall, and the Pingelly Drill Hall. The only other drill hall of exactly

the same form is the Artillery Drill Hall in Fremantle, now the Fly By Night Club, which was built in 1895 and appears to have been the progenitor of the Perth Drill Hall.

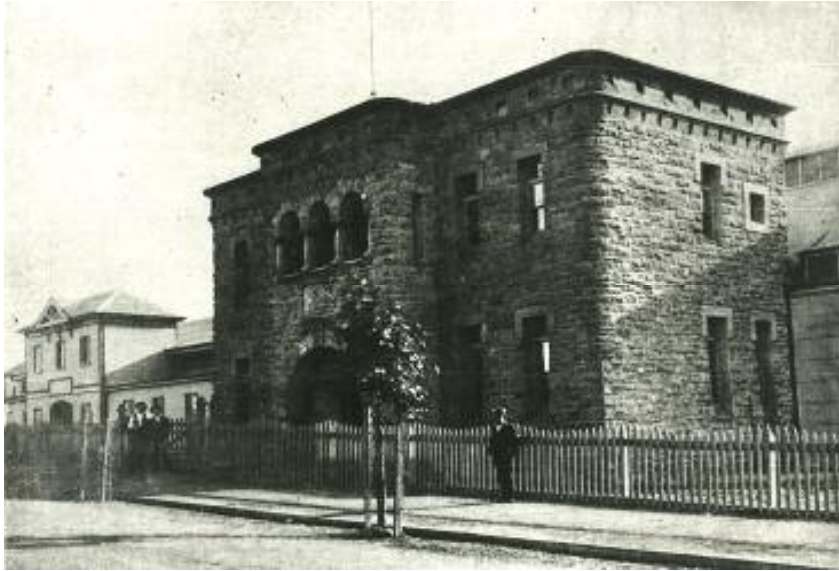


Fig 1 - Perth Drill Hall 1901 from Twentieth Century Impressions of Western Australia Perth: P.W.H. Thiel and Co., 1901, p. 128.

The drill hall space and the stone administration building were the products of the Western Australian Public Works Department architectural section under the leadership of George Temple Poole. Poole was an English emigrant architect who kept a tight reign on his drawing office and whose stylistic influence is apparent on most architecture produced by the Public Works Department during his tenure from 1885 to 1897. As with many English architects of his generation Poole was steeped in the tradition of Victorian picturesque eclecticism and tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement.³ These elements show in much of his work including the picturesque Albany Post Office (1896), the contrasting Renaissance simplicity of the Lands Department Building (1896) and the defensive quality of the Perth Drill Hall administration building.

In 1896 *The West Australian* newspaper described the of the Drill Hall as a fortress. “The battlements and other features of the Byzantine style which distinguishes its architecture are appropriate in a military building”.⁴ This defensive demeanour is carried over into the battered lower half of the ground floor and the fake portcullis suspended over the entry arch – military aspects capitalised and reinforced by the crenelated parapet of the 1910 additions. The Drill Hall administration building shares similar stylistic characteristics with the Royal Mint (1896) also designed by Poole around the same time. The Mint was described by *The West Australian* as a “modified Renaissance-Romanesque style”. Here, the work was dominated by the massive arch of the main entrance giving an “idea of strength, solidity and grandeur, which agrees with the purpose of such a public institution”.⁵ The Romanesque arch was a Poole signature on many important public buildings and he used it to great effect in both the Mint and the stone administration

building of the Drill Hall, drawing on the direct associational relationships between a building's purpose and its style.

It has been suggested that Poole was influenced in his public stone buildings by the American Architect H.H. Richardson and other free Romanesque advocates.⁶ It is possible there are stylistic associations between the two architects, although neither of the two principal publications on Poole mentions this connection.⁷ However what is more important here is that, while such questions are interesting, focus on the stylistic aspects of drill halls and their origins may only give a superficial analysis of a building. As mentioned above heritage buildings are not often described and interpreted in terms of the social concepts that generated them thus denying a much richer and satisfying analysis. The next section discusses the concepts of discipline, drill and moral behaviour as a background to an alternative way of analysing this particular building.

Discipline and Drill

Ginger Mick's observation that "It's discipline that gives the push its might." is echoed in Michel Foucault's assertion that discipline through drill increases the force of what he calls, docile bodies.⁸ Foucault argues that modern disciplinary power arose in the eighteenth century as a means of efficient and effective control of people. His argument is that disciplinary power is a process of inculcation that is at once imposed on us and with which we cooperate. Disciplinary power had particular application in factories, schools, prisons, hospitals and the military. Disciplinary forces classified, trained and practised individuals so that they obeyed, became skilful and increased their effectiveness.⁹ Not only did these practised individuals have an increased capacity in their actions, but their actions – although not unthinking – became predictable. The primary tools and strategies involved in the application of disciplinary power were obedience, attention to detail, supervision and inspection.¹⁰ The insistence on obedience resulted in an individual or group whose actions could be predicted. Obedience had the quality of being simultaneously coerced and complied with – a property particularly valuable in the military. Attention to detail intensified the effect of the disciplinary process. This was manifest in exacting regulations governing the conduct of drills, training and meticulous dress in parades. Supervision and surveillance ensured that the correct training was being carried out and that individuals such as soldiers were inculcated and coerced into particular ways of behaviour and that the actions of individuals and groups were efficient and controlled. The inspection (or examination) provided the means to test if the training had been successful.

Drill – where individuals were 'drilled' in particular correct actions – was an effective technique to apply disciplinary power. The drill was conducted under the correcting gaze of an instructor whose constant commands and attention to detail would eventually mould and pressure an individual to comply with a desired model of action and behaviour. This normalizing or regularizing process was a powerful means of transforming a confused mass of people into ordered and effective groups.

Parallel to Foucault's idea of disciplinary power – but by no means at odds – is McNeil's assertion that prolonged and rhythmical muscular movement by groups of people engenders a euphoric feeling that bonds people with a common cause and identity.¹¹ McNeill calls the effect of keeping together in time “muscular bonding”. It may help explain why people willingly subject themselves to disciplined drill and why it can be so effective in increasing efficiency and group solidarity. He traces the history of rhythmical movement through the activities of small communities, religious ceremonies and the military. Activities such as preparing ground for planting, sowing, harvesting and processing food was often conducted in a rhythmical fashion engendering community spirit and making potentially mind dulling work bearable. Rowing, pulling on ropes and other heavy tasks done with coordinated movements also had the effect of bonding the participants.

Keeping together in time and close order drill has also had a very long history in the military. Beginning with the Sumerians, McNeill sketches the role of drill and its effectiveness in creating disciplined, effective and emotionally bonded armies. Late in the 1500s Prince Maurice of Orange revived drill techniques by the simple notion of having soldiers move simultaneously to stylised words of command. When applied to the actions of soldiers loading and firing a matchlock, the result was an efficient force with significantly faster firing rates.¹²

McNeil maintains that it was this increased effectiveness and the shared emotional identity of such drilled troops that enabled the rapid expansion of European interests throughout the world during subsequent centuries. The performance of soldiers in the heat of battle was enhanced by the collective emotional response engendered by close order drill and increased efficiency through rhythmical cooperation. Muscular bonding, contributed to military success by creating and enhancing social cohesion and willing cooperation of troops at all levels.¹³

However, to be truly effective drill needed to be carried out in “a protected place of disciplinary monotony”.¹⁴ An enclosed space such as the Perth Drill Hall provided a place where the business of drill and the exercise of mind and body could be concentrated with the least distraction. Foucault describes this type of space as “an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them.”¹⁵ Places like the Perth Drill Hall could provide a space that was isolated from the weather, away from prying eyes, unwanted attention and unauthorised comments. With lighting, the space could also be used at night, which was a boon to military organisations relying on part time soldiers who worked during daylight hours.

The disciplinary process had other consequences. Discipline and drill banished wastefulness and idleness through the efficiencies of ordered actions and the economic use of time. Desire was subordinated through the rigours of discipline.¹⁶ The benefits of discipline and drill in reducing wastefulness, idleness and desire was not lost on early Methodists such as John Wesley and later religious leaders who embraced military disciplinary techniques to produce dutiful Christian boys and good and useful citizens.

Responsible and Moral Behaviour

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the British army enjoyed much popular appeal in Britain and in the colonies.¹⁷ Heroes such as Major General Charles ‘Chinese’ Gordon and numerous successful military adventures had positively bolstered the army’s public profile and standing. However this popular esteem was also underpinned by an interest in militarism by the Anglican and non-conforming churches. The example of soldiers like Major General Sir Henry Havelock helped to popularize the idea that Christianity and militarism could fruitfully coexist. Havelock was a model Christian soldier and the hero of the relief of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Biographies of Havelock draw parallels between his military heroism and Christian heroism and imply that his moral fibre and Christianity were the foundation of his military successes.¹⁸ Similarly Gordon the hero of the defence of Khartoum was canonized as “an undeclared saint, a Christian Hero and martyr”.¹⁹ The alignment of the military and Christianity was reinforced over the course of the nineteenth century by the inclusion of chaplains in the army organisation and the emergent idea of the militant and ‘muscular’ Christian. Muscular Christianity aligned with the late nineteenth century notion of manliness where a moral character was cultivated within the duties of manhood and ordered by regimentation.²⁰

That discipline and drill were central concerns of muscular Christianity is illustrated by the following definition from George Hughes in *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861).

The true muscular Christian...has hold of the old chivalrous and Christian belief, that a man’s body is given to him to be trained and bought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth which God has given to the children of men²¹

This powerful viewpoint was instrumental in the emergence of Christian paramilitary organisations such as the Boys Brigade which, along with the values of muscular Christianity, echoed the moral and uplifting aims of the Empire. The Boys Brigade grew out of the Volunteers Movement of the mid nineteenth century when it was widely believed that Christian piety made the best regular and volunteer soldiers.²² The object of the Boys Brigade was to use militarism to “the advancement of Christ’s Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Discipline, Self Respect and all that tends to true Christian Manliness”(sic).²³ At the centre of Boys’ Brigade philosophy were the twin concerns of drill and religion manifest in a weekly drill parade and bible class. The boys were kitted out in a military style uniform and carried dummy rifles. Organisers hoped that drill would promote the same *esprit de corps* nurtured in the cadets of the private school system and prove uplifting and beneficial to the main targets of the Brigade – the unruly urban poor. Other groups also sprang up including Life Boys’ Brigade, the Jewish Boys’ Brigade, and the more middle class and militant Church Lads’ Brigade, which had even stronger connections with the military and was seen by some as a direct feeder for the regular army.²⁴ The first permanent Australian Boys’ Brigade began in Perth in 1895. This group was formed by the Reverend George Edwards Rowe and the boys were drilled by a Drill Sergeant from the Western Australian Artillery.²⁵

Muscular Christianity united the militant aims of the empire with the values of Christianity. Discipline in the form of military drill was seen as part of the strategy to achieve these aims. As previously mentioned, by the late nineteenth century the most effective soldier was seen as one that upheld Christian values. The idea of the Christian Soldier Hero was promulgated throughout the Empire via newsprint and various publications such as the *Boys Own Paper* (1879-1967) which was filled with stories of military daring-do by good Christian youths. The lower costs of photojournalism and magazine reproduction in the late nineteenth century made possible the widespread distribution and popularisation of military images. The press minimized the agony and the suffering of war preferring to emphasise the heroism, adventure, drama and glory. This romanticised and reinforced popular misconceptions.²⁶ Despite this bias there was a definite moral aspect projected onto military activities and this was evident in the colonies of the Empire as in Britain.²⁷ Drill was not only seen as a means to reinforce military prowess and *esprit de corps* but was also instrumental in the formation of a good moral Christian character. In this context the Perth Drill Hall emerges as a particular building type and as a container to concentrate and support these aims.

Architectural Strategies

In 1896 the Commandant for the Local Forces of Western Australia commented that “Competent instructions and good drill halls, centrally situated, will add more to the popularity and efficiency of the Volunteer Force than anything I know”.²⁸ In the same report Lt Col Wilson also expressed concern that the local Volunteer Corps in Western Australia did not have a sufficiently organized, trained and disciplined force necessary for war. His concern underlined a dilemma for the rapidly developing colony of Western Australia. The last permanent Imperial troops had left Western Australian shores in March 1863 leaving the colony to raise volunteer forces for its own defence.²⁹

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century a series of invasion scares and unsettled international situations fuelled uneasiness about Australia’s poor defences. However, while Imperial troops no longer directly protected Australian territory, there was still the perception that Australia’s interests were also those of the British Empire despite growing nationalism. This sentiment was echoed by George Craig in his polemic *The Federal Defence of Australasia* (1897) about the need for a coherent national defence strategy. A central argument of his thesis was that of the importance of drill and discipline.³⁰

The design and construction of drill halls in Western Australia emerged from volunteer movements and a real concern for local defence in the late nineteenth century. The activity of drill was a means to provide an efficient and moral military force and it needed to be conducted in weatherproof and conducive surroundings. At the time of building the Perth Drill Hall, there were few purpose built halls available and most drill was carried out in spaces “unsuitable for the purpose”.³¹ It was clear that drill halls were also a focal point of volunteers’ activities and such a focus helped recruitment. The burgeoning population of Western Australia, resulting from the gold rush and mining boom of the

1880s and 1890s, could support an expanded volunteer force and the colony could now also afford to pay for buildings specific to this purpose.

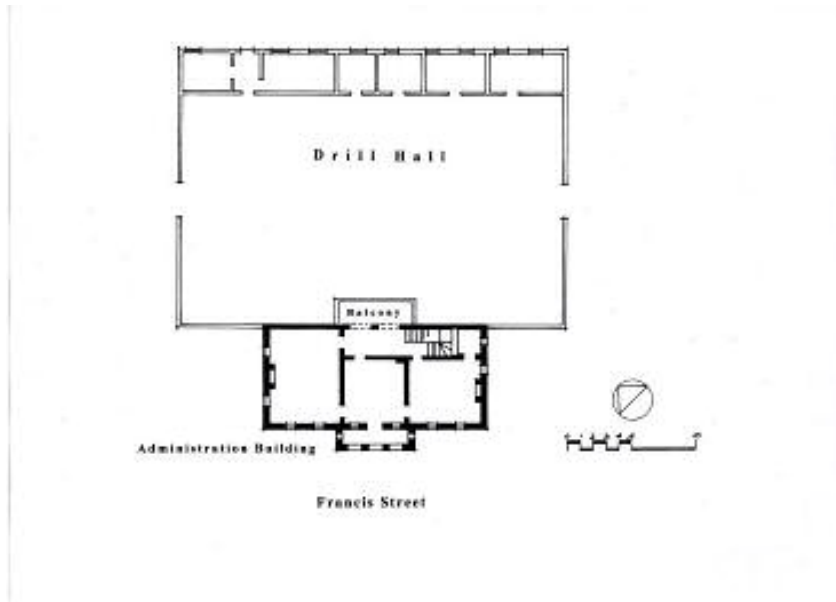


Fig 2 - Perth Drill Hall plan in 1897 showing drill hall and adjacent administration building.

The drill space of the Perth Drill Hall is large enough to allow marching drill to be carried out in comfort and to accommodate the inspection of the ranks of companies of men. While there are no records to explain why the hall is so sized, it could be assumed that the space was designed to be sufficient to support particular types of drill and inspection. When struck by boots and rifle butts the timber floor provides a distinct amplified sound allowing for the detection of mistimed marching and other drill so that disciplinary supervision would be aural as well as visual. This acts in much the same way as parade grounds which use loose gravel or stone aggregate to provide a distinct crunching sound. There are large doors at either end of the space to provide access for troops marching in or out of the hall and it was through these doors that troops marched off to war in South African and to the First and Second World Wars. Day lighting was provided well above door and eye level by large windows similar to nineteenth century industrial buildings. In many nineteenth century factory buildings highlight windows lit the space from above and thus reduced the possibility of glare. Lower walls were usually painted or tiled in a darker colour than upper walls so that men and machines could be clearly seen at eye level.³² These architectural techniques were essential when operating machinery in a factory and when translated to a drill hall, provided a space where the soldier and instructor could be clearly seen. Such a design also provided an enclosed space with little distraction from the outside world. As previously mentioned, Foucault argues that such an enclosed space concentrates the disciplinary power that operates to transform individuals.³³ The roof provides shelter from the weather, which besides offering distraction from the business of inculcation, would also tend to shorten the life of uniforms and equipment.

As Ginger Mick discovered, drill could be a tough business requiring physical exertion leading to fatigue and loss of concentration – effects amplified in the hot summer climate of Perth. Adequate ventilation of occupied spaces was a prime concern of nineteenth century architects and health commentators who were concerned that vapours, miasmas and unhealthy exhalations were carried away. Fresh air was a key to good health and much attention was placed on ventilating spaces so that fresh air constantly replaced contaminated atmospheres. A certain level of health and comfort was necessary to ensure that soldiers exerting themselves in drill would be comfortable enough to concentrate. While the Perth Drill Hall has a significant air volume, it also supports ventilation with a large roof ventilator allowing hot air to easily escape. Opening highlight windows could control incoming air.

Perhaps one of the most powerful architectural strategies employed in the Perth Drill Hall for the support of disciplinary power is the first floor balcony which protruded out over the drill space. The balcony no longer exists and it is not known when it was taken down.³⁴ This significant feature measured approximately 6.4 metres by 2.1 metres and was directly accessible from the offices of the Commandant and Staff Officers. The platform reinforces the practice of the disciplinary gaze and would have provided the Commandant or any other person with a panoptic and unrestricted view of the exercises below. The balcony had the effect of intensifying supervision of both soldiers and their instructors, bringing each under a moral and disciplinary gaze. It would also have been an excellent place to give orders and address troops.

On the full length of the north side of the building were a series of rooms which opened out onto the drill space. A contemporary description describes these spaces as smoking and reading rooms and that “The hall is open every night of the week, and the volunteers can use it as a resort. When fully furnished it will in some ways be quite a club and should prove a decided acquisition to the volunteers”.³⁵ The function of these rooms as a club and place of recreation, reinforce the physical and moral camaraderie aroused through drilling. Recreation, including reading and, presumably, study add to the *esprit de corps* and moral well-being of the volunteers and cadet forces using the hall. The provision of this type of facility aligns with such organisations as the YMCA and Mechanics Institutes which sought to elevate working class men and youths through education and self-improvement.

The spaces of the Perth Drill Hall described and analysed above are not arbitrarily designed spaces. These spaces have been deliberately designed and constructed to support particular activities. The architectural strategies employed support concepts of discipline and surveillance overlaid with nineteenth century religious and moral traits. The building is spatially and structurally efficient and therefore is not an idle space. Moreover, by being efficient and allowing efficient activities it reflects moral concerns with wastefulness. It allows drill to be conducted in a healthy, conducive and persuasive environment amplifying the supervision of that activity and the inspection of its results. This building is in the business of supporting the transformation of a mob into an obedient and disciplined force and individuals into good and moral citizens.



Fig 3 – Perth Drill Hall administration building Francis Street 1992 while still occupied by the Army.



Fig 4 – Perth Drill Hall 2002 from east.

Interpretations

The Perth Drill Hall eventually became part of the Swan Barracks Complex where a number of other buildings were built to support various army activities. The Drill Hall still nestles in the Swan Barracks complex, although the army left in 1992 for the old HMAS Leeuwin site in Fremantle. The place is on the State Heritage Register and legal conservation conditions must be observed by the owners. The building is presently owned by Swan College, is used as an ELICOS college and also houses a number of small businesses.

Along with other military heritage buildings, the Perth Drill Hall derives its significance from its long history of military use, its associations with the development of the military in Australia, various conflicts and prominent persons. However a recurring problem with architectural heritage is the often simplistic way in which heritage buildings are interpreted. As Pearson and Sullivan point out, many historical places open to the public are cut off from the intellectual and cultural background of which they are a product.³⁶ There is a tendency to interpret buildings – if the building structure is interpreted at all – in terms of style and function. It is often the building's functions and contents, together with the lives of the designers and inhabitants, that have prime consideration in describing buildings and interpreting them – heritage or otherwise. It is argued that the analysis above offers an alternative and further way of describing heritage buildings as well as another aspect of a historical building to interpret.

In terms of supporting the practices of discipline and drill the Perth Drill Hall was a model space – not all drill halls or spaces used for drill could claim this, particularly those adapted from other hall spaces. But it was a space that could also claim to embody moral concepts – firstly, through the linkage between drill practices and militant Christianity, and secondly because some of the Perth Drill Hall rooms were originally given over to recreational pursuits and the pastoral care of volunteers. It can of course, be argued that these spaces were also provided to attract volunteers as much as provide for their well being. To claim that the spaces of the Perth Drill Hall actually did produce good citizens and Christian soldier heroes would be going too far. However, it can be claimed that these moral concepts are embedded in the practices used to design and construct the place and that the building can be interpreted in this way.



Fig 5 – Perth Drill Hall 2002 interior of drill hall space.

Conclusion

This analysis illustrates how a building like the Perth Drill Hall can be described and interpreted in the light of concepts of discipline and drill and the architectural strategies that were developed to support them. I have traced the concepts of discipline and drill through reference to Michel Foucault's work on discipline and drill as a means to normalise people, improve their effectiveness and provide a capable and collective fighting force. In the reading that Foucault offers, this drill hall appears as a space to reinforce the effectiveness of drill by providing a place that is relatively free of distractions and one that supports supervision and inspection through architectural strategies. Likewise, McNeill's concept of muscular bonding can also be used to explain the effectiveness of drill and its importance in the enhanced performance of military troops. McNeill's argument that the emotional bonding of groups is achieved through shared rhythmical movement clarifies why individuals submit to disciplinary training and why groups such as the volunteers were relatively successful enterprises given that the people involved were not professional soldiers and had other distractions. The act of keeping together in time enhanced feelings of solidarity and belonging while training, which carried over into superior performance on the battlefield.

Discipline and drill in the late nineteenth century were overlaid with the concept of the Christian soldier hero. This concept was amplified by the efforts of the Boys' Brigade and other youth organisations to use military drill as means to inculcate young boys with Christian moral values. The ideas of drill as a moral activity was extended to war itself where it was regarded – within the context of the British Empire – as romantic and moral enterprise. The arrangement of space and particular architectural strategies in the Drill Hall assisted supervision of military activities and the physical and moral health of inhabitants.

The Perth Drill Hall is not a pretty building – a fact driven home to me when interviewed on a Perth radio breakfast program the day the army marched out of Swan Barracks for the last time in 1992. The radio presenter, Ted Bull, asked why such a downright ugly building was worthy of heritage attention and study. Why would anyone want to keep it and what could it tell us anyway? My answer included the potential for uncovering memories and history – an answer that did not seem very convincing at that time. The drill hall space is not attractive and it shares the same recognition problems as other nineteenth century industrial heritage, which is sometimes seen as unglamorous when pitted against ornate and attractive Victorian architecture. The building does however provide excellent evidence of disciplinary and moral military practices and can be successfully interpreted in this context. The primary aim of this paper has been to show that such a reading or description is possible and that the resultant view would enrich interpretation of this building type.

End Notes

1 C J Dennis, *The Moods of Ginger Mick*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1919, p. 46.

2 Dennis, *The Moods of Ginger Mick*, p. 110.

3 Van Bremen, I., *The New Architecture of the Gold Boom in Western Australia Government Buildings Under the Direction of G. T. Poole, 1885-1897*. 1990, unpublished PhD Thesis, Nedlands: University of Western Australia, pp. 59-69.

4 *The West Australian*, 23 January, 1896, p. 6.

5 *The West Australian*, 3 March, 1896, p. 6.

6 Ian Molyneaux, *Looking Around Perth*, Perth: Royal Australian Institute of Architects (WA Chapter), 1981, p. 25.

7 Ray Oldham, and John Oldham, *George Temple Poole: Architect of the Golden Years 1885-1897*. 1980, Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press. Van Bremen, I., *The New Architecture of the Gold Boom in Western Australia Government Buildings Under the Direction of G. T. Poole, 1885-1897*.

8 The *push* was “A company of rowdy fellows gathered together for ungentle purposes”, Dennis, *The Moods of Ginger Mick*, p. 110.

9 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, London: Penguin Books, 1977.

10 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 138.

11 William H. McNeill, *Keeping together in time: dance and drill in human history*, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995.

12 McNeill, *Keeping together in time*, p. 138.

13 McNeill, *Keeping together in time*, p. 132.

14 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 141.

15 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 172.

16 Bryan Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*, London: Sage Publications, 1996, p. 167.

17 E. M. Spiers, *The late Victorian army 1868-1902*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 180.

18 E. Hodder, *Heroes of Britain in Peace and War*, London: Cassell and Company Ltd., c1887, p. 26.

19 Spiers, *The late Victorian army*, p. 183.

20 In late nineteenth century English public schools this was manifest in the Cadets and Rifle Corps where boys could be taught to 'drill, to shoot, to go on manoeuvres and ultimately to command' – David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*, London: Cassell Publishers Ltd., 1961, p. 200.

21 Cited in David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, p. 214.

22 V. Bailey, 'Bibles and Dummy Rifles: The Boys-Brigade', *History Today*, 33 (October 1983), p. 8.

23 M. E. Hoare, *Boys, Urchins, Men: A History of the Boys' Brigade in Australia and Papua-New Guinea 1882-1976*, Sydney: A. H. and A. W. Reed Pty. Ltd., 1980, p. 9.

24 John Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society*, London: Croom Helm, 1977, p. 40.

25 Hoare, *Boys, Urchins, Men*, p. 35. A similar organisation to the Boys Brigade was the Boy Scouts, created by Robert Baden-Powell. The Boy Scouts had equivalent Christian and empire serving aims but was not attached to any religious organisation. This organisation was phenomenally successful and employed drill as a core activity despite Baden-Powell's original condemnation on the grounds that it destroyed initiative. Bailey, V., 'Scouting for the Empire: The Boy-Scouts in Edwardian England,' *History Today*, 32(July 1982): pp. 5-9.

26 Spiers, *The late Victorian army*, p. 197.

27 George Cathcart Craig, *The Federal Defence of Australia*, Sydney: George Robertson and Co., 1897, p. 270.

28 A. L. C. Wilson, 'Local Forces of Western Australia: Report of the Commandant of the twelve months ending 30th June 1896', in *Votes and Proceedings of the Western Australian Parliament 1896*, Perth: W.A. Government, 1896, p. 6.

29 Geo. F. Wieck, *The Volunteer Movement in WA 1861-1903*, Perth: Paterson Brokensha, c1960, p.24. The fortunes of the volunteer movement in Western Australia rose when its ranks were swelled by an invasion scare in 1872 and the later introduction of a partially paid system in 1895. The Volunteers were paralleled by the Cadet

movement for the military training of schoolboys - formally taken over by the Education Department in 1896.

30 Craig, *The Federal Defence of Australia*, p. 3. Craig insisted that the strength of a nation lay in its youth and the self sacrifice of that youth. He also argued that at the core of military training lay moral forces which arose from, among other high minded attributes, courage, *esprit de corps*, discipline, duty and motives appealing to man's highest nature. See p. 270.

31 *The Western Mail*, 'The Volunteer Forces: Civilian Soldiers of Western Australia, The Growth of the Force', 10 June, 1898, pp. 24-25.

32 Mark Watson, 'From spinning flat to apartment flat: conversions to housing of urban Scottish textile mills', in N. Cossons, (ed) *Perspectives on Industrial Archaeology*, London: Science Museum, 2000, p. xiv.

33 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 141.

34 John Stephens, *Conservation Plan for Swan Barracks, Western Australia*, Perth: Australian Property, Department of Administrative Services, 1992, p. 129.

35 *The Western Mail*, 'The Volunteer Forces', p. 24.

36 Michael Pearson and Sharon Sullivan, *Looking After Heritage Places*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, p. 293.