

The Military Prison, Anglesea Barracks, Hobart

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This paper presents selected, key results of a historical-archaeological investigation and conservation analysis of a rare type of confinement facility in Australia: a military gaol or prison constructed in c.1848 and seemingly built on a British model used around the Empire at that time. It functioned as a gaol between 1849 and 1870. This type of facility has been previously little reported on and this relatively non-invasive fabric investigation of a standing structure, with associated historical research, provides some preliminary exposure of this unusual confinement facility. The paper also presents a hypothesis about why the building was required and built in Hobart at that time and highlights, by limited comparative analysis, various institutional differences that were identified in this project between the treatment of military prisoners and contemporary civil prisoners.

BACKGROUND

In 1987 the author was commissioned, along with architect Peter Cripps, then of the Hobart-based Crawford Cripps Wegman Architects, by Ivar Nelsen of Australian Construction Services, on behalf of the Department of Defence, to prepare a Conservation Analysis of the Military Gaol, Anglesea Barracks Hobart. The project was completed in stages and a 200-page report resulted (Morrison with Crawford Cripps Wegman Architects 1989, hereafter 'Morrison et al.'). (Copies of this report can be found in the State Library of Tasmania, with the Department of Defence and in the Environment Australia Library, formerly the Australian Heritage Commission Library.) This present paper is based on that earlier work with some updated material in terms of comparative prisons, context and the significance of the Prison.

Unless otherwise stated, information in this paper derives from the 1989 report.

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this paper is the presentation of a place different to most of the other types of places of confinement, especially civil convict confinement, usually discussed in the literature of prisons. Some of these differences, particularly in relation to the first-use phase of the Military Prison complex and in its physical fabric, are explored, but a large part of this paper is also given over to provide the historical context for this phase.¹

This paper might be seen as a demonstration of how the evidence of the standing structure can be used to examine the local reality and physical manifestation of a social philosophy developed in another place, in this case at the heart of the British Empire. It should be commonplace to archaeologists that informed, careful investigation and evaluation of fabric, whether this be standing, sub-surface or cultural landscape, combined with and testing historical sources, can tell a richer and more meaningful story of our past than otherwise might be possible.

PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE MILITARY PRISON

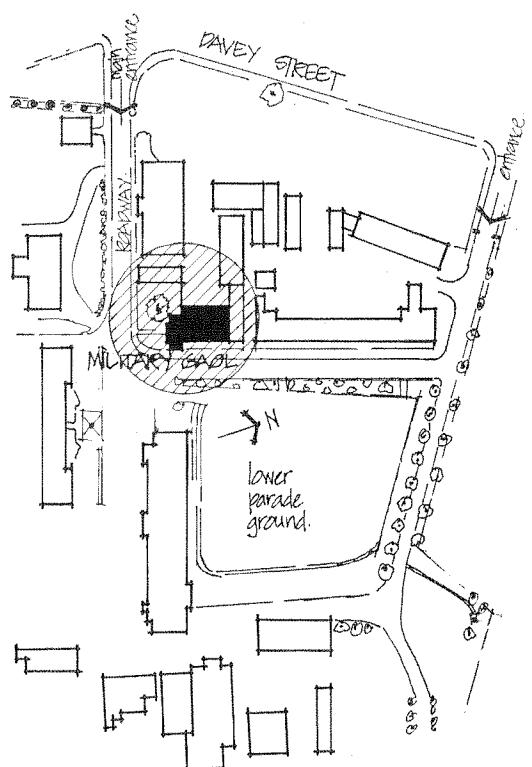
The Anglesea Barracks site was declared by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1811 and the first buildings were commenced in c.1814. It is the oldest military establishment in Australia still occupied by the Army.

The Military Prison was constructed on the corner of Barracks Square and the principal access road into the Barracks (see Fig. 1). There do not appear to have been any previous structures on the block of land on which the

Anglesea gaol was built. Its visual impact has been diminished, since its construction, due to the partial demolition of its associated exercise yard walls and the construction of adjacent and adjoining buildings. This partial diminishment of the Military Prison's visual prominence is redressed by the building's proximity to the oldest building in the Barracks, now the Commander's Residence but originally, c.1820, a Hospital. Thus, gaining prominence by association in this entrance zone of the Barracks.

So, a factor in the Military Prison being sited here may be the previous presence, in this area of the Barracks, of a variety of service buildings and features.

To date no historical evidence has been found to explain this siting of the building. However, the siting could also possibly be explained by one or more of the following



SITE PLAN
not to scale.



Figure 1. Site Plan Military Prison, Anglesea Barracks, Hobart.
(Fig. 28 in Morrison et al. 1989.)

considerations: it is next to the quarry from which it was said the stone was acquired for the building; it is the closest, convenient location on site to the guard house and the then hospital; and its prominent location on rising ground above the Parade Ground may have been deliberately chosen to reinforce respect for military discipline.

OVERVIEW HISTORY OF PRISON BUILDING

The apparent historic phases of building usage are outlined below. While the original conservation analysis, which is the basis for this paper, discussed all of these phases, this paper will focus primarily on the Military Gaol phase.

1846–1870	Military Gaol
1870–1881	Disused?
1881–1905	Hobart Girls' Training School Reformatory
1905–1910	Part used as a residence in latter years
1910–1920	Australian Engineers Corps
1920–1973	Initially dormitories and stores, and then offices and stores
1973–1984	Part period District Support Unit HQ
1984–	Military Museum

THE MILITARY PRISON, 1846–1870

Background

Military Prisons and Barrack Cells were established in the United Kingdom and its overseas or ‘foreign stations’ from June 1844. The purpose was to provide a regular system of military imprisonment tailored to the perceived special needs of the soldier prisoner, to help relieve the pressure from civil prisons which formerly held both convicted soldiers as well as civil offenders, and to provide a replacement for the frequent use of corporal punishment.

By 1849, Joshua Jebb, Inspector General of Prisons in the United Kingdom—the architect of this new approach to prisoner treatment and prison design, epitomised in his 1842 Pentonville Prison—was reporting upon the implementation of these philosophies in relation to military prisons.

Jebb’s first annual report on military prisons (Jebb 1849) provides insights into the general approach and the underlying impetus which established the new philosophies. The report indicated that in 1835 and 1836, as a result of public feeling, a committee was established to inquire into the question of military imprisonment. Consequently, in 1837 the first steps were taken to improve the system of military imprisonment, as a substitute for corporal punishment. Large cells were constructed in a number of garrisons and an annual sum was allocated for the gradual erection of such cells in every barracks. However, most of the cells were not used.

Another committee, Lord Cathcart’s Committee, was established in 1842 to look at the subject further and the means of effecting a regular system of military imprisonment. One of the major motivations for military imprisonment was that the large numbers of military prisoners were placing too much pressure on civil prisons. Military prisons could relieve this pressure. Another benefit identified was that military prisoners could then be subjected to a discipline and punishment adapted to the repression of the offences of which they had been found guilty and to the duties which, upon their return to their regiments, they would be expected to perform.

The Committee was asked to report on whether changes were required to the Mutiny Act, the nature of confinement, the system of military imprisonment, system of drill, the hard

labour, the diet, the clothing, the bedding of prisoners and other matters such as the system of internal prison discipline, superintendence of prisons by visiting officers and the idea of prisoner conduct reports being used to judge the system’s efficiency.

Lord Cathcart’s Committee reported in 1844 recommending that the Mutiny Act be adjusted to allow Commanding Officers, not Courts Martial, to determine whether a prisoner should be confined in a civil or military prison or some combination. It also strongly recommended the establishment of military prisons. Solitary confinement and imprisonment with hard labour were also to be continued and extended as options of military punishment.

Jebb’s comments on the Committee’s recommendations (Jebb 1849, as per the appendices of Morrison et al. 1989), in regard to the classification of prisoners, are most instructive given his central role in introducing the Separate System of imprisonment into the civil gaol system some years before (see Brand 1977), and are worth quoting in full:

With respect to sentences of imprisonment with hard labour or mixed sentences involving periods of hard labour alternating with solitary confinement, the Committee recommended associated labour under a rule of silence in preference to what is technically called ‘the Separate System’, but upon this grafted a principle of Classification to which they attached considerable importance.

To any one conversant with the operation of this principle in ordinary prisons and with a knowledge of its having been repudiated by the best authorities on prison discipline, it will at first sight appear extraordinary that the attempt should be made to revive it in Military Prisons. It is necessary therefore, to explain that *Classification* under the Gaol Acts is based upon the *crime* for which a prisoner happens to be sentenced, by which any one frequently re-committed for different offences, may find himself alternately associated with felons or misdemeanants, or others as the case may be; this affords no moral standard by which to make a Classification, and therefore leads to much practical evil.

The Classification recommended by the Committee, on the contrary, is based upon character. (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 5 & 6.)

Jebb went on to cite the rule by which ‘character’ is to be assessed, how division into one of the three classes is to be made, and the objects of this classification system.

The objects were two-fold: ‘to protect the young soldier and the less hardened offender, from the more mischievous [*sic*] consequences of association with worse characters’ and ‘to hold out an inducement to all prisoners to behave well in prison by the hope of reward and fear of punishment, in being either promoted to a higher class or degraded to a lower one’.

Classes were to be distinguished by badges and the classification system was not to operate whilst a prisoner was serving solitary confinement.

The Committee was of the view that degradation of the soldier by particular types of labour or exposure was to be strictly avoided. So the treadmill and using prisoners in gangs outside the prison were objected to by the Committee, and the favoured methods of imposing hard labour were ‘piling and unpiling heavy shot, knapsack drill, working heavy guns or other such employment’ (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 6 & 7).

The diet was recommended to be sufficient to maintain perfect health (so the soldier would be fit for immediate duty upon his release), should admit no comfort and be such that

the prisoner should feel he was worse off in prison than back with his regiment. A chaplain was to be appointed to visit all prisoners in confinement in the barrack cells, and for officiating in the District Military Prisons (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 7). Arrangements were made to permit a soldier to be sentenced to more than six months confinement (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 8). The Committee also devised a complete code of regulations for military prisons (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 9).

To attempt to forestall the occurrence of 'serious delinquency', lesser offences believed by the Committee to be precursors of the former, were proposed to be punished by regimental commanding officers who were to be given more power to this effect (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 9).

To achieve this, cells were to be constructed immediately:

...at every Barrack Station in great Britain and Ireland; Provost Sergeants were to be appointed in every regiment to police the prisoners in these cells, and police the barracks; and commanding officers were to be empowered to prison soldiers up to seven days. (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 9)

The Committee recommended that sentences by Courts Martial for periods not greater than forty two days should be served in the proposed barrack cells. Longer sentences should be served in District Military Prisons where more suitable staff, and a more corrective and reformatory discipline, could be maintained than it would be possible to establish in very small prisons. (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 10)

The Secretary at War, Sir Thomas Fremantle, 'immediately' (presumably, shortly after June 1844) issued instructions to effect the recommendations of Lord Cathcart's Committee. A number of existing buildings, some of these already being prisons of sorts, in England, Scotland and Ireland were converted into District Military Prisons seemingly under the direction of the Royal Engineers Department. There were four in England, one in Scotland and four in Ireland (op cit A 11). However, it does not seem that any new buildings were designed and constructed in the United Kingdom.

In 1849 it was reported that a number of foreign stations

had opened military prisons. These were Gibraltar, Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Bermuda, Mauritius and Vido (in the Ionian Islands), with one at Malta to be established probably in the course of the year (op cit A 18). Other stations mentioned in another report (Inspector of Prisons 1849) indicated military prisons were also in Africa, Sydney and New Zealand. It is not clear why the Hobart gaol is omitted from those mentioned.

A limited, preliminary survey of these foreign-station military prisons sheds some light on the fate of a few of them but, mostly, their specific locations and comparative designs are currently unknown to the author. However, the New Zealand Military Prison appears to have been built in Albert Barracks, in Auckland in 1847 but demolished along with the rest of the Barracks in 1871. Its site now lies beneath Auckland University or the adjacent Albert Park (pers. comm. Tim Ryan 6/11/2000). The Halifax, Nova Scotia, Military Prison, is on Melville Island, and forms part of the facilities for a yacht club (pers. comm. Cameron Pulsifier & Roger Sarty 31/10/2000). The Montreal Military Prison, on St Helen's Island, in the St Lawrence River, seems to have been destroyed by fire in December 1849 (pers. comm. Cameron Pulsifier 31/10/2000).

It seems likely that the passage of time has caused further diminution in the originally small world population of these prisons such that it could be safely said that any survivors are now rare. However, further research could be done to establish the actual numbers of surviving examples and their relative integrity.

Anglesea Barracks Military Prison

It was from a local initiative that military prisons were proposed for the colonies of Australia and New Zealand, and that the Australian prisons were built between 1847 and 1848, to implement the new system, at Anglesea Barracks in Hobart and Victoria Barracks in Sydney.

At Victoria Barracks, a District Military Prison was constructed in c.1847 (expanded in c.1849) and in c.1848 Barrack Cells were added (Clive Lucas & Partners 1983, vol. 2: 174 and vol. 3: 94–98).

At Anglesea Barracks, a District Military Prison was constructed in c.1848, to serve the whole of the colony of Van

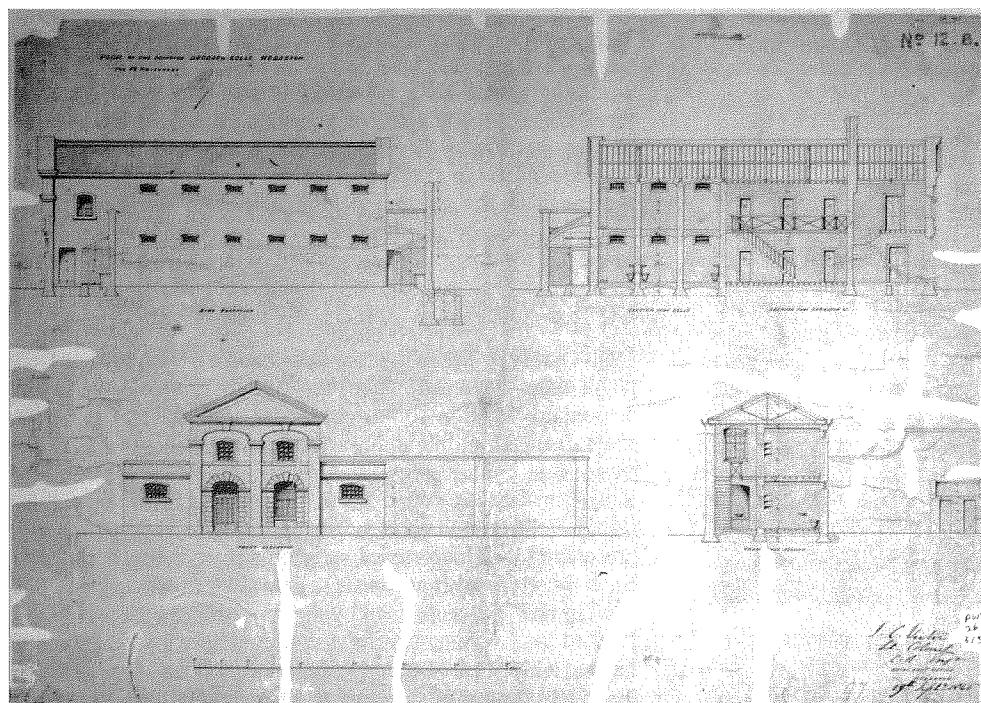


Figure 2. Anglesea Barracks Military Prison proposed elevations, 1846. In construction these were reversed. (*Public Works Department 'Plans of the proposed Barrack Cells Hobarton', signed J. C. Victor, Lt Colonel, Commanding Royal Engineer, Royal Engineers Office, Hobarton, 29 September 1846. PWD 266/313. Courtesy of the Archives Office of Tasmania.*)

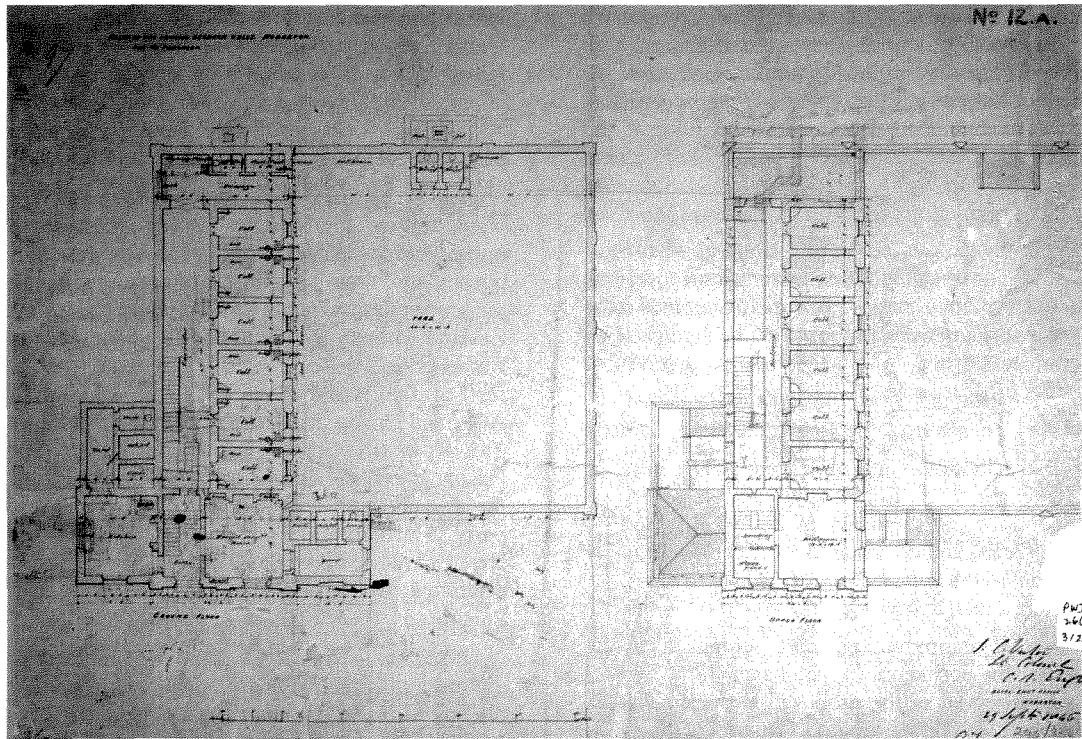


Figure 3. Anglesea Barracks Military Prison proposed floor plans, 1846. In construction these were reversed. (*Public Works Department 'Plans of the proposed Barrack Cells Hobart'*. Signed J. C. Victor, Lt Colonel, Commanding Royal Engineer, Royal Engineers Office Hobart, 29 September 1846. PWD 266/312. Courtesy of the Archives Office of Tasmania.)

Diemen's Land, and was of similar design to the Sydney District Military Prison. The Officer Commanding the Troops in Van Diemen's Land, probably in 1846, recommended that Barracks Cells should be erected at Hobart, Launceston and Oatlands. He requested that the Commanding Royal Engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Victor, prepare plans and estimates for the proposed 12 cells at Hobart. The plans (PWD 266/312 & 313), dated 29 September 1846, survive (Figs 2 & 3).

The Secretary at War in London, considered that the proposed prisons were:

...absolutely essential for the good of the service and for carrying forward to its completion a system of which benefits have been so great to the Army and which has deservedly gained the confidence and approval of the Public. (WO 15/3/1847)

War Office approvals for the works were enthusiastically provided without the usual documentation being sighted and

other normal approval procedures were waived to expedite the construction of the proposed cells. A sum of £1 500 was placed at the Commanding Royal Engineer's disposal 'for the purpose of establishing such Barrack Cells as he may in conjunction with the officer Commanding the Forces deem requisite'. The War Office also requested that 'the requisite number of locks for twenty cells and six water closets such as are in Store at the Tower' be despatched to Van Diemen's Land (WO 15/3/1847).

Similar letters approving the expenditure of £1 500 for establishing military prisons in New Zealand and £1 000 for New South Wales, also waiving the need for further referrals to the War Office, were written in June and July 1847 (WO 2/6/1847, 3/7/1847).

In the event, it was decided to construct a military prison for the whole colony of Van Diemen's Land in Hobart, but adding an extra two cells, giving a total of 14. It was to be 'capable of accommodating the usual number of prisoners sentenced in the colony to long periods of imprisonment'. Authorisation for construction was given in October 1847. The cells were certainly completed before the end of August 1849 but it is presumed here that the construction date was c.1848 (WO 30/10/1847, 18/11/1847, 20/11/1847).

It should be noted that the Commanding Royal Engineer's plans were reversed when the building was constructed, presumably to allow for the constraints imposed by the chosen site's disposition, fall and it being on a prominent corner. The prison was built at one of the higher corners of the Barracks Square or Parade Ground and is an imposing 'T'-shaped, two-storey, yellow sandstone-faced (on the two walls with street presentation, ashlar-scored, rendered brick on the others) brick structure with an open, high-walled exercise yard. The head of the 'T' was formed by the Provost's Quarters (Fig. 4), flanked by single-storey service rooms. The base of the 'T' formed a block of 14 cells (set half a floor below the Provost's Quarters because of the sloping site), divided into two rows,



Figure 4. Anglesea Barracks Military Prison, front or southern elevation—originally Provost's Quarters. (Photograph taken by, and courtesy of, Ivar Nelsen, 1987.)

one beneath the other, with the exercise yard attached to the cell side of the cell block, or western and most 'remote' side of the building, relative to the adjacent roads and Square. The exercise yard was accessed via a passage at the northern end of the ground-floor range of cells. The top range of cells was accessed by a cantilevered balcony within the cell block corridor. Originally the structure had a slate roof.

The general construction of the building complies with the guidelines established by Jebb, however, the ready availability of timber manifests itself in the use of timber floors rather than stone, in a timber cantilevered gallery (rather than stone used at Victoria Barracks, or cast iron at Pentonville). The timber cell doors appear to match the Jebb model and most appear to be original doors in their original locations.

The construction of the Anglesea gaol was coincident with, and possibly related to, a significant increase in Van Diemen's Land military strength, the attendant, probable increase in the rate of military offences and the need for increased prison accommodation. This was especially the case as corporal punishment was being phased out and being replaced by other forms of punishment. Increasing pressure on the existing civilian prisons, as in England, may here too, have led to the recognition of the need for separate military confinement facilities.

Statistical information on the military in Van Diemen's Land, on their rate of imprisonment, for what crimes and for how long, has proved elusive to locate in some readily accessible form for both the purposes, and within the constraints, of the original report and this paper. (United Kingdom military prison statistics are available [Jebb 1849] but not the same information for the Foreign Stations.) However, an examination of the available information, and without pushing this information too far, does produce a useful contextual outline of the contemporary situation in the absence of more precise data.

The end of convict transportation to New South Wales—caused partly by strong British opinion, fed by anti-slavery sentiment in the late 1830s, and native-born Australians hating the stigma of convicty, and the competition from assigned labour (Hughes 1987: 162)—was an indirect factor in creating a need for the Anglesea prison.

With the cessation of transportation to New South Wales in 1840, a step towards a free society and the greater independence of that colony (Neal 1991: 196–197), Van Diemen's Land became the major destination for British convicts (Robson 1985: 25). Pressure on accommodation and other facilities at Anglesea Barracks increased as more and more soldiers were posted to the colony. The 1840s 'saw a spurt of building activity which was not repeated for another sixty years' (ACS 1992: 135).

The British Imperial troops played many roles in the Australian Colonies but an important one was the supervision of convicts and the guarding against their revolt. There are few examinations of the relationship between the military and convictism in Australia but Bogle (1999) has explored this briefly, concluding, perhaps not surprisingly, that 'the military was an inseparable part of the structure of the Australian penal colony 1788 to 1870' (Bogle 1999: 61–69).

The pressure on military facilities would certainly have been obvious in Hobart in 1845, probably (in the absence of relevant detailed statistics) the year of most stress, because this was the year of greatest military strength over the 1840–1851 period, with 17 Officers and 941 Other Ranks, and a 79 percent increase in Other Rank strength from the previous year (based on Austin 1979, app. 10: table of 'Locations and strengths: Van Diemen's Land on 1 January 1840–1851', reproduced in part in Morrison et al. 1989: 18, 'The strength of the Hobart troops on 1 January 1840–1851']). The

Anglesea Barracks Cells were proposed the following year.

From the evidence to hand, 1846, the year of highest military strength in the whole colony of Van Diemen's Land, was also the year of highest average desertion rate: 1.57 percent, for those three regiments for which statistics are available and were in that colony, for the period between 1843 and 1848 (Austin 1979, app. 12: Plate 11; and list of the *British Regiments in Tasmania* [VDL] by Capt Roberts pers. comm., n.d.). This figure would produce, when applied to the 2009 Other Ranks in the colony of Van Diemen's Land, about 32 deserters. This is about five times the previous year's figure and it was still prior to the gold rushes.

Such an apparent surge in this crime, which was the single largest factor for the imprisonment of soldiers in military prisons 'at home' in 1847 and 1848 (see Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 14), may also have been the case in the colonies. Certainly one authority, Sexton (1984: 14) indicates that desertion was a major crime in Australia just by the sheer numbers of men involved: '...about 500 men deserted from the various regiments between 1800 and 1850—and as many from 1850 [to] 1865', adding that 'most were apparently not caught'. He also notes that the 1850s saw greater desertion rates because of the gold rush (Morrison et al. 1989, app. A: 13–15).

So, whilst there may have been an impact on prison numbers, because most were not caught, the actual impact on soldier prisoner numbers is unknown without further research. However, calculations can be done on the basis of known percentages of posted strength of those serving in civil and military prisons for two of the regiments that served in Van Diemen's Land between 1848 and 1851. This produces figures of 285 men in civil and military prisons in 1848, about 167 in 1849 and about 92 in 1850.

The term of imprisonment for each of these soldier-prisoners is not defined, nor are the numbers in military prisons, but it is highly probable that prison accommodation was not necessary for each of these respective annual totals of prisoners at one time. It does seem likely, however, that the 12-prisoner holding capacity of the proposed 1846 Anglesea cells may have been tested quite regularly, and the two cells added in the planning was a sensible precaution especially when the prison was to serve the whole colony.

The prison seems to have been administered by regulations specially formulated to cater to the 'habits of soldiers', to ensure the effectiveness of the discipline intended by a sentence of imprisonment, and to ensure that a soldier, on release, would be sufficiently healthy to be, immediately, a useful member of his regiment (WO 1847).

No details of the prison's operations, except from these regulations, have been located.

This paucity of information affects our appreciation of how Jebb's classification system was applied at the Anglesea prison. Certainly some evidence of its use can be found in the large exercise yard—presumably to allow for some of the peculiarly military hard-labour tasks, such as the large gridded area required for shot drill—and the special facilities of the ground floor cells, the use of which could be seen as a privilege or a potential reward. Graded punishments and rewards are essential elements of a classification system. However, little documentary or other physical evidence was located to test the application of the classification system at this prison.

It ceased to be a prison with the departure of the Imperial troops in 1870.

FABRIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

For the original report (Morrison et al. 1989), physical or fabric evidence at the place was sought to verify and expand on the historical information, to establish the degree of change to the fabric related to each phase or the present integrity of the fabric of each phase, and particular aspects of the building's construction, especially those related to its Military Prison phase, were also investigated. The site was also examined for its archaeological potential and all of this information was collated and analysed to produce a Statement of Significance for the place as the brief for the original report required.

A comprehensive, comparative examination of all major features of contemporary military and civil prisons in Australia was beyond the capacity of both the original report and this paper. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that several contemporary prisons (at Sydney's Victoria Barracks, Pentonville, Old Melbourne Gaol and the Garrison Cells, Edinburgh Castle) were inspected at the time of the original report and a comparative table of 31 features (including cell size, various cell features and facilities, exercise-yard size and signalling system) was included in that report (Morrison et al. 1989: 131–136).

However, for the purposes of this paper only brief comments will be offered on some of the Anglesea Barracks Military Prison fabric and historical investigations, focussing on a selection of those aspects of the place that seem to make it distinctive in terms of comparable confinement institutions.

It should be noted that it is a fraught task to make comparisons between certain of the features of military and civil prisons in an effort to seek evidence of relative treatment of their respective occupants. Some features might be more reliable as comparative, contemporary indicators of treatment than others. For instance, the simple presence or absence of certain cell facilities may be easier to read as such indicators, rather than cell dimensions, especially where these facilities are seen to be either early or rare introductions in prisons overall. Although, cell facilities might also be subject to some degree to the same factors, cell size is a factor capable of great variability and the influences on the size chosen at a particular establishment at a certain time, are not all relevant to exploring whether military prisoners were treated better than civil prisoners.

Cell size in back-to-back, separate apartments, installed in several tiers, in a pre-existing building—the Port Arthur Penitentiary—and only used at night within a secondary penal settlement, or cell size in a Solitary Prison at Port Arthur, are a result of not just what might have been set down previously as appropriate or in some model, despite contemporary claims to the contrary. They may be determined as a result of whether the prisoner was to work in the cell, whether 'separation' was to occur for long periods, changes through discussion with Jebb and various, local, pragmatic design pressures (see Kerr 1984: 161–169). Nevertheless, it should be noted that compared to the three-cell sizes at Port Arthur (see Brand 1978: 164), only the Solitary Prison's long stay cells were larger than the Anglesea cells (3.23 m by 1.98 m [10 feet and 7 inches by 6 feet and 6 inches]).

Design and aesthetics

The original building is the only 'document' that establishes detailed information on the gaol as constructed. As noted, Victor's plans (Figs 2 & 3) depict a mirror image of what was built and without the variation in levels that appear to have resulted in building across the contours.

As discussed elsewhere in this paper, the Anglesea and

Victoria Barracks gaols have a remarkable similarity in their spatial planning and whilst it is known that other examples of such military prisons existed in the British Empire at the time, the survival of the two Australian examples, no matter how close their design might be or not be to other examples, does imbue each of them with greater significance as each building reinforces the importance of the other in a probable, small set of survivors of the type across the world.

The significance of the building's location within the Anglesea Barracks has been reinforced by the Victorian Regency style, grand Palladian design and presentation of the Provost Sergeant's Quarters, particularly the entrance (see Figs 4 & 5). (By contrast, in this same view, the Victoria Barracks building is domestic and unprepossessing.) The aspect of the cell wing to the Parade Ground seems to be intended to reflect the dominating and sober nature of the building as a warning (see Figs 1 and 5, of which the latter shows the relationship of the building to the Parade Ground on right side of picture).

The square facade of the Provost's Quarters is established as the dominant element by virtue of the three pilasters dividing the building into vertical proportions. This aspect of the design is reinforced by the arcade frieze and the simple, unadorned pediment. The force of the design is further underlined by the rusticated quoins that mark the entrance door and ground floor windows, each located in the centre of their respective wall panels. The pilaster element is repeated on each side of the first floor. As a result of the sloping site, the Cell Block is set half a floor below the building's main entrance and what would have been the dominating element of the building becomes subservient to the smaller Provost's Quarters.

The concept of a picturesque and imposing facade to a gaol entrance is not peculiar to this structure as it was a frequently indulged approach in contemporary English prisons (Evans 1982: 377–384).

The monumentality of the original building is reinforced by the use of sandstone as facing for all important external walls: the entrance or Provost Sergeant's Quarters and the facade opposite Barracks Square.

Heating or venting system

A limited investigation into the workings and design of the cell block heating or venting system was undertaken involving a beekeeper, his smoke and mechanical blowers. This inquiry was, unfortunately, inconclusive in terms of sorting out all the details of the system, probably because of damage sustained to the ducting system subsequent to original installation. This damage was due to changes to the roof and placement of various service lines in the same walls that carried flues, blocking, breaching and possibly even interconnecting these flues.

However, there was no fabric evidence observed in this investigation that leads to any other conclusion than that the system under discussion was installed when the building was first constructed. (For example, the furnace itself is stamped with the mark of the Board of Ordnance.)

The system as installed is significant in its individual adaptation of Jebb's principles and may have been intended to have the noted virtues of Jebb's Pentonville Prison (1842) heating and venting system (see Brand 1977: 50 a–b, 51–52) and which:

- was designed to confound prisoners communicating with each other through it;
- brought fresh, unheated air into each cell in the warmer months and warm air in the cooler months, venting foul air from each cell at all times; and

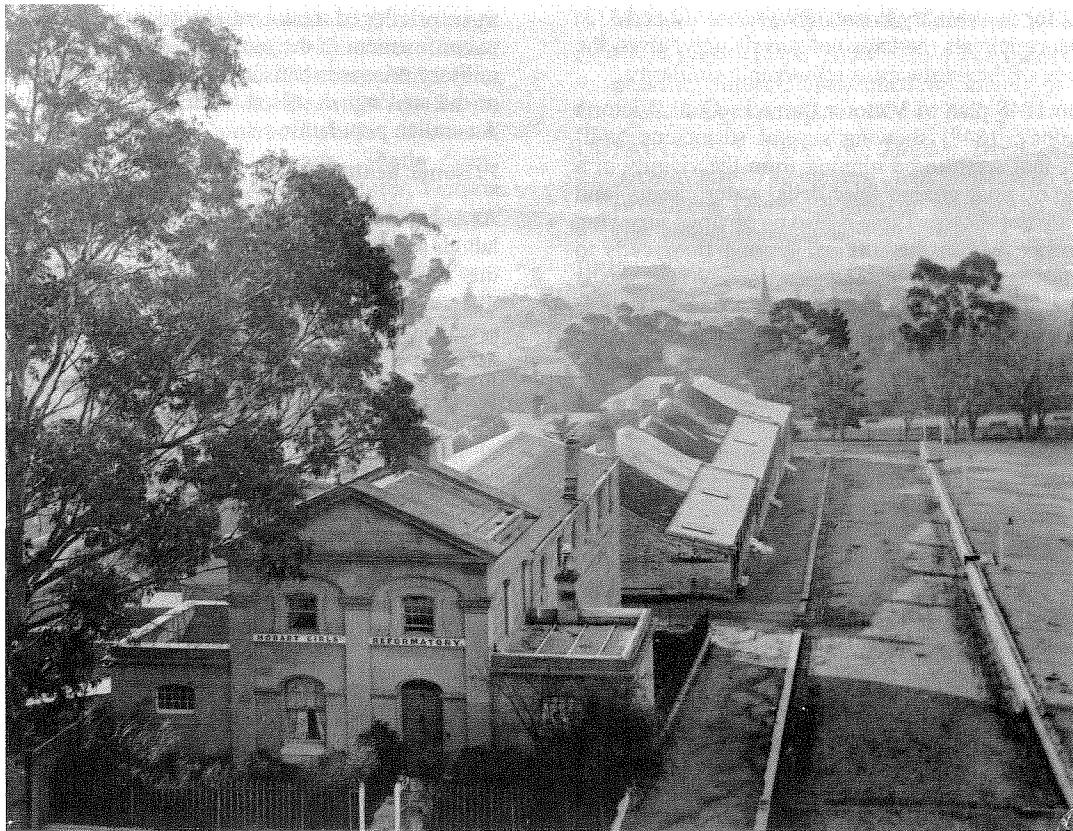


Figure 5. Anglesea Barracks Military Prison, front or southern elevation as it appeared during its Hobart Girls' Training School Reformatory phase and prior to its use by the Australian Engineers Corps. Note the relationship to Parade Ground on right-hand edge of picture. (1881–1910 photograph HBT: Barracks S1957.314. Collection: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery).

- warmed cells by causing warmed air to enter the cell from a high vent and cool or foul air to leave by a low vent on the opposite cell wall.

Such a Jebb system appears to have been installed in the Military Gaol at Anglesea but not in Australian convict establishments of the same era. No evidence is known to this writer of a cell heating system in an Australian convict prison of the same era. Perhaps Hobart's temperatures, of all Imperial prison locations of this era in Australia, were judged to be most like United Kingdom temperatures and so with soldiers as occupants and their good health a concern, temperatures needed to be moderated here with a heating system on the Pentonville model.

At Port Arthur, in Tasmania, the Model Prison contemporary with the Military Prison, also designed by Victor on Jebb's principles, has far less sophisticated ventilation and hydraulic systems and no apparent ducted heating system (Glover 1977: vol. 2, Model Prison). The Port Arthur Church, constructed in the mid-1830s, had an underfloor heating system but the separate cells of the Prisoners Barracks at that time did not. Also the Port Arthur 1850s Penitentiary had a ventilation system that was assisted to ensure a good draft to remove foul air, by being connected to a fireplace and flue, but this is not equivalent to the system at the Military Prison.

This distinction may indicate more favoured treatment for military prisoners as compared to their civilian counterparts.

Water closets

Between 1821 and 1829, the second Pennsylvania Penitentiary, at Cherry Hill in Philadelphia, was built to a radial design taken from England by the immigrant John de Haviland. This appears to have been the first prison actually built (others were planned in England from the eighteenth

century, see Evans 1982: 180–181 & 225–226) with lavatories inside each of the (400) separate cells. In this new architecture of the separate system, de Haviland recognised that a range of the facilities that otherwise might be communally available must now be provided for each prisoner in their respective cells (Evans 1982: 320, 337–338).

However, Jebb's 1842 Pentonville appears to be the first English example that included a lavatory in each separate cell (Evans 1982: 354–356):

Jebb had brought the art of designing the solitary cell to a new perfection. At Pentonville it was the key to the whole institution, a kind of chrysalis within which the transmutation of the criminal mind was to take place.

In a corner of each cell was 'a compact ablution unit with a tap feeding into a copper washbasin and a glazed earthenware lavatory' (Evans 1982: 354).

The six water closets, shown in the ground floor cells on the 1846 Victor plans of the Anglesea Barracks Military Prison (Figs 2 & 3) and imported from England, were installed, as evidence can still be seen of their former presence. Unfortunately, no water closets now survive in the building. They were originally designed, based on the plan, such that waste ran to an underground soil drain in the yard, and water was reticulated from a cistern located in the end of the cell block. Evidence for the plumbing arrangements for the basin and its tap also survive in tap heads and valve box cover plates in the ground floor cells. The former locations of the pan outlet pipes could be seen in cell external walls at floor level in 1989 but, unfortunately, more recent museum conversion work now hides the evidence of the waste pipes.

A comparison of the details of the plans of Jebb's Pentonville Model Prison tap, basin and lavatory (Evans 1982: Figs 187 & 188), with the details of these items shown on

Victor's plans for the Military Prison (PWD 266/312 and 313) and site evidence reveals, perhaps not surprisingly, given the apparent source of the hardware, a remarkable similarity.

Despite an 1848 plan of Victoria Barracks Gaol (Victoria Barracks, Sydney, 1848) showing several suspicious 'soil' drainage lines that seem to be running from the vicinity of a number of the original ground floor cells, water closets (and hand basins) are not shown. There is also no obvious surviving physical evidence within the original ground floor cells to support the former presence of these facilities. Whilst this is not conclusive, the lack of direct documentary and physical evidence suggests that these facilities were not installed in the Sydney building.

There is very little comparative evidence for the installation of toilets in the first half of the nineteenth century in Australian institutional or domestic buildings. The toilets at the time of their installation set this building in a very small group of buildings in Hobart and in the Australian Colonies. It was a relatively sophisticated and rare technology at this time and would have remained so until the 1860s (Historic Houses Trust of NSW 1984). Even by 1886 Hobart, with its 4 500 houses, only had 400 water closets connected to sewers and cesspools (Solomon 1976: 28).

It would probably be unusual also in that these then-rare appliances were installed in an institution, not in the more usual situation of the houses of the privileged. The first water closet, a Bramah, in the Australian Colonies was installed in Sydney's Government House in the 1820s (Historic Houses Trust of NSW 1984). Evidence of flushing toilets has also been reported (Connah 2000: 7) at Lake Innes House, near Port Macquarie, NSW, built by a ex-military man, Major Archibald Clunes Innes and lived in by him in the 1830s and 1840s—the water closets being built by 1839 (Connah 1997:32). Another identified water closet, dated to 1842 (Clive Lucas and Partners 1985: 19), appears to have been built in John Verge's 1840–1842 'Aberglasslyn' at Maitland, NSW (pers. comm. Megan Martin 16/11/2000; and Dupain 1978: 99, 106).

In terms of other Van Diemen's Land civil prisons, Port Arthur—a major Australian place of secondary punishment for transported convicts between 1830 and 1877—never had more than ablution buckets in its Penitentiary Separate Apartments, which were built in the 1850s, nor in its Separate Prison, built between 1848 and 1852 (site inspections and building plans, e.g. Weidenhofer 1981: 77 & 89; also Brand 1975: 19, 27 & 58).

Also, Campbell Street Gaol (originally the Prisoners Barracks or Penitentiary and then the Hobart Gaol), which operated between 1821 and c.1963 and was the primary holding facility in the Colony, and later the State, for almost twice as long as Port Arthur, never had toilets installed in its cells, just slops buckets. It was only when this Gaol was closed and the new Risdon Prison opened, that in-cell facilities such as flushing toilets became available to prisoners (pers. comm. Brian Rieusset 7/3/2001).

Kerr (1988: 78) observes that water closets, with hand basins above for flushing the bowls, were shown for each cell (as at Pentonville) on the 1858 plans of a civil prison, Melbourne's then proposed Pentridge Gaol, and also that it was probable that these were installed at that time (they do not now survive) as they are shown in the 4 October 1873 issue of the *Australian Sketcher*. He also notes that this 1858 Pentridge (B Division) sanitation service is 'likely to prove the first such installation in a prison in the Australian colonies'. However, as evidenced here, the Anglesea Barracks Military Prison sanitation arrangements predate by a decade the Pentridge facility.

Here again seems to be an example of deliberate and the

more privileged treatment accorded soldiers over others held in confinement in the same era. Also in this case, at this time, military prisoners had, in this particular respect, in this state-of-the-art English prison, facilities in advance of the general Australian population.

Prisoner health

As has been indicated above, the military prisoner was given labour that would not publicly degrade soldiers. It was not just the design of the prison and its facilities that ensured differences in treatment between the military and civil prisoner. The matter of prisoner health seems to be another preferential treatment distinction.

A system of official visitors, including a Chaplain and Medical Officer, health checks and a strict diet, were all part of the army's attempt to ensure that at the end of their respective sentences, military prisoners were fit to rejoin their regiment and undertake normal duties.

The resources available for the original project did not allow the investigation of how this operated at Anglesea Barracks Military Prison. Nor did it allow for a comparison of any findings on this with the intentions of civil officials and the reality of the health of civil convicts during or at the end of their sentences.

Nevertheless, the words devoted to the army's need to keep the military prisoner healthy in Jebb's 1849 *Report on the discipline and management of the Military Prisons* compared with the available information on the treatment of civil prisoners at this time (including various sets of Prison Regulations and their practice, reports, and other sources and voices), suggests, on an intuitive basis, that the health of military prisoners was better cared for.

This is an aspect of site history to which surviving fabric evidence at this site might not be expected to contribute in significant ways. It is unlikely, for instance, that privy waste, related to the 1846–1870 period, one of the few non-documentary sources of evidence likely to assist here (in terms of diet and health), still survives in situ.

This preliminary inquiry suggests it is an area for further, primarily documentary, investigation.

CONCLUSION

This examination has revealed how the state-of-the-art Anglesea Barracks Military Prison reflects larger changes going on in the British Empire, the change of the primary destination for convicts sent to the Australian Colonies and the consequence of this, in the increase in soldier numbers required to cope with higher numbers of Van Diemen's Land convicts. It has revealed new approaches adopted across the Empire at this time in dealing with military prisoners.

The study of this rare type of structure on an Australian and world basis, both in terms of those originally constructed and likely survivors, also provides useful information on 1840s penological thinking by the principal architect of the separate system, and the very different and privileged way soldiers were treated in their confinement when compared with others incarcerated at the time.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
PWD	Public Works Department
VDL	Van Diemen's Land
WO	(Great Britain and Ireland) War Office, London

NOTES

1. This paper differs from the version delivered at the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology and Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology's *Archaeology, Heritage and Tourism Conference*, 27 November to 2 December 2000, Adelaide, as that version also examined the later and longer use as a reformatory for girls, 1881–1905.

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