## THE SLAUGHTER POINT SITE:

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTI-GATION OF A SITE ASSOCIATED WITH THE BATAVIA SHIPWRECK.

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In ±969 (1) the Dutch East Indiaman 'Batavia' ran aground in the Abrolhos Islands off the coast of Western Australia. The shipwrecked survivors came ashore on the remote and desolate islands of the Wallabi Group. The ship's commandeur (2), leaving 268 people marooned on the islands, sailed in a ship's boat to Indonesia for help. In his absence the stranded community was ravaged by a mutiny that has few parallels in Maritime History. On one hand were the conspirators who methodically murdered any who might interfere with their plan to seize the rescue vessel and use it as a privateer. On the other was a band of loyalists that made their camp on a neighbouring island and not only resisted the mutineers attacks, but successfully foiled their plan. When the commandeur returned with the rescue vessel he found that 40 people had drowned while swimming from the wreck, 20 had died from illness and disease, and 125 men, women and children had been murdered by the mutineers.

In 1963 the Batavia wreck was discovered on Morning Reef and nearby Beacon Island was identified as Batavia's Graveyard, the survivors main camp and the scene of the infamous mutiny. Research into the history of the disaster led to the discovery of a crude stone structure on West Wallabi Island. Subsequent archaeological excavations in 1964, 1965, 1967 and 1974 established the site as being the loyalists camp. This paper presents the site's historical background and discusses the results of the previous excavations in the light of the data gathered in 1974.

## SETTING AND DESCRIPTION

The site is located near Slaughter Point (3) on West Wallabi Island. It is situated on shrub-covered, slightly sloping terrain and consists of a rectangular-shaped enclosure that measures 3 by 8 metres. Across the interior is a partition wall that divides the structure into two adjoining compartments.

The walls were built entirely of stacked slabs of limestone.

No mortar was used in the masonry, nor were the slabs modified. The walls have collapsed in recent years, but have since been reconstructed. The original height of the walls was probably .7 metres and the width .5 metres.

Since the site's discovery in 1964 and the subsequent appearance of popular publications describing the mutiny, it has been commonly referred to as Wiebbe Hayes' Fort. Hayes being the leader of the loyalists.

The use of the word 'fort' to describe the structure is unfortunate as it is both misleading and inaccurate. In actuality, the site is a roofless, unimposing but built of limestone slabs. It does possess defensive capabilities, but the defenses are subtle and only become apparent after some scrutiny. For instance, the site commands a good view of the surrounding sea and countryside, and at the same time it is naturally camouflaged by vegetation from passing boats. It is protected on the seaward side by an extremely shallow reef and mudflat that is generally not navigable by even small boats. It is also stratigecally close to a freshwater well, which are extremely rare in the low islands of the Wallabi Group.

## SOURCES

- All dates are in the new style calendar.
- The title 'commandeur' designates the senior Dutch East India Company officer aboard the Batavia. It is not to be confused with the ship's captain or sailing master.
- Contrary to popular belief the name of Slaughter Point has no connection with the Batavia mutiny. It was named in 1840 by the British explorer L. J. Stokes after a hunting party killed a large number of tammars or dwarf wallabis there.

On June 4th, 1629 the Dutch East Indiaman 'Batavia' struck Morning Reef, thus setting the stage for the infamous mutiny on Batavia's Graveyard (Beacon Island). The ship's commandeur, Francisco Pelsaert, maintained a journal of the entire incident. The journal includes accounts of the shipwreck, the rescue voyages, the mutiny, and the subsequent trials of the mutineers.

E. D. Drok has translated the journal and it has been further researched and expanded upon by H. Drake-Brockman (1963). Their work has been an invaluable aid to the Batavia investigations, especially the present study as their volume contains important references to Weibbe Hayes and his atoup's existence on West Wallabi Island.

Presented below is a synopsis of these relevant points.

Four days after the wreck a party, including Paisaert, set out in a ship's boat to seek help from Indonesia. They left behind 268 people (page 50). A week later the senior officer amongst the survivors and the leader of the impending mutiny, Jeronimus Cornelisz, sent Wiabbe Hayes and a group consisting primarily of soldiers to the High (Wallabi) Islands in search of water. Presumably the soldiers were loyal to Pelsaert, so Cornelisz's aim was to be rid of them by sending them on a mission where they would surely perish. Instead of perishing, the soldiers found the High Islands, compared to Batavia's Graveyard, to be rich in natural food resources, including fresh water wells. They mistakenly assumed the wells contained salt water, because the water level rose and fell with the tides. It was not until three weeks later did they finally learn otherwise (p. 149). Then, on July 9th, according to a preamaged plan, Hayes sent up smoke signals indicating his party had found drinking water (p. 143 & 252). On Batavia's Graveyard, the signals were disregarded, as the conspirators had put the mutiny into motion.

Since the mutiny occurred during Pelsaert's absence, his journal does not chronologically describe the events. His account was reconstructed from testimony at the mutineer's trials. Hence, the exact sequence of events is often difficult to discern. For this discussion the

various incidents are presented in the order they most likely occurred.

As the number of killings escalated, small groups of innocent survivors attempted to flee Batavia's Graveyard on rafts and timbers. Many were overtaken by the mutineers and muraered, though some managed to escape to Hayes' island and warn him of the situation (p. 143 & 252).

After hearing of these developments Hayes' men
"made themselves ready to counter-attack if they (the mutineers)
should come to fight them, and made weapons from hoop-iron
and nails, which they bound to sticks " (p.143-144).

Rather than an overt attack, Cornelisz opening gambit against the loyalists was a subtle one. He sent a letter to the five or six French mercenary soldiers that formed part of Hayes' company. It was a treacherous note designed to divide and weaken the defenders. In it Cornelisz unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Frenchmen to abandon the loyalists and join forces with the mutineers (p. 148–149).

Realizing Hayes may foil their plans to capture the rescue vessel and use if as a privatively the conspirators began earnestly working towards his demise (p. 252).

Therefore they (the mutineers) made themselves ready to fight them, but they could not win against the defenders, and returned without success. A few days after that they again made themselves ready with all their Folk they had at that time, who only numbered 32, then again their party had no success (p.252-253).

Few details are recorded for these confrontations, but subsequent events suggest they were decisive victories for Hayes and his men.

On September 1, Cornelisz personally visited the loyalists. He offered to give them cloth and other gifts in exchange for "the little yawl that some of those who had escaped had taken with them" (p.253). His true purpose was "... to surprise them by treason at an opportune time" (p.253).

The following day Cornelisz returned with the promised items and an escort of five of his lieutenants. The main body of his men remained on an islet offshore Hayes' island. Cornelisz distributed the cloth amongst the defenders saying"...he would harm none, but that it had only been on account of the water he had fought them" (p. 253). As he did this, his lieutenants attempted to bribe the defenders"... promising to them 6000 guilders if they would take their (the mutineers) side, also that they should have a share in the jewels" (p. 253). Realising the mutineers intent the defenders overpowered them and tied them up, though one escaped. Fearing an attack was imminent, the loyalists, not wanting to be hampered by prisoners, killed the escort leaving Cornelisz alive (p. 253).

During his negotiations with Hayes' company, Cornelisz had used the predicant or ship's chaplain as a go-between. Later, after his rescue, the predicant wrote hom describing

... how miraculously God has blessed the good ones who were together (the defenders), with water, with fowls, with fish, with other beasts, with eggs in basketfulls: there were also some beasts which they called cats (4) (Wallabies) and with as nice a taste as ever I tasted (p. 267).

Meanwhile, the remaining mutineers on the nearby isle postponed their attack and elected Wouter Loos their new leader (p. 142 & 253).

On September 17, the mutineers launched their final attack against the defenders.

Although after two hours of fighting they did not gain any advantage than that they gravely wounded four men... of whom one, later, has died. At the same time or hour that they were fighting we appeared with the yacht (the rescue vessel 'Sardam'). Whereupon a great joy arose amongst the defenders, whereas on the contrary the hearts of the murderers were smitten with fear, seeing that their chance had passed and their plan was ineffective (p. 253-254).

 What the predicant refers to as 'cats' are actually tammars or dwarf wallables (Macropus eugenii houtmani) after which the islands are named. The "Sardam" anchored near the High Island and Pelsaert went ashore with food and drink.

... and at the same time we (the rescuers) saw a very small yawl with four men rowing around the northerly point; one of them named Wiebbe Hayes, sprang ashare and ran towards me (Pelsaert), calling from afar, "Welcome, but go back aboard immediately, for there is a party of scoundrels on the islands near the wreck, with two sloops, who have the intention to seize the yacht. – Furthermore, told that he was captain over 47 souls, who kept themselves so long on one island in order to save their lives, as they (the scoundrels) had murdered more than 125 persons, men, women and children as well.... (p. 142).

Later that day Pelsaert apprehended some of the mutineers that had participated in the final attack and Hayes brought Cornelisz aboard the 'Sardam' (p.142–143).

The next morning, before daylight, Pelsaert went to "... the island of Wiebbe Hayes and got ten soldiers to whom I (Pelsaert) have weapons and muskets and thus we sailed to the island named Batavia's Graveyard ... where the rest of the scoundrels were, in order to capture and secure them " (p.144). Disheartened by the sight of Pelsaert and an armed party the remaining mutineers last their courage and were quietly "bound hand and foot" (p.145).

## Previous Archaeological Research

In 1963, while researching the background of the Batavia disaster. Edwards (1966, 191) found that the ruins of unidentified stone huts had been noted on West Wallabi Island in 1879 (Forrest n.d.). This and also information on ruin's location from local fishermen led him to hypothesise that the huts represented Wiebbe Hayes' camps.

The following year, he visited the Wallabi Islands with a group of students from Aquinas College to look for the ruins. After locating them (the inland site and the coastal or Slaughter Point site) the Aquinas group converted Edwards' initial hypothesis into two research goals:

- To establish the ruins were related to Wiebbe Hayes' occupation of the island, and if so
- To determine the subsistence diet of the castaways.

Towards these ends, they excavated narrow trenches along the walls of the coastal structure. Their excavation revealed sherds of Rhenish stoneware. Such sherds are from what is commonly called Bellamine jugs. These jugs are among the more distinctive relics to be raised from the Batavia shipwreck. The Aquinas group also discovered iron nails, two subsurface fire pits, and the burnt remains of tammars, seals, shearwater, and oysters. From these results, particularly the Rhenish stoneware, they tentatively concluded the site had been occupied by Hayes or his Dutch contemporaries (O'loughlin 1964, 34-39). In addition to this excavation they also describe several other features in this portion of the island a number of stone fireplaces along the coast, the wells, the caire and the inland structure. Since it is situated on exposed bedrock, the inland site has never been excavated. Its origin is not known.

The next year, Aquines College sponsored another expedition tovWellabi Group (O'loughlin 1966 11-13). Again they focused their investigation on the cosetal structure, where they excavated the interior and an extensive area surrounding the site. Their finds included more sherds of Rhenish stoneware, a ladle roughly fashioned in lead, a large quantity of iron fragments, some of which were bent into the shape of fish hooks, and the burnt bones of primarily tammars. The Rhenish potsherds fit together with those found in the previous year. Lead ladles have been salvaged from the Batevia wreck. The one from West Wallebi Island appears to have been crudely fashioned in the general shape of those from the wreck. Though they don't elaborate on their date, Aquinas College's most significant discovery was that the collected food remains rsflected the subsistence of approximately 40 men for three months. They also point out how the site's location corresponds to that given in Pelsaert's journal. Relevant to this is the proximity of the wells and the presence of Tattler Island off Slaughter Point. Presumably this smell islet is where the main body of mutineers remeined when Cornelisz visited the loyalist's camp for the last time. The combined evidence from the second Aquinas College excevetion confirmed the findings of the first and established the conetel site as having been occupied by Hayes and his company.

In 1967 the W.A. Museum conducted a survey and excavation of sites related to the Batavia shipwreck. They re-excavated portions of the interior of the site on Slaughter Point and also tue tranches in the nearby vicinity. The results of this excevation were never

compiled into a report. Much of the data has since been lost or is in a confused state. An incomplete catalogue of artifacts from this expedition indicates a large number of unidentified iron fragments and bones were found (W.A. Museum, n.d.) The catalogue lists two artifacts of special interest: a lead ladle and a thin, square piece of lead. The ladle is roughly made and is similar to the one discovered by Aquinas College. The smell piece of lead is important because pieces identical in size and shape have been found on Beacon Island and at the wreckeite. They are believed to have been used as weights for measuring small quantities on a balancing scale.

In 1974, the W.A. Museum conducted an archaeological survey of the stone structures in the Wallabi Group that possibly date from the Batavia era (Bevacqua n.d.) Of the five structures included in the survey, only the Slaughter Point eite can be definitely attributed to the Batavia survivors.

## 1974 EXCAVATIONS

The 1974 investigation was essentially a test excavation. The aim was to sample the range of archaeological data that was present in the site. The results were then used to verify and expand upon the findings made by previous excavators.

### PROCEDURE

The site was first cleared of obscuring vegetation and raked clean. The interior of the site and also the surrounding area searched for surface artifacts. A map, including plan and side views was drawn with tape and compass at a scale of 1:50.

Initially, two exploratory meter squares (#1 & #5) were excavated with trowel and brush. Later square #5 was extended into a North-South trench (Squares 5-9) by alternately using shovels and trowels. Also two trenches (A & B) that had been dug by the 1967 excavators were reopened and slightly expanded.

An attempt was made to excavate the site according to natural stratigraphy, but due to a lack of well defined strata, the excavations were done according to arbitrary levels.

All excavated soil was sifted in .65cm screens with all midden and artifactual materials being saved for later analysis.

No major archaeological features, such as fire hearths, refuse pits, or burials were discovered. Scattered flecks of charcoal were noted in the N-S trench, but no concentrations suitable for radiocarbon dating were observed. Radiocarbon dating is generally incapable of rendering precise dates for post-medieval samples.

All records of this excavation, including maps and photographs will be kept on permanent file in the Maritime Archaeology Department of the W.A. Museum.

## STRATIGRAPHY

The deposit consisted of homogenous sand and semi-fossilised gastropods. A slight color difference could be distinguished from the top of the deposit to the underlying substrata, but interphases were not legible. Hence, no stratigraphic interpretation can be offered. The uppermost 10cm yielded the most artifacts, though some were recovered from as deep as 20cm below the surface.

Aquinas College (O'loughlin 1964, 36) offers approximately the same observations on stratigraphy, but they noted that the base of the stone walls was 20-26cm below the ground level, i.e. at the same depth that yielded the pottery fragments and two nails. This indicates the potsherds were probably deposited around the time the site was constructed.

#### MIDDEN

During the 1974 excavation, a considerable amount of midden or food remains were recovered in the screening of the excavated soil. This midden, composed entirely of faunal material, was subjected to a cursory identification by Rob Rippingale, a biologist with W.A.I.T. During his analysis, special emphasis was placed upon identifying the burnt or fire-blackened items, that is items most likely related to human activity. The results of his analysis indicate tammars, a dwarf form of wallabi that is native to the Wallabi Islands, were the primary source of protein for the site's inhabitants. His results further revealed that mutton birds, gulls, crabs, oysters and other shellfish made contributions to their diet, whereas seal remains were present, but not in significant numbers. It must be remembered all these sources of food occur naturally in the islands and would be readily available to the site's inhabitants.

Great difficulty was encountered in determining the role of shellfish in their diet. The site is situated on a fossilised beach that consists primarily of sand and small gastropods. Hence, it is difficult to distinguish between naturally occurring shells and ones transported through human agency.

An important absence in the midden materials is the dearth of fish remains, which tentatively suggests the inhabitants did not possess the means for procuring fish.

Aquinas College's 1964 and 1965 excavations yielded approximately the same range of food remains. Burnt tammar bones were the dominant form of midden and also present were the bones of seals and mutton birds as well as oyster shells. Interestingly, no fish remains were reported in these early excavations.

1974 INVENTORY OF ARTIFACTS FROM THE Stangfale Bent Scho

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WALLE MAL #	TYPE	MATERIAL	PROVENTENCE	DIMENSIONS IN CM (length x width x	(length x width x
23	•				thickness)
н	nail	iron	surface square 1	$2.5 \times 1.0 \times 0.7$	
7	fragment	bottle			
		glass	surface square 9	3.0 x 1.0 x 0.4	
3A-F	fragments	iron	surface trench B	4.0-2.7 x 3.0-2.2 x 0.4-0.1	x 0.4-0.1
<b>13</b> 0	nail	iron	sq 1	2.1 x 1.4 x 1.0	
S	nail	iron	sq 1	2.5 x 1.3 x 1.4	
6A-C	fragments	iron	sq 1	2.6-2.3 x 1.8-0.4 x 0.6-0.2	x 0.6-0.2
7	nail	iron	sq. 5	3.8 x 1.6 x 0.8	
ω	nail	iron	sq 5	3.0 x 2.0 x 2.0	2
on a	nail	iron	SQ 5	3.0 x 1.2 x 0.8	
10	1 ump	lead	sq. 5	$2.6 \times 2.0 \times 0.6$	
11	fragment	iron	sg 5	3.0 x 2.5 x 0.1	
12	nail	iron	9 ps	5.5 x 1.0 x 0.6	
13	nail	iron	9 Ds	$2.0 \times 2.0 \times 1.0$	
14	knife handle	iron	9 bs	10.0 × 5.0 × 0.5	
15A-E	fragments	iron	9 bs	5.0-2.1 x 1.1-0.7 x 1.6-0.3	x 1.6-0.3
16	nail	iron	8 ps	$2.2 \times 1.1 \times 0.8$	
17	fragment	iron	sq 8	2.6 x 2.2 x 0.6	
18	nail	iron	8d 9	4.5 x 1.0 x 1.0	
19	fragment	tron	. 6 bs	4.5 x 2.5 x 0.5	í?
20	nail	iron	trench A	2.6 × 0.1 × 0.4	

ARTIFACT #	TYPE	MATERIAL	PROVENIENCE	DIMENSIONS IN CM
21	nail	iron	trench A	3.0 x 2.0 x 1.2
22A-B	fragments	iron	trench A	7.0-5.0 x 3.0-2.5 x 0.5-0.3
23	lump	lead	trench A	8.0 × 5.0 × 0.6
24	1 ump	lead	trench A	2.7 x 1.1 x 0.6
25	remmant of barrel hoop	iron	trench B	19.0 × 3.2 × 1.8
26 A-Q	fragments of barrel hoop	iron	trench B	10.0-2.5 x 3.2-1.8 x 1.5-0.2
N-8 LZ	fragments of barrel hoop	iron	trench B	9.0-2.6 x 3.2-0.6 x 1.2-0.1

## ARTIFACTS

The majority of the twenty-seven artifacts discovered in this investigation were made of iron and were predominately of two types; nails and fragmented portions of barrel hoops.

The 12 nails, though severely corroded, appear to have been squareshafted with well-defined heads.

The barrel hoops, when exposed in situ, were 10-30cm long remnants, but when removed, they disintegrated into numerous small pieces.

One exception was artifact #25 which was removed intact.

Approximately 13 fragments of severley corroded iron were also present in our inventory of artifacts. Though no definitively identifiable, their small, flattish nature indicates possibly they were fragments of barrel hoops.

Two unique iron items were artifact #14 and #17. The first consisted of three fragments that fit together to form what is probably a knife or sword handle, and the second was a small fragment with folded edge that resembled a lip. The function of the latter is uncertain.

Three lumps of lead were collected. One, artifact #23, exhibited the characteristics of lead that had been melted and then poured or spilt on sandy soil. On the upper surface the flow lines were clearly visible in the solidified metal and on the bottom were particles of sand that had become encrusted as the molted lead congealed. Another lump, #10, was a small, amorphous piece with a tiny gastropod embedded in it. Probably this represents spatter from when the molten lead had been poured. The third piece of lead was flattish piece that had been folded into a double thickness and cut along one edge. These scraps of lead are probably the waste resulting from the manufacture of the lead ladles found in 1965 and 1967.

In addition to the iron and lead materials, a single fragment of glass was found, artifact #2. It was heavily patinated piece of clear green bottle glass.

#### DISCUSSION

Three forms of evidence have been used to establish the site as being the camp of Wiebbe Hayes: ertifacts, food remains, and the site's geographical location.

The artifactual evidence, particularly the Rhenish stonoware (1964 and 1965) and the lead weight (1967) are among the range of relics associated with the Batavia shipwreck. The iron barrel—hoops and nails are important because Pelsaert's journal describes how the loyalists fashioned weapons from them. The lead ladles are interesting because they appear to have been made at the site, but they resemble and possibly served the same function as the ones reised from the Batavia. Also significant is that no artifacte have been found that would indicate an alternative interpretation.

Aquinas College (1966), though they don't explain their method of analysis, concludes that the food remains recovered in 1964 and 1965 represent the subsistence of 40 people for a three month period. It is also significant that the range of midden generally coincides with the diet described by the predicant (see page 3 in historical background).

The geographical configuration of Slaughter Point on West Wallabi Island roughly corresponds to the descriptions in Pelsesrt's journal (O'loughlin 1964, 1966).

This last form of evidence has been the subject of considerable dispute in the past (see Drake-Brockman and Drok, 1963). The present author's interest is essentially archaeological, hence, this

paper has evoided the controversy that arises from the geographical descriptions in Pelsaert's journal. Two points are worthy of mention. First, East and West Wallabi Islands are the only islands where tammers occur in the Abrolhos. Second, these two islands are the only islands in the Wallabi Group that possess freshwater wells. These points certainly narrow the site of Hayes' camp to either East or West Wallabi Island. The excavations in 1964, 1965, 1967, and 1974 have further narrowed the camp site to the stone structure on Slaughter Point on West Wallabi Island.

It is a popular misconception that erchaeologists are only concerned with the collecting of artifacts. In reality, they use the artifacts and other evidence as the basis for inferring the behaviour of the site's past occupants. For instance, the food remains from the Slaughter Point site are all from species that naturally occur on the island. A great deal of information can be extrapolated from this. It is easy to picture the loyalists arriving on the island and being obligated to seek out unfemiliar sources of food, such as the tammers, and relying upon them for subsistence. They gathered oysters from the rocky beaches and hunted the islands for seals, tammars, and birds. This hunting and gathering lifestyle they adopted is similar to the traditional one practiced by the Australian Aboriginas. Generally speaking, people who rely on such a lifestyle are loosely organised into nomadic bands. When food became scarce, they simply moved on, but Hayes' group was more or less sedentary for three months.

Their stay must have strained the local food resources. It is not difficult to imagine the closest eyster beds becoming depleted

cr the seals and tammers becoming more wary of hunters. The group would need to traval further afield and hunt with greater determination. Related to these developments is the fact that the loyalist's numbers were gradually increasing as more people fled the mutineers' wrath. The expanding population would not only hasten the depletion of the local food sources, but have other ramifications as well. Aquines College (0'loughlin 1965, 35) has surmised that the eastern room of the site was an addition to the original structure. This is based on the observation that most of the occupational evidence comes from the site's western end. It is possible that the room was built to accommodate the additional people. O'loughlin (1966, 12) also reports finding from fragments bent into the shape of fish-hooks. This may reflect an attempt to exploit new sources of subsistence. Based on the lack of fish remains, it seems it was an unsuccessful one.

Coinciding with the problems of procuring food for a growing population, was the threat of a surprise attack by the mutineers.

This is strikingly expressed in the location of the camp. It is situated strategically close to a freshwater well and in a position that takes advantage of natural defences, such as the hezerdous reefs that surround Slaughter Point.

The concern for defence is reflected in the weapons they made from barrel hoops and nails, and probably accounts for the social atructure of the group. When Pelsaert returned, Hayes identified himself as the captain of the group. From this statement, it can be inferred that there was a hierarchy amongst the company. It was

probably patterned after the military chain of command as a good many of the defenders were soldiers.

The concern for defence undoubtedly prompted them to post lookouts that would warn them of the mutineers' approach. This would create a division of labor. While a part of the company engaged in defensive duties, the others would devote their energies to procuring and preparing food for the entire camp.

## Conclusion

This study has provided a fascinating insight into the experiences of a band of castaways literally marooned on a desert isle. Confronted with an alien environment they were forced to devise means of procuring food from an unfamiliar range of plants and animals. Relying on these natural food resources they adopted a hunting and gathering lifestyle. Being without the technological advantages of their time, they fashioned crude weapons and implements from their meagre stock of raw materials.

As their numbers increased population problems probably arose. Population pressure prompted them to expand their camp and may have hastened the depletion of the more accessible food resources, thus compelling them to forage further afield and to explore new sources of subsistence.

Attacked at least three times by the mutineers,
the over-riding theme to the loyalists' existence was
defence. With it foremost in their minds they chose
the site for their fortified camp. It also undoubtedly
caused a division of labour. A part of the company
would be engaged as lookouts or in other defensive duties,

whereas the others would devote their energies to procuring food. A division such as this would require the foragers to increase their efficiency in order to furnish food for the entire company. Another ramification of being defence-oriented was that the group's social structure was patterned after the military chain of command.

## RECOMMENDATION

This crude structures, built to shelter the castaways from the attacks of the elements and mutineers, eloquently express the agony and anguish endured by the Batavia survivors.

Hence, it is emphatically urged that the site on Slaughter Point come under the protection of the Maritime Archaeology Act of 1973. This act empowers the Director of the W.A. Museum to protect historic maritime sites for posterity. Only through a careful preservation program can the site be saved for future generations to study and enjoy.

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