

CHAPTER III

THE *JARAWA* TERRITORY: NEIGHBOURING COMMUNITIES AND PRE-INDEPENDENCE MANIFESTATIONS

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A careful reading of different historical documents and literatures on Andaman Islands reveals that both territory and the identity of Jawara were not so static. During colonial period also, the Jawara territory was not a fixed geographical area. However, due to different historical specific and contextual specific reasons, it was subjected to continuous change and shift. So, for further understanding about the notion of Jawara territory and its pre-independence manifestations, one has to go deep into the history of colonising the Andaman Islands, dynamicity of relationship with the different native tribes and policy of the colonial rulers towards the Jawara.

According to Man (1883), *Jarawa* are those native individuals inhabiting Little Andaman and southern portion of Great Andaman. He mentioned that during his trips Little Andaman also visited, but all our efforts to conciliate the *Jarawa* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless (Man, 1883: xxii). So, together termed Onge and *Jarawa* as '*Jarawa*. The term 'Onge' may be not in use to refer the inhabitants of the Little Andaman during that period.

Today the area which is inhabited by *Jarawa* is a recent phenomenon, probably not more than two centuries. According to the study of Brown (1922), *Jarawa* were distributed in Rutland Island and Southern parts of Great Andaman Island (Map-3). Due to different colonial forces and other different reasons, they were pushed further northwards and occupy the present position. He also stated that 'there can be no doubt the *Jarawa* are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the Little Andaman and thrust themselves in upon the inhabitants of Rutland Islands and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms' (Brown 1922, 13).

Mukhopadhyay (2010) stated that only in recent years we came to know from the people that the *Jarawa* call themselves as 'Ang'. It has been argued that Aka-Bea, one of the Great Andamanese tribes used to refer the 'Ang' as 'Jarawa'. So, Brown (1922) rightly assumed that 'the natives of Little Andaman refer to themselves as Onge (men). It is probable that the so-called *Jarawa* of the South Andaman have the same word'. As the present author has worked both among the *Jarawa* and Onge tribes, consequently it has been found during the fieldwork that the Onge's pronunciation of the word 'Onge' is quite close to the *Jarawa*'s pronunciation of the word 'Ang'. Cipriani (1966) during his fieldwork in 1950s found that *Jarawa* were living in the dense tropical rain forest of South and Middle Andaman. He also stated that a few roads radiated from Port Blair, but none of the roads penetrate more than twenty kilometre and a well maintained police cordon were stretched across the island from east to west to prevent *Jarawa* infiltration.

So, from the above discussion it seems that during last decade of eighteenth century (1790s) the *Jarawa* territory was spread over the vast areas from Rutland Island to South Andaman (including the coastal areas Port Blair). But when second time the penal settlement was established in 1858, no *Jarawa* were found near the coastal areas of Port Blair. They were confined inside dense tropical forest areas of South Andaman and the entire coastal areas was under the control of Great Andamanese. It was assumed that *Jarawa* faced the problem of depopulation due to some diseases acquired from the people of the first penal settlement, thus they were pushed into the deep forest by the Great Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*). Situation changed drastically when second time the penal settlement was established at Port Blair in 1858. At that time the *Jarawa* were restricted to be inhabited in the interior, hilly and dense tropical rain forest areas of South Andaman. They were almost surrounded by Great Andamanese who were residing at all the coastal areas. But after 1858, the Great Andamanese population started decline rapidly mainly due to spreading of some contagious diseases acquired from

the settlers. In 1901, numbers of Great Andamanese was reduced to only 600 and in 1961 to a mere 19 (table-1.1). Such a rapid decline in the Great Andamanese population also created a vacuum space for the *Jarawa* at South and Middle Andaman areas.

The movement of the *Jarawa* in the Middle Andaman seems to be a recent phenomenon. Middle Andaman was never known to be part of *Jarawa* territory until recently. This area was the exclusive territory of Great Andamanese tribes like *Oko Juwoi*, *Aka Kol* and *Aka Kede* etc (Map-3.2). The period when *Jarawa* entered into the Middle Andaman Islands is not exactly known but it can assumed to be somewhere in 1890 to 1910 (Portman, 1899 and Brown 1922). One of the earliest settlements in Middle Andaman Island was Bonnington (present day Mayabunder) and a little village called 'Webi' inhabited by Keren community (settled from Myanmar) created in 1925. Some old Keren still recount incidents of sighting *Jarawa* around their village and nearby mangrove creeks. During the second world war when the Andaman and Nicobar islands were Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the *Jarawa* territories of South Andaman was indiscriminately bombarded which pushed *Jarawa* to spread different areas of South and Middle Andaman areas to occupy the present position.

3.1 Earliest Contact with Jawara (Pre-colonial period)

The Andaman Islands have found place in the writings of travellers, sailors and traders since long, much before the colonial control over these Islands. For example, the description about the Island of Buzacat by Claudius Ptolemy in the Second Century A.D. was probably the Andaman Islands. While the Chinese mentioned about this archipelago, in their writings during the Seventh Century, while the Arabs in the Ninth Century and the Europeans in the Thirteen-Century (Mathur, 1968). The significant theme in almost all the above mentioned accounts was the cruel nature and the demonic appearance of the cannibal inhabitants of the Islands. The Arabs mentioned that "the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw... their

countenance and eyes frightful; their feet are very large ...” (Portman, 1899:51). Marco Polo’s description was also quite interesting: “The people are no better than wild beasts and I assure you all the men of this Island of Angamanian have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs ... they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race" (Portman, 1899: 52). Passing by traders and visiting travellers might have observed the Andaman Islanders from distant places which might have led them about this illusion about the physical feature, appearance, and nature of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. On the other hand, there was no such confusion in the neighbouring countries of South-East Asia. Again, according to Portman (1899), the Andaman Islands were not as isolated as the travellers have depicted about it. Pirates from the neighbouring South-East Asian countries often used to roam the shores and creeks of these Islands as harbours or hiding place. They often looted ships sailing through the sea and sometimes they engaged themselves to collect edible birds' nest, shark fin, sea cucumber and tortoise shell etc. The most valuable catch for them were the Andaman Islanders who were sold as slaves in different parts of South-East Asia.

3.2 Contacts and territory during Colonial Occupation (1789 to 1947)

Historical and Anthropological accounts of different authors like Mouat (1863), Man (1883), Portman (1899), Kloss (1903), Brown (1922) and Cipriani (1966) revealed that the geographical area of *Jarawa* territory was subjected to continuous change and shift. So, any discussion on the historical manifestations of *Jarawa* territory may include the history of colonising the Andaman Islands, dynamicity of relationship among the different native tribes and their relationship with the outsiders.

As it has been already mentioned that the area (fig. 4.1) which is presently inhabited by *Jarawa* is a recent phenomenon, probably not more than two centuries. According to the

study of Brown (1922), *Jarawa* were distributed in Rutland Island and Southern parts of Great Andaman Island (fig. 3.2). Due to different colonial forces, other different push and pull factors, they moved further northwards and occupy the present position. In due course, they have completely vacated the Rutland Island. Until the end of the eighteenth century there is no written account of any attempt to establish a settlement in Andaman Islands by any outsiders. In 1788 the erstwhile British East India Company commissioned Lieutenant Archibald Blair to establish a settlement at Andaman and convicts were sent as labourers. The first settlement in the Andaman Islands was established in September, 1789 in South Andaman at harbour now known as Port Blair, but then called Port Cornwallis. In 1792 the settlement was shifted from the first site to the harbour at the North Andaman now known as Port Cornwallis. The transfer was made with the idea of creating a naval base for which the newly selected place was thought to be much ideal. Unfortunately the new site proved to be inappropriate and unhealthy due to different tropical diseases and malaria. Ultimately, the scheme was abandoned in 1796 and convicts were transferred to Penang and settlers returned to India.

The British colonial rulers again considered the question of colonizing Andaman during mid-nineteenth century. At the end of Indian Mutiny in 1857, the company found themselves with a large number of prisoners and it was decided to create a new penal settlement at Andaman. The site of the first settlement of 1789 in the South Andaman was chosen for that purpose and named as Port Blair. The Penal Settlement was established on March 1858 and has been in existence ever since. The Second Penal Settlement in Andaman Islands was established after the acceptance of 'the Report of a Committee' formed to give its suggestion, regarding reoccupying the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and establish penal settlement by the British colonial rulers. Remarkably, there were penal settlements already existing in this part of the

continent established by the British namely, Benkulen in Sumatra followed by Singapore, Penang and some places in Myanmar (erstwhile Burma) (Majumdar, 1975).

Throughout the colonial period, a series of events took place that shaped the history of the Islands and brought a great variety of changes in the human population, Socio-cultural fabric and environment of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Establishing a penal settlement in the Andaman Islands leads the British government towards two emergent issues. First and foremost was the general policy to be adopted towards the aborigines and secondly, the creation of a suitable machinery of administration for the Islands. In view of the aborigines as primitive and cruel, the Court of Directors formulated a policy of behaviour towards the aborigines. The British officials were told 'all possible precautions may be taken to protect the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands from the collision with convicts, which, it is not too probable will be triggered on both sides and which once commenced are so likely to end in the extermination of the weaker race' (Mathur, 1968: 69). Whereas, all ten sects of the Great Andamanese and the Onge had come under the colonial influence of the British within the few years of the establishment of the second Penal Settlement at Port-Blair in 1858, the *Jarawa*, nevertheless, did not accept the superficial friendly gesticulation of the British. The *Jarawa* suffered violence because of the punitive expeditions sent by the British Administration against them for their disinclination to be friendly with the new settlers and their unwillingness to submit to new arrangements. The *Jarawa* continued with their defensive posture until the latter half of 1997 when they voluntarily came in the friendly contact with the Non-*Jarawa* neighbouring communities.

The discourse and manifestations of the contacts of the *Jarawa* with Non-*Jarawa* may broadly be categorised discussed in three comprehensive time phases namely (1) contacts

during 1858 to 1900, (2) contacts 1901 to 1939 and (3) contacts during the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945.

3.2.1 Contacts during 1858 to 1900

During the first phase of the penal settlement the *Jarawa* behaved in a nonchalant manner with the colonizers in contrast to the Aka Bea-da tribe (one sect of the Great Andamanese Tribe). Even during the initial years of the second penal settlement, the *Jarawa* remained comparatively inoffensive. The British learnt about the hostility of the *Jarawa* around 1863 when Topsy, the Great Andamanese girl staying at the 'Andaman Home' told the Reverend H. Corbyn that there were the tribes in the interior jungle of South Andaman namely '*Jarawa*' who were hostile not only to the Andamanese but also to the British and warned him not to proceed to their settlement (Majumdar, 1975: 87). Though, he failed to understand the explanations behind their hostility, in the annual report for the year 1872-1873, General Steward wrote that the *Jarawa* 'seem to be peacefully disposed, whereas the Little Andaman Islanders habitually kill or attempt to kill, everyone that lands on their shores" (Portman, 1899: 716). The *Jarawa* attacked the settlement for the first time in the year 1872. However, the situation turned to be worst in the following years and hostility with *Jarawa* increased drastically in which hardly there was a year passed without violent conflicts between the *Jarawa* and the Non-*Jarawa* (Census of India, 1931: 14). In the latter years of the nineteenth century, several punitive expeditions were sent against them. It resulted in the killing of many *Jarawas* that further worsen the situation and to add fuel to the fire, the Great Andamanese were used to catch and befriend the *Jarawa* overlooking the fact that the Great Andamanese, particularly the Aka Bea-da, were traditionally at enmity with the *Jarawa*. The fundamental idea was that it would help

establish friendly relations with the *Jarawa* as this method had contributed partially in the general efforts of establishing friendly contact with the Great Andamanese and the Onge. The basic strategy was to catch the *Jarawa*, bring them to Port-Blair, keep them in 'Home' at Port Blair, give them gifts and then send them back. Even this method did not fruitful in case of Jarawa. For example, the British Administration succeeded in capturing one *Jarawa* man with the help of the Great Andamanese in March 1885 and he was kept in Port Blair. The *Jarawa* kept begging the Great Andamanese to kill him by throttling or cutting his throat, and rejected all overtures of friendship (Portman, 1899:60). By sending armed personnel into their territories, a people with friendly disposition were pushed to abject hatred, and the British Government refused to learn any lessons from it. The British Administration was thinking of invading the Jarawa territory and catching them alive with the help of armed police and convicts. By the end of the Nineteenth Century, the situation had further worsened. Surprisingly, few British officials even opined for complete extermination of the *Jarawa* people with the help of British Army.

3.2.2 Contacts during 1901 to 1939

After the superannuation of Mr. Portman in 1900, the conciliatory strategy which was followed till 1900 for the *Jarawa* was kept in abandoned. As a result, the hostility on both sides aggravated. The *Jarawa* were even resisting with all their might establishment of any settlements in their territory. In turn, the settlers and British authority were attacking the *Jarawa* more frequently. The turnaround from a policy of protecting the tribes from collision with the settlers and thus saving the indigenous people from extermination was complete when in 1905 a 'Bush Police Force' was formed with friendly Great Andamanese as members with a Burmese Jamadar in-

charge of it. The job of the Bush Police Force was to hunt the *Jarawa* and the runaway convicts too (Mathur, 1968). In one such expedition by Captain West in 1925, as many as 37 *Jarawa* were claimed to have been shot dead (Census of India, 1931: 16). With each passing year, the number of the punitive expeditions sent inside the *Jarawa* territory was intensified. Consequently, the feeling of hostility in the *Jarawa* against the outsiders was further fuelled. Later at some point of time, it was felt that the most effective way to conciliate the *Jarawa* was to 'capture them in large numbers, tame them and then sent them back as messenger of peace'. One such expedition, organised in 1939 by McCarthy Commandant, Civil and Military Police, was considered to be successful as they could capture one young *Jarawa* woman with three of her children (Census of India, 1961: 104). However, in the following years such expeditions could not be carried out because of the Japanese occupation of these islands during Second World War.

3.2.3 Contacts during Japanese Occupation (1942 -1945)

Andaman and Nicobar Islands were under Japanese occupation from March 1942 to October 1945. The Japanese were interested to fortify the entire coast but the *Jarawa* made their work difficult on the west coast of the Andaman. Consequently, the *Jarawa* areas were reported to have been machine gunned from air because two Japanese soldiers had allegedly been killed at the hands of the *Jarawa* (Sarkar, 1993: 104). Though nothing is known about the casualties the *Jarawa* suffered in that attack, it did enhance their hatred towards the outsiders.

According to Portman (1899), the first documented contact with the *Jarawa* was available in the writings of Lieutenant Colebrook which also reveals that during 1790's the natives to

whom people of Lieutenant Blair's settlement of South Andaman developed friendly relationship and whom they took to Car Nicobar and Kolkata were actually the members of South Andaman *Jarawa* tribes. The description of their habits, weapons, utensils, vocabulary etc. also supported this point. From the members *Aka-Bea* tribe, the author also came to know that in former time *Jarawa* used to be more numerous and powerful than they were then and they inhabited the southern part of the harbor of Port Blair, the western part, and much of the neighboring interior. Many 'Kitchen-Middens' on the shores of Port Blair have been pointed out to him as the sites of *Jarawa* habitats. The *Aka-Bea* further proved their contentions by showing that some shell heaps which contained the refuses of articles consumed by *Jarawa* but *Aka-Bea* never touched those. According to him it was probable that some diseases were introduced among them by the people of Lieutenant Blair's settlement which reduced this them considerably in numbers and thus enabled *Aka-Bea* to obtain the upper hand. It would appear as if the Onge group of tribes had at one time inhabited as one body the whole of the country from Little Andaman to Port Blair and had passed from one island to another freely. The people on Rutland Island would make excursions in their canoes during the calm weather (Portman, 1899).

So, it was evident that during first effort of British colonization during 1790s, the *Jarawa* were distributed in most of the today's Port Blair areas like Haddo, Navy Bay, and the creeks running south of Viper islands and appeared to be fairly numerous. The fact that how the tribes (*Jarawa*) with whom Lieutenant Blair had good terms, became unfriendly (so called hostile) during later years. Nothing is known about the period between 1797 to 1858. But when Andaman were re-occupied in the latter years (1858), the *Aka-Bea* were far more stronger and numerous tribe and had occupied the whole of the land around the harbor of Port Blair, driving the *Jarawa* into the interior of the island and fighting with them whenever they met.

3.3 Territorial Conflict with Great Andamanese (*Yono*)

Historically, the *Jarawa* and the Great Andamanese were living in a continuous state of territorial conflict among themselves. Both the *Jarawa* and *Aka-Bea* (a group of Great Andamanese tribe), were inhabiting the same area of South Andaman Island. While Great Andamanese were occupying the majority of the coastal areas, the *Jarawa* were often pushed into the interior jungles and hillocks. Significantly, the term *Jarawa* (which means ‘the others’) was used by the Great Andamanese tribe who were often accompanied the colonial rulers during their expeditions in the forest.

Primarily, the reason of conflict was to occupy different resource of forest and coastal areas. It has been evident that both *Jarawa* and Great Andamanese were living in a notionally demarcated territory of South Andaman which was quite volatile due to antagonistic relationship between the above two communities. One such evidence of territorial conflict was mention in the writings of Portman (1899) where he mentioned that many ‘Kitchen-Middens’ on the shores of Port Blair have been pointed out to him as the sites of *Jarawa* habitats. The *Aka-Bea* further proved their contentions by showing that some shell heaps which contained the refuses of articles consumed by *Jarawa* but *Aka-Bea* never touched those. According to him it was probable that some diseases were introduced among the *Jarawa* by the people of Lieutenant Blair’s settlement (1789-17996) which reduced this them considerably in numbers and thus enabled *Aka-Bea* to obtain the upper hand.

3.4 Punitive Expeditions and atrocities on the *Jarawa*

While all ten groups of the Great Andamanese and the Onge tribe had come under the influence of the British colonialism within the few years of the establishment of the second Penal Settlement at Port-Blair in 1858, the *Jarawa*, however, did not accept the friendly proposition of the British. The *Jarawa* suffered violence because of the punitive expeditions

sent by the British Administration against them for their unwillingness to be friendly with the new settlers and their unwillingness to submit to new arrangements.

In one such expedition by Captain West in 1925, as many as 37 *Jarawa* were claimed to have been shot dead (Census of India, 1931). With each passing year, the number of the punitive expeditions sent inside the *Jarawa* territory increased. Consequently, the feeling of hostility in the *Jarawa* against the outsiders was further fuelled. Later at some point of time, it was felt that the most effective way to conciliate the *Jarawa* was to 'capture them in large numbers, tame them and then sent them back as messenger of peace'. One such expedition, organised in 1939 by McCarthy Commandant, Civil and Military Police, was considered to be successful as they could capture one young *Jarawa* woman with three of her children (Census of India, 1961: 104). However, in the following years such expeditions could not be carried out because of the Japanese occupation of these islands during Second World War.

After the Independence, under the new policy of the Indian Government, the legacy of large scale and organised state violence and policy of punitive expedition towards the *Jarawa* was entirely given up. The British used to conduct punitive expeditions against the warring tribes. Though some information are available on the number of persons (of expedition party) killed in such war but it was never known as how many of the tribesmen were wounded in the war and afterwards succumbed to their injuries. However, it certainly disrupted their sex and age structure and that had implication on their overall population (Sarkar, 2015).

The *Jarawa* were the second one to display protest against the British colonial expansion in the Andaman Island. The first recorded attack by the *Jarawa* on the settlement of the British was in 1872. The situation took a tum for worse in the following years and the hostility scaled-up. The reasons, which forced the *Jarawa* to be hostile, were intrusion in their

territory, punitive action against them by the British and the employing of the Great Andamanese, which happened to be their traditional enemy of the *Jarawa*, against them by the British. British followed some reconciliatory approach toward the aborigines between 1880 and 1900 when the Portman was the Officer-in-Charge of the relation with the tribes of Andaman Islands. However, after his retirement, the reconciliatory approach toward the aborigines was abandoned and more punitive expeditions were carried out against the *Jarawa*, which resulted in to killing of many *Jarawa*.

The nature of contacts in post-Independence phase witnessed certain changes and had impacts of some events, which followed the Independence. In the first major change, the policy of sending punitive expedition was abandoned, and the habitat of the *Jarawa* was declared as a restricted territory and named as '*Jarawa Reserve*'.

3.5 Clearing of Forest, Timber Extraction and Encroachment

Immediately after the establishment of penal settlement in the year 1858, a huge area of the forestland was cleared during 1864 to 1901 in different phases for establishing villages of the life imprisoned convicts and for cultivation and livelihood. Soon 59.7 hectors of forest was cleared and the same under the plough cultivation. Clearing of forest continued around present day Port Blair. About 293 hector of forest was cleared of which 143 hector was cultivated in 1864 to 1865. By 1879, 139 hector of forest had been cleared and 355 hector was brought under cultivation. More area used to be cleared every year for cultivation. During 1881, 1884, 1901 in total 4219 hector, 9081 hector, 10198 hector of forest which were primarily under the *Jarawa* territory was cleared for cultivation. As a result the territorial groups of the present Great Andamanese and *Jarawa* became the worst affected. Besides the original inhabitants like the *Jarawa* and the Great Andamanese, the South Andaman Islands were populated by decedents of the convicts known as the 'Local born' and

few others of the Andaman Administration. Communities like Mophlas, Bhandus and the Karens were brought to these Islands in the years 1921, 1926 to 1928 and 1925-1927 respectively. After the famous Mophla rebellion in 1921 in Malabar of Kerala, the rebellion prisoners were sent to the Cellular jail in Andaman. After some time they were made free and allowed to settle down in villages South Andaman Island at Bambooflat, Stewartgunj, Wimberlygunj etc. The Bhandus were ex-criminal tribe in Uttar Pradesh. Being pursued by the salvation army, large group of them voluntary came to the Andaman between 1926-1928. They established villages at Anikhet, Caddlegunj and Ferrargunj on the hillocks. The Karens are the only community who settled in the Andaman on their own initiatives after carefully choosing their area of settlement in the Middle Andaman at a place known as 'Webi' (Sarkar, 2015). Most of the villages were located at the Vicinity of the Jarawa territory during that point of time. The tribes of the Islands were always under direct pressure being attacked for the work of establishment of administrative settlement and villages for the convicts and development of infrastructure throughout the settlements and adjacent areas. Such development programmes necessitated clearing of forest through a large area that was foraging ground of the hunter-gatherer tribe namely *Jarawa*. The effort to exploit the resource areas of the *Jarawas* and the Great Andamanese, occasionally resulted in clashes. The British administration took this opportunity and engaged the Great Andamanese to guide the armed security personnel into the foraging areas of these semi-nomadic tribes. Occasionally the armed personnel used to be sent to attack the *Jarawa* deep in the forest and demolish their shelters wherever found. The *Jarawas* did not like infiltration of outsiders from the very beginning. When they saw their enemy (Great Andamanese tribe) with the armed security forces, subsequently they considered both these aggressors as their enemy. As a result, they occasionally unleashed attack on the people of the villages that came up around the small administrative centre of Port Blair.

Hence, establishment of villages in and around Port Blair and Jarawa territory at the first instance and followed by creation of habitats by the Mophlas, Bhantus, Burmese and Karens etc resulted in movements of people within the forest areas that jeopardized the age old rights of these tribes towards exclusive utilisation of forest resources for their day to day requirements. The tribes, who have been living a nomadic life in the deep forest, in the hilly tracts, were also under threat from exploiting forest resources freely with the advent of such migrant population. Clearing the forest before 1947 and also after independence was primarily related with the policy of populating these Islands. As a part of the rehabilitation programme of refugees of the erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and also from Srilanka, forest measuring 828.28 hector, 202 hector and 1117.64 hector were cleared in the South, Middle and Little Andaman respectively. Extraction of timber for commercial purpose was always in vogue in Andaman Islands.

In brief account of the tribal situation that prevailed in the Andaman during colonial rules indicates beyond any doubt that tribes of these Islands had to face tremendous pressure in their resource areas that also seriously disturbed their mental setup. The Initial reaction of the *Jarawa* and Great Andamanese as we have noted during the British rule were of confrontation that all times culminated in hostility with the newly arrived people. In course of time, the territorial groups of the Great Andamanese and the Onges gave up hostility and gradually lost their rights over the forest resources to an significant extent. However the *Jarawas* continued with the unfriendly behaviours that helped in protection of their rights over their resources.

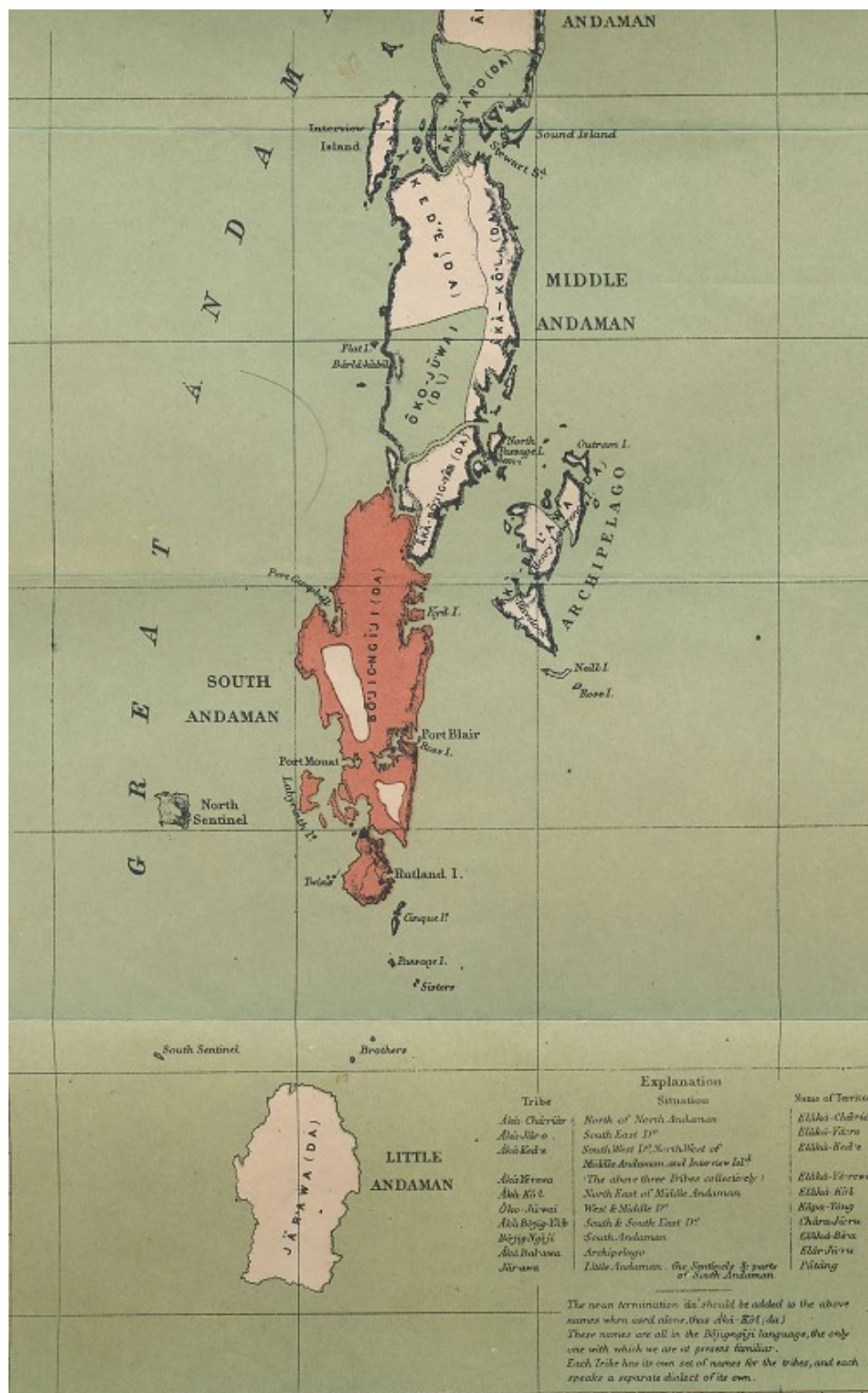


Fig. 3.1 Distribution of tribal population in South and Middle Andaman Islands during 1870's (Source: Man, 1883)

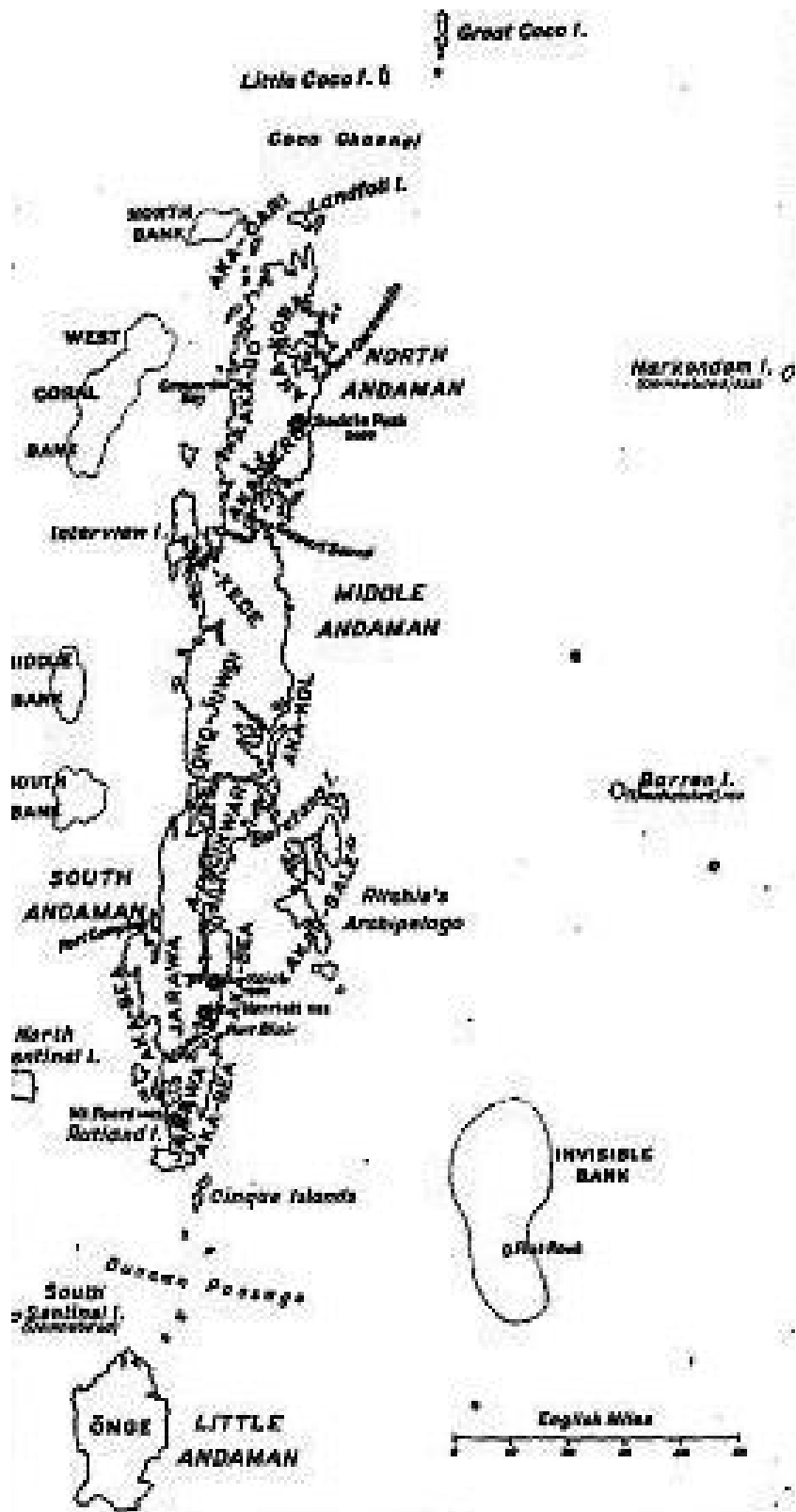


Fig. 3.2: Distribution of tribal population in South and Middle Andaman Islands during first decade of twentieth century (Source: Brown, 1922).

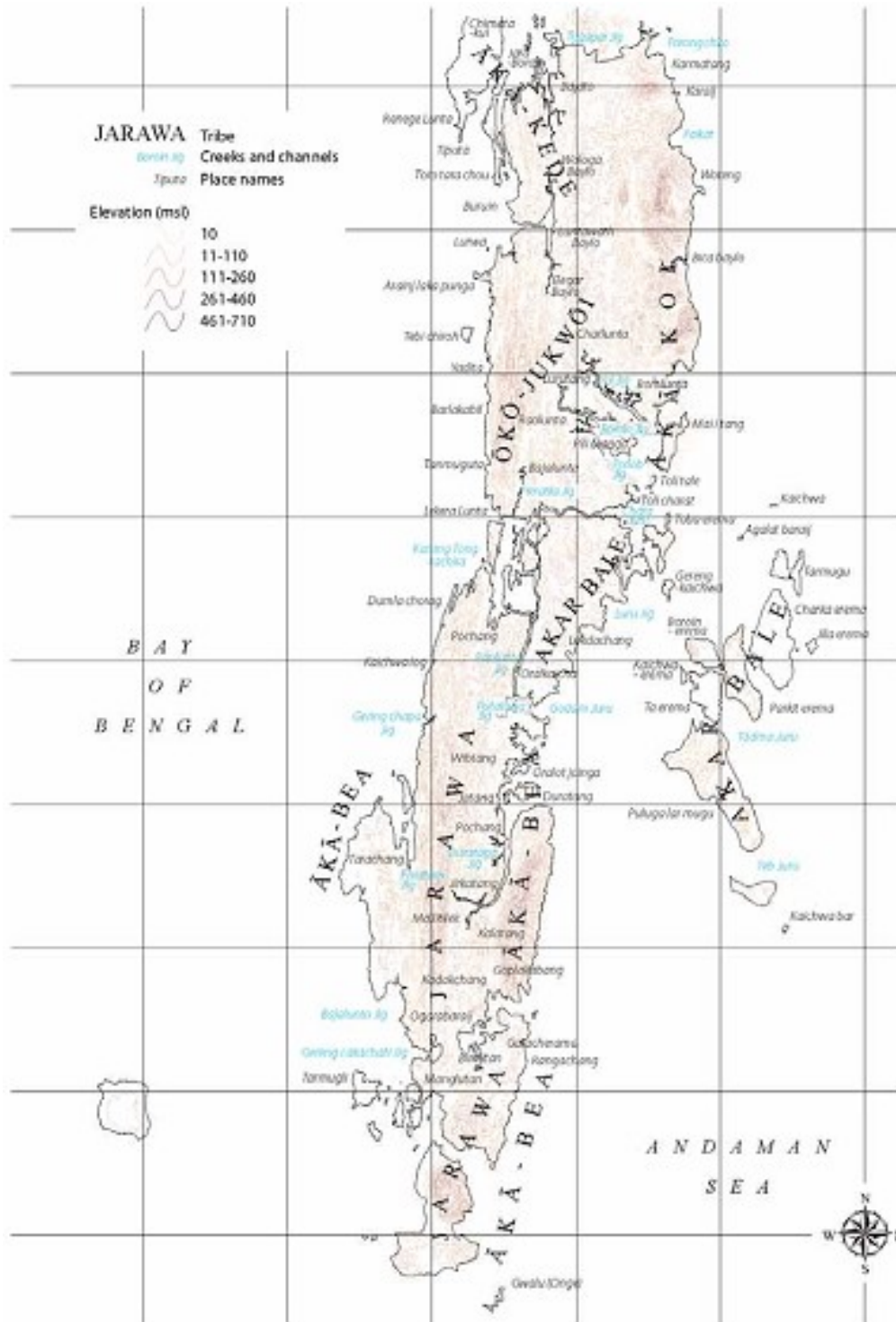


Fig. 3.3: Modified map on distribution of tribal population in South and Middle Andaman mentioned by Brown, 1922 (Source: UNESCO, 2010).

3.6 Chapter Summary

The present chapter entitled 'The *Jarawa* Territory: Neighboring Communities and Pre-Independence Manifestation' was broadly dedicated to discuss and depict the dynamic aspects of *Jarawa* territory during colonial occupation in Andaman Islands. It was also focused on the dynamicity of relationship between *Jarawa* and their neighboring communities with special reference to the territorial conflict.

This particular chapter was broadly divided into five sub-chapters namely, Earliest Contact with Jarawa Contacts and territory during Colonial Occupation, Territorial Conflict with Great Andamanese (*Yono*), Punitive Expedition of Jarawa Hunting and Clearing of Forest, Timber Extraction and Encroachment. The first sub-chapter dealt with the evidences and writings on the pre-colonial contacts with the Andamanese as whole and *Jarawa* in particular. Significantly, almost all the known description during this particular period depicts cruel nature and demonic appearance of the cannibal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. The second sub-chapter on the contacts and territory during colonial occupation narrated the series of discourses happened during the different phases of colonial occupation (1858 to 1947) and its consequences. In the third chapter, emphasis was given to find out the aspects of territorial conflict and relationship between Jarawa and their traditional immediate neighbouring community Great Andamanese. Notably, the chapter also highlights who both the above mentioned tribes were fighting with each other for their territory, resources and survival. The heinous incidences of punitive expeditions of *Jarawa* hunting and its consequences was systematically discussed in the fourth sub-chapter. It also reveals the different atrocities against the *Jarawa* and why they keep themselves isolated from the rest of the world. Lastly, the sub-chapter dealt with the conflict of resources and territory in terms of clearing of forest, timber extraction and encroachment. Overall the present chapter leads the

foundation for the next chapter (chapter IV) on the ‘Jarawa Territory: Neighbouring Communities and Post-Independence Manifestation’.