

Colonization, kidnap and confinement in the Andamans penal colony, 1771-1864

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Short Title

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Abstract

This paper explores practices of kidnap and confinement in the Andamans penal colony, for the period 1771-1864. It argues that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indigenous captivity was key to successful colonization. The British kidnapped islanders in an effort to educate them about the supposed benefits of colonial settlement, and in the hope that they would become their cultural advocates. The paper shows also that the close observations that accompanied the confinement of islanders informed global discussions about 'race' and 'origin', so that the Islands were brought into a larger global frame of understanding around indigenous – settler contact. The paper draws out some of the complexities and specificities of the colonial encounter in the Andamans. It argues that with respect to sexual violence, there was a significant gender dimension to colonization and confinement. Finally, it suggests that in a settlement comprising a penal colony and its associated infrastructure (and no free settlement) there were no straightforward distinctions between 'colonizer' and 'colonized'. Rather, there were significant overlaps between the treatment and experiences of convicts and islanders, and these expressed something of the inherent ambiguities of the penal colonization of the Andamans itself.

Keywords

Andaman Islands; colonialism; indigeneity; captivity; penal colony; gender

The Andaman Islands lie in the Bay of Bengal, 1200km east of Madras in south India and over 500km west of Tenasserim in Burma (figure 1).ⁱ The archipelago comprises 204 islands, and is over 350km long and 53km wide. Encounters between the Islands and the wider world began centuries ago with the visits of collectors of sea cucumbers and birds' nests, Malay pirates and Burmese slave traders. The latter went in search of the Islands' indigenous peoples, hunter-gatherers who they seized and sold into slavery in Southeast Asia. The islanders' fierce resistance against such exploitation perhaps explains why, from as early as the tenth century, travellers including Marco Polo later on described them as ferocious cannibals with horse or dog-shaped faces.ⁱⁱ But it seems also that traders perpetuated this representation, as well as the idea that the Islands were totally isolated from the outside world, in order to hold onto their commercial advantage. During the eighteenth century, the East India Company became interested in the Andamans because it was anxious about the implications of the islanders' hostility to outsiders in a region criss-crossed by increasingly important trade routes. It made a short-lived attempt at colonization in the 1790s, when there were four major population clusters – the Sentinelese, the Jarawa, the Onge and the Andamanese (sometimes called the Great Andamanese) - and twelve dialect groups. Permanent settlement came in the aftermath of the 1857 Indian Revolt, when the British established the Andamans as a penal colony. In 1780, it was estimated that there were 6,500 indigenous inhabitants; in the year 2000 that figure stood at just 485.ⁱⁱⁱ

There are significant parallels between the history of indigenous-settler contact in the Andaman Islands and in other colonial frontiers - what Mary Louise Pratt and Greg Dening have called contact zones and beach crossings, respectively - across Asia, North America, New Zealand, the Pacific and southern Africa.^{iv} As Philip D. Morgan writes in an overview of encounters between British and indigenous peoples during the period 1500-1800, though we must be mindful of the importance of locality, there were similarities across time and place at moments of first contact.^v As we will see, eighteenth and nineteenth-century colonial officials drew on their understanding of other geographical contexts to bring their often-violent encounters with the Andamanese into larger frameworks of imperial practice, knowledge and representation. Given their shared histories of penal colonization and indigenous displacement, comparisons between the Andamans and Australia are perhaps especially striking.^{vi} In relation to the significance of a common framework, I am taken also with Morgan's invocation of the importance of ethnography in the creation of 'the encounter' itself, as explorers, settlers and others found themselves unable to view indigenous peoples beyond the lens of previous representations.^{vii} With respect to the Andamans, the British drew on a wide repertoire of indigenous representations from across the globe, incorporating and extending contemporary understandings of 'race', gender and subalternity.^{viii} They certainly took for granted also centuries-old views that islanders were fierce, bestial man-eaters, as was believed both in Europe and in mainland South and Southeast Asia at the time.

In this paper I will explore something of the local specificities and broader imperial context of the colonial frontier in the Andamans during the period 1771-1864, though a discussion of the kidnap of indigenous peoples. This represents the period from the first British captivity to the spatial consolidation of indigenous confinement within an institution the British called the Andaman home. I will show that the British viewed captivity as an important means through which they could learn about Andaman islanders, as well as through which they could create cultural interlocutors who could move to the settlement's advantage between the penal colony, the beach and the forest. In this, they drew on their understanding of indigenous encounters beyond the Bay of Bengal. There was a significant gendered dimension too, with settlers threatening or unleashing sexual violence against island women. This impacted on colonial policy and native experience in significant ways. In contextualising this discussion, it is important to underscore the point that during the 1790s and again in the 1850s and 60s the Andamans was a penal colony of Indian convicts and its associated infrastructure rather than a free settlement, and so there was no straightforward encounter between 'colonized' and 'colonizers'. Not only did the treatment of islanders substantially mirror that of Indian convicts, but also during the middle of the nineteenth century convicts themselves became imbricated in 'contact missions' with indigenous peoples, as well as in their kidnap and confinement. For this reason, when I write of 'settlers' I do so in collective reference to officials, convicts, naval brigadesmen and/ or other guards.

Before turning to a discussion of what I call the experimental captivity of islanders during the late eighteenth century, I would like to mention briefly the methodological positioning of this piece. In common with many other frontier contexts, there are no islander-generated contemporary written or oral perspectives on the colonization of the Andamans. Beyond weekly official reports, correspondence with the mainland, and short mention in the memoirs of exactly one naval brigadesman and one convict, islander perspective is found in what Morgan describes as the margins of colonial discourse; in the 'asides, silences, gestures, snatches of conversation, snippets of action.'^{ix} And the location of indigeneity within a colonial world-view is, of course, deeply problematic. For this reason, some anthropologists in this and other contexts have taken a step back from the records to seek likely perspective in alternative cultures and cosmologies, or to seek out orally transmitted memories of colonialism.^x Squaring up to archival absences, other scholars have even flirted at the margins of literary reconstruction.^{xi} This paper proposes a reading of between the cracks of the official record to offer limited glimpses into both the tactics and, more speculatively, indigenous experiences of captivity and kidnap in the Andamans. I present the relative silence of islanders deliberately, for archival elisions are a crucial reminder of the violence that underpinned this grossly unequal encounter, the relative (though obviously not total) powerlessness of the Andamanese in the face of colonial pistols and rifles, and the domination that eventually sealed their fate.

Experimental captivity, 1771-1857

A significant element of the colonial exploration of the Andamans was islander kidnap. As its commercial interests in the Bay of Bengal grew during the second half of the eighteenth century, the British took captive and observed closely Andamanese islanders; watching, touching, feeling and measuring them, listening for languages that they might understand. Surveyors mused on their likely racial origin, taking for granted *a priori* ethnographic representations of their savagery, but desirous of piecing together their biological, social and cultural 'race' in order to confront them with material evidence of British civilization and superiority, and thus to persuade them of the benefits of colonization. Debates about monogenesis and polygenesis (human descent from one common or multiple ancestors) were never far below the surface. Marine surveyor Captain John Ritchie produced the first written account of the colonial encounter with islanders in 1771. He described the terror of two islanders taken from their canoes and put on board his survey ship, writing: 'they were two lads about 14 years of age; and no doubt, thought that they would be immediately sacrificed: despair was strongly painted in their faces and neither of them could support their weight, but fell upon the deck, as if they had lost the use of their limbs.' His interest in the origin of the islanders was clear, as he continued: 'All of them were Cafferies ... it is not to be doubted by they are a race of people, very distinct from those of the adjacent countrys.'^{xii}

The British colonized the Andamans for the first time in September 1789, establishing a settlement on Chatham Island in Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair). Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke, sent to survey the Islands with Lieutenant Archibald Blair during 1789-90, claimed the islanders as 'a race of men the least civilized,

perhaps, in the world; being nearer to a state of nature than any people we read of.' Unlike Ritchie, he faced showers of arrows and despite his best efforts was unable to seize a single man or woman. This perhaps explains his description of the Andamanese as 'cunning, crafty and revengeful', at times threatening and at others 'docile, with the most insidious intent'. He wrote:

They will affect to enter into a friendly conference, when, after receiving with a show of humility whatever articles may be presented to them, they set up a shout, and discharge their arrows at the donors. On the appearance of a vessel or boat, they frequently lie in ambush among the trees, and send one of their gang, who is generally the oldest among them, to the water's edge, to endeavour by friendly signs to allure the strangers on shore. Should the crew venture to land without arms, they instantly rush out from their lurking places, and attack them.

'Like brutes,' he went on, 'their whole time is spent in search of food.' And: 'In the morning they rub their skins with mud, and wallow in it like buffaloes ... Their dwellings are the most wretched hovels imaginable.' Such descriptions might be incorporated within colonial discourses about uncivilized indigenes more generally. Colebrooke surmised: 'The ferocious natives of New Zealand, or the shivering half-animated savages of Terra del Fuego, are in a relative state of refinement, compared to these islanders.'^{xiii}

In 1792, government ordered the removal of the colony across the harbour to a settlement also named Port Cornwallis, placing it under the charge of Governor Alexander Kyd. Between 1793 and 1795 the British transported about 700 Indian convicts there; accompanied by officers and guards.^{xiv} We know relatively little about British and convict relations with the Islands' indigenous peoples during this period, except that islanders raided the colonial

settlement in search of food, iron and other goods.^{xv} Lieutenant Blair seized two islanders during one such incident in 1792 and took them to Calcutta. Governor Kyd noted their 'unmuscular physique', and their 'dark, oily-coloured Coffree' complexion. 'From what has been collected respecting their manners,' he wrote, 'they fall to be ranked amongst the lowest yet discovered on the scale of civilisation – in a word – Man in the rudest state of nature'. Comparing their height to Laplanders – 'amongst the lowest in stature of the human race' – he made extensive notes on their height, noses, lips, hair and teeth, as well as what they ate, the tone of their voices, and their singing and dancing. Kyd concluded that despite the 'degrading situation' in which the kidnapped men were placed, they were 'remarkably cheerful'. This was, he noted, 'widely different from the frigidity of disposition attributed to the American Indians, apparently implying a greater share of intellectual sprightliness than might be expected from a subject endowed with the obtuse and untutored organs.'^{xvi}

Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Symes, who visited the Islands in 1795, described the first capture of three Andamanese women. The women so feared sexual assault [Symes assumed] that they took it in turns to sleep. After they managed to escape, he lamented without a trace of irony: 'the object was to retain them by kindness, not by compulsion, an attempt that has failed on every trial.'^{xvii} In a second incident, islanders killed two men who had 'proceeded to offer violence' against a captive woman. This violent offering almost certainly referred to the woman's rape.^{xviii} I will return to the issue of sexual violence against Andamanese women in my discussion of the period following permanent colonization in 1858. For now, I would like to note that the captivities associated

with British colonization of the Islands during the mid-1790s had much in common with practices in the penal colony of New South Wales a decade earlier. As Inga Clendinnen shows, British settlers there kidnapped indigenous people in the hope of learning something of aboriginal culture, and of reconciling them to colonization, against a backdrop of extreme, often sexual, violence.^{xxix} Across the Bass Straits in Van Diemen's Land, the British kidnapped aboriginal children, in part in a bid to impart religious salvation upon them, but more prosaically as unpaid workers and points of liaison between settlers and indigenous landowners. Paradoxically, as James Boyce explains, captive children often had greater mobility than British ex-convicts still under restrictions of movement.^{xx}

In May 1796, in the face of high rates of sickness and mortality in the Andamans – described as a great embarrassment - the East India Company decided to abandon the Islands. It transferred the convicts to one of its other Indian penal settlements, on the island of Penang.^{xxi} At this time, Governor Kyd took an Andamanese boy who he claimed he had found 'in the last stage of famine' back to Calcutta, where he employed him as a servant. As Symes put it, the boy was 'much noticed for the striking singularity of his appearance'.^{xxii} In the decades that followed British abandonment, trading vessels captured several islanders and took them to the mainland. In 1819, islanders fired on a Burmese junk anchored two miles from the shore. The crew captured a man and a boy, and took them to Penang. The man died on the way, but the boy was taken into the service of Captain Anderson of the Bengal Army. He learned Urdu and Malay, but 'took to drink' and died.^{xxiii} Another settler recalled the arrival of a family of four in Penang in the late 1830s. Only the girl survived, and when she was

fourteen she was put into service as *ayah* (nursemaid) to the head clerk of the police court. She later went to Malacca and then on to Singapore where it is said that she opened a girls' school.^{xxiv}

In their forced voyages across the Bay of Bengal and in their employment in domestic servitude, the captivity of islanders bore more than a passing resemblance to the slave trade. These kidnaps might be seen as part of the continuum of slavery and bondage characteristic of South and Southeast Asia at the time.^{xxv} Within colonial labour practices, distinctions between 'freedom' and 'unfreedom' were blurred, with convict transportation itself a case in point.^{xxvi} Local polities enslaved Andaman islanders in the royal courts of India, Siam, Burma and the Malay Peninsula.^{xxvii} And the possibility of enslavement was of course bound up with assumptions about inferior 'races'. After they abandoned the Islands in 1796, and in the context of ongoing global disputes about the merits of monogenesis and polygenesis, the British remained intrigued by the idea that islanders could provide clues to the origins of humankind, shared or otherwise. In 1819, a man called William Jack wrote of the Bishop of Calcutta's interest in two Andamanese men living in Penang: 'certainly there could not well be conceived a greater contrast than was exhibited between the portly form of the Bishop himself, and the two poor wretches he was examining. I should have liked to have asked him whether he really believed himself to have sprung from the same common stock with them; and whether Adam resembled these Aborigines.'^{xxviii}

Convicts, kidnaps and confinement: 1858-64

Most famous of all the Andaman captures in the run-up to Britain's permanent colonization in 1858 was the kidnap of an islander by the survey party sent to choose the best site for a penal colony for mutineers and rebels convicted in the aftermath of the 1857 Indian Revolt. The British had been interested in re-colonizing the Andamans for some years previously, after a series of indigenous attacks on distressed vessels.^{xxix} Henry Hopkinson, commissioner of Burma, wrote in 1856:

Looking on the map at the magnificent situation of these islands, their proximity to such seats of trade as Madras, Calcutta, Akyab, Rangoon, Moulmein, Penang, and Singapore, considering their extent ... their many fine harbours, and the prospect ... of the abundant fertility of their soil, it does seem astonishing that ... instead of offering a refuge to the miserable storm-driven vessel, they should be a snare in her path leading to utter destruction, and in place of engaging the enterprise, and furnishing subsistence to thousands of industrious colonists, they should be left in the possession of a handful of degenerate negroes, degraded in habits and intelligence to a level little above the beasts of the forest with which they dwell.^{xxx}

But it was 1857 that provided the catalyst to colonization, after the widespread destruction of British-built jails and the closure of India's Southeast Asian penal settlements to new transportation convicts left the government without a place for the safe incarceration of mutineers and rebels. Within the context of the immediate penal crisis, however, Britain's desire to 'pacify' the Islands' indigenous peoples was important. Later on in the nineteenth century, the British officer in charge of islanders, M. V. Portman, reminded his readers: 'Long before the Mutiny the conduct of the Andamanese had made it imperative that the Islands should be occupied, and friendly relations established with the Aborigines'.^{xxxi} Portman's use of the language of occupation is an important reminder of the underlying violence of the colonial settlement of the Islands. It

also speaks to assumptions that in the mid-nineteenth century 'friendship' with islanders was both possible and desirable.

The head of the 1857 survey party, F. J. Mouat, wrote a detailed description of his visit to the Andamans, and his account and its associated illustrations were reproduced, summarized and reviewed in a range of contemporary publications.^{xxxii} The party dragged a man on board ship, called him 'Andamans John' or 'Jack' (we do not know his real name), and took him to Calcutta where he was photographed and presented to Governor-General and Lady Canning. In a letter to Queen Victoria, Lady Canning wrote that he was 'gentle and tractable and imitates everything and is amused at everything from a glass of water upwards'.^{xxxiii} The British kidnapped 'Jack' in order to gather information about islanders, and as a conduit for knowledge of the supposed benefits of colonial 'civilization'. However, he fell ill, and so they returned him to the Islands to an uncertain fate. The widespread visual reproduction of engravings taken from contemporary photographs in popular publications in Britain, notably Mouat's published account but also the *Illustrated London News*, is the reason for which he is so well known (figure 2). Vishavjit Pandya describes 'Jack's kidnap as a contact event that became a 'sign' of colonial expansion, seen by a public familiar with viewing single native bodies as representations of whole cultures.'^{xxxiv}

The survey party 'captured' the Andamanese in other ways too, raiding their settlements and taking bows, arrows, nets and other implements. Images of these cultural artefacts were reproduced alongside pictures of islanders in

contemporary periodicals (figure 3). Stolen goods were also displayed at colonial exhibitions in such a way as to render material culture a crucial signifier of Andamanese ‘primitiveness’.^{xxxv} The 1857 survey party also stole human remains. Mouat for instance presented the skeleton of a man killed by the Andamans committee to the British Museum.^{xxxvi} Whilst kidnaps and the theft of islanders’ possessions offered the lure of accessing and representing cultural practices to a metropolitan audience, the careful description and measurement of Andamanese captives were precursors to anthropometric investigations in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when Darwinist ideas about evolution had in large part settled disputes about human origins. Colonial ethnographers like E. H. Man and M. V. Portman then used sticks, calipers and other devices to measure islanders’ ‘race’. Their findings were of enormous interest to scientists well into the end of the nineteenth century.^{xxxvii} Across the Empire, from Cape Town to Bermuda, the Caribbean and Singapore, colonial officers were similarly engaged in the anthropometric study of incarcerated or otherwise confined indigenous communities.^{xxxviii} In the South Asian context, David Arnold has described the disciplinary and medical practices associated with hospitals, jails, asylums and lock-hospitals as the colonization of the body itself.^{xxxix}

The British shipped the first batch of 200 mutineers and rebels to the Andamans in March 1858 under the charge of medical officer J. P. Walker. By the end of the following year, over 3,500 more convicts had been transported to the Islands.^{xl} Ordinary offenders joined them once the 1857 crisis had passed and by 1865 the penal colony’s average daily muster was almost 4,000 strong.^{xli} There was ongoing violence between islanders and settlers. During the early months of

colonization, escaped convicts usually returned to the settlement of their own accord, sick and injured, recounting tales of the deaths of their comrades at the hands of indigenous peoples. But the government of India remained keen to avoid what it called 'collisions', and reacted furiously to what it called 'unprovoked' aggression towards the Islands' indigenous inhabitants. It was especially aggrieved to learn of clashes with 'public functionaries', rather than convicts.^{xlii} The British hoped to keep the convicts apart from islanders – in 1858 Walker even proposed to expel them from tracts of land and to establish a military cordon^{xliii} – but the idea of separating the penal colony from the Andamanese remained little more than a fantasy.

Portman claimed later in the 1890s that the islanders told him that they had sympathised with the convicts at the time of colonization, for they realised that they were working as forced labour, and so they had targeted authority figures. Thus convict overseers removed their special turbans, badges and belts when going out to work.^{xliv} During one attack on a working party in 1859, islanders apparently indicated that the convicts should move away and allow them to attack their naval guard. In scenes reminiscent of those described by Clendinnen for New South Wales in *Dancing With Strangers*, Portman described what happened next: 'During the two hours they had possession of the encampment they beckoned the convicts to come and dance with them, and they, from fear, complied. Ludicrous groups of savages with a convict on each side, with arms entwined, were engaged in stamping motions which appeared intended for dancing.'^{xlv} In light of Portman's later discussions with islanders, it

is difficult to read this as anything other than a performance of solidarity against colonial authority.

The British were always mindful that comparisons could be drawn between the Andamans and other colonial settlements. The first government report on the penal colony, in March 1859, predicted that like 'miserable creatures' elsewhere, civilization would kill off the islanders:

It is not difficult to foresee that, should our occupation of the land be prolonged, and the dense jungle which now covers every spot of ground be made to yield to the axe and the ploughshare, these miserable creatures will rapidly disappear, sharing the fate of the red tribes of North America, and the less naturally gifted aborigines of Australia, and other lands where civilization has alike proved fatal to the original possessors, and the natural products of the soil.^{xlvi}

In this context, the British remained interested in Andamanese origins too. Evidently sympathetic to polygenesis, the commissioner of Tenasserim Albert Fytche drew attention to the Andamanese as the remnants of 'a race formerly very extensively diffused over South eastern Asia and its Archipelago, which, for the most part, has been extirpated by races more advanced towards civilization, being now driven to remote islands, or mountain fastnesses, such as the Andamans'. He associated the issue of blankets to Tasmanian aborigines and New Zealanders with their death in large numbers from pulmonary diseases, and predicted the same fate for the Andamanese.^{xlvii} These were allusions to what we now understand as the dramatic demographic consequences of land clearance, population movement, and exposure to previously unknown diseases like smallpox and syphilis. But at the time, they seemed to confirm ideas around multiple human origins. Across Empire, the British appropriated the bodies of

those who died, dissecting human remains in their physiological investigations into the 'races of mankind'.^{xlviii} Portman went as far as to write: 'we have reason to think that the race who inhabited New Zealand before the advent of the Maoris were Negritos allied to the Tasmanians and Andamanese.'^{xlix}

In an attempt to prevent further violence between islanders and the settlement, when J. C. Haughton replaced Walker as superintendent in 1859 he banned visits to places the Andamanese were known to frequent and suspended further exploration into the interior.^l However, despite this injunction by early 1860 a few friendly contact missions had been made. Convicts and brigadesmen exchanged bottles, nails, shirts, belts, neckerchiefs, and turbans for necklaces and belts 'made of grass and twine'.^{li} The most extended early encounter took place in mid-1860, under the direction of head convict overseer Khoosheee Lall. It lasted for two and a half hours in full view of 'a great crowd of convicts' on Viper Island. Lall described how a man had taken hold of his clothing, and with the word '*kuprah*' indicated both his knowledge of Hindustani and his desire for the item. Lall explained that he had taken some cloth from his convict orderly Buckorie Sing, whilst another convict Rughmundur Sing used it to dress the man and his male companions in *pugris* (turbans), *dhotis* (cloth wrapped around the waist and legs), and *mirzais* (jackets). They resembled Madrasis, Lall reported, and 'appeared quite delighted.' They then exchanged sweetmeats, a melon, bead necklaces, and leg irons for Andamanese necklaces, belts, and armlets.^{lii}

Despite what was presented as successful (i.e. non-violent) contact, coupled with British occupation and clearance of Andamanese territory was a

fundamental incompatibility between the desire of both Andamanese and settlers to appropriate and to protect property. The Andamanese wanted food, working implements, cloth, and iron, and the British desired bows, arrows, and jewellery. As Portman put it later on, the Andamanese objected to 'strangers coming to their villages and taking away their property ... such conduct on our part could only provoke ill-feeling and hostility on theirs.'^{liii} By the end of 1860, relations had soured considerably, and the Andamanese killed a naval brigadesman and made raids on convict working parties, taking plantains, tools, identificatory neck tickets, and Brahminical threads, amongst other goods. In retaliation, the settlers captured six Andamanese men, handcuffing them, tying their arms behind their backs, and putting them under guard in the naval barracks. Haughton reported that in the face of their 'natural effort to regain liberty' they were 'as slippery as eels'.^{liv}

This kidnap reinvigorated practices of capturing and confining the Andamanese. Naval brigadesmen became trackers, guards and even collectors and producers of colonial knowledge. At the turn of 1860/61, brigadesmen were placed in charge of three of the captives, with the brief of learning something of their cultural practices. Explicitly drawing on Daniel Defoe's vision of a cannibal island, they named them 'Punch', 'Friday', and 'Crusoe Blair' (after the lieutenant), for there was an extraordinary belief at the time that they had '*no proper names* for each other'.^{lv} The brigadesmen took the three men to superintendent Haughton's house, where Lieutenant Hellard of the naval brigade noted 'they were very much taken up with little Harry H –', likely the superintendent's son. They dressed them in naval uniforms, with the words 'I.N.

Brigade' on the ribbons of their straw hats, and tied them up.^{lvi} One of the men, 'Punch', managed to bite through his rope and escape. 'Friday' and 'Crusoe' also bolted, but were quickly recaptured and fettered. I doubt they found much comfort in Hellard's note that the irons were only 'slight'.^{lvii} 'Irons are not at all pleasant,' he wrote, 'within a few days they are very anxious to have them taken off, and towards dark, they pretend to have pains in their limbs.' However, given the likelihood of escape, he would not allow it.^{lviii}

Three more Andamanese were kidnapped a few days later, though Hellard noted that the two sets of captives were from different communities, for 'they did not show any sign of pleasure at seeing them.'^{lix} Finding that 'nothing further was to be gained' from any of them, Haughton decided to let the first captives – 'Punch', 'Friday', and 'Crusoe Blair' - go. Notes on their confinement incorporate fascinating details: what they ate; how they cooked; medical practices; their love of children and animals, singing, and dancing; and, their astonishment at mirrors. But settlement officials and brigadesmen failed to learn more than a few words of their language, or to find out anything about their spiritual or religious beliefs. Haughton noted that upon their release they showed a great deal of affection for their sailor guards, and that they had tried to encourage him to accompany them into the jungle.^{lx} His is the first of many references to the growth of warm personal ties between the naval brigade and the Andamanese. Haughton's replacement, superintendent R. C. Tytler, noted also the affection the Andamanese had for brigadesmen and petty officers. One man who had lost a leg was delighted with a crutch made for him by the sailors. Later on, islanders slept in the settlement boats.^{lxi} In the absence of indigenous

perspective, we should be wary of reading intimacy into coping strategies in the face of domination. Indeed, Hellard noted that when left alone in the naval barracks, the men 'became frightened, and clung to the men in charge, and begged them not to let them go'.^{lxii} Moreover, supposedly 'friendly' contact was frequently underpinned by violence. Brigadesmen knocked 'Crusoe's teeth out on the way to Moulmein, as punishment for some supposed misdemeanour, and beat islanders at other times'.^{lxiii}

The fate of the three other captives – named similarly 'Port Blair', 'Crusoe', and 'Jumbo'^{lxiv} - was quite different, for the British viewed them not as a potential source of cultural knowledge but as a means of communicating supposed colonial superiority to their fellow islanders. With this in view, government shipped the men to Rangoon with the aim of communicating to them 'some idea of the power and resources of their captors'.^{lxv} They were keen to learn their language, and on arrival the men were kept in the jail yard under the charge of an English sailor, who took them out on daily walks. No progress was made, however, and so the British sent them on to Moulmein. Thinking that they were being taken back to Port Blair, the men were apparently 'disappointed' when taken ashore. 'Jumbo' fell sick, and the others became homesick and 'pining'. An escape attempt failed after local villagers captured them, and shortly afterwards 'Jumbo' died. The surviving men were photographed (figure 4).^{lxvi} A little progress was made with learning vocabulary, and the men learned how to sew and use scissors, to sit to table, to use cutlery, and to bathe with soap. But in general terms the British viewed the kidnap as unsuccessful and so returned

'Port Blair' and 'Crusoe' to the Andamans. The Deputy Commissioner of Amherst, S. R. Tickell, who had taken charge of them, wrote in 1863:

The experiment of civilizing these two, by weaning them from their wild habits and creating artificial wants, to supply which should involve the necessity of frequent visits to the settlement, and thus form as it were the nucleus of increasing intercourse with a superior race, has certainly so far failed.^{lxvii}

Three decades later, Portman disagreed. He wrote that it was a turning point: from what the men had told their fellow islanders at the time, they had realised the nature and extent of British dominance in the region and the limits of their continued resistance.^{lxviii} Indeed, it was said that after their return to the islands the men had behaved well.^{lxix}

At the beginning of 1863, the British began actively to encourage naval brigade visits to Andamanese settlements. Petty officer of the naval brigade Harry Smith led a series of exchanges of biscuits, bread, plantains and other small items for islanders' bows and arrows, bringing them to the settlement headquarters at Ross Island.^{lxx} Superintendent Tytler wrote: 'I have no doubt that the time has now arrived when we may reasonably hope to reclaim and civilize these children of Nature.'^{lxxi} He expressed a wish to use Smith and his brigadesmen to accomplish this aim.^{lxxii}

Permeating all contact missions was the underlying threat of capture and confinement. In his account of the 'friendly intercourse' of early 1863, for instance, superintendent Tytler wrote of how a 'boy and a man *went over to Ross Island*'. In contrast, a naval brigadesman stationed on the Islands at the time,

Edwin Forbes, described in a letter home the same journey as a 'seizure' or 'kidnap', transforming it discursively into a quite different sort of event.^{lxxiii} And the purpose of kidnaps at this time was both to create cultural go-betweens and to 'civilize' islanders. The brigadesmen carefully dressed the Andamanese up, especially the women whose near-nudity appeared indecent to them. The captive man known as 'Jack' was put in naval uniform during his journey to Calcutta in 1858;^{lxxiv} 'Punch', 'Friday', and 'Crusoe Blair' were given straw hats during their confinement; and the islanders captured and sent to Rangoon in 1861 were dressed in 'slops and jumpers of white duck, and straw hats, bound with broad black ribbon, bearing the ship's name to which their former guardian had belonged.'^{lxxv} Such clothing transformed islanders from 'children of nature' to 'colonized subjects'. This transformation was represented visually in a range of contemporary photographs and engravings, most notably the 1858 image reproduced in Mouat's *Adventures and Researchers* (figure 2), which was reproduced widely in contemporary periodicals like the *Illustrated London News*.^{lxxvi}

For their part, the convicts appear to have been simultaneously afraid and disdainful of the Andamanese. In the face of a series of violent raids on convict working parties, Tytler wrote of the convicts' constant dread of attack: 'even the utterance of the word Coffree or Junglee admees nearly paralyzes them'. He feared for the viability of new colonial outposts at the sites of Aberdeen and Haddo in the face of the prospect of mass desertion by the intimidated convicts.^{lxxvii} And yet convicts seem also to have dismissed Andamanese prospects, and in this sense shared official views about their inevitable demise.

One government report claimed that the convicts looked on them as 'vermin to be extirpated'.^{lxxviii} According to the superintendent of Allahabad central jail, writing in 1859, three convicts pardoned and returned to India told him of 'strong black cannibals with horse-shaped faces'. They claimed that they would be cleared away with the jungle.^{lxxix} The Andamanese mocked the convicts, mimicking with what one official described as 'painful and cruel accuracy their affrighted and deprecating gestures', as they implored: 'Ram, Ram'.^{lxxx}

The Andamanese view of the convicts perhaps expresses something of the ambivalence of colonization through penal transportation, for convicts were simultaneously both a crucial part of the occupying force *and* under sentences of forced labour - or to put in another way both colonizers and colonized. One archival fragment that speaks to this point is the writing of convict Munir Shikohabadi, who penned a lengthy poem at about this time. His verse includes the couplet: 'Blackness belongs to the jungle people, whiteness to the Europeans / The prisoners on this island are caught day and night in two-colouredness'. In the original Persian, 'two-colouredness' invokes a sense of 'double-dealing', which captures neatly the nature of this peculiar colonial dilemma.^{lxxxi} But as we have seen there were significant lines of rupture between islanders and settlers. Islanders even learned some Urdu, which was the *lingua franca* of officials and convicts. They knew how to ask for *kaprah* (cloth) and water ('panno' [*pani*]).^{lxxxii} One Eurasian convict, James David, went as far as to state in 1863 'the Andamanese were kind to me and kissed and called me "Ubba" [father]'.^{lxxxiii}

Towards a gendered reading of colonization and captivity

There is also the question of intimate relations in an almost exclusively male penal colony. We know almost nothing about personal relationships between convicts during the early colonial period - beyond the worries of British officials about the prevalence of 'unnatural crime' within an exclusively male penal colony. Both Mouat and the first government inspector of the Andamans, surgeon G. G. Brown, expressed fears that the Andamans would descend into the moral chaos of the notorious Australian penal colony at Norfolk Island. Mouat wrote that, without women, the Islands would become a 'pandemonium of the worst description'.^{lxxxiv} In 1858, the government of India ordered that although no immediate measures were necessary, in order to address the gender imbalance of the incipient colony, a system of convict family migration should eventually be worked out according to 'judgment and experience'.^{lxxxv} In the absence of a free settlement, unlike in the whaling stations of early colonial Tasmania or the fur trade in colonial Canada, there was no need to use intimate relations as means of breaking into trading networks. On the contrary, the British strongly discouraged all communities from sexual relations with the Andamanese, fearing the exacerbation of hostilities.

And yet there is no question that there was sexual contact between islanders and settlers during the early years of colonization. An early allusion to relations might be read into a slightly ambiguous statement about the naval brigade's contact with islanders in 1863, when it was said that one evening 'friendly intercourse was *in every sense of the word* finally established.'^{lxxxvi} Whether this was the case or not that night, within the first ten years of colonization Andamanese women were giving birth to children fathered by

settlers, though the archives are silent on whether they were convicts, naval brigadesmen or British officials. One rare exception is the escaped mutineer Dudhnath Tiwari, who lived with islanders for some months, and left an Andamanese woman pregnant when he fled to warn of an attack on the colonial settlement in 1858.^{lxxxvii} Violence always underlay sexual intercourse between settlers and islanders, whether through *coitus* as an act metaphorically representative of colonial invasion and occupation of the Andamans, more literally during sexual assault, or through the spread and effects of venereal disease. Certainly, by the second half of the 1860s there was a high rate of stillbirth, likely caused by maternal syphilis. At the time officials made epidemiological associations between islander – settler sexual relations, venereal disease, and infant mortality.^{lxxxviii} One British officer even went as far as to suggest an institutionalised programme of ‘new blood put in them by marriage to Natives of other countries, such as Africans.’ Superintendent B. Ford barely drew breath before rejecting the idea out of hand.^{lxxxix}

A turning point in the history of the settlement revolved around an attempted rape that led to the death of a naval brigadesman called James Pratt at the hands of two islanders. On 28 January 1863, P. W. Fendall, commander of the Andamans detachment, reported that it has been an entirely unprovoked attack.^{xc} Clendinnen has noted official bemusement at the supposedly unpredictable response of native peoples to the settlement of New South Wales, as Aborigines seemed to waver between friendliness and open hostility.^{xcii} After Pratt’s death, one government of India official compared the Andamans to Australia in this respect, writing: ‘The same series of events has presented itself

over and over again with the Australian aborigines – friendly intercourse, excessive confidence on the part of the European, then unexplained treachery from the Natives.' In the Andamans, officials explained islander violence through reference to the scale of civilization: 'with races of such low organization, there is never any security against sudden outbreaks of rage or cupidity in individuals.'^{xcii} Tytler subsequently described his 'children of nature' as 'treacherous, blood-thirsty, and murderous'. 'We have no reason to look on them as a poor miserable, savage, ignorant[,] helpless race' he wrote. 'They are not so, and have proved themselves not to be so. They are treacherous where no cause for treachery exists. They are blood-thirsty, subtle murderers, possessing all the facilities, understanding and senses common to other men, but destroying life under the garb of friendship when the opportunity offers.'^{xciii}

But we might look beyond discourses of race and make sense of islanders' apparently unpredictable behaviour if we consider it as a quite coherent response to the violence and sexual exploitation that was rarely acknowledged by officials. The brigade captured two islanders allegedly involved in the incident – they called them 'Jumbo' (later identified by Portman as Tura) and 'Snowball' (Lokala)^{xciv} - and placed them in irons.^{xcv} Tytler wrote at the time of the need to take 'compulsory measures' to put them to work at land clearance. 'By this means alone will this savage tribe be reclaimed to civilization', he went on, 'and no other conciliatory means with them can ever be of avail'.^{xcvi} However, events were more complicated than they first appeared, for after receiving what he described as 'hints quite accidentally', when Tytler made further enquiries in the naval barracks a few weeks afterwards, it emerged that Pratt had attempted to

rape one of the women, 'Madam Cooper'. Her 'husband' had killed Pratt as a result. Some of the sailors claimed that there had been no previous 'connection' with the women; others maintained that they had gone frequently into the woods with the unattached women - at the instigation of Andamanese men. All were agreed that the women were 'decent' and did not encourage the men sexually. The problem with Pratt had emerged, they alleged, because 'Madam Cooper' was the man they knew as 'Jumbo' (Tura)'s wife. As Tytler put it, this altered significantly events, and placed the conduct of the Andamanese 'in a different light to that formerly shewn.' Petty officer Smith left the Islands shortly afterwards, presumably in disgrace, though there is no record of his official admonishment.^{xcvii}

By the time knowledge of the attempted rape came to light, Pratt's death had provoked a fundamental shift in local policy. Tytler had already ordered 'Jumbo' (Tura) and 'Snowball' (Lokala) into custody on Ross Island, and induced (by what means we do not know) the woman known as 'Madam Cooper' (by now known as 'Topsy') and a boy known as 'Sambo', 'Snowball' (Lokala)'s brother, to join them. Tytler built them a house, and employed convicts under his personal supervision 'to wait upon them and attend to their wants like servants.' He placed in charge the recently ordained Calcutta-born and British-educated Reverend Henry Corbyn. This arrangement formed the basis of a long-term institution for the Andamanese, which islanders called the *Boudla[h]*,^{xcviii} and the British called the Andaman home.^{xcix} They were removed from the watchful eyes of sailors, and placed under the charge of convicts. Brigadesman Edwin Forbes

wrote of the change: 'the Andamans hate the sight of a Coolie and would cut their throats as quick as they would look at them'.^c

Institutionalised captivity in the Andaman home

The Andaman home was an institution of detention that aimed to 'improve' islanders, forcing them into productive labour through creating dependency on addictive consumables such as tobacco and rum. In effect, it extended and institutionalised earlier practices of kidnap and capture. However, it also replicated significant elements of the management of convicts in the Andamans penal colony. Islanders were placed in confinement, fettered, handcuffed, photographed, flogged, beaten, and guarded, mirroring substantively the treatment of Indian convicts. They even faced the prospect of banishment overseas. 'Jumbo' (Tura) for instance spent six months in irons in Moulmein in punishment for brigadesman Pratt's death. The same sanction was held out to islanders involved in violent incidents later on.^{ci} In 1863, Tytler went as far as to suggest that the islanders should be rounded up and sent en masse to the nearby Cocos Islands and forced to clear and cultivate land and, thus, to 'learn civilization'. There was some precedent for his idea in colonial Van Diemen's Land, where government had instituted a deliberate policy of ethnic cleansing during the 1830s. The government rounded up Tasmanian aborigines by force or by trickery and deported them to Flinders Island in the Bass Straits.^{cii} The government of India, however, was far from enthusiastic about his idea, though it continued to support the taking of Andamanese to the mainland.^{ciii}

In 1863, Corbyn took one group of eight islanders to Calcutta in order that they might 'describe to their people, on their return, the superior advantages of a civilized life.'^{civ} The British hoped to impress them with the city's rail yards, cantonments and pig farms.^{cv} During the trip, two of the party drowned, one was murdered, and one died of 'natural causes'. Back in the Andamans three years later, one of the returned men murdered another.^{cvi} During the second half of the 1860s, the British continued to take islanders to India. Officer in charge of the Andamanese J. N. Homfray's group was even photographed with a group of seven men and women in Calcutta in October 1865 (figure 5). Homfray claimed that when the party left, the islanders had cried ('and were very sorry in my leaving them'), but when it returned, they were so pleased to see him that they danced and sang all night ('rejoicing at the accounts of treatment their friends had received at the hands of myself and others.').^{cvi}

Just as the islanders violently opposed colonial settlement, it would be a mistake to ignore their challenge to internment in the Home. In 1863 Corbyn wrote of the indiscipline of the 'insane frolic' that '*almost*' baffled his efforts 'to civilize and instruct' the Andamanese men, women and children under his charge:

The boy would rush off to one end of the room and dance and shout defiance. Madam Cooper would fling herself into an easy-chair ... Another would run to the door and call for *Judder* (cocoanuts) and *Panoo* (water) ... or a light for a cigar ... or else seize something on the table and set the rest into screams of laughter ... Joe, who is a very dodging and deceptive man, but extremely playful, almost always laughing and in high spirits, would try every artifice to escape the mat-work ... Jacko shewed a more pugnacious spirit, and was inclined to resist with force till he found such resistance unavailing. The same opposition was encountered in teaching Topsy and Bess sewing.^{cvi}

Corbyn wrote of using physical force against islanders, striking them with his hands or cane, though the Andamanese were no passive subjects. When he slapped them, they slapped him back, with 'jocular or abusive remarks, which provoked roars of laughter from the rest at my expense'. His attempts to hold the head of one boy over his book to force repetition of the alphabet was met with a bodkin pointed at his eyes, 'with a sign that he would pierce them with it unless I gave up that obnoxious mode of teaching him.' And yet, Corbyn claimed that the Andamanese were deeply affectionate: 'I am almost crushed by the weight of their embraces'.^{cix} One mainland contemporary wrote with incredulity of Corbyn's contradictory account, denouncing his descriptions of dancing and physical intimacy with 'savages' a 'ludicrous hoax'. It revealed, he noted, 'Muscular Christianity reduced to an absurdity'.^{cx} The following year there was a mass 'escape' (and subsequent 'arrests'), when prompted by convict violence, all the islanders then on Ross swam to South Andaman.^{cxi}

The Andamanese also mounted attacks on convicts associated with the Andaman home. 'I always thought that it was a good thing to have Church and a minister of the Gospil [sic] at hand', naval brigadesman Forbes wrote in 1864, 'but this place was bad enough without [Corbyn] now it is ten times worse'.^{cxi} The home itself became a strange spectacle – a space of Andamanese experimental captivity within a place of Indian convict colonization – and as such drew what Corbyn described as 'crowds of Europeans and natives' who expressed 'unaffected astonishment' at the islanders. 'People flocked to visit them,' he wrote, 'as they would visit wild beasts in a Menagerie'. For their part,

the islanders seem to have enjoyed playing on this reaction; performing 'various antics to elicit mirth and gifts', scattering 'frightened Natives' left and right, making 'wild sonorous war shouts' to terrify their 'gaping spectators', and 'bursting with laughter' as they turned their audience into dancing performers.^{cxiii}

Corbyn sought to 'educate' islanders in other ways too. After islanders shot arrows at two escaped convicts, he found 'but one way' of explaining that future attacks would be met with summary retribution. He brought four men - 'Jumbo', 'Topsy', 'Joe', and 'Jacko' - before one of the wounded men, pointing to his injuries and acting out their affliction with a bow and arrow. He gestured toward their camp and used some 'disconnected words of their language' to explain that their tribe had been to blame. He then pointed a pistol at each of the men in turn. Clearly terrified, they shook with fear. Tytler recalled how 'Topsy' had made 'frantic gestures', pointing southward at another tribe, and pointing to Jumbo's fetters indicated that she would go and find the responsible man so that he too could be put in chains. Corbyn took the men on to see the second wounded convict in hospital, by which time Jumbo was so afraid that he could hardly stand. 'I felt that it was better to cause momentary terror ... than any longer to allow the lives of unoffending persons to be exposed to their cruel caprices and brutal love of butchery', he wrote, claiming that it resulted in an improvement in the islanders' willingness to assist the settlement.^{cxiv} The inhumanity of this frightening encounter hardly bears further elaboration. Tytler, meanwhile, was firm in his belief that the Andamanese needed to be

taught that they were British subjects, and so were under 'bounden duty' of obedience.^{cxv}

As the British had hoped, islanders came to depend upon the Andaman home for food, tobacco and other supplies, to the point that officials even began to use strategies of exile from Ross to punish misdemeanours.^{cxvi} Indeed, despite Corbyn's somewhat defensive claim that the Andamanese stayed willingly at the home, their residence there was at best the result of the creation of a relationship of dependence on food and narcotics, and at worst an expression of what Portman described later in the 1890s as 'considerable and illegal pressure'.^{cxvii} As early as 1858, the head of the Andamans committee, F. J. Mouat, drew out something of the complexities of attempts to draw distinctions between incarceration, kidnap and captivity. He argued that, as law and order were entirely absent from Andamanese society, islanders did not know right from wrong and thus they were as morally irresponsible for their acts as were lunatics. Mouat thought that it was unlikely that 'natives' would ever understand fully the penal intent of incarceration, and doubted that the Andamanese themselves differentiated it from kidnapping.^{cxviii} Mouat's words are strongly suggestive of the overlaps in islanders' understanding of 'capture' and 'penal incarceration', as well as more profoundly the inherent ambiguities of drawing clear lines of distinctions between them.

Conclusions

Kidnap and captivity were a necessary precondition for Britain's more extensive, permanent colonization of the Andamans during the late eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, for they enabled close observation of the Islands' indigenous peoples. At the time, islanders formed part of larger imperial discussions about 'race', with officials drawing on ideas and representations from across the globe. After colonization, captive islanders held out hopes for the creation of cultural interlocutors, who could educate their fellow islanders about British superiority and 'civilization' and so persuade them of the benefits of settlement. As a British penal colony for Indian convicts, there were a variety of relationships at work within indigenous – settler contact more broadly. Convicts shared colonial understandings of Andaman islanders, and became incorporated into both contact missions and practices of indigenous confinement. But there is also evidence that islanders drew their own distinctions between the settlers. Certainly, no simple lines between 'colonizer' and 'colonized' can be drawn. There are interesting parallels in this respect with the convict settlements of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, where the heightened significance of relationships of confinement – and resistance against them - shaped and gendered relationships in significant ways. Colonial officers in the Andamans were strongly aware of these comparisons, which drew a supposedly isolated penal colony into the networks of Empire. In this respect the Islands might be seen as part of a single frame of reference for colonial indigenes.^{cxix} But within the significant overlaps between the treatment and experiences of convicts and islanders, we glimpse something of the ambiguities of penal colonization too.

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ⁱ I employ colonial place names in keeping with the archives from which this paper is drawn.

ⁱⁱ Indian Hindus believed that they were descendants of the monkey hero of the epic *Ramayana*, Hanuman. See V. Pandya, *In The Forest: Visual And Material Worlds Of Andamanese History (1858-2006)*, Lanham, Maryland, 2009, 82.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pandya, *In The Forest*, 74. In this paper I will use the term 'islander' to refer to all the indigenous populations of the Andamans, though when the British spoke of 'islanders' they probably referred to the Great Andamanese, who they encountered in North, Middle and South Andaman Islands.

^{iv} I. Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers: Europeans And Australians At First Contact*, Cambridge, 2005; M. Daunton, R. Halpern (Eds), *Empire And Others: British Encounters With Indigenous Peoples*, Philadelphia, 1999; G. Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures And Self*, Philadelphia, 2004; G. Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power And Theatre On The Bounty*, Cambridge, 2002; A. Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities In Nineteenth-Century South Africa And Britain*, London, 2001; A. Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, And The Making Of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, Toronto, 2002; M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing And Transculturation*, London, 1992.

^v P. D. Morgan, Encounters between British and 'indigenous' peoples, c. 1500 – c. 1800, in: Daunton, Halpern (Eds), *Empire And Others*, 51-2.

^{vi} J. Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, Melbourne, 2008; Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*.

^{vii} Morgan, Encounters, 51-2.

^{viii} See Lester, *Imperial Networks*, 4, 189.

^{ix} Morgan, Encounters, 62.

^x Dening, *Beach Crossings*; Pandya, *In The Forest*; Anne Salmond, *The Trial Of The Cannibal Dog: The Remarkable Story Of Captain Cook's Adventures In The South Seas*, New Haven, 2003.

^{xi} Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*.

^{xii} R.C. Temple [John Ritchie], An unpublished 18th century document about the Andamans, *The Indian Antiquary* 30 (1901), 235.

^{xiii} R.H. Colebrooke, On the Andaman Islands, *Asiatick Researches* 4 (1795), 385-394, reproduced in M. V. Portman, *A History Of Our Relations With The Andamanese, Compiled From Histories And Travels, And From The Records Of The Government Of India, Volume I*, Calcutta, 1899, 69.

^{xiv} M. Symes, *An Account Of An Embassy To The Kingdom Of Ava, In The Year 1795*, Edinburgh, 1827, 155-6. Lists of transportation convicts from the Bengal presidency can be found in the India Office collections at the British Library (hereafter IOR), Bengal Judicial Proceedings series, 1793-5, at P/128/7, P/128/12, P/128/13, P/128/15.

^{xv} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 82-84.

^{xvi} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 86, 93-97 (quotes 93, 95).

^{xvii} Symes, *Embassy To Ava*, 157-158 (quote 158).

^{xviii} Symes, *Embassy To Ava*, 160-161 (quote 160). See also: IOR, V/3199 *Selections From The Records Of The Government Of India (Home Department) No. XXV: The Andaman Islands, With Notes On Barren Island*, Calcutta, 1859; Appendix no. 2, Government of India Home Department, Public Consultation 6 August 1858: Precis of Information Regarding the Andaman, Nicobar, and Cocos Islands.

^{xix} Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*, 94-109.

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- xx Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, 86-89.
- xxi National Archives of India, New Delhi (hereafter NAI), Home (Public): Minute of the Board, 8 February 1796.
- xxii Symes, *Embassy To Ava*, 162.
- xxiii Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 116.
- xxiv J. B. D. Rodyk, 'an old pensioner' of Penang, cited in Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 116-117.
- xxv I. Chatterjee and R. M. Eaton (Eds), *Slavery And South Asian History*, Bloomington, 2006.
- xxvi C. Anderson, Convicts and coolies: rethinking indentured labour in the nineteenth century, *Slavery and Abolition* 30 1 (2009) 93-109.
- xxvii Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 117.
- xxviii [I. H. Burkhill], William Jack's Letters to Nathaniel Wallich, 1819-1821, *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 73 (1916), 177. I thank David Arnold for this reference.
- xxix J. W. Dalrymple, officiating secretary to government of India, to W. Grey, secretary to government Bengal, 28 November 1855; Grey to Dalrymple, 29 February 1856, cited in Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 188-190.
- xxx H. Hopkinson, commissioner of Arakan, to Grey, 8 February 1856, cited in Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 190-197 (quote 191).
- xxxi Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 185.
- xxxii F. J. Mouat, *Adventures And Researches Among The Andaman Islanders*, London, 1863; E. Belcher, Notes on the Andaman Islands, *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 5 (1867), 40-49; F. J. Mouat, Brief narrative of an expedition to the Andaman Islands, in 1857, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6 2 (1861-2), 41-43; review of *Adventures*, in: *Colburn's United Services Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal*, Vol. III, London, 1863, 433-440.
- xxxiii Royal Archives, Windsor (hereafter RA), VIC/Z 502/30 letter from Lady Canning, 9 January 1858.
- xxxiv Pandya, *In The Forest*, 17. I have written about 'Jack's visual production in C. Anderson, Oscar Mallitte's Andaman photographs, 1857-8, *History Workshop Journal* 67 1 (2009), 152-172.
- xxxv Pandya, *In The Forest*, 17; C. Wintle, Model subjects: representations of the Andaman Islands at the colonial and Indian exhibition, 1886, *History Workshop Journal* 67 1 (2009), 194-207.
- xxxvi Professor Owen, On the osteology and dentition of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands, and the relations thereby indicated to other races of mankind, *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 2 (1863), 34-43.
- xxxvii Owen, On the osteology and dentition of the aborigines. A small selection of later nineteenth-century literature includes: G. E. Dobson, On the Andamans and Andamanese, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 4 (1875), 457-467; W. H. Flower, On the osteology and affinities of the Andaman Islands, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 9 (1880), 108-133; E. H. Man, On the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 12 (1883), 69-175, 327-434. For critical readings of the relationship between photography and anthropometry, see: E. Edwards, Science visualized: E.H. Man in the Andaman Islands, in: E. Edwards (Ed.), *Anthropology And Photography, 1860-1920*, London, 1992, 108-121; J. Falconer, Ethnographical photography in India 1850-1900, *Photographic Collector* 5 1 (1984), 16-46.
- xxxviii C. Anderson, *Legible Bodies: Race, Criminality And Colonialism In South Asia*, Oxford, 2004, 189-197; A. Bank, *Bushmen In A Victorian World: The Remarkable Story Of The Bleek-Lloyd Collection Of Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, 2006; E. Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology And Museums*, Oxford, 2001, 131-156.
- xxxix D. Arnold, *Colonizing The Body: State Medicine And Epidemic Disease In Nineteenth-Century India*, Berkeley, 1993.
- xl IOR P/234/46 (Northwest provinces judicial proceedings October 1858) list of prisoners dispatched from Mirzapur jail to Alipur jail, 3 September 1858; IOR P/206/62 (India judicial proceedings 6 January 1860) J. C. Haughton, superintendent Port Blair, to Grey, 13 November 1859.
- xli IOR V/10/28 Andamans report, 1866-7.
- xlii IOR P/206/61 (India judicial proceedings 29 July 1859) extract proceedings foreign department, 10 January 1859.
- xliii Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 273.
- xliv Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 277-278.

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- ^{xliv} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 277; Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*, 93.
- ^{xlvi} IOR P/206/61 (India judicial proceedings 29 July 1859) report by Dr G. G. Browne on the sanitary state of the Andamans, March 1859. There is an extensive literature on the health impact of the British penal colonies in Australia. The classic account is H. Reynolds, *The Other Side Of The Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance To The European Invasion Of Australia*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1981.
- ^{xlvii} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 308.
- ^{xlviii} Owen, On the osteology and dentition.
- ^{xlix} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 103.
- ^l IOR P/206/62 (India judicial proceedings 17 March 1860) Haughton to Grey, 29 December 1859.
- ^{li} IOR P/206/62 (India judicial proceedings 7 April 1860) A. Gamack, civil assistant surgeon Port Blair, to Haughton, 27 - 29 February 1860.
- ^{lii} IOR P/206/62 (India judicial proceedings 7 December 1860) report of Khooshee Lall, June 1860.
- ^{liii} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 299.
- ^{liv} Papers relating to the aborigines of the Andaman Islands (hereafter Papers relating to the aborigines) (Haughton to Grey, 10 January 1861), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1861), 253-255.
- ^{lv} Memoranda relative to three Andamanese in the charge of Major Tickell, when deputy commissioner of Amherst, Tenasserim, in 1861 by Col. S. R. Tickell, 28 July 1863, enc. vocabulary of Andamanese words, as ascertained from CRUSOE and FRIDAY, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1864), 167 (emphasis in original) (hereafter Tickell's memoranda).
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- ^{lvii} Papers relating to the aborigines (Haughton to Grey, 10 January 1861), 254-255; Papers relating to the aborigines (Hellard's notes), 262.
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- ^{lxii} Account of further intercourse with the natives of the Andaman Islands, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1864) (hereafter Account of further intercourse), 32-35.
- ^{lxiii} Papers relating to the aborigines (Hellard's notes), 261.
- ^{lxiv} IOR P/188/67 (India public proceedings 24 June 1863) R. C. Tytler, enc. statement of John Watson, 27 April 1863; IOR P/188/67 (India public proceedings 31 July 1863) H. Corbyn to Tytler, 2 July 1863.
- ^{lxv} Portman wrote later that the Andamanese who remembered the incident in the 1890s told him that four men had been kidnapped: Íra Jóbo (Tuesday Blair), Bía Kurcho (Crusoe), Jumbo, the man who died in Moulmein, (Bira Buj), and Turai Dé (Friday). Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 306.
- ^{lxvi} Papers relating to the aborigines (A note on certain aborigines of the Andaman Islands, by Lieut.-Colonel Albert Fytche, commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, 10 June 1861), 263.
- ^{lxvii} Papers relating to the aborigines (Fytche's note, 10 June 1861), 265-267.
- ^{lxviii} Tickell's memoranda 163-169.
- ^{lxix} Portman, *A History Of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 331-332, 359. Note the intriguing (but missing) associated reference in the 'B' proceedings of India public records (IOR P/188/66 nos 127-9): Captain J. C. Anderson, adjutant general's office, forwards a small list of Andamanese words and a lithographed likeness of an Andamanese lad who was in his father's service 21 October 1862.
- ^{lxix} IOR P/434/1 (India Public Proceedings April 1866) Andaman home report, February 1866.
- ^{lxvii} Duke University Library (hereafter DUL), Edwin F. Forbes, *Journal and Letter Book 1861-1865* (hereafter Forbes mss), journal January 1863. See also IOR P/188/67 (India public proceedings 11 February 1863) statement of the visits of the aborigines, 14 January 1863.
- ^{lxviii} IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 11 February 1863) statement of the visits of the aborigines, 14 January 1863.
- ^{lxix} Account of further intercourse, 33.
- ^{lxviii} DUL Forbes mss, letter to Mr Barnard, 17 January 1863.
- ^{lxviii} Anderson, Oscar Mallitte's Andaman Photographs.
- ^{lxviii} Tickell's memoranda, 162.
- ^{lxviii} Anderson, Oscar Mallitte's Andaman Photographs.

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- lxxvii IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 14 March 1864) continuation of statement regarding the aborigines of the Andamans, 24, 26-7 January 1864; IOR P/188/67 (India public proceedings 14 March 1863) treacherous murder of an English seaman (hereafter Treacherous murder): statement of Harry Smith, 28 January 1863; further notes by Tytler, n.d.; Tytler to E. C. Bayley, secretary to government of India, 5 February 1863. (Coffree = *kafir* [unbeliever]; junglee admess = Andamanese jungle-dweller).
- lxxviii IOR P/188/66 (India Public Proceedings 9 December 1864) A. P. Phayre, chief commissioner of Burma, to Bayley, 31 Oct. 1864.
- lxxix IOR P/206/61 (India Judicial Proceedings 29 July 1859) T. Farquhar, superintendent Allahabad jail, to W. Muir, secretary to government of India, 14 January 1859.
- lxxx Narrative no. 2, by Mr Corbyn, reproduced in Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 432.
- lxxxi For further discussion of Shikohabadi, see Anderson, *The Indian Uprising*, 99-101, ch. 5. I thank Christopher Shackle for his poetic translations.
- lxxxii Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 320, 334.
- lxxxiii Treacherous murder, statement of James David, 28 January 1863.
- lxxxiv IOR P/206/61 (India Judicial Proceedings 29 July 1859) report by Dr G. G. Browne on the sanitary state of the Andamans, March 1859; IOR P/146/15 (Bengal judicial proceedings 10 March 1858) Mouat to C. J. Buckland, secretary to government of India, 22 February 1859.
- lxxxv IOR P/188/49 (India Judicial Proceedings 15 January 1858) C. Beadon, secretary to government of India, to acting superintendent H. Man, 15 January 1858.
- lxxxvi IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 14 March 1863) continuation of statement regarding the aborigines of the Andamans, 18 January 1863 (my emphasis). At the time, 'intercourse' implied trade and social communication (perhaps in this case through gesture), as well as sexual connexion.
- lxxxvii Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 285.
- lxxxviii For instance: IOR P/434/2 (India Public Proceedings August 1866) Andaman home report, June 1866; IOR P/434/12 (India Public Proceedings) Andaman home report for the official year 1867-8. High rates of stillbirth and infant mortality were observed similarly in colonial Australia. See Reynolds, *The Other Side Of The Frontier*, 125-126.
- lxxxix IOR P/434/2 (India Public Proceedings August 1866) Andaman home report, June 1866, superintendent B. Ford to C. P. Hilderbrand, officiating secretary to the chief commissioner of Burma, 5 October 1866.
- xc Treacherous murder, continuation of statement regarding the aborigines of the Andamans, n.d.; A. Gamack, civil surgeon in medical charge, to P. W. Fendall, commanding naval brigade, 28 January 1863.
- xcii Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*, 94-95.
- xcii Treacherous murder, J. W. S. Wyllie, under secretary to government of India, to Tytler, 14 March 1863.
- xciii Treacherous murder, further notes by Tytler, n.d.
- xciv Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, 361.
- xcv DUL Forbes MSS, Journal entries, 29 January 1863, 17 February 1863.
- xcvi Treacherous murder, further notes by Tytler, n.d.
- xcvii IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 24 June 1863) Tytler to Wyllie, enc. statements of John Hamilton, Henry Brown, John Watson, and John Duncan, 27 April 1863; IOR P/188/67 (India public proceedings 4 August 1863), Tytler to Bayley, 15 July 1863.
- xcviii Anonymous, Muscular christianity among the pygmies, *Friend of India*, 6 August 1863; Narrative no. 3, by Mr Corbyn, reproduced in Portman, *A History Of Our Relations*, Vol. I, ch. 12.
- xcix IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 31 July 1863) Tytler to Bayley, 25 June 1863.
- c DUL Forbes MSS, letter to Mr Whitney, 16 June 1864.
- ci IOR P/434/1 (India Public Proceedings April 1866) Andaman home report, February 1866; IOR P/434/2 (India Public Proceedings August, November 1866) Andaman home reports, June 1866, July 1866.
- cii Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, 295-313.
- ciii Treacherous murder: further notes by Tytler, n.d.; Wyllie to Tytler, 14 March 1863.
- civ IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 3 November 1863) Corbyn to Tytler, 3 October 1863; *Friend of India*, 5 December 1863.
- cv Pandya, *In The Forest*, 82.

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- cvi IOR P/434/1 (India Public Proceedings January, April 1866) Andaman home reports, October 1865, February 1866.
- cvii IOR P/434/1 (India Public Proceedings January, April 1866) Andaman home reports, October 1865, February 1866.
- cviii IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 31 July 1863) Corbyn to Tytler, 2 July 1863.
- cix IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 31 July 1863) Corbyn to Tytler, 2 July 1863.
- cx Anonymous, Muscular christianity.
- cxi IOR P/188/66 (India Public Proceedings 15 April 1864) Andaman home report, April 1864; Corbyn's report, 1 March 1864.
- cxii DUL Forbes MSS, letter to Mr Whitney, 16 June 1864.
- cxiii IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 31 July 1863) Corbyn to Tytler, 2 July 1863.
- cxiv Corbyn's narrative no. 2 (quotes 406).
- cxv Treacherous murder, further notes by Tytler, n.d.
- cxvi IOR P/434/1 (India Public Proceedings April 1866) Andaman home report, February 1866.
- cxvii Portman, *A History of Our Relations, Vol. I*, 429.
- cxviii IOR P/188/67 (India Public Proceedings 18 May 1863) Jumbo and Snowball – language to be investigated: Mouat to A. Eden, secretary to government Bengal, 10 April 1863.
- cix Lester, *Imperial Networks*, 189.