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NOMADISH
Its Cause & Cure

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PREFACE

I have gone through the Report on the 'Nomads'. I find it not only very informative but also very interesting. I am sure this Report when published will be very useful to officials and non-officials who are interested in the welfare of the Tribals and Backward Classes.

K. N. ANANTARAMAN,
Chief Secretary,
Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Hyderabad, dated 27th November 1965.

Nomadism

Its Cause and Cure

WHO IS A NOMAD?

Nomadism can be broadly defined as the inborn, traditional, cultural trait of those human beings to whom wandering is still an unquenchable thirst, despite all its discomforts and disabilities, physical as well as mental. It would not be practised unless its addicts love it, adore it, and cannot remain without it. To the purer nomads, who are mostly food gatherers, it is still endless and even aimless and continues over ages to be a fading phantom. Wander-lust undoubtedly takes its birth in the womb of unambition, inexorable basic human characteristic, common to all globe-trotters.

Wandering, they say, is as old as humanity. Man was in the beginning a nomad. He is believed to have lived in that State for a good many millennia of years. As ambition began to sprout and kindle, and as the environment of any particular group of human beings favoured easy production of food, property and wealth, a liking for saving and accumulation developed in the human being, which ultimately converted him to a sedentary life. Even now amongst several nomadic tribes, the extent of their wander-lust can be determined, by the quantity of unambition that can be detected in them. The persistence of nomadic habits in several hundred thousands, nay, even in a few crores of human beings all over the world, gives a glimpse into the life led by the early man, not only in the means he employed to secure his sustenance but also in his craving to develop social relations, both for purposes of offence as well as of defence. This does not however mean that nomadism is an incurable feature of human life, but proves that it is also quite an acceptable pattern of human existence.

There can be no doubt that nomadism was the inescapable result of environment, which necessarily includes lack of ambition.

As the population advanced, and as the means of production improved, man should have curtailed the extent of his wanderings and settled with a fixed hearth and home depending mostly on the availability of food supply around his habitat, though the element of tiresomeness produced by an age long nomadic life cannot be ruled out.

The word Nomad is derived from the Greek word "Nemo" which literally means "to pasture". It is applied by almost all the Western scholars to grass-landers and herdsmen, who permanently or periodically keep wandering without any particular house or habitat which they could call their own, tend sheep or goats or herds of cattle, which might as well include, horses, camels, yaks and other beasts of burden, for which there should have been a great demand in early historic or even late pre-historic times. The early pre-historic man, perhaps never bothered about driving a herd along with him, just as he would not have cared to raise a family, burdens which necessarily curtailed his freedom of movement, if not thought, across the uncharted horizon of his peregrinations. But this definition is narrow and does not cover millions of nomads in Asia and even in Europe, as for instance the Gypsies, who are believed to have emigrated from India during or immediately following the invasion of Alexander and now are found with a population of 6 millions spread over not only in every country of Europe but even in North America. In India itself, the home country of the Gypsies, there are still hundreds of tribes which do not tend any flocks and have not taken to any cultivation but continue still to be incorrigible nomads. The definition of a nomad is not therefore an easy task in view of the complicated nature and functions of nomadism in this Country.

The following definitions of a few well known authorities throw interesting light on the different facets of nomadism. The dictionary of Anthropology defines a nomad as "a person who lives completely from his flock and does not domicile himself to plant". The Notes and Queries on Anthropology describe nomadic people as "those dependent principally on hunting or collecting for their food supplies, having no permanent abodes". Dr. B. H. Mehta describes nomadism as "regular seasonal or cyclical movements or group sustenance". He considers nomads to be grass-landers and cattle breeders. The encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines nomadism as "involving the repeated shifting of the habitat of a people in its search for subsistence. It does not consist in unrestricted and undirected wandering, but is focussed around temporary centres of operation, stability of which depended upon food supply and the State of technical

advance. It assumes different forms according to the methods of obtaining food, topographic and climatic conditions."

It is clear from the definitions quoted above from European and a few Indian writers, that they have ignored other types of nomads who are not given to hunting or grazing pursuits, found in every part of India. Nomadism cannot be the characteristic of individuals but is the common cultural trait of large and small groups, passing through varying stages of cultural and material advancement. It is the relic of an ancient past and forms a habit which its addicts cannot easily shake off, nor do they desire to do so either. The nomad finds his unfettered freedom so dear to him that he does not feel attracted by the modern comforts of daily life. In fact, he would not submit to the various discomforts of an ever shifting life unless his craving for nomadism is deep rooted, natural and quite attractive, so as to compensate for all the manifold physical discomforts and privations, which wandering life, with its uncertain food availability, imposes on the wanderer.

Nomads are known in different parts of India by different names. The Andhra Pradesh calls them as "Drimmaras" which in Sanskrit as well as in Telugu, literally means wanderers. Classic Sanskrit designated them as "Bhramanasheel". In Hindi speaking zones they are called "Ghummakars" or "Ghumanthus" "Asthiravasis", Yayavara", all of them emphasising their wanderlust. In Marathi they are known as "Bhatakara", the Gujarati name for nomads is "Wagara". The Kannada equivalent is "Tirugaduwa", and the Malayali name is "Sanjaria". In Tamil speaking areas they are called "nadodi", in Punjab "Pakhiwas", in Bengal "Bedi", "Jajawara" and Bhabaghurey and in Assam "Oghor". The most familiar appellation current in India to denote the wandering nature of the nomads is "Khanabadosh" which literally means "home on shoulder," very aptly referring to nomads who carry their homes (consisting of a bundle of bamboos) on their shoulders.

Classification of Nomads

All nomads, particularly the Indian nomads, can be broadly classified into the following five categories namely (1) Food gathering nomads, (2) Pastoral nomads, (3) Partial or trader or seasonal nomads, (4) Criminal nomads, (5) beggar nomads. The Encyclopaedia Britannica divides nomads into three categories, namely (1) Primitive nomads (corresponding to the food gathering wanderers), (2) Pastoral nomads, (3) tinker or trader nomads (corresponding to the Seasonal nomads).

The encyclopaedia of Social Sciences contains yet another classification of these wanderers, viz.,

(1) hunting, collecting nomads (corresponding to the food gathering type),

(2) Pastoral nomads,

(3) agricultural nomads, (not covered by the other classification and referring to podu, bewar, or slash and burn shifting cultivations).

1. *Food gatherers*—Indian nomads particularly those still passing through the food gathering State of development, as contrasted with the food producing people, belonging to the tribal or non-tribal communities, are shy of public contacts, and as far as possible avoid passing through towns and villages, where settled people live. They cling to the familiar Jungle paths moving in small groups of two or three families, carrying all their meagre belongings on country donkeys, superstitiously forsaken bullocks or on shoulder scales popularly known as "Kavadis" while moving from one camp to another, separated by a day's or half-day's journey. It is a familiar sight to see these groups carrying their children and their infirm, perched on

pony or donkey backs with poultry, mud pots, mattresses, utensils and other domestic requirements. They usually fix their camps in the midst of Jungles or away from the villages, in dried up tanks or ponds within the abandoned fort walls, choultries or road sides in their temporary shelters and fanning out into the surrounding country side in quest of food, raiment, exchange of their handicrafts, for foodgrains. Their dealings with the sophisticated villagers or townsmen, petty officials and the affluent, are generally marked by a spirit of least resistance, avoiding every occasion of friction and showing even excessive submissiveness. They wear minimum clothing, go bare-footed and bare-headed, and brave all hardships with remarkable endurance and ungrudging patience. Ignoring or by-passing the stringent forest rules and regulations, the Majapandarams of Kerala, the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, the Bihors of Bihar, manage to confine themselves to the thick jungles, earning their livelihood by hunting small game like rabbits, foxes, bats, monkeys several kinds of birds, and collecting myriad varieties of tubers, roots seeds and nuts in addition to honey and other minor forest produce. Not accustomed to work for wages, they are content with finding food for the day and rarely think of the tomorrow. They still live as their pre-historic ancestors did, a million of years ago, in the open, not caring to have a shelter or a hut. Being nomadic, a hut of by no use to them and even if they keep one, it should be light and portable as a home on the shoulders (Khana badosh). Lakhs of food gathering nomads in the world, particularly in Australia, do not have any habitations worth the name, and satisfy themselves by erecting wind screens with twigs and leaves to protect them from the biting winds. If they come across any natural cave, they use it only for keeping their belongings for very short durations. Julius E. Lips observes in his book "Origin of things" that the Tipis of the Plains' Indian nomads of North America and the tents of Arctic, Sub-Arctic and related tribes, as being of a conical shape consisting of wooden poles arranged in a circular pattern and covered according to climate and season with bark or animal skins. These are of the same type as the "Gudisas" (hut) of the Coastal Yanadis of Andhra Pradesh. Commenting on the primitive man's habitation, Hoebel observes "that the simplest homes of wandering food gatherers are not much more than nests". Murdock describes the usual Tasmanian shelter as a simple wind break constructed by interlaced boughs or strips of bark, in crescent form, and open on the levered side. Food gathering must have been resorted to by the early man as the easiest and the only available means of filling his stomach, as he could not have developed the required skill for making the bow and arrow, much less to use it. According to Hoebel, Man, out of the one million of years he has been

treading on the earth, should have been a food gatherer for nearly 9,00,000 of years. The nomad must therefore have been a vegetarian first before he became a hunter in later years, when he had learnt the art of making tools. It is surmised that the bow and arrow did not make their appearance in the primitive man's wind break, until the late Paleolithic or early neolithic times. The Neanderthal is credited with the possession of spears, axes and clubs. Hoebel believes that the domestication of plants and animals took place at a much later stage. According to him, agriculture in the old world attained a continuous distribution from the European and the Mediterranean Scrub forests of North Africa, into India through Turkeysthan down the Nile valley.

The Chenchus and Challa Yanadis of Andhra Pradesh, the Aruntas of Australia, still pursue the digging-stick-stage of civilisation, not knowing the other means of bettering their food supplies. The hill pandarams of Travancore, who are a nomadic hunting tribe, generally do not stick to a place for more than a week and shift their camps soon after the supplies of the dwarf date are exhausted in the surrounding few square miles. The Chenchus raise no crops and live mostly on the chase of the forest as well as their collection of yams, herbs, seeds, nuts and wild fruit.

Most of the food gathering nomads adopt the mating system of conjugal relationships, as the Yanadis still do, and do not observe any ceremonies to seal the sanctity of a permanent marriage tie. They unite and separate at will, without making any fuss about mutual disloyalties and recourse to tribal courts. As they do not possess any property worth the name the question of inheritance scarcely bothers the couples. On separation the sucklings and female children go with the mother, while grown-up boys stay with the father. Most of them are animists and do not have any definite ideas of life after death. They worship the village deities, mostly to ward off, the evil effects of their displeasure, rather than to find solutions for salvation. They are averse to all medical aid, allopathic or ayurvedic, and prefer herbal decoctions, the knowledge of which is passed on from sire to son.

THE ARUNTAS

The Aruntas of Central Australia compare favourably with the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh. To describe them in the words of Baldwin Spencer and F.J. Gillen, "The Aruntas have no clothing. They can own only what they are able to carry. Clothing is

less necessary than weapons and implements. This aboriginal is a pure nomad, living entirely on vegetable food and animals that he finds in the bush. Nothing comes amiss; acacia seed, lily roots, and stems, Yams, honey of the wild-bee and the honey ant, grubs, Kangaroos, emus, snakes, rats, frogs—in fact everything edible is eaten, even somethings such as certain flies and pounded anthill clay, that we should scarcely call by that name. He stores nothing except for a few days, in preparation for a ceremony and has no idea of agriculture or domestication, partly because the animals around him such as Kangaroos are not adopted to act as beasts of burden or givers of milk, but still more because he believes that by means of magic, which plays a large part in his life, he can increase their numbers when he wishes to do so. When food is abundant, he eats to repletion; when it is scarce, he tightens his waist band and starves philosophically.

“Under ordinary conditions the members of each local group are constantly to be met with, wandering in small parties consisting of one or two families often for example two or more brothers with their wives and children, over the land which they own, camping at favourite spots, where the presence of water-holes, with their accompaniment of vegetable and animal food enables them to supply their wants.

“Each family consisting of a man, and one or two more wives and children, accompanied always by dogs, occupies a Mia Mia, which is merely a lean-to of shrubs, so placed as to shield the occupants from the prevailing wind Time is no object to them and if there be no lack of food, the women and men all lounge about while the children laugh and play. If food would be required, then the women will go out accompanied by the children and armed with digging sticks and Pitchis Not only do they know the varied tracks of the animals but they will distinguish those of particular men and women”.

ESKIMOS

The above description of the Aruntas tallies word by word with the daily life of many Indian Nomadic Tribes like Kal Belias (Snake Charmers), Nakkalas, Pamulas, Mandulas, Aranadans, Kadars, Bahu Rupas, Karwals, Dheas, and Several others. Yet another interesting type of food gathering nomads, we can ill-afford to miss are the Eskimos who live in the polar regions. This socially and geographically isolated small community have been inhabiting this inhospitable region from immemorial times, despite

the severest weather conditions prevailing here, not to speak of the gravest food scarcity that faces the few thousand members of this tribe. They have no doubt lakhs of square miles of ice-packed waste land for them to roam, without anything except the reindeer, seal and whale flesh, day in and day out to consume. This necessarily condemns them to long-distance wandering in search of food and nothing else. To them whaling is not only a hunt activity but is a fullsome cult of magical and religious observances. Old men, by virtue of their age and social status are treated as elders and they wield all the power. As observed by Mr. Hoebel "the positions of the aged are more secure in the settled horticultural tribes than is the case among the hunting and collecting peoples, especially those who live in the arctic zone where the old people are unable to participate in primary productive activities to any extent. The support of the aged is a luxury that marginal societies find themselves unable to sustain in times of stress. Senilicide is general among the Eskimos. Old people may be blocked up in a snow hut to be abandoned to cold and starvation or they may be killed by more violent means, when they themselves request it". The Eskimo's only justification for perpetrating this cruelty on the aged is that their peregrinations involve very long distances, sometimes even 100 to 200 miles between two destinations at a stretch. It is obvious that carrying human loads must be a travail, the Eskimos cannot patiently suffer.

Among the Eskimos, land is not property in any sense. The idea of restricting the pursuit of food is repugnant to them. The population of the Eskimos was estimated to be 15,716 in 1943. Scattered over 2,000 square miles along the shores of the Bering sea and the banks of the lower Yukow River and in the Kuskowin River Valley. Their movements take them beyond the smith sound (latitude 80° N).

The gypsies.—The total gypsy population in Europe and America is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 6 millions. Despite repeated persecutions by the French, German, Italian, Turkish and several other European Governments, and the benevolent efforts made by Austria, U.S.S.R., Great Britain and a few other Governments, to settle and improve them, more than half of this number continues to be nomadic, according to the latest authoritative version of Bikshu Chamanlal, who had in the course of his several world travels, met and discussed with thousands of these nomads in recent years. Gypsies claim to have

migrated from India, from the days of Alexander's invasion. Their good looks and wiry frames, not to speak of their attractive complexions had subjected them to capture and enslavement by the invading Greek hordes and the conquests of Mohammed Ghazni and Ghorri in the past. They were brought according to the version of the gypsies of Persia and Egypt where a flourishing trade was carried on in them. At last they secured their freedom and were first heard of in Crete in 1322. They wandered from country to country in search of food and protection, but were mercilessly denied these elementary comforts. Whereas the U.S.S.R. has been continuously generous and helpful to them, Germany under Hitler, executed, gassed and massacred lakhs of them. Even a democratic country like England imposed severe restrictions on this tribe, curbing their freedom of movement in every way and imposing unconscionable punishments for breach of these restrictions. The Gypsies have been all these years wandering from place to place, pursuing small trades like hawking small articles of domestic use, like cutlery, perfumes, cheap glittering nickle ornaments, beads, musical instruments and also dealing in pedigree dogs and ponies. The gypsy women are more intelligent than men. Despite the march of centuries they did not give up their huge wagons in which they travel from place to place. They always camp in the open, and have become famous as a race of excellent musicians. Several of them crossed over to the new world where they had become technicians, doctors, lawyers, etc. Even in Europe they became members of Legislatures and Parliaments of some countries.*

Sri Chamanlal has taken great pains to establish that the Gypsies are no other than a branch of the Hindus. He has picked up as many as 3,000 words from the gypsy languages, which find their echo in the Sanskrit and Hindi languages of India. It is remarkable that these people should have preserved their ancient culture over the several centuries that have passed and through the tribulations they had to undergo in moving from country to country. Chaman Lal holds that more than the jews, the Gypsies suffered at the hands of the Germans, and the peoples of other European Countries.

According to Baegert, "the Calitorina's nomads spend their whole life day and night in the open air, the sky above them forming the roof and the hard soil, the couch on which they sleep.

*"Gypsies" by Bhikshu Chamantal.

During the Winter, only when the wind blows sharp, they construct around them, but only opposite the direction of the wind, a half moon of brush wood, a few spans high, as a protection against the inclemency of the weather.

"It cannot be otherwise with them; for if they had houses they would be compelled to carry their dwellings along with them like snails or turtles, the necessity of collecting food, urging them to wander constantly about. I am certainly not much mistaken in saying that many of them change their night quarters more than a hundred times in a year and hardly sleep three times successively in the same place and the same part of the country. Wherever the night surprises them they will be down to sleep". What is stated about the California nomad holds equally good in regard to the Erukula of Andhra Pradesh, the Villian of Madras State, the Gujjars and Bakkarwals of Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and several other Indian nomads.

PASTORAL NOMADS

Pastoralism is undoubtedly a much later pattern of life than food gathering and a few lakhs of years should have passed between the two stages of human development. Simultaneously with food gathering Man should have developed a fondness for pets like dogs. Domestication of animals must have soon followed and there can be no doubt that the man in course of time, found several uses for certain domesticated animals like goats and sheep for their wool as well as for their meat and hides. Gradually he should have used their milk as evidenced by the frequent references in the Vedas of the Aryans. Gradually the elephant and the horse, the camel and the mule were pressed into service for peace time as well as war time purposes. The bull, the buffalo and even the donkey were not ignored as beasts of burden and the first two as plough animals. It is this almost universal use of the animal that paved the way for human prosperity and civilisation in all lands.

R.W.L. Walden in his book "Man and his life the World over" observes, "that domestication of animals as a means of life is a complex problem and demands much of man. Nearly all herders treat their animals with consideration, even affection". POST OAK JIM of the Comanche herders remarked that "some men liked their horses more than their wives".

No Masai tribal will kill a domestic animal, but hires a man of another tribe if slaughter becomes necessary. As time went

on and as ambition and aspiration increased, man took to grazing flock of sheep and goats for trading purposes and soon the pastoral tribes or herders began to move over long distances taking months and even years to return.

A herdsman had to move with his family for tens and hundreds of miles in the same season and this necessitated good deal of planning and preparation. He had to meet opposition of rival groups; care had to be taken to treat sick animals, temporary shelters had to be put on the camping sites; and mutual co-operation between fellow herdsmen had to be sought for long journeys over rugged terrain, across gushing streams and unfordable rivers, and over hills and along narrow and unscheduled paths, very often, in unfamiliar country.

AMERICAN INDIANS

The American Indians who now number not more than 8,50,000 comprise of hunters of the plains, woodsmen of the eastern forests, the Navajo shepherds of Arizona and the Pueblo farmers of New Mexico and several others. Till 1600 A.D. the Red Indian was moving about the silent open land on foot only. It was with the Spanish conquest and the introduction of the horse by the Spaniards that a great change came over him and he became a large-scale herder. The Navajo Red Indians were nomads tending wandering flocks and did not know the planting of crops. They were wayward and restless. They were not interested also in making pottery or basketry and did not take to things that belonged to a settled life. While their ancestors were raiders and desert dwellers, their descendants, the Navajo, preferred to become peaceful shepherds and flock rearers. The sheep gave them wool and the loom began to weave. Today the Navajo is still the nomad wandering from pasture to pasture and watching over his flock of sheep. Marion E. Gridley, writing in his book, "The Indian of Yesterday" observes, "that the Navajo are the largest tribe of Indians in the U.S.A. and that with the advent of the horse, they and their fellow Indians like the Arapaho, Arikara, Black Foot, Comanche, Crow, and several other tribes inhabiting North Dakota, Montana, Colorado, Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, and other parts of the Plains Country, became skillful riders with the advent of the horse and this enabled them to rear large flocks of sheep and buffaloes for food, wool, meat, leather and many other useful articles. The horse changed their entire mode of life and they became true nomads".

Having become wanderers, they gave up earth lodges and took to portable skin shelters. The Plains Indians were known to travel even 2,000 miles driving in front of them buffalo herds and those of horses and sheep. Before the coming of the horse, the Indians were able to kill their buffaloes for meat and skin purposes, only by stampeding them over the edge of a cliff, but now mounted on swift steeds, the hunters could race along side the fleeing animals and with their bows shoot them down at a gallop. The extermination of the buffalo herds in course of time deprived the Indian of his nomadic existence and with its disappearance was gone the romance of his life. The Indian Warriors maintained high standards of chivalry. They would consider it unchivalrous to attack an enemy during nights. After day break, the bear clan chiefs used to give the long "balloo" war cry to warn the women and children to seek shelter.

It is believed that the American Indians had migrated to America from Asia across the Bering straits or across the now sunken land strip connecting the two hemispheres called Atlantis. How the Indians travelled from Asia to America is still steeped in mystery. Whatever might be the manner of migration, one fact is beyond doubt and that is, that the American Red Indians and the Indians of India have many similarities in their food habits, shape of dwellings, ornamental designs, artifacts, utensils, and mode of life. Several words and names of articles and animals used by the Red Indians like 'Shunka' (for dog) corresponding to the Sanskrit word 'Shunaka', are common to both the Indians.

In Argentina, the two hundred thousand Red Indians are considerably addicted to nomadism of a forest-dwelling pattern as well as of a pastoral type.

In Latin America, there are periodical internal migrations of large bodies of Indians moving from the plateau to the valleys or coast, or *vice versa* in search of temporary additional work. We can find nomadic or semi-nomadic forest dwelling tribes in this country living by hunting, food gathering, fishing, herding, and by shifting methods of agriculture.

ASIAN NOMADS

Coming to Asia, nomadic agriculture practised by shifting cultivators obliges the nomadic people to build their flimsy houses on piles or on platforms, and in the branches of trees, the dwelling

being more a shelter than a house. Among the Indian tree-dwellers can be counted the Kanikar, the Mandowar, the Irula of South India, the Garos of Garo Hills, Assam, and a few tribes of Kerala. Tree dwellers exist in Indo-China and Miao country on the Chinese frontier. Sea nomads living in small boats can be found on the coast of Burma. In Philippines, nomadic bands live in deep forests leading wholly wandering lives, hunting, trapping, and gathering wild forest produce and practising no agriculture. Shooting is the only way they catch fish and the string to which the arrow is tied, restores to the user the fish as well as the arrow.

Nomadic tribes have found a congenial homeland in Central Asia and Middle East Asia, where they follow a pastoral way of life, raising live-stock trading on it for sustenance. Like the 12th Century Mangols, their main occupation is finding pastures for their flocks.

Stock breeding is the basis of pastoral economy and nomadism, its preferred way of life. Reindeer breeders of Siberia depend on hunting and reindeer breeding. In South East Asia, and North-East Africa, pastoral nomadism and settled agriculture are interdependant. The Rwala-Bidouin of Arabia breed and exchange camels for foodgrains from agricultural tribes of the neighbourhood. The same is the case with the proud Masai Tribe of East Africa, who disdain agriculture.

The pattern of migration of the Pastoral Tribes depend largely on the topography and climate. Usually nomads would visit warm spots in the plains during winter and prefer to stay, during the warm weather, in high mountain ranges enjoying the congenial climate, as well as the pasture provided by these hill ranges. The Gujjars and Bakharwals of Kashmir, leave their homes in the Kashmir Valley and climb to the hill tops surrounding the valley during summer and after grazing their flocks of sheep and goats for 3 to 4 months, descend to the plains of Jammu to enjoy the warm weather of winter. The Kazak groups would wander many hundreds of miles between winter quarters in the south and summer pastures in the north, around the Ural mountains in the U. S. S. R.

BEDOUINS

The Pastoral nomads have their own codes of conduct in pursuing their occupations. The first, to arrive at a suitable site

enjoys preferential camping rights and that for the particular season only. The desert Bedouins of Arabia usually camp near an Oasis or water holes, which are the traditional camping grounds. In Western Syria and parts of North Africa, semi-nomads have winter villages at foot-hills and during summer migrate to uplands.

The Bedouins move with relative speed with their camels and horses covering a vast territory from their winter settlement in the Yemen, almost to the slopes of the caucases in the summer. For the Masai cattle breeders, it is the accumulation of the refuse of the cattle that determines the period of stay in any particular camp. The cattle breeders in general return to the same breeding grounds periodically. The Arabian shepherds wander upto the desert boundaries for grazing their flocks.

It can be said that pastoral nomads have more secure food resources than food gathering nomads. It is believed that the wandering Bedouin flock rearers maintain conjugal relationships with different women, all along the route, of a polyandrous type. This is done mostly owing to the practical difficulties involved in carrying their families along with them.

Clashes often occur between settled agriculturists and herders and when in the course of these clashes the men are slain, and the women left behind, the conquering herdsmen retain the same women for carrying out the agriculture. Cases were not wanting where nomadic herdsmen purchase women to serve as wives and slaves.

Gaddis, Rebaris, Choupans, Changmas are other pastoral tribes who cover large extents of country in the States of Rajasthan, Punjab, Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh for grazing their flocks and herds. In South India too there are Gollas and Kurubas who are flock rearers and who migrate temporarily for a few months from uplands to Coastal strips not only for tending their flock but also for disposing them off to the City and town butchers.

LAMBADAS

The Lambadas (Lavananies) also called Sugalis and Banjaras, Corrupt forms of Sugawalis and Vanachars in South India, are excellent cattle breeders possessing expert knowledge of this profession. We have the authority of Orme for the information that Lambadas supplied Counte-de-Bussy, the French Military

adventurer, who carved out territory for his country in South India, during the unsettled times following the downfall of the Moghul Empire and its representative the Nizam, who ruled over Deccan, with stores, cattle and grain during the latter's wars with the native rulers towards the close of the 18th Century. The Lambadas owning hundreds and thousands of pack bullocks, served as an efficient Commissariat for the Moghul Armies in the year-long up and down marches from Delhi to Hyderabad, and subsequently settled along the Moghul Highways in regular hamlets, which they call 'Tandas' so that they might pursue their occupation of supplying foodgrains from time to time. Their original home is Rajasthan and a portion of Madhya Pradesh, wherefrom they have fanned out into South India and settled there. The Sugalis have given up nomadism and have become quite settled people.

TODAS

The Todas of South India who are a very small community inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills and the plateau around, were and are a purely pastoral tribe not given to agriculture but devoted mainly to cattle breeding and milk production. A Toda's worldly wealth is always judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Milk houses are separately attached to every family dwelling and it is here that the milk is boiled and access to which is scrupulously denied to women folk. Edgar Thurston, writing in 1909, records an interesting incident characteristic of the Todas in the following words "one chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking that they require humouring like children, the reverend gentlemen (who evidently wanted to acquaint the Todas of the impending visit of the Prince of Wales) threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added, "The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of 200 people." 'Yes', 'Yes', said an old Toda, wagging his head sagely, "But how many buffaloes is he bringing?" The Todas are believed to be a dying race, their population not registering any appreciable advance in the past 100 years owing to the spread of the venereal diseases, introduced by the European Tea Planters and other settlers, to whom Nilgiri is an excellent summer resort. Todas are Polyandrous Tribe. Thurston records that when a Toda girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a

Toda male of strong physique takes part, as is the practice among several Australian Tribes. This ancient Tribe which is also believed to be the remnants of a Roman settlement in centuries gone by, is fast shedding its nomadic habits.

(3) *Trader or Seasonal nomads*:—There are several trader nomads in India. To quote a few, the Erukulas in South India, numbering nearly 2 lakhs, live in a few districts of Telangana and a larger part of the Coastal Andhra. They are small traders dealing mostly in salt, which they carry on the back of donkeys from the Coast to the uplands and bring in exchange the pulses of upland areas to the deltaic areas for disposal. They are also skilful basket makers and cater to the entire requirements of the farmer population of the rich deltaic areas. They spend the summers in these parts in small temporary groups of 10 to 20 families, making baskets, paddy containers, manure carriers and several other day-to-day requirements of the farmers. They bring their bamboos from the Nallamala Hill Ranges in the Eastern Ghats on country asses and enduring good many hardships and privations on the way. They have no fixed homes or habitats and form one of the most incorrigible nomadic groups. They move into neighbouring states also plying their trade and selling their products from place to place. They travel upto Kolhapur in Maharashtra and are found scattered in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and to some extent even in Kerala known by different names in different states.

KALABELIAS

The Kalabelias are a Snake Charming Group of wanderers mostly found all over North India. Their counterparts in the Andhra Pradesh are known as Pamulas. As a bye-trade they sell charms, talisman and cures for snake bites. They extract poison from the Cobras by pressing the fangs in, a rather, clumsy way and sell it to the Ayurvedic Physicians for the preparation of medicines. Wife sale, pledge and exchange, for monetary considerations and in lieu of payment of debts is a common feature of these nomads. Like many other aboriginal tribes in India and other parts of the World, they enforce ordeals and innocence tests in disposing of claims and disputes arising within the tribe. Some of these tests take the form of dipping hands in boiling oil, picking up red hot irons, walking on fire and other tests to prove one's

innocence. Fines and punishments are heavy and their enforcement is so rigid that severe social boycott are enforced to execute the Caste-Court's decrees.

GADIA LOHARS

The Gadia Lohars are yet another enterprising tribe of black-smiths, who carry a flourishing trade in North India by setting up their camps in the midst of villages and catering to the requirements of farmers by manufacturing cheap, durable, agricultural implements. These nomads are known as Gadia Lohars on account of their travelling in big sized, specially built, double bullock carts, which practically serve as their houses and in which they travel from place to place. These Lohars are found in large numbers in the north and North-Western States of India though a branch of these people known as Sikligars have migrated to the country around Hyderabad in the south long ago.

IRANIS.

The Iranis are a small tribe of trading wanderers who live the life of Gypsies as they migrate from one town to another. They camp in the open in small tents made of patched up material, which are easily portable and quite suitable to their nomadic tendencies. The women dress in bold colours, wear scarfs around their heads, put on smart skirts and wear glingling ornaments on the ankles, hands, ears and around the neck. They deal in cutlery, mirrors, perfumes, beads and many kinds of fancy articles. The women are slim, tall, light complexioned and talkative. They speak a polyglot of Irani, Hindi, Urdu and other kindred tongues. They do not even mind attempting even a little smattering of English, whenever they meet educated young men. They are a white mediterraneous Sub-race, including people from Mesopotamia, Iran and North-West India. They have prominent cheek bones, high hooked noses, large skulls, long narrow heads and faces, brown eyes, brown or black wavy hair and considerable hirsuteness. Their gait is indeed attractive as their multifolded short skirts keep rythmically dancing on their hips. They are adepts in cheating and in selling their goods for much more than the fair prices, for achieving which they make lavish use of their garrulous and sharp tongues as well as their bewitching looks.

They are an extremely conservative and secluded community, spread all over India, often travelling by train, in small groups of

10 to 15 families. They sell pedigree dogs and carry their belongings on small ponies or mules which they use as mounts also for the old and the infirm. It is not known when and how they migrated to India. They have a bundle of faiths which are not familiar to us. Their wanderlust has not yet left them in peace.

OTHER TRADER NOMADS

Shitooras are a small sect of nomadic artisans, who make and sell brass lamp stands, cheap ornaments and household requirements. They are found in Orissa State.

Dheas are a small vagrant tribe found in Punjab, engaged in the collection of rags, waste paper, bones, junk and sundry articles. Men and women are lazy, and camp on the outskirts of villages, in filthy and highly insanitary surroundings. Dogs and donkeys are their inseparable companions. They make winnows with bamboos and thus keep away the wolf for 3 to 4 months in the year.

In the State of Assam, Seasonal nomads hail from the Garo, Miri, Mikir, and Demasa Kachari hill tribes who leave their permanent homes with their families and camp for 4 to 5 months in distant lands, where they raise crops.

Khutiawallahs, Nepali graziers are pastoral nomads. Miris are nomadic fishermen wandering regularly during particular seasons.

The Maharashtra State has declared a number of tribes as being nomadic by an order passed in 1956. They have also declared who the semi-nomads are.

The State of Kerala also has many nomadic tribes. To name only a few, the Ulladans of Travancore and Cochin, Allars, Nari Koravans, Thotinayakans, Malakarans, Jogis, Khanphatas, Jambavas, Madaris, pursue small trading in addition to begging which is their main occupation.

THE CRIMINAL NOMADS

There are many nomadic criminals almost in every State of India. Whether nomadism compelled them to take to crime as a subsidiary means of sustenance or whether criminals found nomadism as a convenient screen for escaping from the attentions of the Police, is a matter which is still left in doubt. It is possible

that both the processes had been at work in producing large bands of nomadic criminals from the days of Thugs and Pindaris of the 18th and 19th centuries till the present day, well educated, well dressed, and influential dacoits Chiefs keep a hold over large areas of the Bhind Morena ravines, striking terror in the adjoining districts of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. From all accounts, these marauders of the ravines have been at large for several years in the past and the best efforts of three State Governments have not achieved the expected results. Even Vinobaji's earnest appeal to them, though promising in the beginning ultimately failed as these dacoits of Chambal, Morena and Bhind, were too shrewd to be won over by moral values and earnest appeals. Some of them are so notorious for their cruelty that no trace of them could be given by anybody without being robbed or killed by way of revenge. These well dressed robin hoods mix in towns and cities with people, lay traps for them, and not satisfied with that, they very often snatch away Government officials, rich merchants and land-lords for holding them to large ransoms, adopting the Chicago Crime Codes for achieving their ends. It is learnt that they side political groups in some of these States, keep themselves in close touch with the leaders thereof by helping them in elections and securing in turn sufficient protection from police investigations. Several of the criminal tribe gangs operating in South India, also adopt begging as a side profession, and manage to commit inter-state offences.

THE CRIMINALS CODE OF RULES

They have a rigid code of Conduct prescribed for their gang members by which they impose very severe punishment for disclosing their secrets or for turning approvers. At the same time they adequately reward, expert criminal leaders of their gang. They also compensate their members for injuries sustained during operations. For a skull injury, the injured dacoit would be given a lumpsum grant of Rs. 200. For an ear cut off Rs. 30; for an eye Rs. 60; for an incision Rs. 10 each, for a leg Rs. 100 to Rs. 150; for a finger Rs. 5 for a chopped of nose Rs. 50 for impotency resulting from damage to genital organs of a male Rs. 250-300 for all the chest ribs broken Rs. 500 and so on. Similar provision is made for children left behind by the imprisoned parents or orphaned on account of death during the operations or imprisonment. Every gang has a Panchayat which administers these rules. Some of the nomadic criminals who keep

constantly roaming about, disturbing the peace of the country. are Koravans of Madras and Mysore States, Katheras of Andhra, Bhatus, Berias, Biloch, Dom, Habura, Harni of Uttar Pradesh, Kanjars, Baoris, Shansis of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, Karwals of Bihar, Mahtams, Mina, Pakhiwara and other inter-state gangs of North India.

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

It is estimated that there are 14 lakhs of Criminals covered by 50 different tribes in Uttar Pradesh alone despite the enforcement of the Criminal Tribes' Act, in the past hundred years, which instead of reforming the criminals can be said to have made them hardened ones. The cruel deeds of the Thugs and their scant respect for human life is too well known to require repetition. It is significant that the Government of India has taken a more constructive and reformatory view of crime and criminals than Mr. J. M. Stephens, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1871, who introducing the abhorrent Criminal Tribes' Act, observed as follows:—

"The special feature of India is the Caste system. As it is, traders go by caste, a family of Carpenters will be carpenters, a century or five centuries hence, if they last so long. Keeping this in mind, the meaning of a professional criminal is clear. It means, a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from times immemorial, who are themselves destined by the usages of caste to commit crimes and whose descendants will be offenders against law, until the whole tribe is exterminated or accounted for in the manner of the Thugs. When a man tells you that he is an offender against law, he has been so from the beginning and will be also so to the end. Reform is impossible for, it is his trade, his caste, I may almost say, his religion to commit crime". We are lucky that we have no more law members like Mr. Stephens to rule over India, keeping in bondage, millions of illiterate and simple people. No modern penologist would agree with Stephens in his queer philosophy of crime, that crime is hereditary, and therefore incurable.

BEGGAR NOMADS

India has many beggars to feed, partly owing to wrong notions of charity and also due to incurable poverty that faces many helpless men. It can be even said that beggars are a great nuisance when they crowd pilgrim centres, railway stations, public places

like parks, offices, hospitals, and the bazars. Very often they line the busy roads exhibiting their maimed limbs and other painful deformities, which a passer-by would not like to see. Some of India's beggars are inter-state nomads. They hail from all faiths and communities. There are many able bodied beggars who prefer a wandering life for a working day life.

RAMASWAMY, RANGASWAMY.

Some of these beggar groups known as Ramaswamy and Rangaswamy, reported to have migrated from South India, Centuries back, to spread the cult of Sri Ramanuja, have stayed away in Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Utar Pradesh in small pockets and earning their livelihood by singing devotional songs, preserving carefully the geneologies of the respectable farmers and businessmen and collecting fixed doles from year to year. They wear the religious symbols of their patron saint on their faces and other parts of the body and use small strained instruments to heighten the effect of their undoubtedly melodious vocal tunes. They sometimes sell charms, quack drugs and specifics, for real and imaginary ailments and liberally promise early conceptions for all barren women.

KARWALS

Karwals are another interesting tribe of nomadic beggars of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh who move in small bands pursuing a systematic and well organised begging. They have as their head a "Mukhya" who is always a woman. Her Office is inherited not by her husband or sons or daughters but by her eldest daughter-in-law. The "Mukhya" controls the movements of the gangs, plans next camps, punishes indiscipline, admits or expels members, and settles all social and gang disputes. They camp in shady mango or tamarind groves, private or public no matter. Soon after setting up a camp, the members fan out in different directions within a radius of 5 to 6 miles, collect their earnings and retire to the camp by the night fall. Every one of them has to surrender one-tenth of their earnings to the "Mukhya". "Mukhyas" are very noisy boisterous wenches and are quite a match to their Police pals. For all the trouble taken by the "Mukhya" in controlling the gang, she also gets a cash payment ranging from Rs. 1-25 to Rs. 10-00 in addition to a new wearing apparal sari at the time of every marriage function.

Gulgulias, Singiwallas, who suck human blood for giving relief to certain types of patients, are also nomadic beggars by profession.

Causes of Nomadism

The causes contributing to nomadism are both man-made as well as historical. When nature put the man on his legs and enabled him to stand erect, thereby releasing his arms from a walking posture to an erect one, he became the nomad as his remote simian ancestors were. The hands and arms could now be used for not only striking, but for several other purposes which could augment his food resources. He could see around and perceive the danger ahead, which his next cousins the primates could not do. With this achievement, he became the master of the animal and the vegetable world and could assert his sovereignty over the creation.

In the beginning Man was a food gatherer, as already mentioned. He required a ten to twenty square mile extent of land for securing his daily food as he did not yet learn the art of producing the same. Similar units commanded by individuals or at best individual families came to be set up in the course of time and it is only then some sort of social contacts came to be developed. To reach this stage the pre-Historic man must have spent lakhs of years. In the beginning he must have been alone and the idea of having a hearth and home, though not a fixed one, must have struck him much later. Even then he probably took into his confidence his own parents or occasionally his woman's brother. As mating was the rule and not a "marriage", he could not have bargained for children and large families. He must have tried to control the number of his dependents by female infanticide as an effective remedy anticipating the later Malthusian theory. Not having known the modern birth-control measures, doing away with some of his female children was according to him the best way of striking a good balance between his uncertain resources and certain dependents. No wonder that this ancient

pattern of female infanticide has been prevalent till recently in some of the Indian tribes and has been practised all the world over, may be for similar reasons. It was not until his numbers increased and the pressure on land became heavy, that he should have thought of finding virgin foraging grounds. He should have journeyed through impenetrable jungles along untrodden paths to find pastures new and fields afresh. It is in this quest for food that his nomadic habits paid him good dividends. Even if the early man wanted, he could not have done anything better during this food gathering stage of his development.

In the long and weary march of Man, Man did not meet with a much worse enemy than Man. The animal killed a fellow animal only for food, but men destroy fellowmen not for satisfying hunger but for various other reasons, though several of the early nomads took to cannibalism just as a man-eater would do even now.

As small Colonies of nomads came to be established for offence and defence, groups of stronger and larger units drove them from their lands and occupied them. The erstwhile owners began their migrations to stranger places and virgin lands in search of food. As land became scarce and water facilities rare, small and large migrations were forced upon these early nomads who, notwithstanding adverse climatic conditions and the perils involved, migrated from mid Asia to Europe and from there to the new world. Virgin continents like Australia and the Americas came to be peopled by these nomadic hordes and later by the ambitious invaders of Europe and Asia, who, not satisfied with occupying vacant lands, began to destroy the indigenous population with a view to occupy their lands. In this quest for sustenance, the simple unsophisticated early settlers suffered colossal annihilation at the hands of the more clever and adventurous foreign invaders. It is thus seen that quest for food was one of the main causes of early nomadism and almost all the migrations recorded in history.

Dorothy Davison in her book, "The Story of Pre-historic Civilisation" observes that "neolithic culture reached Europe by four main routes.

1. An overland route from the South-East to and along the Danube and its tribute areas.

2. A route along the North-African Coastal Plains, probably from Egypt to Spain and through France to England.

3. A maritime route from the eastern Mediterranean through the straits of Gibraltar to the Western and Northern Europe.

4. Continental route from South-Russia by way of Poland : Central Europe and Germany".

The same author opines that Greece was the first European country to be colonised by neolithic people, and this happened about the year 3500 B.C. when the Bronze Age was dawning in the near East.

Dorothy Davison further remarks as follows:—"whether land hunger or disturbances in their homeland send them across the island dotted sea is not known. From the Coastal inlets it was easy to reach the mountain-ringed plains of Thessaly, over which they spread until the may waws barred by the great forests of Pindus, which then came down upon the plain. The migrants were simple farmers carrying no weapons except sling stones and tilling ploughs, laboriously fixed with flint celts shaped like shoe-lasts or Chisels which they fastened to an elbow-bent branch. They were also adepts in making mud pots covered with mud paints. While these peaceful people inhabited the Plains and were leading quiet lives, more warlike neolithic invaders pounced on them, deprived them of their cultural fruits and drove them pellmell to seek shelter in lands farther off. It is also evident that there were many waves of migrations from the near East, who shared a common basic culture and life. Primitive peasants moved then as now, tentatively without a definite destination, halting for long periods, mixing with other peoples and picking up a few new ideas, but certainly not travelling or exploring for its own sake. The first immigrants into Europe drifted into an unknown world without guidance or charts". Similar migrations were undertaken.

Similar migrations have taken place in Asia too, as for instance, the sea-travels made by polynesians who are another daring branch of the Neolithic men who took to the sea travelling early, by building big canoes and boats with sails and with their neolithic tools, dogs, and other aspects of their culture, put to better advantage their migrations because they obtained food and other environment facilities which the Eskimos lacked. They sailed in double ships fastened together with timber planks, large in size, quick in movement with a large number of crews. They carried coconuts, pigs, cocks and dogs with them when they colonised what are called Polynesian islands, north-east of Newzealand,

comprising of several scores of small islands like Cook, Marquesas, Society, Tong, Tuamotus, Tahiti. Not given to pottery, they carried gourds, wood, and coconut shells for serving as containers. They made clothing out of bark of Mulberry and pandamus trees by hammering it. They also carried with them seeds of these trees. Thousands of coconut plants came to be planted in the new island homes and solved their food problem to a great extent in the initial stages.

Several theories are current as to how and from where these islanders migrated. Some hold that they might have sailed out of Indonesia through Micronesia to a rallying point in central Polynesia and from where they dispersed to Hawaiian islands in the north-east, to Marquesas and Easter islands and some to south-west to Newzealand. Another view is that they came from the south-China coast and migrated to the Philipines, then to Micronesia and then to Polynesia. When Chinese were pressing from their north-China homes to the central and southern China, these non-Chinese who were inhabiting south China felt pushed and so migrated to the Polynesia, Siam and Indonesia. There is still a third theory tracing the origin of the present Polynesians to America wherefrom, they are believed to have come in several waves.

The invasions of Polynesians are of much later period representing a highly organised stage of neolithic culture. People lived here in groups of 20 to 40 persons in hillslopes surrounded by extensive gardens, where minimum of work produced maximum food. Sweet Potatoes, Taro, Yams, bread fruit, pandamus, Bananas, Coconuts were staples. There was plenty of fish around the islands. Population was kept down by techniques of birth-control including abortion, warfare human sacrifice, female infanticide and in certain cases even by cannibalism. This shows that the quest of food was the only main cause of all early migrations. The craving for wandering which must have begun perhaps a million years back, has been continuously captivating man's mind and persists even now with a mystic charm knowing no bounds and often inescapable.

A second cause of migrations has been the persecutions of large groups of people which again may be ultimately traced to a real or imaginary clash of interests in the quest of food, in the ownership of land and in controlling the means of production, factors which persist even today in almost every part

of the globe. History has recorded how cruelly large numbers of people have been uprooted from their native surroundings and home-lands by more powerful and less generous rivals. Though religion has been put forward as one of the main reasons for persecution, the basic reason motivating such inhuman activities appears to be more economic than otherwise. One such is the migration of the Jews in the present century mercilessly butchered by so-called Aryan families of Germany. Hitler, the protagonist of the Aryan prestige and interests is believed to have gassed to death five millions of Jews for the mere sin of their having been Jews; when atleast the Prime Minister of Israel in his letter of accusation and explanation to the President of Argentina, from which state the notorious criminal Von Ichman was captured and taken for trial, stated in the course of his charge sheet "This man, Ichman, was during the years of the second world war responsible for the execution of the orders of Hitler for the final solution of the Jewish problem in Europe, i.e., the physical assassination of all Jews whom the Nazis could catch in the vast region of Europe that they conquered", the judge committing the culprit observed "You are charged with causing the death of millions of Jews in Germany and the enemy occupied countries during the years 1938-45." One witness, Dieterr Wisliceny, confirmed at the Nuremberg trials of the Nazi war criminals, that Ichman confessed his guilt to him at their last meeting in February 1945 at which they were discussing their fates upon loosing the war, as stated below. "I laugh when I jump into the grave, because of the feeling that I have killed 5 millions of Jews. That gives me great satisfaction and gratification."

Ichman's crime was not the work of his own mind. The whole Nazi cult was behind it and bolstered it. From the first, the Nazis were intensely antisemitic. They preached hatred of the Jews and then practised violence for 20 years before the final horrors, the gas chambers were introduced to cause mass annihilation of human life.

With such a terror sweeping over a major part of Europe and with millions of people killed and millions more fleeing for life to the ends of the world, most of them uprooted from their ancestral moorings, means of livelihood and kith and kin, it may not be difficult to imagine that humanity was let down to their own fate even in civilised times. The migrants with nothing to carry with them they can call their own must have run pell-mell for saving their life, particularly when they had to fly at short notice

and seek safety in lands unknown with occupations unfamiliar, constantly harassed by the fear of being caught, tortured and sent to the gas chambers.

Mass expulsions, invasions and persecutions that have happened whether in Neolithic times or modern times, ran in the same or similar grooves and showed the same bestial characteristics which man could inflict on man, which often times which went unquestioned, unwept and more often than not unpunished.

Millions who have thus been rendered homeless, friendless and occupationless must have taken to a wandering life, during several ages to escape torture, may be to escape punishment, may be for lack of love for any fixed hearth or home and may also be for absence of any purpose in life after experiencing of inhuman treatment at the hands of fellow men, who played role of the monsters like Himmler? who goaded by political intoxication, committed barbaries upon fellow human beings. Nomadism could not have chosen a more congenial birth place than such inhuman atrocities perpetrated by civilised souls on primitive humanity on such a colossal scale. Other causes that might have contributed to Nomadism are wrath of nature like earthquakes, floods, tempests, famines and other acts of god, which have rendered millions of people homeless and kept them moving from one place to another, in search of food and shelter, the minimum requirements of human being. Habituated to such marches and migrations a section of this helpless human beings must have become addicts to nomadism. Similarly, religious persecutions and wars might have also contributed for global migrations as already referred to in the previous chapters.

The many uprootings of the Latin American Indians from their ancient habitats extending along the Atlantic coast in a strip some tens of miles wide, extending from the Tierra Del Fuego in the extreme south and as far north as Caribbean, resulted in their being pushed into the interior, where they had to seek new surroundings, new occupations and face totally new environments. Driven by waves of relentless foreign invaders and pressed later by still more merciless hordes of foreign settlers and deprived of their native home lands, these forest dwelling Indians of south America, retreated into the depths of wood before wave after wave of settlers came, adapting themselves to their new surroundings only at the expense of great losses, moral as well as social and cultural. Simultaneously with the inroads of these

conquerers, great masses of Red-Indians had by this time started their mighty migrations when they first reached the Atlantic coast of south America. Many nations were dislodged by the Tupirguaramian tribes which during their northern migrations in search of land drove them from the coast. This drive appears to have been very considerable and may well be compared to the migrations into Europe from the east, which convulsed the human society from south-east Mediterranean to as far as Iceland and the British isles. The Tupirguaramian tribe, driven back in turn by the whites on coming to contact with them, again clashed with the tribes that had already taken refuge in the interior, obliging them to penetrate to the very heart of the continent. Peace could not be attained by the Indian even after wandering for hundreds of miles. Similarly the lands of the Tupirape Indians of the Araquaia region in Brazil were annexed, their hunting grounds appropriated and their water courses misdirected. In Mexico the dislodged lands from the tribal settlers were estimated to be 2,273,000 acres, previously belonging to the Comunidades, but now passed into the big European estate owners by virtue of laws made by the Europeans for safeguarding their own interests. The Indians possessed in 1854 nearly 5,000 communal agricultural organizations, owning in common land with a total area of 45 thousands of square miles. The afore-mentioned reduction in acreage was achieved by the European settlers by 1876 by the end of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship. About one per cent. of the population represented by Europeans owned about 70 per cent of the country's land. A single family of these white settlers in the state of Chihuahua is reported to have owned 12,000,000 acres. In the great majority of the Latin American States, about 95 per cent. of the rural families of Indians were rendered landless.

In the United States similar legal processes reduced the land's owned by the native Red-Indians from 138 million acres to mere 52 million acres owing to the operation of the general allotment Act of 1887, made by the white settler rulers for their sole benefit. During the same period, i.e., between 1887-1934, the Indian population increased from 240,000 to 400,000. In Australia also, towards the end of the 18th Century the invading settlers steadily and rapidly kept up a merciless reduction of the native tribal population until at least several tribes like Tasmanians were completely wiped out of existence. In Newzealand the Maori economy was badly disturbed by similar invasions resulting in migrations. The indigenous people lost in the 100 years

following 1840, through sale or confiscation all but 400,000 or the 6,600,000 acres comprising the total area of Newzealand. Driven to such plights what wonder is there if the fleeing hordes of the aboriginals took the Nomadism as earnest pattern of subsistence in strage lands and unwelcome surrounding. In Colombia many of the Indians are on the verge of extinction and are finding desperately without any hope of success against their white neighbours who used all means legal and illegal to encroach on their lands and dislodged them gradually.

The plight of the semi-Nomadic Latin American Indians is worse still. Despite the aforementioned tribulations and travails the primitive man did not stop his migratory habits. Travelers' tales, pilgrims' fabulous accounts, whettened the appetite of some, a spirit of adventure in others, mirage of a more glorious of future in a few, the promises of fore-tellers in all, kindled their wander-lust fanned it into a furious blaze and held out a land of flowing milk and honey. Rivers and streams shrank, distances dwindled, mountains, snows melted and every story of the Heaven in store rapidly snowballed when told and re-told. Those who lost heart settled enroute wherever they found a patch of grass to graze their herds, a mountain stream to quench their thirst and an expanse of plain country which promised to become fertile, while others pressed on, fired with greater enthusiasm and tenacious perseverance.

The Renowned Anthropologist E. Adamson Hoebel has the following account about the Cheyennes (Indians of the Great Plains) of the U.S.A. forced to nomadism by the American Governments' repressive policies in regard to the Red Indians between 1857 and 1879.

Mr. Hoebel writes—

The Cheyenne Indians, or Tsistisista, meaning "the people", are one of the most notable of the western tribes who inhabited the Great plains, the open country lying west of Mississippi River and east of the Rock Mountains. They were famous among early travellers for the chastity of their women and the courage of their warriors; in later years, when everything was in change they were considered the most conservative of the plains indians. Their attitudes towards sex and war, and toward the maintenance of their social order are the outstanding features of their way of life.

Then came the introduction of the horse and new vistas opened for the Cheyenne. The Plains were teeming with bison, an extremely rich source of food and derivative by-products, if only one could conveniently traverse the great dry stretches between the widely scattered waterways with reasonable prospects of locating the herds, and with the means to transport enough meat to the base camp to sustain the tribe through the winter. Where men on foot found such prospects dim, men on horseback found them bright. By 1830, the Cheyennes were sufficiently equipped with horses to have completely abandoned the village life of gardeners for the nomadic life of hunters. Simultaneously, they were adding guns to their hunting and fighting equipment. Mobility and the great prizes to be won in hunt and war transformed much of their culture, but the past as always—left its imprint.

The Cheyennes, as they are to be presented in this case study, are the Cheyennes of the period 1840-60, when their adaption to nomadic horse culture was at flood tide, when white hunters had not yet exterminated the buffalo nor had settlers pre-empted their lands, nor had the United States military beaten them into submission.

From 1857 to 1879 the Cheyennes were embroiled in almost continuous fighting with the Americans. The wars were not of their own choosing, but were forced upon them by Whites who were little disposed to discriminate among Indians. The Cheyennes were made to suffer for the more aggressive hostility of Sioux, Kiowas and Comanches, until they, too were inextricably involved in the bitter, bloody, death-struggles from which there was no escape but humiliating surrender and the ignoble lassitude of reservation life. A number of the fights were pitched battles between campaigning troops and sizeable bodies of warriors; some, such as those at Ash Hollow (1855) and Sand Creek (1864) were unprovoked assaults on friendly Cheyenne camps in which women and children were slaughtered along with the men who tried to defend them. The Cheyennes played a large part in the repulse of Custer's attack on the cheyenne-sioux encampment on the Little Big Horn (1876) when Custers and his command were annihilated. In spite of their success at the Custer fight, and the defeats inflicted on Crook and others of his predecessors, the Cheyennes succumbed after the final destruction of the camps of Dull knife and Two Moons in 1877 and 1878.

The Northern Cheyennes were herded south and confined with the southern Cheyennes in what is now Oklahoma. Disease and malnutrition, for they were not used to the hot lowerlying lands, decimated their numbers and brought them to the point of hopeless desperation. In the summer of 1878, under the leadership of the wise Dull Knife (Morning Star) and the redoubtable Little Wolf, three hundred Northern Cheyennes—men, women and children—defied the Indian Agent and the United States Army by starting the long march home. "Never was such a journey since the Greeks marched to the sea". Thirteen thousand troops tried to stay them. They fought and marched, fought and marched, until they reached their beloved homeland, whereupon they laid down their arms. Obdurate officialdom in Washington ordered them to return under armed escort in dead winter to the Oklahoma from which they had escaped and in doing so sacrificed so much, confined in unheated barracks, without food or water for days (an effort by the authorities to break their stubborn refusal to give in), they at last broke out to meet death on the night of January 9, 1879, Sixty-four were killed by the troops and seventy-eight were recaptured. Thirty or so escaped.

Australian nomads:

Just as up-rooting of people can cause nomadism, congenital lack of ambition in clans and tribes can also result in a nomadic way of life as in the case of the Australian Aborigines. The Tasmanians who have been wiped out of existence on account of the cruel methods employed in the process of colonisation by way of extermination and later exploitation, belonged to Australia.

The aborigines were living in Australia long before civilization came to Europe. Their original home was probably Southern India and it is thought that they moved to Australia through the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia by land bridges that have since disappeared. In their natural state they were nomads, neither having nor seeking even the most primitive of dwellings that could be called homes. They were hunters and gatherers of food, practising no forms of agriculture or animal husbandry.

Generally they wore no clothes and their few personal possessions were related to practical or ceremonial purpose for example, the skin water-bag and the dijeridoo. Their weapons and tools—the boomerang, throwing stick, stone axe and chisel,

the club, the net, the pointed yam stick—were not only their means of survival but also vehicles for many of their art forms. Circles, wavy lines, herringbone patterns and other designs with which they adorned their—weapons, appeared also as sacred symbols.

THE NATURE OF THE ABORIGINAL PROBLEM.

In their natural state, aborigines have no means of storing or preserving food. In times of drought and flood their diet is inadequate and uncertain and malnutrition is common. They have no knowledge of the causes of, and very limited means to combat disease. Their ideas of hygiene are extremely primitive, as instanced by their practice of simply moving out of a wurlie or humpy when it becomes unfit for habitation and erecting another elsewhere. Tribal education for aborigines was directed towards skills in hunting and acquiring knowledge of tribal lore and ritual. They were never accustomed to permanent dwellings and attempts to induce them to live in houses at first met with strong resistance. Their adaptation to our concepts of housing is a slow process during which many of them have to be persuaded not to use their—dwellings for firewood or otherwise damage and befoul them. In such a stage of unambition how can aspiration or enterprise sprout and goal a man towards a better life. To such people a nomadic life was and is perhaps the only suitable pattern that could conduce to their limited resources, their capacity to assimilate. As long as such conditions prevail, nomadism is bound to persist. The only known way to cure nomadism is by kindling the germ of ambition which cannot be achieved overnight. The pace of progress leading to assimilation must be carefully measured, scientifically spaced and intelligently followed.

Cure for Nomadism

If we conceive, and we have no reasons not to do so, that nomadism was a cultural basic trait of the early man and that he continued to be nomadic for more than 9 out of 10 lakhs of years of his existence on earth, we have to admit that curing nomadism is no easy task. A nomad would not be one unless he likes wanderings. The fact that this partiality for vagrancy has been persistent in man for such a long time, and continues to be so even now with all its pristine purity and simplicity, is proof positive that there are some aspects of Nomadism which the nomad likes, though we may not. It can even be said that the nomad cannot help being so, it being a part of his culture. His ancestors liked it and loved it and he likes and loves it. To us, who have gone away from Nomadism millennia of years back, and have taken to settled life, which includes settled agriculture, settled means of livelihood, settled customs and manners, aspirations, ambitions and other aspects of a settled life. Nomadism may be repugnant and even inconceivable. To the Nomad it is not so. He could not have been a nomad even for a day, if he had disliked it in the least. It is therefore the primary duty of those who claim to lead a superior life and to possess a sincere desire to raise the level of the nomads to that of ours, that they should carefully study and understand the basic causes that endear a wandering life to a Nomad. Having done so, it will be our next duty to win his confidence and befriend him in shaping his thoughts and aspirations so as to coincide with ours. But this should not be done hastily, lest it should land both the reformer and the reformed in serious troubles and disappointments. The reformer has to patiently wait until the object of his care and pity understands the value of new pattern of life he wishes to place before his eyes and also appreciate it as a better pattern than his present one. This

naturally takes a few years, not to speak of much exertion on the part of both, to reach an understanding. When once this understanding is established between the two, the pace of progress can be quickened. To put it in a nut-shell, to determine the appropriate time, when the next step can be taken in Man's march towards progress, the best test will be to wait until the nomad himself takes initiative and asks for a new requirement, yet another comfort and change however small, in the pattern of his present life. It will be then the best time for the reformer to decide whether at his present stage of progress the nomad can take to the change without detriment to his ability to absorb it. The reformer must also weigh and decide whether the nomad's existing means of livelihood are capable of meeting the new demands. After discussing this aspect with the nomad, the reformer can decide the appropriate action that might be taken and then proceed to take the next step of development. Any impatience, exhibited thoughtlessly in rushing through the pace of development, is bound to result in a great disaster for the reformer and the reformed. The Koyas and Konda Reddies of the Andhra Agency and the Banjaras of the Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, who migrated to the industrial centres and coal mines could not adjust themselves to the slum lives, cash economy, competition and totally individualistic way of life, which were the predominant features of industrial employment. No doubt, they were keenly disappointed and got frustrated. The same has been the fate of the Maharashtrian Warly, who exchanged work in the cloth mills of Bombay for his peaceful agricultural and fishing operations in the coastal villages of their State. It is because of this realism that the pastoral Toda of Nilgiris Plateau still refuses to come down from the salubrious heights of his mountain home, despite the voluminous pity that has been evinced for him by the several uplifters from far and near to "elevate" him.

The aforesaid does not mean that Nomadism is incurable. The fact that more than 99 per cent of the humanity has changed in the past several lakhs of years from a wandering to a sedentary life is proof that nomadism can be cured. No one whether individual or group, can afford to by-pass the cataclysmal changes that overtake man in modern times. But still one cannot jump head-long into the unknown risk that such changes would involve. It is here that the services of a scientist would be greatly appreciated by the administrator and the

reformer whose job will be to measure the steps of the Nomad's progress and train him up to absorb and assimilate the proposed reforms.

One important preliminary condition that has to be fulfilled before any attempt could be made to achieve appreciable results is that the reformer should win over the Nomad and take him into confidence. Contacts with the nomad cannot be easily established as the latter is ever on the wing. No nomad worth the name will ever care to stop and listen to a social worker much less to a Government Servant. He does not feel interested in what they say and if we administer an overdose of our appeals and explanations, he is sure to smile us away and resume his solitary trot without regrets. It is therefore necessary that social contacts with the nomads will have to be established by meeting them on several occasions and in several places for establishing the required liaison with the nomads. It may be of advantage if the following few suggestions are remembered in any effort to reclaim the Nomad to modern citizenship.

IDENTIFICATION

(1) The social worker must forget that he is different from the nomad and that he represents a society between which and the Nomads there is an unfathomable gulf. It has been unfortunately impossible for several social workers and Government Servants to identify themselves with the tribal people by forgetting that the latter also are as good Indians as the rest of our population. The anthropologist cannot disown his share of responsibility for propagating and keeping alive this feeling of separateness between the two sets of humanity. A few of these scientists have shown greater tendency to dissect and find out points of variance between the two rather than aspects of commonness. They have been prone to measure bones than the hearts with the result that consciously or unconsciously the impression has been left that the tribals and the non-tribals belong to the two different worlds. The Census Department of India has also to share a portion of the blame for classifying the tribal people, particularly the Nomads as being animists, a classification which is meaningless and highly injurious to the unity of this country. It is also unjust and incorrect when we realise that the all embracing pantheon of the Hindu Mythological Gods and Goddesses and the several modes of worship that have been characterised as "Hindu", embrace the worship of trees, mountains, rivers, animals and other objects of creation. Whatever justification there might have been in earlier days, there

can be none now for classifying the tribal people as animists and as distinct from Hindus. It will be the primary concern of the Central Government to examine this and eradicate this separatist tendency.

BE GENEROUS TO A FAULT

(2) As pertinently pointed out by the late Dr. Elwin in his book "Philosophy for NEFA" (1960) India's writers have not been very generous and kind to the tribal people. They could not have done otherwise when all of them hail from the invading race of conquerors who belonged to the Aryan fold and who were engaged in the forcible occupation of this country over several centuries. Elwin remarks that "in the classical India's literature, the tribals got a very mixed press. The first Aryan Settlers in India recorded them with antipathy, characterising them as devils, man-eaters, black as crows, sprung from the sweat or dung of cows". A few writers even went further in abusing the tribals savagely. Poet Bana pressed his learning to the full in calling the tribals as "sinful creatures of the earth akin to chandalas, ravens and vultures." He also described them as "all the nights of the dark fortnights rolled into one;" "A crowd of evil deeds come together, a caravan of curses of the many hermits dwelling in the Dandaka forest" and so on. The modern social worker, poet, writer, Government Servant and politician must be extra careful in using such intemperate language. One adverse remark, a derisive smile, an unsavoury joke and a hasty deduction, is enough to alienate and even infuriate a whole tribe; while abundant forethought, extra care and extreme caution can be expected to pay unexpected dividends. The best way to win over the heads is to win over their hearts. This can be best done by humility, generosity, simplicity and charity. Deriding the frailties, superstitions and peculiar tastes of tribal people, is not the surest and the shortest cut to reach their hearts.

SAIL WITH THE SAVAGE

(3) Sailing with the savage is the best way of establishing a lasting friendship and a feeling of equality between the tribals and the social workers. It is this caution that has enabled many a bold Christian Missionary who penetrated into the wilds of Africa and Australia and lived among the head-hunters born cannibals to preach the Christian faith, even by sacrificing their precious lives. Points of difference must be reduced to a zero and collaboration must be established on a sound footing by harping on

points of agreement. Agreeing instead of disagreeing, adopting, instead of condemning, following in his foot-steps instead of striking a new path are cautions which can rarely be ignored.

ALL-OUT ASSISTANCE

(4) In any effort to improve a nomad's material condition, all-out assistance must be forthcoming and greater emphasis must be laid on food and raiment in implementing any schemes for Tribal Welfare. It is not a brick house, a metal road, provision of electricity and other modern comforts that can capture the imagination of the primitive people. A drinking water well, comfortably open spaces and surroundings, separate house-sites, some material for housing, enough clothing, medical aid and above all, the sense of unbridled freedom and homeliness are factors that will win over the tribal's mind. A kind word, a welcome association, a friendly enquiry, a sympathetic hearing and cheerful approach go a long way to introduce the worker to the Tribal.

ANTHROPOLOGIST CAN HELP

(5) The contribution of the Anthropologist in diagnosing the ailments affecting any group of primitive people, including the Nomads, cannot be ignored. Just as research has its enlightening features it has healing virtues also. Just as research is of immense use in unravelling the hidden secrets of several branches of science like Medicine, Agriculture, Administration, etc., it can be of immense help in evaluating the progress made in any group of people and in removing any clogs that hamper or delay the process of development. The research worker brings upon every problem palced before him an objective outlook and states his opinion irrespective of political moral or other considerations. He is a votary of truth and will not try to budge from the deductions he reaches with the aid of Science. In promoting sympathetic understanding between the Tribal and the Non-Tribal he has instead of confining him in isolation, done signal service to both by opening the windows of knowledge to the latter about the primitive people. To the administrator he has been of greater use. He picks up a lantern and shows to the official where a pit lies and where an elevation faces him and tries to guide and save him from many a pitfall. The duties of an Anthropologist are however limited. He is not to force his views on the Government and he cannot also do that. His job is as R. W. Firth puts it, "to indicate the implications of alternative policies and leave the

Government to choose between them". It is unfortunate that in these days it has become a fashion with a few administrators to think that what they do not know does not really exist. On every major legislation and on every important development scheme, undertaken for the uplift of the Tribal people, it would be safe to consult the Anthropologist, at least to know what his view point is.

PROTECTIVE ROLE

(6) In dealing with the Nomads, particularly of the cultural type, every Government would do well to play a protective role rather than a merely administrative one, in re-claiming these isolated sections of humanity. If the official or non-official should wait for a formal petition to be presented to him by an un-ambitious nomad for the rectification of a particular grievance, he is grossly mistaken. In the view of the Nomad, many material comforts which are near and dear to the heart of a modern citizen, find no place of priority. To many a thoughtless reformer or over-enthusiastic administrator, who wants to thrust into the nomad's life many do and don'ts, the latter's only reply would be "thanks, leave me alone." As the average nomad is un-thinking in shaping his destinies and is incapable of planning beyond the acquisition of his creature comforts and even that for very brief durations only, the duty of finding out his wants and chalking out the pace of his progress, lies with the social worker. In doing this he has to put himself in the place of the Nomad and try to identify himself as much as he can. Left to himself, the Nomad would be where he is, for centuries to come.

TRIBAL JUSTICE

(7) Before destroying the traditional pattern of life that the Nomad is accustomed to follow, his well-wisher is in duty bound to pause and ponder how far his innovations are going really to benefit the beneficiary. This caution will be of immense help to him when he tries to replace the pattern of Tribal Justice and introduce in its place, the pattern of the Law-Court Justice with all its paraphernalia of procedure, laws of evidence and other ponderous methods of arriving at the truth. This observation should not be mistaken for a justification of all that goes by the name of tribal law. It is a matter of common knowledge that the tribal courts, though quick and to a great extent just in disposing of civil and criminal disputes, will follow very crude methods not only in arriving at the truth but also in pronouncing its sentences

as well as in executing them. The enforcement of innocence tests, the trial by ordeal followed by every nomad, *i.e.*, tribe in India and elsewhere are crude in the extreme. Governments would do well to put down these cruelties with an iron hand. At the same time, they should not submit the simple, unsophisticated, peaceful, tribal to hair-splitting niceties of arguments advanced by intelligent lawyers and treat justice as a mere play ball at the mercy of forensic skill. It is undeniable that disputes when tried in the localities of occurrence, have a better chance of arriving at the truth. Further, the average tribal is too poor and too simple to stand Law's delays and the tremendous cost he has to incur over protracted trials. A middle way combining swiftness with modern notions of justice avoiding the expenses and delays may have to be designed for tribal areas.

NEW LEADERSHIP CONFLICT.

(8) Coming to the administrative set up, the State Governments have been planning in recent years in tribal areas and it is evident that the experiment has not been altogether a great success. The impact of the element of election in the creation of the new leadership in the tribal communities has rudely upset traditional values, and caused not a little discontent. To peaceful tribal hamlets and law abiding societies which have been accustomed over generations to look to a hereditary head for guidance, advice and help, the abrupt emergency of the new leadership, based not upon past or present service, birth, heredity, heroism or such other traditional values, but upon the mere vote gathering capacities of the younger generations, this abrupt change has given a jolt. Whatever might be the hidden virtues of the Panchayati Raj, many of them have not yet been revealed to the sedentary tribal or the wandering Nomad. At the same time, one cannot tolerate the feudal system of Mutadari Tribal leadership based upon descent and personal importance. In this respect also a go slow policy may have to be followed to avoid discontent among the tribal people.

AVOID TRIBAL REVOLTS.

(9) History has registered many incidents of tribal revolts almost in every major tribe of India, arising mostly from deprivation of land, usury, exploitation of money lenders, autocracy of the rich and thoughtless administrators and the pinpricks caused by the rulers. The great santal revolt of 1855, the war of independence fought so bravely by the Koyas and Reddies under the

illustrious leadership of Sri Alluri Sita Rama Raju in 1922-24, the rebellion of the Mundas under the leadership of their tribal hero, Birsa Munda, Kol revolt of 1833, the Tamar and similar seven revolts of 1789-1832, Gond revolt in Adilabad (A.P.) in 1941 and uprisings that have occurred in the past 200 years among the Bhils, Khonds, Maliats of Orissa, Varalis of Bombay State and several tribes of Assam, can serve to open the eyes of the Government and the majority of India's population to a sense of their duty towards the tribal people. The only way of avoiding a repetition of these outbursts of discontent is to understand the tribal and sail with the Savage. India has vast frontiers, guarded zealously over thousands of years by valiant tribal people who have been our unpaid soldiery. If only we had taken pains to study and understand them and establish friendly contacts with them in the past many years, several of our frontier disputes, we dare say, would have found easier and perhaps speedier solution.

It is only after securing these to his heart's content that the wanderer thinks of other comforts, like shelter, company, protected water, medical aid, entertainment, schooling and other requirements. If not realising this, the over-taxed official pins all his hopes on a road side show piece of a settlement, he is foredoomed to an unforgettable failure.

NON-OFFICIALS CAN DO BETTER

(10) There can be no doubt that in taming a nomad the non-official can find himself better equipped than an official. By and large the red tape ridden official cribbed and cabined with rules, precedents and oral instructions will not be able to meet promptly difficult and unforeseen situations, as speedily and effectively as the unconventional non-official. The oft repeated truism that while the non-official lacks the wherewithal, the official lacks the will, happens to be too true to require reiteration. Both can supplement each other to the advantage of both. The official must widen his horizon, and the non-official curb his over enthusiasm. 'Shoulds' and 'musts' must disappear in this approach to the nomad. Both will have to go forth with all-out assistance in the initial stages of nomadic reclamation. Signatures, acknowledgments, agreements, loan obligations, penal provisions, are sure to scare away the unsophisticated globe trotter from his newly formed abode. The less the control the greater will be the confidence. The wilder the nomad, the softer must be the contact.

PRIORITIES TO BE DRAWN UP

(11) In the wearisome, and by no means very encouraging, process of curing nomadism, we must draw up a list of priorities not according to our tastes, but according to the wishes, abilities and the environment of the beneficiaries. While a tiled brick house, a metalled road, a motor bus ride, a school or a secure, monthly paid, employment in an office or industrial concern, would confer happiness and much sought after comfort, on the nomad, none or even all of these, will not bring his heaven nearer. What he values most is unfettered freedom, any curb on which would be galling to him. It may be useful if the settlers of any newly formed colony are told that nothing prevents them from leaving it at will and without notice. Coercion or suspected force are sure to wreck any attempts at sedentarisation, however well-intentional they might be. Food and raiment, not so much for their qualitative values as it is to serve the bare physical requirements of the nomad, are indispensable must in any scheme of colonisation. Having never had the habit or taste for planning, except for the succeeding morning, the nomad's requirements are few, simple and easily procurable.

THE "MAN ON THE SPOT" APPROACH

(12) Pinned to the pigeon holes of the awe-inspiring Secretariat Offices, whose frowns are more frequent than their smiles, the top policy makers should not allow themselves to be entirely guided by the so-called "man on the spot", which term ultimately refers to the overworked and quite unimaginative Revenue Inspector, whose efficiency and effectiveness is not after all very much according to the prevailing standards. This caution is all the more necessary while dealing with complex subjects success in which may make or mar the future of the costly plans, laboriously adumbrated after numerous criss crossing of the official files. The policy makers have to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the administrative as well as field problems involved in any scheme and give the green light only after close scrutiny. They must not forget that it was after all the fool hardiness of a petty, Agency Tahsildar, one Mr. Bastion, that sparked off the revolt in the explosive Rampa Country of the Andhra Agency tracts and kept the British Government at bay for nearly 2 years (1922-24) involving the engagement of the Military and the then notorious Malabar Special Police. The Holy Book and candle no doubt hypnotised the Cannibalistic savages of the Sand witch, Andaman and the New Guinea Islands and tamed them into kneeling before the altar, but this did not happen until the merciless massacre of hundreds of the freedom loving native population. Very often

when mountains do not oblige the Mohammad, the latter may have to take the initiative in solving their problems, though unfortunately many a modern Mohammad does not seem to recognise the value of such an advice. The nomadic tribal also like his fellow tribals is "proud, feels free, and looks down on sedentary groups, though they are fewer, poorer, and envious of the latter's luxury and wealth" as Kroeber describes them.

LAND ONLY KNOWN CURE.

(13) The only known way of curing nomadism is kindling in this type of aboriginal, a love for hearth and home, which as already observed, is by no means an easy task. To achieve this object either in an individual or a group of them, we must provide them with a plot of house sites, he can call his own, in which he may be enabled to put up a small thatched shed, more or less on the pattern of a tribals traditional hut, which can be pulled down and removed with as much ease as it requires to be erected. and provide him with immediate necessities which can be broadly called creature comforts, like half a dozen cooking pots and a few brass utensils, a pestle, mortar, winnow and sieve, to start with. He must find provision for his three full meals every day, until he is shown or finds for himself an occupation much to his own liking, may be basket making, hand pounding, fishing, mat making or field labour or earth work which enables him to earn his daily bread without much anxiety. If it is a colony formed for nomads it must not be too big or unwieldy to control, feed and keep engaged in gainful occupation. The village will have to be laid out according to sanitary conditions and one may also attempt at a little planning by way of laying of straight streets or lanes, sufficient open spaces around each hutment for vegetable or flower garden growing, as well as to allow fresh air. A cheap well for protected water would save several headaches to the promoter by way of ailments, small as well as serious, for in case there should be any death or untoward incident or accident, the nomad forthwith takes to his heels, leaving behind him all that had been granted even free of cost. Similarly bad omens, soothsayer's mischief, and under red presence of phantoms, holo-goblins, malicious lies circulated by the well-to-do surrounding sophisticated, having an envious eye on the acquisitions of the fleeing nomad, will have their toll to take, depriving the ill-fated, guideless and foolish vagabond of every chance for a settled life.

To a section of the unfortunates, whose ownership extended only to what they could carry on their shoulders (Khana Badosh—Home on shoulders) and whose strata of ambition did not envisage love for a fixed hearth and home, even elementary objects, in

our estimate even valueless, may assume, value based mostly on utility, availability and sometimes even portability. A costlier rose or croton plant so dear to a sophisticated individual, may not be preferred by a nomad to a shade giving margosa, fruit bearing tamarind, mango or palmyra or coconut palm plant or a drum-stick plant having food value. While he is not anxious to possess a costly pedigree Alsatian he may welcome a shepherd's country watch dog, and may easily prefer a donkey to a horse, a pig to a cow or bullock, a cotton padded over all to a fine costly terrylene or a transparent muslin. A little poultry, a few agricultural implements like crowbar, spade, axe, sickle, if not a butcher's knife, a few vegetable seeds, would meet his immediate requirements and give a promising start to his new pattern of living.

Once fixed to a piece of waste land, for housing, planting or ploughing, he would get busy fencing it, veritably his first act of exercising his ownership rights, erect with twigs a lean to or a conical hut he could rest in and in course of time he would develop such a fondness for his "belongings" that he would be willing and ready to put up a fight for safeguarding his ownership as against neighbours, intruders and still later even against his close kith and kin, as many wealthy and middle class people do.

Being a stranger to cultivation and not accustomed to planting or ploughing and sowing, he might feel shy at first of handling a spade or a plough, having known only how to dig roots, yams and tubers all these ages. He has to be given time and training for learning the duration and suitability of seasons, as well as the crops to be raised during these seasons, the utility of particular manures for particular crops, and several other matters relating to the farmer's profession, which he will gradually pick up though not without failures, blunders and bad mistakes. Even today the Yanadi is afraid of plucking crop planting lead of weed. Coming to pets, smaller animals like sheep, goats which do not require produced fodder may be tried at first and it is only after cultivable land is secured by lease or assignment, that milch cattle and plough bullocks may be granted without risk.

The role played by agriculture in the curative process pertaining to nomadism, cannot be minimised. The gap of hundreds of thousands of years that divided the wander-hungry nomad and the agriculturist has to be bridged or shortened, if the former has to survive. Man cannot survive long and discharge his responsibilities to himself and his fellow beings unless he develops his producing and sustaining power. He must, as rapidly as he can, produce his food requirements and nomadism is not the way

CURE FOR NOMADISM

to achieve promising results. It is far easier to convert a nomad to settled life than to win over a food gatherer, as the germ of aspiration has already taken root in the pastoral, seasonal trader, criminal and beggar types of nomads, who have frequently come into greater contact with towns and villages, where life is settled and occupations and income are more assured. So nomadism has not much cultural background behind it and even if it had, it should have either totally or partially disappeared under the impact of a powerful environment, necessity, emulation and march of time.

It is nobody's view or plea that the nomad should continue to be one, to satisfy the curiosity of an uninterested or indifferent public or to help the experiments of an anthropologist or that he should be left to himself until he of his own accord, realises the need to seek our assistance or co-operation. All that is stated by the Scientist is that in ushering reforms, one must not think always of short cuts, hasty steps and unconventional experiments. It is also not blind dogma, copy book maxims and pious wishes that measure the steps of the nomad's progress. Means and methods, tastes and prejudices of the nomads, may have to be consulted; ability of the beneficiary to assimilate assessed; capability of his resources examined; rules and directions of the Government respected; reasons for preliminary failures or successes studied, and such other precautions as are called for taken in introducing far reaching changes. More than all the above considerations, the reactions of the recipients of the benefits may have to be watched.

Nomadism is not an occurrence of today. It has been there since man began his sojourn on this planet. It will continue to persist despite the best efforts made, punitive measures taken, restrictions placed, as well as ameliorative steps taken by kind and considerable Governments. If it had existed a million years before, and if it continues to be the choice way of life of several millions even now, one may justifiably conclude that we are not going to see its end in the near future. What we can with certainty predict is that nomadism is curable. When and how it can be totally eradicated it is anybody's guess.

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