

TRANSCRIPTS FROM PAWAGA VILLAGES

Background notes on Pawaga Division

Comments from , Community Development Officer

1. The main problems we have are water and poor communications with Iringa. E.g. it costs TS 1,500 to go to Iringa by Land Rover taxi and these are few. By comparison the bus fare from Iringa to Dar es Salaam is TS 3,500. In the rains taxis cost more because the roads are very bad - one might have to pay TS 2,000.

Pastoralists

2. We have schools but the attendance of pastoralist children is poor. The Maasai wanted to set up their own school but that could not be allowed. The cattle-rich ones are often reluctant to send children to school as they want them to herd the cows. Once they lose their cattle they become more keen on education. They are cultivating and slowly changing their ways.

3. The Mang'ati/Barabaig generally have less than five years in this area.

[has been here for 6 years and the Maasai were well-established before he came]. I am not sure when they first arrived here. There is only one sub-village which has a Maasai as its executive officer.

4. I am a Msukuma from Mwanza - I left there in 1980 after school and was posted here six years ago. I return there when I have leave.

5. The Wasukuma pastoralists here are recent immigrants - they only started coming about two or three years ago. One of the reasons for this is that Sukuma country has not received good rain for the past two years and so there is a shortage of good pasture. Cultivation is encroaching on pasture lands too. The Wasukuma people are attracted here because of the irrigation channels and also the Mtera Dam to the east.

6. The Wasukuma are regarded enviously by the Wahehe as they still have so many cattle. [Some Wahehe joke that they ought to start marrying off their daughters to the Wasukuma so that they can get some cows]

7. The Wasukuma are cultivating here too. They have been cultivators for longer than the Maasai.

8. Wasukuma are not likely to steal stock like the Maasai or Mang'ati, and they are rarely robbed.

[While we were in Kimande a Mang'ati herder had his stock seized and impounded in the local auction ring. He was ordered to pay a fine because his animals had entered a Mhehe's shamba from which the crops had not yet been harvested. The fine is

assessed according to the level of damage done and may be tens of thousands of shillings.

The Mang'ati cannot resist as they are few and the Wahehe many. Also they wish to enjoy access to crop residues after the harvest. The proceedings did not seem acrimonious, so the system must work quite well]

Wildlife

9. Some species of animals have increased here in recent years. E.g. when the elephant hunting was at high levels we never had problem elephants in the shambas, but now they are protected they are coming regularly to the villages.

10. [There does not seem to be a lot of game in Pawaga at this time. In four days of driving round some remote areas of LMGCA we saw only a few impala, dik dik and giraffe. Possibly the game is very shy of cars as a result of hunting. The hunting season is open and resident hunters from Iringa were in the area. Their presence suggests there must be at least a few animals left to hunt]

Poachers

11. They are in it for money. If the REWMP could give some of them employment in RNP as well as doing a meat project it will reduce poaching because they will be prepared to inform on their former cronies and they will see themselves as benefiting from the park [benefits provided to the community through this route should be more than those which would be lost if poaching were stamped out]

12. If only five villages in Pawaga receive meat from the meat project it may stimulate their less-fortunate neighbours to poach.

13. There are hunters by inheritance here whose fathers have told them they must continue hunting. They use medicine to make themselves invisible to game or to make the game move towards them and give the hunter a good target.

14. The Maasai buy their game skins from hunters.

General development

[Q: Why do the remote sub-village dwellers not come to the villages for an easier life instead of complaining that they have no food and poor services?]

15. A difficult question to answer. It is probable that some of them are relying on illegal activities such as poaching and fishing. However they may have relatives buried in those places and they would never leave them unless for a very special reason. The attraction of better services would not be enough to make them leave family graves.

16. Another reason is that many of them don't want to pay taxes or make other contributions to village development.

Land availability

17. There is no problem of getting shambas around here.

Old and new Ilolo

18. The people from old Ilolo did not all go to new Ilolo, which is a very small place. Many of them can be found in the other villages [we subsequently met some of them].

Interview transcripts

Transcript No: 5

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kisologa, Isele, PAWAGA

Date: 26/08/94

Context: Met the mzee outside his house. A few other people joined in, especially with anecdotes about honey badgers.

19. I was born here in 1935. That is the year because I was told by the local clerk.

20. In the old days there were hunters here. They used guns, arrows and dogs. The old men used to harpoon fish in the river. They didn't use nets. They used to get big fish as thick as a man's thigh. They never used poison to get fish. People used to go to where the RNP is now to get honey because that was the best place. It has the right kind of baobab trees. There is another place for honey on our side of the river beyond the hills but it is not as good.

21. Antelope skins were used mostly for lying on - of course these days you can't have them because the rangers will say you have poached the animal. Animals used to be here walking around the village but children today have never seen a giraffe.

22. It is as though the animals have heard the news that RNP is the safest place to be. You may see one or two antelope around here but not much more. But if you go to RNP on the other side of the river you will see lots of every sort of animal.

[On leaving here we came across a group of twenty impala but thereafter saw nothing except a dik dik that day].

23. I don't think the trees are very much reduced these days.

24. As far as wild fruits go they are used quite a lot. Some of them are used to add an extra kick to beer. If they are left in beer overnight they make it very potent. Honey is also added to beer. We don't cultivate the fruits - just get them from the wild trees.

25. There are still fish in the Ruaha river but you can't get them without being arrested. There are just a few fish left in the river behind the village [not the Ruaha].

26. A problem today is that there is no hunting. People can't have arrows, hunting dogs or guns around. And even if they had permission to hunt there are no animals left around here anyway. Another problem is that there is no honey round here. The bees all seem to stay in RNP.

[Q: Why don't people use hives?]

27. Well, if we use the traditional hives the honey badgers smash them up and steal all the honey. They are very strong and crafty - they can intoxicate the bees with their breath and then they knock the hives out of the trees and eat the honey. If the bees' nest is underground the honey badger will dig all night without stopping to reach it. They are so strong that if you kick them they just get up and walk off. It is difficult to kill them as they are not right in the head and don't feel pain. Modern hives are badger-proof. We have had bwana nyuki (the bee man) round to talk to us about these but we haven't really done anything since.

Transcript no: 6

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mbugani, Isele, PAWAGA

Date: 26/08/94

Context: On arrival in the village met the mzee sitting with the village chairman and others. He agreed to talk to us and accompanied us as we moved on to other locations.

28. I was here before the RNP was made. I was born here in 1940. In those times people were cultivating and had a lot of livestock. Since then the Wahehe have lost most of their livestock [this is a theme to which he often returns].

29. Before the protection of wildlife people were hunting and eating all sorts of animals. Honey was eaten too - it was collected from the baobab trees. There was no market in those days and we spent a lot of time drinking beer [means that surplus maize could not be sold so was used to brew beer, to which the honey could be added; seems hardly possible that they could drink more than they do now].

30. People here used to hunt with guns, spears, arrows and dogs. But I never understood how they did it and never got involved in it. No-one in the village today has a licensed rifle for hunting on game control [like mzee xx in Kitisi, Idodi].

[Q: Did everyone hunt or just certain people?]

31. Those with weapons were hunters and their family and friends would get some of the meat. Meat was not a very valuable commodity - for instance one could exchange 5 kilos of meat for a small basin of maize. There was so much meat around that it was a cheap thing.

[Q: Did the village leaders restrict or control the hunters' activities at all?]

32. There was no need for that because the leaders liked meat just as much as anyone else! Why would they want to reduce the amount of meat they were getting?
[laughter]

33. People liked to eat antelope and giraffe and all the other small animals but they didn't often eat elephants. That was because if you killed an elephant there was so much meat that you couldn't finish it and most of it just rotted.

[Q: How have things changed with the animals since then?]

34. The numbers of animals have decreased a lot since the 1940s. It is because meat became a business. Ivory became a big business too. When animals were protected the hunters were afraid to bring meat to the villages in case they were arrested so they took it far away and sold it. Meat became very expensive and of course it was illegal too if was obtained without a licence.

35. It is now very hard to get any sort of meat here, even that of cows. The Mang'ati and Wasukuma [recently immigrant pastoralists] have so many cows but they won't slaughter one here unless it is sick. Even if a cow dies you don't get any meat because the first few people to get there take it all. Normally you can't get meat until you go all the way to Kimande butchery.

[the reason for this is that they prefer to sell their cows at market in Kimande or Mlowa for about 30,000 shillings each; the people in Mbugani can't pay enough for meat to support such a price].

36. Trees for building have decreased a bit but there is still plenty of grass for thatching.

37. The animals have really gone down. There used to be antelopes walking around here. Now you won't see any until you get close to RNP boundary.

38. You sometimes see the resident hunters pass through here. Their cars are always covered, so you can't see what's in the back. They pass through at night too.

39. These days it does not rain as it used to. The river used to be full of water even at this time of year and fish were plenty. There was a bad drought in 1946 though. Nowadays it is just problems all the time. There are hardly any fish left.

[when we finally part company he borrows a piece of nylon string with which he will make a fishing line, so there must be a few fish left somewhere]

Transcript no: 7
Name: Mzee XX
Tribe: Mhehe
Location: Bingama, Isele, PAWAGA
Date: 26/08/94

Context: We met the mzee at his camp near the Ruaha river. He is a wealthy man with a lot of livestock, a large house, a car, a tractor and at least one maize mill operating in Kisanga. Bingama has the air of a seasonal camp. We spoke under a tree full of fruits used to pep up beer and festooned with household utensils.

40. First of all, when your colleague came I gave her a letter concerning the problems we are having with the RNP over access to the river to water our stock. What has happened? She said she would come with an answer in July. [SJ promised to let him know progress to date].

[The basic problem seems to be that certain channels of the Ruaha river, which were formerly used to water stock in the dry season, recently have been declared to be in the park and therefore out of bounds. This leaves the herders with no watering points for their stock].

41. I think they said they would answer in July because they were hoping that by then the problem would have disappeared as there would be water in the irrigation channel near here. However the people at Mtera dam [further downstream on the Ruaha] have not released any water because it is all needed for hydro-electric power. So we are stuck with no water.

42. We have no option but to take our cattle to water across the first channel of the river. The herd boys are being chased away by the rangers from RNP and leaving the cattle behind.

43. We only want to use these channels of the river when there is no other water available round here, that is in Kiangazi [dry season June-December]. The only serious problem we have here is water. There is lots of food for the cattle but no water. We don't need to go into the park for grazing.

44. I was born in Kisanga. I have always been a livestock man. In Kisanga there was no room for grazing and I didn't want to get into lots of arguments with the cultivators so I came to Isele in 1963. I am not interested in hunting, fishing, crops etc. just cows and goats!

45. It was only last year that we first failed to get water here. So this is the second time.

46. Usually we would bring the cattle here from the village in June or July and stay until December then go back to the village where the korongo would be full of water. We follow water and rain, not pasture because there is plenty of fodder everywhere.

The channels used to be regarded as outside the RNP but now we have been swindled out of the water.

47. These days I would say there a lot more wild animals than before. Lions seem to be very common. In the two months since I came here I have lost about 15 cows to lions coming out of the RNP. It would help if we could have permission to shoot some of them to keep them away. Maybe they have increased so much in the RNP that now they must come outside to find food.

48. There are more antelopes and buffaloes around here too. We are not bothered by wild dogs because they follow the animals and the animals follow the rain. Because there is no rain around here there are no wild dogs.

49. The main reason for the reduction in the number of livestock around here is ndorobo or tsetse fly. The insect repellent [applied in dips?] is very expensive and doesn't last long, so many people cannot afford it. In the old days someone with 20 cows was a poor man but now few Wahehe have much stock. The only people with a lot of cattle are the Wasukuma and the Mang'ati and they have just come in recently.

[GN: The Wasukuma have only moved in in large numbers over the last two years because in this period there has been very poor rain in Mwanza and there is not enough fodder for their cows]

[while we speak the mzee points out a herd of Maasai cattle comes back from the direction of the river, so these people are around here too]

Transcript no: 8

Name: Mzee HS

Tribe:

Location: Bingama, Isele, PAWAGA

Date: 26/08/94

Context: As with Mzee XX in Bingama, a problem exists here because of the redefinition of channels of the Ruaha as inside in the park. Mzee X lives a few hundred meters from the RNP boundary. When we arrived he was concerned about a young man who had been arrested in the park the previous day. He had been caught with an empty cooking pan. He had not been carrying any money, otherwise he would have been able to pay the rangers to release him. People were deliberating whether or not to try to pay a fine to the rangers to secure the lad's release. This would be cheaper than travelling all the way to Iringa to pay the fine should the case be taken to court, but there was a risk that anyone crossing over to the ranger post might also be arrested for trespassing in the park. This dilemma lent a certain flavour to the conversation.

50. A long time ago it was good here because there was no problem with water. Now we are being squeezed by the RNP. They have suddenly declared that the bank of the river is in the park. If you set foot on there, they will arrest you. We have shambas there and of course we have to go there for water. So now we can't get food or water.

51. Nowadays there's not enough rain either.

52. In the old days you used to be able to get a lot of honey; so much that you could eat it until you were completely full. Nowadays if you get a licence to collect honey and try the trees round here you end up with a little basin-full that is useless for feeding a family. The trees in RNP are the best for honey and we used to be able to use them.

53. These people want us to move away and grow rice but we don't know how to do it. It is better for us to stick with maize and groundnuts, which we know.

54. I originally come from old Ilolo and I came here after leaving that place. In old Ilolo we were growing groundnuts, maize and sorghum and getting lots of honey. Maybe if we found a dead animal, e.g. a lion kill, we would take some meat but we didn't do any hunting. I never knew how to do it. There was plenty of fish and you could not be arrested for fishing.

55. You used to be able to walk around carefree in broad daylight to get honey and meat, but nowadays you must be on the lookout all the time. If you can't pay a fine the rangers will send you to jail, leaving the children behind.

56. This used to be our land; from here all the way to Mkwaju and old Ilolo but now you can't even let one of your goats set foot in the place.

57. One of our young men has been arrested and when I heard your car I thought it might be the rangers bringing him back. Usually we just pay a fine in these situations.

58. Our top priority request is that we be granted access to the old channels of the river where there is water. We have been digging deep wells in the dry channel - it is dangerous because an old lady could fall in and be buried. But there is no water left. Please take this request back to RNP.

[people weaving baskets and mats here]

Transcript no: 9

Name: Mzee XX

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kikuruhe, Isele, PAWAGA

Date: 26/08/94

Context: Met in village.

59. In the old days we were using game meat a lot because there was no protection of wildlife as there is today. Of course now we have stopped because you are not allowed to kill the animals without a licence.

60. I was born in Makaluga [this was on the other bank of the river from Msembe] but I left there in 1946 and came here. I left before the people of Makaluga were evicted to make way for the RNP.

61. When I had been here for a while I started to think that it would have been better to stay in Makaluga but by that time the RNP had been made.

62. Here we were missing honey, fish and meat, which all were plentiful in Makaluga. There were not as many animals here as there were in Makaluga. Since I have been here the animals have continued to decrease.

63. Wildlife has been reduced here because of disturbance by the increasing number of people and livestock. This has forced the animals to move back into the RNP.

64. In Makaluga anyone could hunt if he wanted. Mainly guns were used. Few people were hunting with arrows or dogs. Dogs were used mostly to guard the shambas - to chase and catch pigs which came in.

65. People would eat anything they could get. We ate antelopes, elephants, zebras, buffaloes, elands and others.

66. Meat was not on sale, but it was shared out so that everyone got some.

[Q: Were there any traditional rules about what could be hunted?]

67. Before Tanzania achieved independence the colonial government said we could not hunt giraffes and elephants but everything else could be hunted with no regulation, just as before.

68. These days getting a licence to hunt is very difficult and honey and fish are problems. We have been visited by the government bee people who advised us on hives but no-one has done anything. I suppose we ought to try to put up some hives.

69. These days it does not rain very much and I think this may be causing the trees to decrease. There is no shortage of firewood, but there are less trees for building.

70. In particular I would like to ask you about these rangers from RNP. Their conduct is very bad. They have been harassing people a lot since last year. They have been arresting people, holding them in front of fires at mid-day, thrashing them with thorny branches and beating people on the soles of their feet [these comments affirmed by onlookers]. I accept that some of the people concerned had broken the rules but I think that excessive force is being used by these rangers. They recently gave a honey hunter a very serious beating. They are often around in their green cars - in fact we thought you might be one of them.

Transcript no: 10

Tribe: Wahehe

Location: "Unofficial Ruaha", Kisanga, PAWAGA

Date: 27/08/94

Context: A small settlement on the other side of the Ruaha river from RNP. The mzee we had come to see was not around so we talked with two men aged 30 to 40

years. One was extremely suspicious and reluctant to talk about wildlife or hunting, apparently because they are frequently in contact with RNP rangers.

[Comment from village exec. officer - These people should go back to where they came from so that they can enjoy the benefits of village services and contribute to development rather than following this subsistence lifestyle]

[Several of the people here have eye problems - cataracts/river blindness?].

71. A long time, ago life was better. We were in old Ilolo, which is now inside the RNP. We left Ilolo in 1979. When we were brought to this area we found that many people here were growing rice. However it is very hard work and we were accustomed to growing maize in Ilolo.

72. So we carried on trying to grow maize but the rain is often not enough so we get problems of food [there is a maize plot around this village; everyone is weaving baskets/mats for sale; a tractor passes by].

73. Before the park started people were very free and they could go where they wanted. But even then if there was any hunting it was always done on a licence.

74. In old Ilolo there were lots of cows and good pastures and everyone was well off. If you ever needed help you count on your relatives to be in a position to assist. But now everyone is impoverished. Now if you need help you have to beg the government. The rice-growers usually have a lot of food so they can help too.

75. Wild animals are seen around here but it is not possible to say if they have increased or not. Of course we see a few from time to time but we can't cross the river. So how can we go there and check if they are increasing? You can see a few elephants sometimes. I imagine they have increased over there because of the protection. On this side we don't see many tracks around the shambas so that probably means they have decreased a bit over here.

76. The problem we have here is that the RNP people have blocked the route by which we reach our shambas. They refuse entry to everyone. We would like them to agree to just let those who want to cultivate to get through and come back each day.

[We are taken to see the boundary of the park - moving roughly north we reach the river bank about 150 metres from the houses - this is one channel of the Ruaha and is now dry but sometimes has water. On the other side of the channel is a tree with an RNP boundary sign indicating that the boundary runs north south on that line]

77. In fact the boundary is not here even though we are outside the sign - we are told that it extends to the road to the east of here which passes up to Nzombe and Mpululu. People don't like to stand here long because they will be arrested for being in the park.

78. Maybe they put the sign on this big tree because it is unlikely to fall down.

Transcript no: 11

Name: EDM
Tribe: Mgogo
Location: "Unofficial Ruaha", Kisanga, PAWAGA
Date: 27/08/94

Context: This mzee is living near Ruaha sub-village but outside the official sub-village area. At first thinking our vehicle was a RNP car, he refused to speak to us but was reassured by the village exec. officer.

79. I was born in Mkuyu (?), another village in Kisanga. In 1967 I went to live in Kiteleke which is a village to the north of old Ilolo, on the other side of a hill from there and just outside the RNP boundary

[It is planned to relocate people from Kiteleke, which is very remote, to their original villages. This will be a joint operation between the District and the RNP, and it is hoped to start soon. If the move cannot be completed before villagers begin preparing their fields for planting it will have to be postponed until next year. The people are said to be evading taxes and poaching and they are not in an officially recognised village.]

80. After staying there I went to Kongwa, towards Dodoma. There I had some problems and soon returned to Kiteleke. From there I went to Kimande, stayed for about two years and then returned to Kiteleke. I then came back to Kimande in 1991, and then came to Ruaha.

81. Here in Ruaha the past two years have been good for food, but this year there has not been enough rain so there is nothing to eat. Our family has 16 children but only two of them are here. The rest are with my brother in Kimande. The two who are here are old enough to go to school but those with my brother are all too young for school.

82. In Kiteleke the life was very good as we were getting a lot of food. But here is better than Kiteleke because here if you have a problem you can go to the government and they will help you. In Kiteleke there is no government and no law so you have no defence against criminals. So even though there is food in Kiteleke I don't want to return there again.

83. Here we have some natural resource problems because we are not allowed to cross to the other bank of the river as they say it is inside the RNP. We need long palm leaves for weaving baskets [people are busy weaving] which we can sell to buy food, but on this side there are very few. We need to cross the river to get the palm leaves over there but we are not allowed to.

84. We don't feel any problems with meat here because we have become accustomed to not having any. There is no meat around here these days. I am not a hunter.

85. In the old days in Kiteleke you could just go and get honey when you wanted it. Here honey is also not a problem because my relatives have licences for traditional bee-hives which they put up in the trees and we can get honey from them.

86. There were people with licences to hunt animals [in Kiteleke?]. But if you didn't have a licence you could be arrested. Even before they extended the area of RNP there were game rangers around. One day I was with my father looking for honey when we came across a dead elephant. We took some meat and then by bad luck we met some rangers and they accused us of killing the animal. We had to do a lot of explaining.

87. Kiteleke was not very good for cows because the water was too far and there was no veterinary help.

88. Why haven't you asked me my name? [A: "We thought you might prefer anonymity". He gives his name]

89. Everyone loves meat and fish. We have heard you might be able to help us by providing meat around here. That would be a great help to us.

Transcript no: 12

Tribe: Mgogo

Location: Kinyika, Kisanga, PAWAGA

Date: 27/08/94

Context: Spoke near the village office. This man had spent a long time working in a Ministry in Dar es Salaam and had a broader outlook than most.

90. I was born here in 1930 or 1931, I think. I stayed with my grandfather who was a farmer with no livestock. He was a hunter of antelopes, pigs, bush buck and kudu.

91. There were some other animals he hunted but they are not seen these days. I left the area for a time and when I came back they weren't here anymore. They were a bit like a kudu but they were definitely not eland. They liked to stay near water and they had a very tough meat [maybe waterbuck?]. Anyway, they are never seen now.

92. Grandfather would use a muzzle-loader for hunting and I used to accompany him to carry the powder, shot and other things. We never used dogs - we didn't have any.

93. In those days no-one had shot guns or rifles. People were very few and the only guns used were muzzle-loaders. Hunters would just move in the local area - they never needed to cross the Ruaha as there were so many animals around the village.

94. Grandfather used a special medicine to help him hunt. I can't say exactly what it was but he used to make incisions on the backs of his hands with a razor and then rub this ointment into it. He said it made his hands steady so that his aim would always be true. I think that most African hunters used some sort of medicine.

95. When grandfather got meat it was eaten by our family. He took good care of us and we never needed to go and work on other people's shambas to get food. Grandfather worked hard at cultivating - he grew potatoes and cassava - and together with meat from hunting we never went hungry.

96. Occasionally people would come and exchange some food for meat.

97. If the animals were large antelopes or kudu we would dry and [tan?] the skins. The skins would be used for lying on.

98. I left the village to work at the Ministry of Lands and Survey in Dares Salaam. I was there for many years and came back after retiring. When I returned I noticed that the animals round here were very much less than before. I would say the main reasons for this are the increase in the human population, the high efficiency of the modern weapons and the greed of people for money which can be made from selling meat.

99. Before meat was only something to eat, not to sell. If someone killed a big animal you knew you would get free meat. But if that happened now you would have to pay even for a piece the size of your finger. There is no such thing as free meat any more. Wildlife are still around but much fewer. They have moved far away from the village.

100. We have problems in the shambas from pigs and bush buck. They are raiding the rice and maize shambas. There are a lot of Muslims around here so they don't want to kill the pigs to eat and the Christians are reluctant to eat pigs in the midst of a Muslim community. So the pigs are being protected by religion!

101. I would like to ask you why are you thinking you can help us conserve wildlife when you have finished all yours in Europe? You have no animals left! What did you do with your wildlife? Also when the Chinese were here building the railway they sent thousands of live giraffes by rail to Dar es Salaam and from there I think they went to China. What did they do with those giraffes? So, before, the outsiders came here to use wildlife in large numbers and now they are telling us to conserve it. Can you explain why they have changed their minds?

102. There are no rhinos here now - you never see a footprint. They used to be common here.

[Q: Do you think that wildlife populations can recover here?]

103. The way the human population has increased here it will not be easy for animals to come back. People will want to hunt them and that will cause animals to stay away.

[Q: Would it help reduce poaching if the village received say five buffalo a year?]

104. It would help a bit because the meat would be very cheap. Five buffalo is not very much but it is better than nothing.

Transcript no: 13

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kinyika, Kisanga, PAWAGA

Date: 27/08/94

Context: He was asked to talk to us by the village chairman. Spoke near the office.

105. I was born here. When I was very young we had livestock and we were cultivating. By the time we gained self-government I was married. I continued cultivating but my stock are all finished now.

106. A long time ago we were getting honey and meat and fish. People used to catch fish with rod and line. There was a lot of wildlife near the river and people would go there to hunt. The hunters used bow and arrows, not guns in those days as there was none. Some people used dogs to hunt.

107. They used to hunt any animals they could. Pigs and warthogs would be hunted with the dogs. Hunters who obtained meat might exchange this with others for food.

[Q: Did village leaders control hunting - e.g. did they tell hunters they should not hunt certain animals or they should not hunt at certain times?]

108. There was a time the village leaders told them it was no longer allowed to hunt giraffes. This was ordered by the government.

109. These days the main problems we have are of hunger for meat and poor agricultural production.

Transcript no. : 14

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Ruaha, Kisanga, PAWAGA

Date: 27/08/94

Context: This man is living in the officially recognised sub-village of Ruaha. It is close to the RNP boundary and RNP rangers appear to maintain a high profile in the area. He was reluctant to discuss hunting/wildlife issues and suspicious of the use to be made of the information he gave.

110. I am not really a mzee and the old man is not here at the moment but I can tell you something about our background. We were very young children living in old Ilolo [i.e. inside the current RNP].

111. Before the special protection of wildlife etc. you didn't need a licence to go and get things from the bush. But now if you want honey you have to have a licence so you can set up a bee-hive.

112. I can't possibly compare the situation in old Ilolo now with the time when I was there. How can I compare them when now I am not allowed into the park to see?

[explained we did not want to trick him into saying he had been into the park. Could he compare life in old Ilolo with life where he was now?]

113. My father was born near Iringa town. He was a farmer with livestock and he moved to old Ilolo because it was a good place for cattle. I was born in old Ilolo. The place was a large village, in fact it was really a town. We were moved out of there in

1980. People there were doing the usual things of building a house, farming and keeping livestock. We were not nomadic like the Maasai - we stayed close to the village. There was plenty of good pasture around there.

114. It was easy to find good grazing as there were large areas of pasture with no cultivation. In July or August we might put cows into the shambas when they had no crops in them.

115. There was no problem with water. Sometimes in October the nearest channel of the river would be dry and we would dig wells. There was always water in another channel of the river a little bit further away.

116. In those times we had a lot of stock. Nowadays there are hardly any left as they have decreased a lot since we left Ilolo. We left there with 400 head of cattle. The cows have been reduced because many have died and some have been stolen.

117. In the old days it was totally different as far as hunting went. There was no protection and everyone could do more or less as he pleased. You could just get a gun and go and hunt. Or you could hunt with spears and arrows. We had spears because you can't keep livestock without spears to defend against attacks by lions etc. People used to hunt with dogs too. Please note that I am only telling you what I have heard about hunting - I don't have any first-hand knowledge and I don't want to give you inaccurate information.

118. These days I don't know if wildlife have increased since the time when we were in Ilolo. How can I compare when I can't see the place. I should think they have increased a lot in the park because they are protected.

119. If there are less animals out here it must be because there are more people. Animals cannot stay close to the houses of people. This place used to be completely forest but now people have come here and the animals have been disturbed and left. It is not hunting which has reduced their number.

120. Here in this place we are very close to cultivation. You cannot move your cows far without coming on people's shambas, so you have to be careful. However even so there is not a problem for pastures because we can stay here by the river and then pay farmers to allow us to graze our animals in their shambas once the crops have been harvested e.g. they can eat the leaves of rice etc. This is only for a short time and is not essential to our survival but it is a useful supplement to the diet of our livestock.

121. In past years we have been bothered by lions and leopards here but at the moment it is pretty peaceful.

[It was decided that the old ladies who were here would not be able to answer our questions so we abandoned that idea]

Transcript no: 15
Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Uwanja wandege, Mboliboli, PAWAGA

Date: 28/08/94

Context: This place called "airport" because an Anglican missionary plane lands here.

122. I was born in Manyoni (Singida) near Rungwa (to the north of RNP). We moved here when I was a little boy and I have stayed ever since. I have been here for a very long time.

123. In the old times we were using dogs to hunt pigs and warthogs. The dogs would seize the pigs and then we would spear them. There was no point in selling meat because it was plentiful and had little value. We would just eat it at home.

124. There were many animals and so we did not have to far to get them. As soon as we entered the bush we were likely to get something. We used to get honey from the baobab trees. We used to harpoon fish. There was a lot of livestock around and we had a few cattle then.

125. Wildlife has decreased a lot these days.

[Q: Why do you think it has decreased?]

126. Because of human population increase. Then there were few people and many animals. Now there are a lot of people. Also because of the way meat has become a business. In the old days a whole leg of meat was only worth 50c but now the price is very high.

127. There is not much honey around now. There are still fish left and you could still (in theory) get them with a harpoon if you had a licence.

128. The pastures for cattle are reduced now because there is a lot of livestock in the area eating all the leaves, so that there are hardly any left.

Transcript no: 16

Tribe: Wahehe, Wagogo, Mkuria

Location: Uwanja wandege, Mboliboli, PAWAGA

Date: 28/08/94

Context: Joined a group of four wazee playing mbao. One person responded at first with occasional comments by the others. Shortly another mzee arrived; he was regarded as a local expert and he made most of the conversation from then on.

129. We were using arrows for hunting a long time ago, and when we got an animal we would eat the meat. If there were friends or relatives around they would also get their share of the meat. Spears, muzzle loaders and dogs were also used for hunting.

130. Some of the hunters would use special medicines to help them hunt successfully. There were just a few people who were fundis or expert hunters.

131. It was preferred usually to hunt the small animals like antelopes, kudu, bush buck and dik dik. Occasionally they would hunt a big animal like elephant. This was a bit more dangerous. When they got an elephant everyone in the village would get meat.

132. Buffalo were hunted too, and hippos, though hippos were like elephant and not hunted very much.

133. People were using skins to lie on - they were very comfortable.

134. Animals like antelope have reduced a bit around here. They used to be many but now you have to go further before you see them.

135. A long time ago people could hunt without problems. You only needed a licence for elephants. For other animals there was no need for a licence.

136. People were getting honey. We were using traditional bee-hives and also getting the honey straight from trees in the bush. Honey was used as a food and also as an additive to beer. Fish were obtained using harpoons and some people also used fish traps. These days fish are much-reduced and there is not much honey around.

137. Zebras, ostriches and giraffes used to be close to our homes in large numbers. There was also a certain white antelope called "nzelezele/nzelesele" which is never seen around here today. This antelope used to move around in pairs and they would always stay aside from other groups of animals. Very pale in colour and about the size of a goat [maybe this is Grant's gazelle?].

138. We who have lived here for long have seen the changes. Nowadays we don't see much game round here. The children have not seen a giraffe and they only know what an ostrich looks like because they have them at the Mission.

139. This place was a good hunting area, and in the old days people were not living here but were scattered round in small outlying settlements e.g. Usolanga. These places often had less than ten people living in them. Like those people in Ruaha we were living with animals as neighbours. People came into this area (where the village is now) just to hunt. When we moved into centralised villages the animals moved out.

140. We moved the whole village again in 1989 when the river flooded and forced us to move [a short distance].

[we are joined by another mzee who takes up the conversation]

141. I am a Mkuria [from northern Tanzania] and I came here as a little boy. It was a long time ago - the Kodi was only 8 shillings. This was in the time of the English colonialists; maybe 1928 or 1929. In those days Mboliboli had only 3 or 4 houses.

142. This village was not here but in another place. In the whole area around here there were no more than 20 houses scattered around.

143. From 1935/36 there was a camp nearby of Italian prisoners of war who dug an irrigation channel. Following that people came to cultivate. They were growing sorghum and rice.

144. In those days there were many animals. If people hunted we got lots of meat. We could easily catch fish in the rivers. There were no game rangers around here and so we had no misgivings about using these things. There was a Shamba la Bibi in those days and if you went in there you might be caught. But nowadays even if you are just fishing near the village here and the rangers come they will force you to eat your catch raw or be beaten up (if you don't have a licence).

145. In the old days it was easy and cheap to get a licence. You paid 5 shilling a year for your gun if it was a shotgun. Shotguns were expensive and so people usually made their own muzzle-loading guns. They could take these to the police station and register them for a fee of two shillings a year.

146. Once you had registered your gun you could get a chitty which entitled you to hunt 12 animals that year. Everyone with a gun could get such permission. In our village there were about two shotguns but many muzzle-loaders. We had a gun in our family and a permit for 12 kills.

147. In those times few villages had more than 30 or 50 people. You could never find a place with as many as 300 people or more than 30 houses.

148. This meant that if you killed a kudu it was enough meat for everyone in the village. We lived in small groups and never had a problem with meat. In fact it was difficult to finish the 12 animals on the chitty.

149. However today if you killed two kudu here the meat would disappear in an instant and no-one would have had enough.

150. You could even hunt elephants on a licence. Arabs used to come here to hunt them and sell the ivory. The elephants would be close to our homes so you never had to go very far to get one.

151. If you had meat you might exchange it for food but you could never sell it. E.g. if you had not had a good crop that year you could exchange meat for a basin of maize. In the old days everyone was helpful to his neighbour. If you were planting and you saw your neighbour had no seeds, everyone would be called round to contribute some seeds so that he could at least finish the year with two or three sacks of food.

152. But these days everything is money. If you don't have seed you must suffer.

153. Nowadays people are many and the animals are less. Before this place was just bush. As people have come in of course the animals have moved away. They have moved off to the hills and to the river banks. So it is hard to say whether they have actually decreased in numbers or just changed their distribution. Around here you don't see giraffes, ostrich or zebras but that is just because they have moved away. They are still many but they are far.

154. There used to be a lot of wild dogs round here. But of course because their prey has gone, so have they. If you cross the river into RNP you will see them.

155. There is a big difference in pastures between then and now. Then, if it rained, there was no need of cows staying near the river. We were planning our use of pastures with bwana mifugo [the livestock officer] in order to control the rinderpest disease. We were using quarantine. Cattle would be confined to certain areas and we would bring the fodder to them.

156. [...seems to suggest that pastures now are of poorer quality]. Nowadays people are setting fires carelessly and destroying all the forage. In the old days of you wanted to start a shamba you had to register with the local clerk first. If you wanted to use fire to clear the place you had to make firebreaks all around the area to be burned. If people saw a fire out of control we would all try and put it out.

157. As far as trees for building go, of course they are a bit reduced because people are so many - the woodland edge has receded a bit. But there is no shortage as we can still get them.

158. Honey was available in many places where there were bees' nests e.g. in trees, fallen/dead trees and even in thick bush/grass. When the water was low in the river you could always find lots of bees there and no-one told you not to take honey.

[conversation briefly turns to my car which had people worried at first as it resembles one of the ODA-provided ranger cars, which was here yesterday]

159. People moved to this site in 1989 when the river flooded and changed course [the previous site is a few km away]

160. The other day a Maasai was caught with an antelope skin. Those Maasai really love the skins, and so do the Mang'ati (Barabaig). The Maasai buy the skins from hunters.

161. Ah yes, those antelope skins are fine for lying on - so comfortable and soft. But now you can't have them in your home anymore. We used to use skins for making small folding seats and larger seats for lying back in [like deck-chairs]. Zebra skins were very nice for seats.

162. I think the Maasai usually try to remove the hairs from the skins to make them resemble cow-hides. However even if you remove the hairs you can still see the markings which suggest it's an antelope skin!

163. When your colleague xxx came here she said she would arrange for the village boundary to be measured (demarcated). We thought it was going to be done by June but we have heard nothing from your project. When will it be done?

[A: I am sure xxx has a plan to do this. The problem is probably that if a Government Department is involved this has slowed things down. I will check on progress for you]

164. Yes, the government is usually slow in these matters.

Transcript no: 17

Tribe: Wagogo and Wahehe

Location: Mboliboli, PAWAGA

Date: 28/08/94

Context: We approached a group of seven wazee sitting talking. They were all suspicious of the motives for the research as a RNP car had been in the village yesterday. No-one wanted to discuss hunting although the group was believed to include some well-known hunting experts from the old days. They good-naturedly resisted several attempts to start conversation about natural resource use and we had to admit defeat. [Comments below come from various people]

165. I have been around here for a very long time. I was born here. I am talking of the times when the kodi (colonial hut tax) was [quotes some low figure which impresses everyone]. My people originally come from Kigoma. The white people used to come round here to hunt elephants and they used to bring Wahehe from Iringa.

[Q: So did you used to eat meat?]

166. If we felt hungry for meat we could just slaughter a goat - we had no need of game meat [laughter].

[Q: What has caused wildlife to decline here?]

167. A long time ago disease was responsible for a lot of deaths of wildlife - e.g. I remember a time when many zebras and antelopes died from a disease. The carcasses were everywhere. The antelopes had swollen and damaged eyes. There were some hunters but they were not a cause of a decrease in game.

168. Zebras, ostriches, giraffes, kudu and a rufous antelope were very many around here, close to people's houses. There were few eland.

169. Nowadays you hardly ever see a giraffe or a zebra. Disease and the increase in human populations have caused wildlife to decline around here.

170. Elephants are a big problem here in shambas of maize and sorghum. Pigs and hippos are problem too. We are afraid to kill them in case we get problems from the RNP/game people.

171. We want meat. Can you help us to get special licences to hunt and fish? It would help a lot. Who exactly are you and why are you asking these questions?

Transcript no.: 18

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mboliboli, PAWAGA

Date: 28/08/94

Context: Met the mzee at his house. He was doing some pointing work on his wall but agreed to speak to us for a few minutes. About twenty people came to listen.

172. A long time ago there were not many problems. We were able to obtain natural resources using arrows or muzzle-loaders [a common feature in Mboliboli was the equation of meat with natural resources]. We could get register our shotguns or muzzle loaders and then get licences to hunt. In this area we were mostly hunting antelopes, particularly a dark and light coloured one called mbaata (?).

173. Wildlife were very many and there was no need to go far before you got a kill.

174. Not everyone hunted - it was only those with weapons. Perhaps only four or five people in the village.

175. If you got meat it could be exchanged for food and other things. You could use the skins for lying on or for making chair seats.

176. The time I am talking of is in the 1940s. Nowadays there are not so many animals around this village. However elephants, hippos and bush pigs still come into the shambas and create problems. Mbawala (bush buck) also come into the shambas but they are not as many as before.

177. We were also using fish a long time ago. We would catch them on a line. They have decreased since the old days.

178. Pastures for stock, trees for building and thatching grass seem to have decreased around here compared with a long time ago.

179. The big problem we have here is that hippos are raiding our rice shambas. Elephants are troublesome also. We think they are coming from RNP. We have reported the problem to the leaders [not clear, of the park or where?] but they have not come. The Game people also have not helped us.

[Q: Can you get elephant and hippo licences and shoot these animals in your shambas as part of game control work?]

180. It is impossible to get an elephant licence and I think hippos also are not available. So this idea is no good. We really need the game people or the national park people to come and help us. They said they would assist but they seem reluctant to come. If you could remind them I would be grateful.

181. Finally I would like to ask what is the purpose of your visit and why do you need this sort of information? Please try to help us deal with these crop raiding animals.
[Village Executive Officer commented:

There are still a few antelope around here but we can't kill them or get fish because of the conservation laws. We should try to create a good hunting area here so that we could get meat. The animals have left this area because of disturbance by people and not because of over-hunting]

Transcript no: 19
Tribe: Mhehe
Location: Kimande, PAWAGA
Date: 29/08/94

Context: Met him sitting outside his house with a few others. He moved aside to talk.

182. We were living in Msembe before the national park was made [Msembe is the current park HQ]. We only had a few houses there. Animals were all around and moving very close to our homes. The elephants would pass close by on their way to drink at the Ruaha river. There were many antelopes, kudu, warthogs and other small animals around. Buffaloes too were very close to our houses.

183. We were cultivating there. Other people had stock but we didn't. Although the wild animals were very many only the elephants used to cause problems in our shambas. We used to chase them away by banging tins and lighting small fires.

184. People with guns could get licences to hunt but in our family neither I nor my father had a muzzle-loader. We used to get meat by looking out for vultures circling over lion kills and locating the carcasses of recently-killed animals. Even if the lions were still around it was possible to chase them or distract them while someone got some meat. It was not dangerous if you knew about their behaviour.

185. We got most of our game meat this way - actually there were few hunters in Msembe.

186. There was plenty of honey around there. Some people made hives but there was plenty of wild honey to be had in the trees. We had few problems of food.

187. Originally our family came from Manyoni [district to the north of RNP]. My grandfather came to Msembe and married and my father was born there.

188. All the people in Msembe were Wahehe. Their leader was called Kayera and even today older people may refer to Ruaha as Kayera. He was a very important man. When white people came with licences to hunt elephants around Msembe they would always go to see him first. They would present their rifles to him and he would grasp them and bless them. If Kayera did not bless your gun you would not get an elephant - even if you hit one it would not fall down.

189. If the white people got an elephant they would just take the tusks and the villagers would be left with all the meat.

190. I suppose that today there must be very many more animals around Msembe because of the special protection it has received. Wildlife protection started in Serengeti and then came to Mikumi and Ruaha.

191. We were moved out of Msembe a long time ago. The people who were living in Mdonya were moved first. In those days the protected area was called "Shamba la bibi", which referred to it being a reserve of Queen Elizabeth. In [not sure of date] we were notified of the plan to move us out of there. The people of Mdonya and Msembe were moved to villages like Tungamalenga and others outside the park.

192. After the move, things were not bad. We had a good place to grow crops and there was meat in the butchery. However now we had to pay for meat instead of getting it free so it wasn't quite so good as before.

193. People in those villages near Ruaha NP could pay 3 shillings and go in to see the animals. A vehicle would come from the park to pick them up. I went once and I saw there were a lot of animals because of conservation.

Transcript No: 20

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kimande, PAWAGA

Date: 29/08/94

Context: Met the mzee outside his house.

194. I was born in this village about seventy years ago - so that would be around 1924. Back in those days natural resource matters were not like they are now - everything was a lot more free.

195. Before the idea appeared of guarding the animals, anyone who wanted to was free to hunt. People were hunting with muzzle-loaders, arrows, dogs and so on.

196. At one point the government told us not to hunt any more giraffes, but none of the others was protected so we carried on hunting those. Fish were not protected and neither was honey. It was all regarded as our property so we just took things when we needed them.

197. Looking back I suppose our behaviour was bad because we would have finished everything off by now if there had not been some protection enforced.

198. Life these days is fine because if you have a problem you can get help from development projects around here. E.g. if we need help with irrigation channels the project will come and help to dig them. [complains of chest problems and tough work].

Transcript no: 21

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kimande, PAWAGA

Date: 29/08/94

Context: The mzee was in the middle of a beer-drinking session. After a short time became agitated about talking about things connected with hunting, fearing that he might be arrested.

199. In the old days it was very good because the Wahehe were a powerful and respected people. I was born near modern Iloilo in a place called Magangamatito.

200. We were hunting animals, but only those which came into our shambas to eat the crops. We would hunt pigs with dogs. Once the dogs trapped the pig I would finish it off with a spear. Then we would take the meat home to eat. None of it would be sold. If our friends or relatives came round we would give them a bit of the meat too.

201. We didn't eat honey.....[decides he doesn't want to continue]

Transcript no: 22

Tribe: Mgogo

Location: Kimande, PAWAGA

Date: 29/08/94

Context: Met him near the village executive officer's house.

202. I was living in old Iloilo before and I came here to Kimande when the people were moved out. It was not very long ago. As I don't know how to read I don't know what the year was [village executive officer suggests it was either 1979 or 1980].

203. I was born in Pawaga close to Kisanga. My father was ill and we went to stay with my grandfather in old Iloilo. He had a lot of cows and goats. We did not used to travel far with the livestock - we just stayed near to the village. There was a mzungu there in those days called Marshall who had a machine for making butter and he would buy our milk from us. He only bought cow's milk.

204. In the old days there was not much hunting because there were so many cows. You could sell old cows or "kongolo" at the market for 50 shillings and then you felt you had plenty of money.

205. We had lots of honey. That mzungu would buy honey too. It was very plentiful and we would get it from the wild bees in the bush, not from man-made hives.

206. There were many Maasai, Wagogo and Wahehe in old Ilolo. All of them had a lot of livestock. The Maasai didn't stay around the village all the time but wandered around from place to place.

207. There was plenty of water available. We dug wells in the river bed to water our stock and if they dried we could move to another branch of the river which would still have water. We were using the Kisigo river, not the Ruaha.

208. It was a good life without any problems. But today things are very bad. There is no livestock left. We had to sell it all to buy food. We left Ilolo with plenty of stock but had to sell it to get food.

209. The place we came to did not have enough rain. In old Ilolo we were growing maize and sorghum, but it was difficult to grow these in the new place. The crops died through lack of water and we had to sell our cows to buy maize meal.

Transcript no: 23

Name: XXX

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Kimande village, PAWAGA

Date: 29/08/94

Context: Walking round village met the mzee on his way to neighbour's house.

210. I was born in Malangali, which was then part of Iringa but is now part of Mfindi. I worked as a court attendant for many years and I came to Kimande in February 1973, when I was transferred here to work in the court. I stayed here until I retired and have been here ever since.

211. Since I came here the environment has got much worse. In the old days there was plenty of rain, pastures were plentiful and things like honey were easily available. Now honey is very difficult to get because it is business - you have to pay a lot whereas in the old days it was free.

212. Before there were many wild animals, cows and goats were plentiful and there was lots of milk. But now everyone is competing for resources and life is getting harder. In the Bible it says that we can't finish all the things God has made for us but we are struggling to get things because there are more people fighting for less resources. Nowadays the young people have to struggle to get enough food but in my day it was much easier.

213. There are even more diseases these days and I don't know why. In the old days we had no medicine but we were more healthy than young people today there are many diseases now. Before, we were tough - we could walk all the way to Iringa in a day from here - people can't do that now because there is too much illness. E.g. asthma - there is no modern medicine to cure this completely.

214. In the old days traditional medicine was very good and you could have faith that it would work. But now that these medicines are being sold by traders the quality has become worse. There are no true traditional doctors any more. Before if a mganga (traditional doctor) gave you roots and other ingredients to boil you could be sure that the resulting medicine would cure you. But nowadays you can pay 2,000 shillings to these charlatans and get something which is no good at all.

215. In Kimande, as far as I remember the animals started to decrease around here is the late 1970s. The number of hunters increased and they all wanted to profit. There were many animals not far from the village. These days they have moved further away.

216. I never had any livestock, but my father did. I have always just been a farmer.

217. Before, the hunters were using spears and bows. Some would use poison arrows. The poisons are extracts from certain trees. These poisons were very strong and made animals collapse. You could get a licence for small animals like antelopes, dik dik, eland and kudu if you needed meat.

218. Elephants were not allowed, although if the game rangers shot an elephant you could get meat from them.

219. However when hunting got out of control and too many animals were being killed the game people stopped giving out licences so freely and now it has become very difficult to get hunting opportunities.

220. However there was not a great hunger for meat in the days when there was a lot of livestock around because you could always get beef and milk etc.

221. People in the village nowadays are too selfish, but they have been made to be this way by the changes in the environment.

222. The modern traditional doctors say they can't cure my asthma. So I use ephedrine and ... [another drug whose name I didn't catch]. If I have a bad attack I have to curl up and get an injection then I stay like that until I feel hot and the pressure in my chest eases. It is very dangerous - if you don't have someone around who can give you an injection you can die.

223. But when I was young I was a tough sportsman. I used to have to fight those criminals in the courts to subdue them - look at the knife scars on my arm. I used to be able to run from here to Itunundu but now I can't manage anything.

224. In the old days there was respect for older people, whether you were an educated man or just a farmer. If you went to Iringa people there would receive you with proper respect. Now they can't even greet you properly; they just ignore you.

225. These days are no good. The trees are reducing because of lack of rain. I was born in 1926 so I am 68 years old. These young people today won't live that long. [Gives his name and jokes that we should not arrest him as a poacher].

TRANSCRIPTS FROM IDODI VILLAGES

Background notes on Idodi Division

xxxx, resident in Idodi village and member of staff at RNP:

226. Poachers operate and sell meat clandestinely, of course. Those who know them visit them at night to buy meat.

227. There is plenty of land but most of it is in somebody's name. A newcomer usually will apply to rent or buy from the existing land-owner. During the dry season cultivation is mainly horticulture plus maize and rice-growing near the river-banks and in the swampy areas where irrigation is possible.

228. Away from these areas it is difficult to grow anything because of the poor rainfall. People must spend a long time in the field guarding crops from baboons and bush-pigs, and birds such as the bishop are a big problem in the rice fields. Although a person could theoretically move far away from the village centre to farm vacant land, he would have great problems with animals out there and might even have to spend all his time there guarding the crops through the growing season (i.e. from January to May?).

229. While it would be permitted for him to farm there he would not be able to do any development e.g. build houses etc. outside the village area.

230. Even the Maasai don't have as much stock as they used to. Most of them cultivate to a certain extent. They used to have a lot more cattle and they spent all their time herding them and guarding them from lions.

231. The people in Mapogoro were heavily involved in ivory poaching and so they suffered a lot during Operation Uhai when security personnel were in the villages all the time arresting and harassing people. Before that they were loath to cultivate but now they grow a lot of rice.

Interview transcripts

Pilot study transcript

Name: Mzee XXXX current myenye kiti CCM and ex Ward Exec Officer
Mzee xxxxxx born in Idodi
Mzee xxxxx ex Divisional Exec Officer
Mzee xxxxx ex Divisional Exec Officer
Mzee xxxxx ex-Court official Idodi

Tribe: Wahehe

Location: Idodi, IDODI

Date: 16-17/08/94

Context: The conversations took place as part of a trial of the oral history research method.

Mzee 1 was the only one born in Idodi. The others had come later. Mzee 2 came to Idodi in 1974. The others were there before 1974 (did not get exact dates but apparently they were here before RNP was declared in 1964).

232. People were moved twice because of Ruaha. In 1954 people were moved out of the park to the other side of the Ruaha river - to villages like Makaluga. Other communities were "pushed inside completely" (outside one of the other boundaries?).

233. In 1963 it was announced that the people near the Ruaha river would be moved again when Ruaha became a National Park. In 1964 they were allowed to choose where they would like to go and transported there by lorry. Many came to Idodi, others to Mlowa, Tungamalenga and Mapogoro. Many went to Kitisi.

234. Some of the people refused to accept the move e.g. those in Iguna. People who returned inside the Park and tried to resume life there were chased out and their houses and shambas were burned.

235. In 1973 there was Operation Songeza which resulted in further relocation of communities but this was more related to villagisation - it was believed that development would be faster if people were organised into villages. Those in Iguna were moved to Mkupule in 1973.

236. Around this time people from settlements in the hills to the south of Idodi were also resettled in the main villages.

237. Obviously the people who were pushed out of Ruaha felt bad. There were various reasons for this. Outside the park there is little honey and game meat. And who would not miss these?

238. While they were living in the area which was to become Ruaha people cultivated and hunted. There were so many animals in those days (early 1950s) that they were very much bothered by crop-raiding. But it was easier to tolerate this because they were able to get plenty of meat. The area was a Game Reserve at this time but there

were hardly any askaris, they had no vehicles and the Game Warden was in Mbeya so it was not difficult to go on hunting. [This probably refers to the open area which at that time reached to the bank of the Ruaha river opposite Msembe. This area was later re-gazetted as part of RNP].

239. Some people used to cultivate during the day and hunt in the evening. They were just hunting for their own personal needs. There were also specialist hunters who were known and respected as fundis. All sorts of animals were hunted but the eland and the buffalo were the most popular. Zebra is also excellent. Occasionally giraffe was killed and also small animals.

240. Elephant meat is not eaten by the Wahehe as it resembles human flesh. If you told anyone you had eaten elephant meat he would regard you as a mad-man. For this reason elephants were never much sought-after and it was only necessary to start protecting them when they started being killed for ivory.

[NB but cf 317!]

241. Skins of animals could be used to make clothing. Among the Wahehe there are no ceremonial uses of wildlife products for circumcision, marriage, funerals or other occasions. Skins can be used for making drums e.g. the kudu can be used and the skin of fisi maji [otter] is excellent for making drums and also clothes/trimmings - it is very soft. The monitor lizard's skin is excellent for making small drums with good tone, but that of the crocodile is too tough to be used. Cow and goat skins are also useful for drums - really you can make do with almost anything if need be. It is not essential to have a wild animal's skin.

242. Hunting techniques were various. Bows with poison arrows and muzzle-loaders were the most common methods used. Muzzle-loaders are still used now by poachers. To defend crops people might dig pits into which animals would fall. Some people also used leg-hold traps with iron jaws. Not allowed these days. Fishermen used poison to kill large numbers of fish but this was not a common practice.

243. Honey was plentiful in the park and still is. This is because there are many baobab trees there. Today honey-hunters move near the park boundary where there are baobabs and of course often they see attractive nests inside the park and cannot resist the temptation. One of these nests can yield as much as two or three debes of honey [40-60 litres]. Around Idodi there are few suitable trees and very few people have bee-hives. Another problem is there are thieves around - if they see a hive, even if someone else has banged in pegs to reach it, they will steal the honey. These days there are a lot more thieves.

244. Nowadays you can get hunting licences but you have to have a proper rifle for big animals. Many people have shotguns which can be used to shoot guinea-fowl etc. at 300-bob each. A buffalo licence is about 6,000 shillings but you must have a rifle to hunt buffalo. Only about two or three people in the villages of Idodi and Tungamalenga have rifles. Hunters may buy a licence and hunt buffalo then sell the meat [actually to trade in meat is illegal]. The hunting season lasts from July to December. Most of the hunters come from Iringa.

245. It is impossible to get hold of a kudu or giraffe licence these days - giraffe is a symbol of Tanzania.

246. You can also get fishing licences but they are no use here because you have to go into the park to get to the River and you would be arrested for poaching. Some people go to Mtera for fish.

247. In the old days, even outside Ruaha there were plenty of animals. There used to be a lot of elephants around here. Rhinos were common here in the 1950s. Due to too much hunting in recent times the numbers of most animals are now very much reduced outside the park, especially elephants - there are almost none left.

248. However we have seen the number of buffaloes increase in this area and also there are more kudus around nowadays.

Limiting exploitation levels

249. Rules on numbers, species and closed seasons and so on were set by Game Wardens and the local DC and enforced by askaris and courts.

Natural resource issues today

250. As far as other natural resources go we can say that there is no difference between Idodi and the park. There is plenty of timber and grass for building materials around here and traditional medicines are just as easily accessed here [apart from any using baobabs presumably]. Problems with grass here arise only if there are too many wild fires and the grass is all burned. There is less grass and other stuff for building in the park because the animals eat it all. Meat and honey are the main problems outside.

251. On being forced out of the park people felt bad at first. It wasn't just because of meat and honey. For instance many people were forced to leave many graves of their relatives in the park and it became difficult for them to visit these sites. It can be done today under escort of a park ranger but of course people cannot freely enter the park to tend graves. This leads to unhappiness.

252. When people arrived as new-comers in the villages they often did not receive a shamba at first but survived by labouring on others' farms or doing other work. After a year they were granted shambas - in those days there was plenty of space for new-comers.

253. These days people are used to life in Idodi. If they are not allowed into the park to hunt or fish then that is that and they have to accept it. They have got used to this situation now.

254. There is no big problem of land shortage in the village. There is plenty of space. People wanting new farms have to accept land further away from the village centre.

255. The real problem today is that it does not rain the way it used to. Yields are much-reduced - some years you get hardly anything whereas the harvest always used to be good. It is not a question of reduced soil fertility, just lack of water.

Arrests and prosecutions

256. Mzee 2 : All cases of RNP are heard in Iringa. It would be better to hear minor ones in our local court here as that would save transport costs and serve as a reminder to local people not to go into RNP Others: Not really worth it because many of the askaris let minor offenders off with fines or just confiscate their honey or meat and release them, so the small cases rarely go to court.

Livestock/stock-raiding

257. Long ago the Wahehe here had a lot of stock but these days there is hardly any. People have a few goats or one or two cows. Even these few animals are always being stolen by the Maasai who regard all the cows as theirs by right. There was no thieving before - you should talk to the Maasai about cows!

258. Because there is little stock we are rarely bothered by predators like lions. They stay well away. Occasionally wild dogs are seen. They come from the hills to the north-west of here.

Crop-raiders

259. In theory you can kill any animal if it is in your shamba damaging the crops and it is not an offence, even with an elephant. However you should notify the Game Dept as soon as possible.

260. Our problem here is with baboons and bush-pigs. The baboons are breeding all the time and just go on increasing - they are not being killed by anything. We are not getting enough help from the Game Dept and we can't afford shot-gun ammunition to scare/kill the pests. It would help us if someone could give us cartridges [laughter at the suggestion that RNP could provide some ammo]. The price is too high these days.

261. Before we used to get assistance in game control. The animals would be followed in the shambas and killed if they refused to move away. Now there is nothing like this.

Poultry

262. Nowadays we are having problems with chickens... they are dying like flies. They all get a disease which makes them cough and they have diarrhoea and then they die. We need to buy medicine to treat them.

263. We have not tried to farm guinea-fowl but a lot of people do. One of the problems with guinea-fowl is that it's hard to get them to lay many eggs. However obviously some people have solved the problem as there are now many guinea-fowl farmers in Ipogoro and elsewhere. Maybe guinea fowl is less disease-prone than

chickens, but surely every bird suffers from some ailment. It is said that guineas fowl suffer from some sort of illness which affects the head.

Opportunities and questions

264. It would help the village a lot if they could make another gate in RNP so that more tourists would pass through the village. They could follow a circuit instead of coming back by the same route by which they went in.

265. We need a secondary school. Maybe we could build one with ODA help in the same way that the house is being built.

266. Why do these aid organisations not like to help one another? For instance if one is working in a certain area it refuses to allow another one to operate there? Maybe it's jealousy?!

267. Exactly what sort of help is your project trying to provide? [Mzee xx]

Transcript no: 1

Name: L

Tribe: Maasai

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 24/08/94

Context: Gave him a lift to Tungamalenga to sell goat.

268. I am a young man but I know a few stories about times gone by. Also I know some very old Maasai people who have been here for a very long time. They understand Kiswahili - we could go and meet them another time.

269. It was 1980 when the Maasai started to settle down and cultivate round here. It was not a government edict or anything like that. It was decided by the Maasai that it was better to settle down and start farming, so we could change our lives and receive some benefits like better education for children etc. Another strong influence was our entry into the cash economy.

270. I was born near Dodoma in 1965. We came down to these parts from Dodoma in about 1975. At that time most Maasai were still following the traditional lifestyle of moving round far from villages with our cattle. Maasai started passing into Isimani area [this is near Mtera Dam to the east of Pawaga] and they also lived in old Ilolo in RNP. Then they arrived in Mapogoro.

271. I was not living in Ilolo so I have only heard how things were. The people were moved out because they cannot live in a national park. Also it was said that they might be harbouring poachers. At that time there was no cultivation. Up till 1980 we were only keeping livestock, nothing else.

272. We followed a semi-nomadic lifestyle around Mapogoro from 1975 to 1979. We spent the first four or five months of each year (January to May) keeping our stock

around Kitaneva. Then we would move around Mapogoro to Kitisi and stay near to the river. At the end of the year, back to Kitaneva.

[In Kitaneva there is a pasture woodland with large *A. albida* trees]

273. We settled down completely in 1979 and started cultivating in 1980. We live in Kitisi - you would have seen our place if you had followed the other of the two roads to Kitisi.

274. There are a few reasons I can think of for our decision to change. These days holdings of livestock are very small compared to the old days. Because we no longer wander in places which are very distant from settlements, our increased contact with villages, different foods, beer etc. has made us want money to buy things to raise our standard of living. This meant selling cows for cash.

275. It is not just the elders who drink beer as it was in the old days. Nowadays all the young men drink and they cannot control themselves - they don't know when to stop. To keep buying beer they must keep selling stock to get money.

[he drinks only sodas and takes strong snuff]

276. Most of the cows are sold at the monthly market on Mlowa. I sell goats on a more ad-hoc basis to locals like the chap from Tungamalenga who bought the goat to sell it in Msembe [RNP HQ].

277. I would say the two main problems we have now are food and Ndorobo. To buy food to eat we have to sell stock and to buy medicine for stock we have to sell stock. There are other ailments of cows (e.g. a cold in the head?) but ndorobo is the worst problem - the biting, blood-sucking insects annoy very much. There are problems with stock-raiding lions but these are very rare.

278. Because livestock holdings were so reduced we needed to grow our own food if we could not afford to buy. Because of our semi-residence in the area for so long we were known and it was easy for us to be given places to cultivate. We were not regarded as outsiders by the villagers because they had known us for several years.

279. It will be hard to increase livestock numbers because the pastures are very restricted around here. Especially down on the banks of the rivers everyone is cultivating. We are growing crops right at the door of our homes. So there is less space for cows now. Some Maasai in other places might be trying to live the old life but here it is difficult. But we have not forgotten our traditions even though we don't live the same way.

280. In Kitisi there are so many trees [appeared to be mainly *Commiphora* woodland] we have no problems of timber and leaves/grass for building materials or of firewood for cooking etc. We just cut a few branches for fodder when we need them. There are no problems of water for the women because we are so near the Tungamalenga river.

281. We Maasai never hunt. We do eat honey but it is not always easy to get. If you can find the right tree with bees then you can take some honey from it. In Kitisi we often see the askaris from Ruaha but they never bother us because they know we don't hunt.

282. The other cattle-keepers in the Idodi villages are the Wahehe, Mang'ati, Wabena and Wasukuma. I have never heard of the Barabaig, but maybe that is another name for Mang'ati. The Mang'ati are newcomers - they started coming here in 1984.

[Q: Would the Maasai would be pleased if they were allowed back into RNP?]

283. Of course, they would be very happy!

284. I don't know if the Maasai in the park used to burn grass. It is true that burning is done to reduce the number of ticks that you will encounter the next time you use the area.

285. [Following discussion of the Samburu in Kenya] I have not reached Kenya. The Samburu might attack me if they saw me there! I have not been to Dar es Salaam. Morogoro is the furthest I have been.

Transcript no: 2

Name: Mzee M

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 24/08/94

Context: Picked up M in Mapogoro. He was on his way to Tungamalenga from Kitisi on foot. Seemed very old but fit with milk-bottle type spectacles. At the end of our journey he asked me if there was any chance of his getting a job in RNP.

286. I was born in Mdonya, which is now inside RNP. When they told us to move away from Mdonya we went to Msembe [location of the park HQ] for a while. But they came again and told us to move from there because we were too close and it was not allowed to live inside the national park. That was when we were moved out completely.

287. I then came to live in Tungamalenga. When we were in Mdonya it was very good - we cultivated crops and we used to hunt the game so there was no shortage of meat.

288. Mzee Mxx [in Kitisi] knows about those times, but he was not living there as we were. I know another mzee who can tell you a lot about the time in Mdonya.....

Transcript no: 3
Name: Mzee Mxx
Tribe: Mhehe
Location: Kitisi, Idodi, IDODI
Date: 24/08/94

Context: Arrived in Kitisi without prior warning to see Mxx. Found him building a house. As he was so busy we arranged to meet the following day.

289. I am a bit busy at the moment but if we arrange now you can come back at any time and I will be free to talk to you. I was going to the Mali Asili office [District Game] tomorrow to see about a licence for my gun but I can wait for you.

290. Who told you to contact me? [explained it was Mzee Mxxx in Idodi and he seemed to accept this].

291. We have already had your colleague xxx here and we produced some maps showing our relationship to the park. Do you want to do the same thing again? What has happened to the map we made before? [I said it is still in the office]. Because there is one request we would make if you are going to help the village you should help us build a school here.

292. Actually I have been a leader here for a long time, even since before we gained independence. I was an official of TANU and moved around the local area quite a bit. I was not ever in the park myself though some of the people here were living in there. I came here when I retired. Now I have three houses here. Normally I stay in the biggest house down towards the river (Tungamalenga river), and I'm just here now building this one for my son. He is working in Ruaha as a builder. He has recently married. I said I would help him finish the house because he has no time himself.

[the mzee is building up the walls of a small house with a mixture of red soil and water, using his hands to plaster the stuff on. A few old ladies are sitting around watching and helping to mix the soil with water by trampling]

293. So it will be OK if you come tomorrow. Try and bring two other wazee from the villages - Mxxxi, katibu (secretary) of Idodi village and xxx, a former mwenye kiti from Mapogoro. I will get a few more people from around here.

[Stressed we didn't want a meeting but just an informal chat and so we agreed that if I could come with one or both of his suggested people it would be OK. Re-iterated the sort of things I would like to talk about, including hunting etc.]

294. I am a hunter myself [his shot-gun is lying nearby]. I wanted to go to the Mali Asili office to arrange the licence and get some permits. I have always hunted with the correct papers. I also have a rifle.

Transcript no: 4
Name: Mzee xxxx and Mzee xxx
Tribe: Wahehe
Location: Kitisi, Idodi, IDODI
Date: 25/08/94

Context: Had been recommended to talk to Mzee Mxxx. He requested that I come to Kitisi with Mxx as together they would be able to give me the best account of local history. Both formerly worked in local government administration and were involved in the resettlement of people moved from the area which became RNP.

Mzee xx lives in Mapogoro and we travelled together from there to Kitisi to Mzee Mxxx's home. Kitisi is to the north of Mapogoro, close to the Tungamalenga river which forms part of the RNP boundary (see map). Mzee xxx is an ex-village chairman of Mapogoro. He said he had not been to Kitisi for three years.

[note that Mzee Mxxxx is a village resident who benefits from wildlife in the way provided for under Tanzanian wildlife legislation].

295. Kitisi village has been here for a long time. People were living here before 1960. They were cultivating and keeping livestock in the usual way.

296. There was a conservation area here in those days, but it was called Shamba la Bibi ["Grandma's Farm": a reference to Queen Elizabeth e.g. a royal park] and it was smaller in area than the present RNP. It extended to the north bank of the Ruaha river.

297. I [Mduda] have been a hunter since way back and in the 1960s I used to hunt up to the south bank of the Ruaha river. That area was then not protected.

298. The history of the resettlement of the people who used to live in what is now RNP is very complicated and needs careful explanation. In 1955 the park was called Shamba la Bibi and it reached the Ruaha river's north bank. There were communities of people living in Shamba la Bibi at Mdonya and Msembe [the present park HQ].

299. All the people in Mdonya and Msembe were Wahehe.

300. In 1955 people were moved out of Mdonya. Some of them went to Msembe, and some to villages across the Ruaha river. This line of villages included Makaluga, Kiganga, Matinga and so on.

301. So the people from Mdonya and Msembe became mixed together. In 1962 the Msembe people were also moved to the villages on the opposite side of the Ruaha river.

302. In 1964 after independence the RNP was declared and the boundaries were moved to include land on the south bank. The villages to which the Mdonya and Msembe people had moved were now back inside the park. As it was taboo for any people to live in the park, this meant that the people had to move again!

303. So they were transported to the villages along the Tungamalenga River like Kitisi, Tungamalenga, Mapogoro, Idodi and Mlowa. They were allowed to choose to which village they would like to move and many came here [Kitisi is the closest to the RNP].

304. Then in 1974 we had Operation Songeza [Operation "squeeze people together"], which was a national programme to move everyone into villages where they could enjoy the most important services of water, schools and hospitals.

305. Under this programme it was proposed to move everyone from Kitisi into the larger villages of Mahuninga, Mapogoro, Tungamalenga, Idodi and Mlowa.

306. Mzee xxxx and I were involved in planning this move but we soon met serious difficulties. This was because there was not enough land left in these destination villages to allocate all the people of Kitisi with shambas. We had already moved them but there was nowhere for them to farm. We had to present the case to higher levels of government and it was decreed that they should all come back to Kitisi.

307. Back in Kitisi, we planned everything properly, divided up the land and allocated everyone shambas along the river banks.

[Q: But when I spoke to some people in Idodi they told me that there is no shortage of land today and newcomers can easily get a plot. In 1974 why were you unable to find shambas for Kitisi immigrants to Idodi and the other villages?]

308. True, today it is easy to get a plot in those villages; but only to build a house. If you want to farm you will have to accept a shamba that is far from the village.
{Q: I see that a lot of pastoralist people have settled around here....}

309. Yes, the Maasai, Mang'ati and Wasukuma have received plots in Kitisi. It means that they don't have to keep wandering from place to place. These days they are the real livestock keepers round here as the Wahehe have lost much of their livestock.

[Q: Moving to natural resources, in the old days were there any rules or traditions to control the use of these?]

310. Before the special protection of animals the rules were less strict and it was much easier to get licences to hunt.

311. Back in the 1950s the people in Makaluga, Matinga and those other villages were using natural resources very much. They used a lot of honey and meat. One way of using honey was to fry maize, pound it and then mix in honey. If left for a week or so it produced an excellent food [popcorn?].

312. Those wild hives in the baobab trees are very good. They can produce twenty to thirty litres of honey every month. The best ones are in RNP but of course you can't get to them without breaking the law.

313. This has forced people here to try hard to learn about bee-hives. There are a few around but not many [saw some of these traditional hives in Kitisi and in Mapogoro]

314. In the old days the meat of wild animals was used a lot. When the whites came to hunt elephants, hippos and buffaloes the villagers would enjoy a lot of meat. They would eat anything.

315. I thought the Wahehe objected to eating the meat of elephants?]

316. Not at all... that is nonsense! Who told you that? [reply] Ah..., probably he said that because he is a Muslim - they have different ideas from the rest of us. It is very bad that his companions did not correct him as you have been given wrong information.

317. Listen, we know all about this wildlife meat. There are three types of meat which are excellent for you: elephant, hippo and giraffe. If you eat elephant meat it makes you very strong and protects you from illness for a long time. The same goes for giraffe - it is excellent meat which can help sick people recover their strength.

[NB cf 240!]

318. The Wahehe eat everything except animals which eat other animals such as lions and leopard.

[Q: How about baboons?!]

319. No, we don't eat them!

320. We didn't use the skins of elephants, giraffes or buffaloes very much. Buffalo skin sometimes was used to make rawhide traces for tethering cows and goats. The main use of skins was the use of antelopes skins e.g. eland for lying on in bed - very nice.

321. The skin of a monitor lizard is good for small drums. For larger drums people use the skins of cows and goats. Don't usually use antelope skin for these.

322. In the 1950s most people were hunting with muzzle-loaders, which were registered. Few people were hunting with arrows around here then.

323. Just as with white people, not everyone was a hunter! Every village had a few hunters. Some people might have a gun from their father and not bother to hunt. The hunters might also farm or have livestock or even have a shop.

324. For example today I [xx] hunt but I also farm. I obtain licences to hunt. My guns are a shotgun and a .458 rifle.

325. These days I hunt on game control. You pay for your gun registration [suggested this was about 10,000 shillings] and then you can buy licences from the Mali Asili

[natural resources/district game] office to hunt animals. For a buffalo you pay 6,000 shillings.

326. I hunt near Madogoro [very near the RNP boundary, opposite a park ranger post]. There are a few reasons for this. First it can be dangerous hunting buffalo so if I stay near the ranger post they can help me if I get into problems. And if I stay near the ranger post the rangers know that I am not a poacher. They will say, "So, xx's hunting again". I always carry my hunter's ID card and all the correct papers with me because the rangers can come into the GCA and arrest you if you don't have them.

327. The game control hunting season is July to December. The animals are breeding from January to June so they are not hunted in that period.

328. The controlled animals which I can shoot are eland, buffalo, antelope, bush pig and dik dik. Others are not controlled so I cannot get a permit to hunt them.

329. When I get the meat it must be consumed at home and cannot be sold or traded.

330. The total number of animals which can be shot is decided by the Game people. Usually I can shoot as many as I can afford to buy licences for, but I remember one year when they told me the quota was finished and we couldn't shoot any more buffalo.

331. Village hunters are very few. I expect there are less than 20 [not clear in which places]. In Kitisi there is only me. There are few people with rifles because of the cost of keeping them legally registered. I know of only 4 people who own rifles in Idodi, Mapogoro and Tungamalenga. I am not sure about Mlowa. You must have a rifle to do game control work.

332. Sometimes resident hunters from Iringa come here to shoot buffalo on game control.

333. Woodlands have reduced in extent around here. In Mapogoro there is a problem of firewood. It is because of the rise in human populations and the spread of cultivation.

334. What is the purpose of your research - how will it help the project? We had some French people here in the 1980s asking us about history too.

335. Baboons and other destructive animals are a real problem here. Some of the baboons attack people carrying their maize to the mills. We have asked the Game people to help us. We need to kill these baboons but we can't afford the ammunition to do the job. There are buffaloes and elephants in the shambas. There were elephants in here last night. There are a lot more buffalo around now. Lions occasionally take livestock.

336. Your colleague xxx told us about the idea of hunters coming into the area and paying us to shoot here. That would be good and we would like to do it. It would give us more help than just the meat.

337. We really need a school here. We should have had one when the plan fell through of moving everyone to the other villages. It's very far from here to the school in Kitanewa [near Mapogoro] for the children. We have started to prepare a site for a school and we had a whip-round which raised almost 100,000 shillings but we need more help. We have submitted a budget to government for approval.

338. Maybe your project can assist us. These children are not going to school and they are learning very bad habits. Some are even stealing.

339. Another problem is those people who used to be in Mdweka but were evicted. These days they are very anxious - there are so few areas to farm that they really need to get back there.

[The Mdweka controversy developed several years ago - the area is between Tungamalenga and the RNP boundary and was said by RNP to be a poacher's base. With District support, the people were evicted and refused re-entry. The area was later used by some RNP personnel for farming. The issue of a return to Mdweka has become a local political football].

Transcript no.: 25

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Met the mzee sitting outside his house. He is believed to have been a hunter when younger. Half his left arm is missing; this was said to be the result of a bullet wound inflicted by game rangers many years ago.

340. I am 77 years old. I was born in Mdonya in what is now RNP. In those days there was a lot of food in Mdonya. We were cultivating maize, groundnuts, sorghum, bananas, sugar cane and papaya, and we had chickens and goats.

[Q: The place must have had a lot of water if you were able to grow those fruits...?]

341. Yes it did. Even today there is a lot of water in that area.

342. When I was in Mdonya the people there were Wahehe and some Wasangu [from Mbeya District]. The Maasai had not reached there.

343. People used to hunt the wild animals there. It was just to get meat for food. Also if the Game Dept had to shoot problem elephants in our shambas we would be left with the meat.

344. There was no sale of meat. If you knew someone who hunted they would give you meat.

345. The hunters would not hunt every day. They would hunt after finishing all the meat from the previous kill.

346. The most-preferred animals were buffalo and kudu. The skins of antelopes were used for lying on.

347. In 1955 we were moved out of Mdonya to Msembe, where we stayed until 1960. Then we were moved to Tungamalenga. In Msembe we were cultivating just as we had been in Mdonya.

348. We were brought to Tungamalenga because of the Government laws. But the soil here is not as good as the dark soil in Mdonya, so the yields are poor. Our livestock died from diseases, not from a shortage of pasture. As there is no livestock there is a shortage of meat here.

349. When we left Msembe and came here there were still some animals left in the bushy parts of the area. But these days they have disappeared completely because of the increase in human population.

350. We have no honey around here. People have tried hives [he has one in his yard] but no bees go into them. You can't force them to go in - you must just wait until they arrive. The bees like a place with enough water to enable them to build the honeycombs and this place is too dry. In Mdonya we could use hives or find the wild nests in trees and holes in the ground. We used smoke to drive off the bees or make them drowsy and then we could remove the honey.

Transcript no.: 26

Name: Mzee xx

Tribe: Mgogo/Mhehe

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Met him at his home.

351. My father and grandfather and their ancestors were cattle-rich people. But I do not have any cattle these days. I am just cultivating now and I have to say that I am not sure whether I get any benefit from natural resources.

352. In the old days we could use the fruits of the baobab tree to help us survive hard times. This would be pounded and mixed with honey to produce a very nourishing food.

353. I was born at Chaungu, which is a hill near old Iloilo in the RNP. In those times there were very many people there with many cattle. Iloilo probably had as many people as Tungamalenga has today [about 1500].

354. People were very healthy. They were using traditional herbal medicines. I was able to carry two debes [40 litres] of honey for many kilometres.

355. In the old days we were living together with the wild animals and they were very many. Because they were not persecuted they were rarely aggressive to us. We noticed that sometimes they suffered from diseases - the giraffes and others sometimes had a disease of the eyes.

356. There was a lot of honey around. There was a big market for honey in Ilolo. People would come from Iringa to buy it. There were mzungus who would come. One person might buy ten debes of honey and some months as many as one thousand debes would be sold [at current prices of TS 8,000 per debe, a thousand debes, or 20,000 litres of honey, would be worth TS 8,000,000 on the local market].

357. Also there used to be a lot of butter churns in Ilolo and Pawaga. At first it was just the white people who started the business of butter-making but soon Africans were able to buy machines and obtain licences to operate them. We would sell milk by the cupful to these people. The measure used was a big tin cup like this one [the cup looks to be about a pint] and we would sell one cup of milk for twenty cents. In a month you would sell about twenty or thirty cups.

358. We left Ilolo in 1946 for a time because of an outbreak of smallpox. Adam Sapi [a descendant of Chief Mkwawa, the famous leader of the Wahehe people]

359. was the District Commissioner and he ordered us to leave until the disease died out.

360. We went to Pawaga, where I married. People moved back to Ilolo later.

361. They started putting up signs for Shamba la Bibi later. I came here to Tungamalenga in 1960.

362. We could get meat easily in Ilolo. White hunters would often pick a local man from the villages to help them and then if they shot an elephant we would get the meat. If we found a dead elephant we would take the tusks to the Game office.

363. But mostly people were eating goats, cows, chickens and fish. There was so much livestock that you didn't have to buy it but you could be given it by neighbours and friends. You could kill a cow and call round your friends to eat the meat and drink beer. There was so much milk and honey as well. Chickens were handed out without a thought.

364. If a man did not have livestock he could try hard to cultivate and if he was successful he would be able to exchange his maize for cows. Or you might be given the job of looking after someone's livestock and if you did a good job they would give you some cows and goats as payment. This was common because often people had 800 or 1,000 head of cattle and there was plenty of work available for herdsmen.

365. Although there was so much livestock the pastures were enough because there was no burning. People wanted to protect the fodder. These days people are irresponsible and there are too many wild fires e.g. look at the place around Msembe - there are no trees left there because of too many fires killing all the seedlings.

366. We were living in one place. The young men would move the cows round the pastures when it rained and bring them back in the dry season.

367. The baobab trees were useful in the dry season as water sources. If you saw bees or birds going into a hollow branch of the tree you would know there might be water in there. Then you could bore a small hole in the tree and let the water trickle out. The next day you would bring the cows to drink. It could be enough for a whole month.

368. We would use a cowhide or two goatskins sewn together for lying on. Some of the other skins could be sold. In fact cows were things which provided everything we needed - food and drink, money, skins to sleep on and so on.

369. In those days a young man could expect to progress in life if he had a few cows. Even if you started with only 2 cows, you would expect to have 60 ten years later.

370. There was so much food that we did not need to rely on game meat. But later in the bad times people would come to eat rats. In the 1940s things were really difficult and we received government assistance because we had no food.

371. I did not inherit my father's livestock because it was all finished by disease. The cows all died from "chambavu" - they didn't look too sick but they just died and if you looked at the meat it had a lot of water in it. The disease caused problems because we didn't have any of the modern medicines and injections to fight it.

[Q: Could people again become rich with livestock?]

372. In these times it would be difficult because there is less of a livestock economy. There is no-one buying butter-milk - e.g. there are no longer machines for butter in Pawaga.

373. Perhaps you could go to Singida and buy 50 cows as there are a lot of cattle there. But then you would need to guard them against thieves, perhaps you would need to buy a shotgun. Probably the young men these days would just go off drinking beer instead of guarding the stock.

374. The young man who lives just here tried to start up with cattle but had to give up in the end. He got five cows but they were stolen. He managed to recover them from the thieves and got up to thirty cows but then they were all stolen again. He has now set up a shop instead. In the old times he might have had 300 cows by now.

[Maasai were caught stealing cows and goats in the village today]

375. In those days the Sukuma and Mang'ati were not around. I had never seen a Mang'ati until seven years ago. The Mang'ati move around all the time and all they think of is their cows. They understand each other a lot - if the herder runs the cows run and if he stops they will stop. Just three of them can herd 200 cows like that.

376. The Sukuma probably have been in these parts for no more than ten years.

377. The Maasai have been here longer - probably about twenty or thirty years.

Transcript no.: 27

Tribe: Msangu, Mhehe/Mgogo

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Met two wazee talking outside house and joined them for conversation.

378. A long time ago there were legal hunters around in the villages. These days things have changed because the hunting has finished the animals. In the old days the level of hunting was very low. At that time there would be only five or six houses in this village and perhaps one hunter. He would not hunt every day but only when all the meat had been finished of the last animal he bagged. So he might hunt only once a month.

379. Animals most commonly hunted would be buffaloes, kudus, zebras and pigs. In this village the hunters used only muzzle-loaders. There was a hunter who used dogs in another village.

380. If the hunter failed to succeed he would return home and make offerings to his ancestors or ask for blessing from the chief. This was more common than using medicines.

381. When he was successful the meat would be used for food and the skins of antelope species for lying on. Zebra skin was cooked and eaten with the meat, as was giraffe skin. Hippo fat and elephant fat were used for cooking as an alternative to groundnut oil. The fat of giraffes is much too thick to use in cooking.

382. Skins were sometimes used for seats and drums but we were not using them for carrying children - that was from earlier years: goatskins were usually used for that.

383. At first honey was not restricted. You could just go and get it. We would go and collect it from the baobab trees which are God's hives!

384. We can say that this time was in the 1940s and 1950s, say 1943 to 1955. In those days even Idodi village had only ten houses.

385. After that time the government started to restrict people's freedom to hunt. It had been free but soon you needed a licence to hunt.

386. The licensing system allowed 12 animals a year for the pot, so we would get something every month. You could only take one of each - if you shot two buffalo by mistake you could be arrested.

387. In the 1950s Shamba la bibi was made and it was illegal to hunt in there. By 1955 the animals out here had already begun to decrease because they were moving into the park. It also became illegal collect honey in there. The Game scouts started to patrol. They would come on foot from Iringa every couple of months and you would be careful to avoid them and not hunt until they had gone.

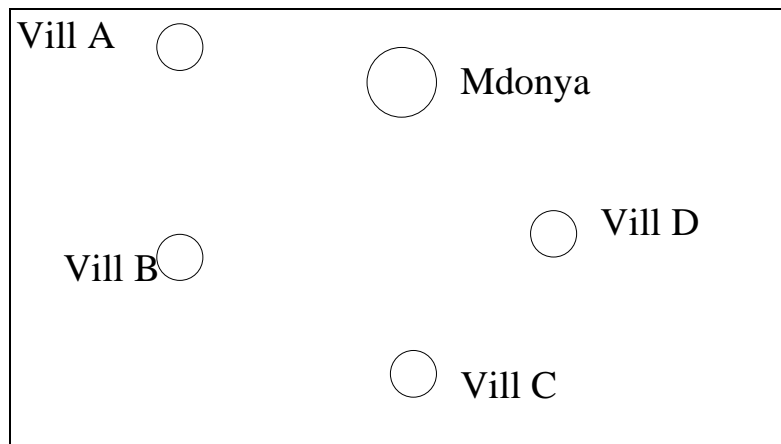
388. Fishing was to be done only by line and not by harpoon because it was said that using a harpoon wounded several fish for each one caught and this was bad practice.

389. I was born in Mdonya in RNP and my father is buried there. I wed and had children there. We left in December 1955.

390. Mdonya was a very big place. It was bigger than Tungamalenga is today. It had two village officers. ["big" refers to land area rather than human population?]

391. Mdonya was made up of several scattered settlements such as Kipera, Ikinga, Matopotopo, Makindi. There was a road from Makindi to Msembe. Each settlement had its expert hunter or fundi.

392. Mdonya was made up of scattered sub-villages like this [draws diagram]:



393. In Mdonya there was a chieftainess called Nyongwa. She was respected like a god by her subjects. They would make offerings to her for rain and for bees, honey and game meat.

394. In the time of Mkwawa there had been many cows in Mdonya but later they all died because of tsetse flies. Thus the people came to depend on game meat and Nyongwa was responsible for controlling our use of the animals.

395. Nyongwa was listened to by the whole village. Licences for hunting were given out in Iringa, but Nyongwa was responsible for traditional controls. If you came with a licence to hunt you went to see her first to ask her permission. She might tell you to come back another time and if you ignored her you would have bad luck. To hunt without permission was to steal from Nyongwa.

396. You had to get her blessing if you wanted to use natural resources. If you tried to do something without her permission you would have bad luck e.g.:

if you tried to take honey your arm would become stuck in the tree or you would find a snake in the bees' nest.

if you tried to hunt without her permission or to take more than she had granted you, you would end up with nothing, or your family would have sickness
if you were ungrateful - if you cursed the water in a pool because it was dirty you would not find more water that day; if you found some rotten meat and cursed your luck you would not find any meat at all from then on.
if you hunted too much it would be noticed and you would be called in by Nyongwa and asked to explain your actions

397. The timing of hunting depended on licences. When you finished farming you could get a licence and hunt. There was a closed season when most animals had young. Those with licences would still have to consult Nyongwa on when, where and what they should hunt. Nyongwa could authorise people in the village to hunt without licences.

398. If you came with a licence she would assign you a guide and tell you where to hunt. You would be successful without going far. If you tried to go without her permission you would get nothing.

399. The eland was not hunted much because it had magic powers. if it looked at you while you were preparing to shoot you would feel pain in your eyes or your head so that you could not fire. When you next looked the animal would be gone. The giraffe was difficult to hunt because if it was wounded and saw you it would run so far before dying that you would never be able to find the carcass.

400. Elephants were not much hunted. If the white hunters did not ask Nyongwa for permission they would not succeed.

401. In times of hunger Nyongwa would choose some hunters from the village and take them to where there were elephants. They would kill one elephant and leave a few people to carry the meat back. The rest of them would go on to another spot and kill another elephant.

402. If you were hungry you could ask Nyongwa to help you. I she blessed you, on leaving her place you might find a dead animal or a bees' nest in your path. If there were problems with lions she would tell us where we could find them and how we could kill them easily.

403. She was a very powerful ruler and before she died she spat in my hand to bless me. She and we had left Mdonya by the time she died.

404. When they moved the people out you were asked either to leave on foot or to be taken by car. Some people went on foot to Ukimbu, which is on the road from Mbeya to Itiku. Or we were told, "You can just go the opposite bank of the Ruaha River". We did so, then they said we were frightening the animals and would have to move again.

405. Life in Mdonya was very good. Successful cultivation was easy because the soil was so rich. There were goats and the chickens laid lots of eggs.

406. Even if there were times of hunger we could survive by using the natural resources. If small children were hungry but could not stomach meat we would give them pounded baobab fruits mixed with honey. The next day they would be playing happily.
407. In times of hunger the best meat is giraffe or zebra which is eaten with the skin on: elephant is also good.
408. These meats are like medicine because the animals have eaten many different plants from far places. If you eat the meat you will be strong and you can carry heavy loads a long way e.g. two debes of honey from Mdonya to Tungamalenga.
409. Buffalo and eland meat is not so good because it has a lot of water and so you feel full before you have eaten much of it.
410. We also used certain grubs as food. They were found in trees and you could collect them, pound them and fry them. They were good food.
411. We used herbal remedies to treat illness - we had a medicine to give to children to prevent them contracting malaria.
412. Now we have problems. We eat meat once every six months. You don't know how you will survive from one week to the next. There is only a small amount of meat in the butchery and it is so expensive that you cannot buy enough to feed a family. The young people today have a very hard time.
413. Before, if a sick goat was losing weight you would just kill it and throw it away. Now you would eat the whole thing including the stomach!
414. If they had kept in power traditional leaders like Nyongwa they would have been able to stop all of the poaching.
415. The year before last we went into RNP to Mdonya to make offerings to Nyongwa. Last year we tried but the Christians and Muslims refused to take part in it and so we couldn't obtain enough money to pay for a car and goats and chickens to use. We haven't had much rain at all this year. We would like e to go back and pray to Nyongwa this year but we will need help with transport. The RNP says they will agree to it as long as we meet all the expenses of the trip.
416. If we can get blessings from Nyongwa there will be more rain and the bees will come to our hives (now nothing is coming to them).
417. [Village Exec. Officer: When I went the other year and we made an offering it rained so hard that we couldn't cook the chicken we had brought. The rain followed us all the way back to Msembe, park HQ]
418. Nyongwa's descendant, Mwavolo Mkongo, is living locally.

419. In Msembe the chief was Kayera. He was based at Kiganga and the white hunters had to pay homage to him before hunting.

Transcript no.: 28

Tribe: Not given

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Met the mzee by appointment near the bridge. A group gathered to listen.

420. I was born in Igangitau sub-village, Igawa, which is near Lunda in RNP. I left there in 1946 because of smallpox and moved further along the river. I was near old Iloilo.

421. The area was under the control of Kayera at Msembe. It was a large place almost like a region. Some of sub-villages were small, e.g. they only had about five houses, but there were a lot of people in other places e.g. in some places there were villages on both sides of the Ruaha river. The area was bordered by the Ruaha, Tungamalenga and Nzombe rivers. There were villages like Ikorongo, Igawa, Makaluga and Msembe. The different villages had their chiefs and clerks.

422. We were cultivating and keeping livestock. There was usually plenty of fodder for the cows. In the dry season we would keep them at the river. At other times of year they would be taken to the river to drink but not allowed to graze there as that food was for the dry season.

423. In those times natural resources were used a lot. In the place where I lived there was a woman called Mgongo Mhathi and she was the one whose permission was needed before lighting a grass fire or hunting the animals. Her son was the chief.

424. Mgongo would tell hunters what they could hunt and where they should hunt. Elephants were not hunted much. The elephants were hunted mainly by mzungus and Arabs. Later on Africans began to hunt them.

425. If wazungu came to hunt elephants Mgongo would direct them so they would be successful. There was a case where she told white elephant hunters take just two. They shot two and then they tried for a third, whereupon the two apparently dead animals got up and ran off so they were left with nothing!

426. You had to have her approval for honey collecting or else you might find your arm stuck in a tree or you might find a snake in the hole. Or you might be attacked and stung very badly by the bees. If you lit a fire without asking permission you would burn yourself.

427. If you tried to go into her area she would know it and would make sure you had no success in hunting if you didn't consult her. If you had her blessing you would be lucky in the hunt. She permitted some hunters in the village to hunt without licences.

428. The hunters did not hunt all the time but only when there was a need for meat. Usually buffaloes, zebra, eland and hippos were hunted. If a lot of meat was obtained it would be dried in the sun or over a fire and then taken home.

429. Antelope skins used for lying on. Zebra skins were eaten with the meat. Skins of hippos and buffaloes were no use and were thrown away.

430. The village hunters mainly used muzzle loaders.

431. The animals were very many but now they have been reduced outside the park. Even today I am sure that the old traditional authority would stop poaching more effectively than the game rangers.

432. Elephant and buffalo meat is very good for you. It makes you strong.

433. We didn't use medicine in the old days. The first injection we saw were given to cows and we could not believe they would be used on people too.

434. In 1963 we were moved out of that place. The people of Mdonya had already moved by that point. We came to Tungamalenga. We had no cows left because of sleeping sickness.

435. Comparing life today with the old times I would say it has become much worse today. There is not enough rain for the crops and this may just be the normal way of the weather but I think it is probably because we have broken with all the old traditions and we are no longer making offerings at places like Mdonya. Before when we made offerings we would go into the hills to a certain place where you would hear drums and bells all around you.

436. There has been a change in the woodland. There used to be a forest here. It was a protected forest [reserve?] but when people came here they were given permission to clear for agriculture. Now the forest remains mostly in the hills.

437. There was a problem of poaching here and there was a reason why it was so bad. Once in Iringa I saw a man I knew who had been arrested for poaching. He was not a young man but a mature fellow like me. He was a mzee. I asked him why he had committed such a crime when he was an old man. He said it was because he was very hungry. Poaching is all about food. If people have enough food poaching goes down.

438. The poachers sell meat for money to buy food or they exchange the meat in the villages for food. For instance here the maize yields have been bad because of no rain. If you come to the village with money there is no-one who will sell you maize. But if you come with game meat it will be very easy for you to exchange it for maize.

439. People here want to buy maize but they you can't buy it for money here. You can only get it in exchange for game meat. That is what is driving people to poach.

440. It would help us if maize could be brought in from more productive areas so that we could buy it at controlled prices [it was not clear how people would pay for this

maize]. There is a maize-milling machine here but it is broken and people take their maize to Mapogoro or Makifu for milling.

441. So we would request to be brought maize to buy at a reasonable price. Also we would like to have a special licence to shoot a few animals. It would stop people going poaching because there would be no-one to eat the meat brought by the poachers.

442. Here the soils are dry and poor. In years like this the maize dies. Therefore another request would be to return to Mdweka to farm there. [He draws a diagram to show the relative positions of the RNP boundary and Mdweka]. There is no question that Mdweka is far outside the RNP boundary and it is illegal for RNP people to stop us going there. After the maize question, this is my second-placed request.

Transcript no.: 29

Name: Mzee vvv

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Arrived at the mzee's house and he came a few minutes later. He is well-known locally for herbal medicines. He is blind.

443. I was living in Msembe at one time. The place is now inside RNP. We were told it had been bought by the Queen and was to be named Shamba la Bibi and we had to move across the Ruaha River. People from other places such as Jongomeru and Mbagi had to move too. The Provincial Commissioner then was a mzungu called Bowman [spelling?] in Mbeya.

444. I was born near Mahuninga. My mother died when I was five and I came with my father to live in Mdweka and then we went to Msembe. We had livestock but we lost them [not clear how].

445. In those times we were not afraid of the government. The wild animals belonged to god. Later in the colonial period the wazungu came to regard the animals as their livestock and they banned the hunting of species like giraffes, rhinos and elephants by Africans. Only the whites could get licences to shoot them.

446. It was the Germans who first started protecting animals and the British followed them, telling us not to hunt animals thoughtlessly.

447. We did not have any traditions to stop us hunting as we pleased. That was all started by the colonists.

448. There was a chief in Mbagi. Nyongwa was in Mdonya. Jongomeru had another chief, Mwaliyele. Other places were Miandope, Ipambara and Igula [Iguna?]- the last two in Pawaga. Kayera was the chief of Msembe and he was based in Kiganga.

449. Life in the old days was good. If we needed rain we could make an offering to Kayera or Nyongwa to help us. The chiefs did not stop us from hunting just as we pleased. It was the whites who prevented us from hunting certain animals.

450. After 1945 the English asked us to obtain licences to hunt the wild animals for meat. This was for the buffalo and small antelopes. Before 1945 it was the chiefs who were controlling hunting. You had to get permission from the chief first and if you did not make the right preparations your hunt would be unsuccessful.

451. If you killed too many animals you would be asked to explain yourself. You should only have hunted the next animal when you had finished eating the first.

452. We would take something like beer as an offering to the ancestors of Kayera when we went to pray for rain. In Tungamalenga the people would make offerings to someone else in the hills. We would hear drums in the hills when we went to pray.

453. At that time we were paying a tax of 8 shillings a year to the English. They had increased it from the German rate of 6 shilling a year. You could buy a cockerel for 10 shillings and 5 shillings would buy food for your whole family.

Transcript no.: 30

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Tungamalenga, IDODI

Date: 10/09/94

Context: Met the mzee at his home by appointment. He lives on the village outskirts.

454. I was born in Jongomeru, which is now inside RNP. I left there in 1955 and went to a place on the road to Mkupule before coming here to Tungamalenga.

455. The place I was living in Jongomeru is close to the current ranger post. There were two hunters in our place. There were thirteen houses there. There cannot have been more than 150 people at that time.

456. We were cultivating and we had a few goats and chickens, but no cows. As we did not have a lot of livestock, for meat we depended mainly on wild animals for meat.

457. We used muzzle-loaders for hunting. We were Mkwawa's people so we had a lot of these weapons left from his time.

458. People especially liked buffalo. It was hunted just for meat. Hunting was done according to needs. You might stay for a week without eating meat.

459. If the hunters wished to hunt they would need permission from the a mzee who would pray first and then tell them what to do. This mzee would also conduct prayers for honey and rain. Everyone would come together and form two lines, making an offering of beer. The mzee would pray for the bees to come and for the animals to stay close so that they could be hunted. If he prayed for rain it would not fail to come.

460. In those days everything was done by making offerings and praying.

461. The chief of Jongomeru was called Mwaliyele and he stayed in our village. You could only hunt what he permitted you to hunt. If he said take two animals and you exceeded that number, you would die or have a serious illness.

[Q: In Pawaga, no-one mentioned such traditions - why?]

462. I am surprised that no-one in Pawaga spoke about these things. Maybe you didn't understand what they were telling you. However those Pawaga people have done a lot poaching. They use bow and arrows a lot more than we do and so they are able to hunt stealthily.

463. We used to have a lot of animals around here [refers to where we are now] because of the way hunting was regulated. It was all ruined by the commercial influences which led to elephant hunting going out of control.

464. A long time ago the Wagogo used to build traps for elephants with a trip line which would cause a heavy log with a sharp end to strike into the animal's neck. The ivory they obtained would be sold for just a few shillings. Once ivory prices increased things went out of control.

465. These days there are few meat poachers in Tungamalenga. There are a few people after fish but that's all. There are still a few animals left around here, but certain people from a certain place, which I won't name, are spoiling everything. They behave very badly. They are just young men who don't really have skills of hunting. They shoot and wound animals without caring. Many of them started in elephant poaching.

466. If we could return to the old traditions it might stop poaching. There is an old lady who is the descendant of a chief here. If she could go to the cave in the hill in RNP she could ensure that any poacher going into RNP would be arrested.

467. We wazee are few these days who remember the old customs.

468. Is there any way we could get meat each month or week from the wild animals near RNP? I know they cannot be shot in RNP but could a ranger or a hunter shoot animals outside the boundary on a regular basis? We are not interested in this business of licences - that is for the people with money in town. Money ruined things before.

[It is an interesting idea and it is one reason why we are doing this research. We also need to know how many animals there are so we can see if it would be possible to use them to provide meat. If there are no animals left the idea will not work]

Transcript no.: 31

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Malunde, IDODI

Date: 11/09/94

Context: Met in village

469. I was born in Msembe in RNP. It was at the time when we suffered three locust attacks, so it would be between 1922 and 1925. There were about ten houses in my village then. We had problems of hunger and we were using baobab fruits mixed with honey as food.

470. We depended on rain for cultivation and if the crops failed people would come to Tungamalenga to look for work as casual labourers.

471. We had some goats in Msembe, and chickens too. There were cows in Kiganga.

472. There was not much hunting. There were so many lions around that we could obtain meat from their kills after watching where the vultures came down. I did not know of any hunters in my village.

473. Even if we had wanted to hunt we would not have been able because we had no weapons. We didn't know about bows and arrows - that was a speciality of the Wagogo in Pawaga. They knew how to make the poison for the arrows but we had no idea.

474. Sometimes white hunters would come to hunt elephants or buffalo on licences.

475. Kayera was the leader in Msembe. He was there before the colonials came and they decided to administer through him as a chief.

[Q: Was Kayera responsible for telling hunters what to do?]

476. He could refuse to permit them to hunt.[locals?]

[Q: If they had a licence could he refuse?]

477. He could not refuse them. [whites?]

478. He was using his authority before the colonial time. The whites introduced the idea of protecting animals and making places where it was strictly prohibited to hunt. They brought Game scouts to patrol to see who was poaching.

479. We left Msembe in 1959 or 1960 I think. The people from Mdonya had already been moved to Msembe. From Msembe we went to Ukimbu [on the other side of the Ruaha river] and then to Kitisi and in 1974 we were moved here to Malunde as part of Operation Songeza. Many of the Kitisi people returned later, but I decided to stay here because I thought it unlikely that they would be put back in the village they had left.

480. I think it is better here than in Msembe because there is more rain here [they got maize this year]. Also there are no big animals around here whereas in Msembe they were causing a lot of problems in the shambas [this supports his claim that they did not hunt, as people who hunt are prepared to accept crop damage as a cost of the meat].

481. There is no honey here, but there was a lot in Msembe.

Transcript no.: 32

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mahuninga, IDODI

Date: 11/09/94

Context: Met the mzee walking through village.

482. I was born here in Mahuninga and so were my parents. When I was a young man we were cultivating groundnuts and maize like today.

483. At first there was no market and so we ate all we grew. But soon a market started and we began to sell maize. We would take it to Bwana Unga the miller. Maize would be transported to Iringa by lorry.

484. In those times Mahuninga was a small place. it had five houses. Later people like the Wabena and the Wakinga began to immigrate here.

485. There were a lot of bees around and we were able to use hives. We would eat the honey and sell some of it too. There were all sorts of animals here - all those you find in RNP today were here in and around the village. People were hunting on licences as usual. Ivory would be taken to Iringa for registration.

486. My father was a hunter. Perhaps three people in the village had muzzle loaders and they would hunt for meat for home consumption. Sometimes meat could be exchanged for maize but it was never sold as we did not have money in the early days (i.e. before the market etc.).

487. The chief was based in Wassa, Kiponzera Division, which is far from here. We had his executive officer in our village but there was no regulation of hunting activity. If you felt hungry you could pick up your gun and go out and bag an antelope without having to ask anyone's permission.

488. Later on when the whites became involved there was wildlife protection, licensing, anti-poaching patrols and so on.

489. Now the animals have left because of human population growth and increased disturbance. There is a lack of meat here. There is some in the butcheries but it is hard to obtain enough to feed a family. Normally we just stay eating vegetables.

490. We Wahehe have little livestock. The chickens have all died. We are depending on the livestock keepers such as the Maasai and the newcomers [Mang'ati, Sukuma] to supply us with meat. When they slaughter cattle we buy from them.

491. My request is that a few buffaloes could be shot and the meat brought here for sale. The buffalo has bigger bones than a cow, so the meat should be cheaper than beef if sold by the kilo. A price of about 300 TS per kilo would be fair. The price of beef is about 400 TS per kilo.

Transcript no.: 33

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mahuninga, IDODI

Date: 11/09/94

Context: Met at his home.

492. I was born here in 1932. After three years father took us to Makombe, Kiponzera and from there I went to school in Wassa. I came back here in 1971. It is fitting because the grave of my grandfather is here.

493. In the time we were in Makombe, which is not far from here, people were few. We were in a sub-village called Ndoha where there were about 13 houses. There was no livestock and we were cultivating. If people needed meat it would come from the wild animals.

494. The hunters were few - there were two of them in our village. They used muzzle-loaders. There was also one mzee who used dogs to chase small animals.

495. Typically the hunters would go for kudu, bush pigs and bush-buck. There were no zebras around there - they are dry-country animals and conditions were not suitable for them.

496. If we wanted zebras and buffalo the hunters would come here to Mahuninga. It was a good hunting ground because the area was full of all sorts of animals. The buffalo would be found along the river banks round where we are now.

497. It was before the time of licences and regulations. No-one could forbid you to hunt. If the hunters got a big animal such as a buffalo they would return to the village to ask for help. We would go and help them skin and butcher the animal and carry the meat home. In return we would receive meat. When the meat was all finished the hunters would go hunting again.

498. There was no-one like a chief refusing people permission to hunt. If you happened to be near a chief's place when you killed an animal you would just give him a good cut of meat and he would be pleased if you hunted a lot because it would increase his supply of steak [laughter]. There was definitely no regulation by chiefs.

499. Skins of animals were used for lying on.

500. Honey was used as an additive to beer. If you added honey and left the beer sealed up overnight the next day it would be very strong. Then you could call your friends around for a party. We were just using honey for food and beer; we were not selling it.

501. Fish were caught with a rod and line. If for some reason the fundi was not going hunting you could supplement your diet with fish.

502. Today life is very hard by comparison with the old times. Before if I wanted something I could be given it by my neighbour - if you were hungry he could give you a debe of maize. Today there is nothing to be had without paying cash.

503. To get meat, fish or honey today is forbidden. If people hadn't finished off all the animals for money there would be no need for conservation today. The hunters today are mostly young men who are not skilled like the fundis of times gone by. If not for RNP they would have finished everything by now.

504. In the old days you could always expect some meat in your diet and it would be the same today if not for these poachers greedy for money.

505. In the past the hunters would find animals very close by and they would have time to choose a target. These days the animals are far away and persecution has made them too cunning to be hunted easily. Imagine; you would see elephants just over there going to drink. This place [Mahuninga] was all bush but now it is all shambas.

506. There is no-one here with a rifle who could hunt on a licence. If there were a hunter here who could shoot buffalo for meat for the village, I think we would need at least four buffalo a week to satisfy the people here. But there are no buffaloes here really. Sometimes they pas through but they never stay long before retreating into the safety of RNP.

507. We would like to eat what we used to. To be able to eat what he wants makes a man happy. Today you can only find meat at the butchers' and it is not easy to afford it. If someone is ill he needs meat and soup to help him recover.

Transcript no.: 34

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mahuninga, IDODI

Date: 11/09/94

Context: Met the mzee in his shop.

508. I was not born here. I have stayed here for very long time, so I am regarded as one who has been born here. When we came there was no national park. People were using a lot of honey. It was obtained from wild nests in the baobab trees, in holes in the ground and from man-made hives. But it was done according to a plan, not like the way it's done nowadays.

509. In the old times when a person found a bees' nest he would be careful to bore just a small hole in it to extract the honey. He would not disturb the section where the grubs of the bees were. When he had finished he would seal the hole he had made. He would be able to come back to the same nest later to get more honey. If a person found a nest no-one would be able to follow him to use it as that would be like theft.

510. Modern honey hunters find a nest and destroy it by removing the whole thing and smashing it to get the honey. The bees lose their home and the young ones die. The modern hunters are just young men with no understanding like the old fundis.

511. At first people were using honey for food. Later it became a commodity to be sold in the markets and young people started collecting it and destroying the nests.

512. People were hunting animals by a plan too. If they killed an animal they would eat the whole thing before hunting again, not like these young men today who are frantically hunting all the time.

513. Life today is not so good. There used to be wild animals milling around here like cattle but the children today have not seen them.

514. The main problems here are that the road is poor and the dispensary does not have enough drugs.

Transcript no.: 35

Tribe: Maasai

Location: Mlowa, IDODI

Date: 11/09/94

Context: A group of about six senior Maasai people agreed to speak to us. We sat together and they decided that one or two of them should answer our questions while the others listened and added any clarification necessary.

515. A long time ago we were staying comfortably but now we have problems. These boil down to one thing - the lack of pasture for our livestock.

516. Previously we were staying around old Iloilo in the RNP. But then there was the operation to move us all into villages and make us stay in groups. That did not suit our lifestyle. We are people who wish to have many children and many cattle. To push us together closely has caused us to lose our cows and the means of supporting our families.

517. Here in Mlowa there is nowhere for the cows to graze without meeting agriculture it's all around the villages and along the riverbanks.

518. In the old times there were many cattle because the pastures were big. Since villagisation we have lost a lot of stock through bringing them close together. Here there is much tsetse fly [ndorobo] and that can bring sickness which makes cows die or miscarry. The flies ruin cow-hides too. There is no ndigana [?] here. We have had problems with a disease which seems to come from dirty water. We think it is not

anthrax but it is a different disease, involving liver damage. But the main problem is sleeping sickness and we cannot obtain any medicine for it.

519. As far as using natural resources go we do not bother with any game hunting whatsoever. We didn't used to collect honey. We are concerned only with livestock.

[Q: But you eat honey, so how do you obtain it?]

520. At first we didn't even know about honey. It was only when we came close to the villages that we learned about it and got involved in the cash economy. From then on we could buy honey if we wanted it.

521. We have started to cultivate now because there is not enough livestock

522. We went to old Iloilo in 1953. Before that we had been in Mtera. There were Maasai from Kongwa near Mpwapwa [Dodoma] in Iloilo too - i.e. the Iloilo Maasai came from two places.

523. At that time there was no Shamba la Bibi conservation area. Iloilo was a big area with lots of sub-villages spread out over the land. Different tribes were there - some stayed near the riverbanks cultivating and we stayed far away with our cattle.

524. We followed the advice of our elders. Local chiefs did not get much involved in telling us what to do. However we duly respected leaders like Adam Sapi [the descendant of Mkwawa] as people appointed by the Government to administer.

525. When the park was made, Nyamakifu was its border. Later the boundary was extended.

526. We were moved out of old Iloilo in 1974 in Operation Songeza.

527. Our main problem today is lack of pastures.

[Q: But if there is not enough space for your livestock, how can these other pastoralists like the Mang'ati and the Wasukuma continue to come into the area?]

528. Even though people are coming in from Dodoma and Usangu, there is not enough space. The Mang'ati are just spreading everywhere as they are completely unsettled. They have nowhere of their own. They never stay long in one place - just a few days and then they move on. We all have the same problem - there is not enough room.

[Q: Is there any solution to your problem?]

529. Yes, we need to find more space and have land set aside for our use.

[Q: But where could that be if there is no land left these days?]

530. It would have to be made available by restoration of access to the parts of Iloilo and Lunda in RNP that we were using formerly.

Transcript no.: 36

Tribe: Maasai

Location: Mlowa, IDODI

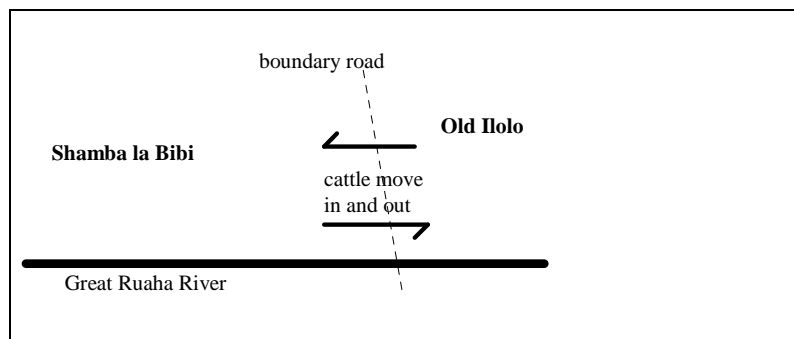
Date: 11/09/94

Context: The Maasai from transcript 35 suggested we visit this mzee to find out more about their history. His homestead is a short way inside the Mlowa gate of LMGCA.

531. Grandfather was from Arusha. They moved to Dodoma and then to Pawaga where my father was born. I was also born in Pawaga in 1940. We stayed in Pawaga until 1982 and then came here.

532. In Pawaga we were keeping livestock and we were permitted to take them in to the conservation area of Shamba la Bibi when it was made. We were allowed to graze the cattle but not to cut trees, set fires or hunt animals. It was like Ngorongoro.

533. One boundary of the park was in the river and there was another boundary to the west of old Ilolo. It was like this [draws map]:



534. In 1967 when we living in old Ilolo they started to refuse us entry to the park. The southern boundary of the park was the river. They started to say you can only bring the animals as far as the river to drink and they cannot cross into the park. Now they have even refused us access to the river to water our cows.

535. In 1986 they increased the area of the RNP and completely closed it to the Maasai [also it seems there was a problem connected with the Game Controlled Area over whether the cattle could stay near the river]. Problems of pasture started immediately. People left to come here and others went to Dodoma. I had already left to come to Mlowa in 1982.

536. Today there are many problems because we have lost access to those areas of good pasture. Cattle were many in the old days but now they are much-reduced.

537. The tsetse fly is a problem here and we cannot get the right drugs for it. The government is refusing to supply us with the things we need. They supply other drugs which are useful from time to time but they are not addressing our main need which is injections against tsetse and sleeping sickness. Dips used for ticks keep tsetse off for a day but soon wear off. We have started using the old traditional medicines again.

538. These days we are cultivating a bit but there is not enough rain.

[Q: What do you think of the Mang'ati and Wasukuma coming into the area?]

539. We would like to collaborate with the Mang'ati to form a livestock co-operative which could help in purchasing drugs and so on, but so far they have shown little interest in the idea.

540. Our people are starting to decline because we are losing our cattle. In the old times we only moved as far as it was necessary to graze our cattle but nowadays we are moving around because there is nowhere for us to live.

541. Please let me know what is happening about access to the river. I am not aware of any discussions which have taken place to resolve the problem.

Transcript no.: 37

Name: Mzee M, Mwenye Kiti

Tribe: Mbena

Location: Mafuluto, IDODI

Date: 12/09/94

Context: Met in village

542. I have been here for more than twenty years. Before that I was living in Njombe. I am a Mbena. We came here because it is better for cultivation: firstly there are so many people in Njombe that it is difficult to obtain a big area to farm, and secondly the soil here is better. There is no need to use fertiliser.

543. I cultivate. At one time I had more than 60 goats but they all died one year of kimeta [anthrax?]. I am just starting to get a couple more now.

544. When I arrived here the people were using honey which was obtained from wild nests in trees, rocks and holes. There were a few specialist Wahehe people involved in the collection of the honey. They knew the local area very well.

545. People obtained meat from elephant hunters in the area. Also people were hunting buffalo, kudu and other antelopes. Some of them were using muzzle-loaders and others bow and arrows.

546. The hunters were very few - just two or three in the village when I arrived here. Some people occasionally used dogs for hunting.

547. When I first came here the animals were very many and they were staying close to the village, among the shambas and houses of people. But now they are much-reduced in numbers and staying far away from the village.

548. I think the wildlife has been reduced because in recent years people had no moderation of their use of the animals. They were hunting one day and then hunting again the next without having eaten all the meat from the first animal.

549. People were stealing animals because the game rangers were far away in Mlowa and they were only two so they could do little to stop the poaching here.

550. Chiefs were here before and they were involved in controlling use of the animals. For instance if a poacher was arrested by the rangers they would take him to the chief and the chief would arrange for the miscreant to be taken to court in Idodi. Also when the hunting of certain species such as giraffe was banned it was the chief who issued the order. If animals were damaging the crops, the chief would arrange with the Game dept for them to be shot.

551. These days we are being bothered by hippos in the shambas.

552. We didn't see Wagogo here until 1972 when they started to come down from Dodoma.

Transcript no.: 38

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mafuluto, IDODI

Date: 12/09/94

Context: Met in village

553. I was born in another place near Luganga. I was a young man not yet married when I came here. I was cultivating sorghum and maize.

554. Long ago it was before the time of wildlife protection and people were hunting. They were hunting bush buck and antelopes. Not everyone was hunting: there were probably only about two where I was living. At that time we were not staying in big groups of houses like we do now - we were spread out, so it is not easy to say what was the total number of hunters in the village as a whole.

555. The hunters were using muzzle-loaders to hunt the animals. there was no market for meat so it could not be sold. Instead the hunters gave it to friends or exchanged it for food like maize. The hunters would hunt from time to time when meat was needed.

556. There was a chief before the time of the Game Dept but he did not get involved in issuing orders as to who could hunt what and when etc.

557. People were getting honey from the bush and some were using hives.

558. Since then there have been a lot of changes. The old life was very good but now everything is covered by rules and regulations. There was much wildlife before - you would often see elephants in the shambas but now they are not many. We were villagised into this spot and the animals villagised themselves into RNP!

559. These days we cannot protect ourselves against poachers and livestock thieves because we have been swindled out of all our weapons [referring to Operation Uhai in which all unlicensed weapons were confiscated as an anti-poaching measure?]. We don't have spears or guns to defend ourselves and so while they are poaching or stealing our property all we can do is stand by and watch. It was better in the old days.

Transcript no.: 39

Tribe: Mhehe

Location: Mafuluto, IDODI

Date: 12/09/94

Context: Met at his home. This mzee is descended from chiefs of Mlowa, who were his father and grandfather.

560. A long time ago life was very different from today. You could get what you needed from the animals. Once you had paid for your gun licence, if you felt hungry you could go and shoot something.

561. Giraffe and leopard were forbidden. If a hunter was unlucky and shot a giraffe by mistake he would probably be let off as it would be understood that he had been confused by hunger.

562. There were not many hunters around. If they got an animal they would call us to come and share the meat. They were only hunting for food. If there was a lot of meat it would be dried in the sun or on a fire on racks or strings. We did not need a lot of meat.

[Q: How long would a kudu last?]

563. A kudu would be enough for one man for at least one month.

564. There used to be animals all round here. You would see antelopes in groups just there and elephants by the river, wandering around like cows.

565. There was a lot of honey around then but these days the bees have left like the animals. The bees have left because people destroy their homes when collecting honey.

566. Nowadays we have lost our weapons and all we can do is shake while thieves steal our cows and poach the animals.

567. I was born in Mlowa and came here with my grandfather, who was the chief of Mlowa. In those days people were very spread out in villages like this one with just a few families and houses like here [there are about 6 houses just here]

568. In the old times if an animal was shot near the chief's place the chief would receive some of the meat. The chiefs did not restrict people's hunting activity. Access to the animals was open because meat was just food. But these days meat has become like money. Animals shot here can even be loaded into cars and taken to be sold in Dar es Salaam.

569. Life in the time of Mkwawa was the best. When the English came it was also good because they recognised the power of chiefs and used them to help in governing. But then Nyerere messed everything up with his talk of every man being a leader in his household and these villagisation schemes to move us all together into places we didn't want to go to.

Transcript no.: 40

Tribe: Mgogo

Location: Mafuluto, IDODI

Date: 12/09/94

Context: Met him at his home.

570. I was born in Luganga, Pawaga, which is just close to here. It was in the first or second year of the British administration. We were using livestock, cultivation and honey.

571. Especially we were growing maize, sorghum, millet, groundnuts. We had a lot of livestock and we were staying in one place with them. Usually if we needed meat we could just get it from the livestock.

572. I knew how to get honey from the trees and in the rocks; I used hives too. There was no need of any control over the honey collection because the nests were so many. If I found a nest and took honey, another person could follow me later and use the same nest, but of course he would allow a decent interval.

573. Those days were good. Now I have no cows because of disease and life is hard.

574. This year is excessively dry and there is a problem of hunger here.

575. The wildlife here has decreased because the area has filled with people and cultivation.

[There is a tree near his house with bees around it. Someone asked "Why don't you get some honey from that nest?"]

576. The wood of that tree is so dry and tough that I can't make a hole to reach the honey.