

(We are conversing a bit) All right. (So what you were unable to say it, then you tell us.) As for oranges, it is an annual business; we keep selling it throughout; one type is called "esuan". As for the "esuan" type, it comes after Christmas, after Easter. When that comes, for that, they fall away. In the ancient times, they were not bought. (When the orange trees had produced fruits, then they fall away on the ground.) They fall away to the ground. (For, are they not good?) There are good ones among them, but the ancient people were not selling them. There may be someone, when a young man sees them like that, then he goes to collect them and comes to sell. For this, as Easter is about to come, mangoes will come. Mangoes, they will come. When the mangoes come, then, we go on to sell them. There are some that cannot bear fruits; there are some that last for two months. There are some at all that cannot last for three weeks and all is gone. (The mangoes?) Yes, if it does not rain on them (Yes) There are some that just fall away. Do you see? If it rains on them, unless a day, we sell them for a short time, then the oranges come, then we sell the oranges. So little by little like that, and the Christmas type also comes to meet us. (Yes) Then, we sell that too. (Do you have after Christmas type?) We have the Christmas type (Christmas oranges) The Christmas orange.

continues like that and when it is getting to Easter, for the Christmas type, when we sell it, another one too, called "hyetra". Sometimes, the oranges, when we pick them, one, one, one may be left on the trees and they become hard so we call them "hyetra" (The type which is not juicy) They are juicy. (They have become very very hard) They are juicy. (Are they juicy?) Yes, but they are called "hyetra"; but the juice has clotted. When they come, they are expensive; then we sell them little by little until the mangoes will come. When the mangoes come, then when we leave it, the mangoes come in like that and the oranges too are also coming; the "esuan" type. And that one too, we keep selling them. By the time we sell them for about a month, then we will be in September and October. By November, they will be finished. We sell them little by little for some time, then we stop and stay at home. (And at times, does the "esuan" type get finished?) Yes, the "esuan" type too, they fall to the ground. And we also stop and stay at home for about two months. So after a little time, they begin to come and then, they become abundant and we start selling. That one, we can sell it for three months. Maybe four months, sometimes too, five months. When we sell, then it seems to disappear, but we are in it little by little. We sell it like that, and maybe

the "hyetra" is going, and the "hyetra" is also coming -
(That, after Easter?) Yes, after Easter, (And the "hyetra" comes) and the "hyetra" comes. And the Christmas type, that too, when we finish selling, certain orange also, it is called "Ankaakyire" (Yes, Ankaakyire) Yes, it means that when they picked them, those were too small (They were not matured) They were not matured so, maybe when they finish selling, those too were left behind, and they pick and bring them so they call them "Ankaakyire" (i.e oranges left behind) (Yes) They also pick and bring them. (It means that you have Christmas oranges) Yes. ("Hyetela" and "esuar" and "Ankaakyire". So you have four different types of oranges) Yes. (I understand) (And formerly too; it was like that; they all come like that?) At first? (At first.) It was the same. (Say more for a lot of information is there so bring some. Finish eating and bring some.) When we were selling oranges, do you see? (Yes) Now, the oranges are not there. We sold avocados pear and we sold pineapple; by the time that we had sold them for some time, then mangoes would have come, and we sold mangoes. Have you seen that these days avocado pear is not there? (Yes) And pineapple. We were selling them little by little like that. By the time that the avocado pear would finish and the pineapple too would finish, the mangoes would have

come and we would sell some of the mangoes. For God's name is heavy. By the time that we finish selling the mangoes, then the oranges that were left behind, that too would have come and we sell them before we enter into the Christmas type. (Yes)

(And it means that every time, you have a little job that you will do.) There may be a year too, like this year, because of the sun, it did not let us have it; we should have got some to sell at all this time. As it was too sunny and no rain fell on it, so the "lyetra" like that, they became too hard so they dropped down. If they will come at all, a lot will not come. Sometimes, the "lyetra" do not come. (So now, are you at home? People are selling and you are at home.) Now too, as for God, when he makes a person, then he makes the one who will hold his walking stick for him.

(i.e. When God creates a person, he creates the one who will care for him) You see that when they are selling oranges, then they are selling bananas too. Do you see that these days, they are also selling bananas in it. So it is the bananas that at times they cannot ripen. You get some everyday. But the small quantity I bought is ten thousand Cedis. They did not buy two thousand Cedis from it. Yesterday I sold two thousand Cedis from it. It is more than thousand. It was that which had ripened when I went. Today I have sold this, thousand.

Very little is left which is there. (Like your thousand that is left,) and that is there. If you are not lucky too, it may be four days at all and it has not ripened; and you will be sitting there doing nothing. And these biscuits, you may help me to it; Akua. (We will chew it, as for you, chew it.) Chew some of the biscuits. (All right, one, one.) (As for the biscuits, we will chew; as for you chew it.) (That day at all, you did not say all the story, so say some more) (And when you were a young woman, were you selling things like that?) I, I, when I was born that I saw it, my mother, she was selling oranges. (Is that so, ei'. yes) My mother was selling oranges. So, my senior sisters at all, even my brothers who are in London, all of them, when they were going to school, they even sold some of the oranges at Adum. When they closed from school, they came to sell oranges. (The men?) Yes. They came to sell oranges. I, all my sons were selling oranges. They were carrying oranges. My two sons who are in London, all of them were carrying oranges. The market people, everyone's children were carrying things except individuals whose children were not carrying things. When you come home from school, then you come to carry it. So it was. So, at first, my grandmother too, she used to sell snails. (Snails) Dry snails (Yes) When she became old

and she could not sell it, she went to the village. She went to the village. So when she went to the village, my mother too went to sell it. My mother was going to Abijan to take it. (The snails?) Yes. And my mother stopped the selling of the oranges. And then, she was selling dried snails. She was even their queen. (She was queen of snails?) Yes, so she was the queen of dried snails. So when I stopped the oranges, all my sisters too, that was what they were selling. (Snails?) The oranges. As for my sisters and I, that was what we were selling. And as for my mothers, they were carrying snails. (That she is there?) My mother? (Yes) She died fifteen years ago. (Oh!) She is dead. You did see that when Rawlings first came, they were breaking into stalls. When they were breaking the stalls, she was sleeping at one night and she said that she had a dream and some of the nails had pierced into her grandchildren and she got up. (I don't here.) When Rawlings came at the first time is what I am saying: My mother was sleeping there at night and she got up that she had a dream and some of the nails, her grandchildren had got up in the morning, and they had been pierced by nails and she got up. She said it was about twelve. As soon as she got up, she said she was going to pack them and put them in a good place for they had broken down the stalls and it scratched her at this place.)

(Ou!) It pierced like this; not that it went deep; it scratched her at this place. (It tore off that place.) As for us, we didn't know. When she got up too, she said nothing. So while we were at the market, they sent to call us that your mother has been pierced ~~by~~ a nail. When was she pierced? They said yesterday at night. And my senior sister said that, then I should go and see her. I too, I was the last-born. And I went. When I went, I said, "Ei! Nana Abe." That is what I said to my sister that her leg had swollen very much. And she said today at night she dreamt and some of the children had been pierced by a nail and she got up to pack and put them at that place and she had been pierced by it. She too, a doctor had said that she should not have an injection. And her sister went to take her friend - (a doctor to give her an injection) Yes; a doctor had said that she should not have an injection. (Why?) Do I know? But as for this, she was pierced by it so my sister went to buy shear nut butter. You have seen that that was how we were doing it. When we cut it open, we put a knife in a fire and put some of the shear nut butter on the hot knife and apply it to the wound. When my sister went to buy she shear nut butter, she went home. As soon as she came, she put it in a fire and

and put it there; even in the afternoon. She said it was painful; it pained her, immediately, it was day-break. When the day broke, she could not walk at all. Then I started crying. And I too, I was not staying there. I was living at TEK (i.e. UST). You have seen my house at that place? (Yes) And they came to tell me. I came in the morning. I came in the morning; she said, "Yee! As for today, mother, she did not sleep at all. So she has gone to her brothers at Dekyemso that he should bring his car to take her to a doctor. And immediately I told her at the market that, hurry up and I went home. When I went, they had not taken her away. So when I was going to see him, she said, stop, we will take her to go. And I lifted her and we put her in a car and they went with her. At Mborom, Boaitay. It was there that Boaitay was. When we went, he said, no, for a nail, I have to give her an injection. And he injected her. As for a nail, the poison in it has to be removed with an injection. We brought her back home. The next day; Ei! We kept on talking like this. Ei! Then we said, we shall send her to GEE (i.e. Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital) And I told Boaitay that she did not sleep at all. And he said, I will come home to see it. He came home and he said, why? We

said she didn't sleep so we were taking her to GEE. And he said, you may allow her to sleep for us to see. That is tomorrow morning. Your sleep will show me. The next morning, we went with her. When we went, he said, then you should take her to GEE. You knew that she was already dead. We took her to GEE. We went on Tuesday. She died on Wednesday (In the dream; she was not actually sick?) No. (Oh! she had tetanus. It was tetanus) Yes. But she said it the very day she was pierced (Yes) The very day too; the very day too, we took her for an injection (You went to give her ATS) Yes, I was saying that when it was daybreak, we went to give her an injection. She was old. She was 87. So it was good. (Yes) At 87, it was good. (Hm) You are hearing news. Short people like this, you will not go anywhere. Those of us who are tall, any little thing, then we are down, do I lie? (I, who am short like this, when you become an old lady at all, nobody sees it. I am an old lady but nobody sees it) You too, how old are you? (I am 48) I am many times older than you. (Is that so?) Yes. I am 54. I was born in 41. She goes like someone. You didn't check to see that you haven't reach that. (Yes) (Were you born in Kumasi?) Yes, I was born at this

very place, Ash Town. (Ash Town; Aa, you are a citizen of Kumasi) I was born at Ash Town. (So when your mother was selling snails, did some of your sisters go to sell snails?) As for the snails nobody went to sell some. (Your mother was the queen of snails yet nobody went to sell some. Didn't you like it?) No. (Why didn't you like it?) They were not doing it. My mother, for the snails, she stopped before she died. She stopped selling and stayed at home for about eight years. (Why did she stop?) For she was going there to bring some. She too, she was very kind. She had mercy for people. There may be someone who will come and you don't have money at all, she will give you some to take away. When you finish selling, then you bring it. Some even at all, they don't pay, they don't bring it. So, they used to buy. So my mother got sick; she was very sick; for about eight years at all. For when she first got sick, she almost died. So later, when we observed how it was going, my senior sister's child, she was in London, when she died, the day we celebrated her week's anniversary was the day she was fifty years so she celebrated her birthday at all. And she came to see her. She came to tell her not to go to the market again. She will pay her every month. (Is she your sister?) My senior sister's child.

She will pay her. So if she feels that every month, she will not get anybody to bring it, every three months, she will bring it. When she brings it too, she will add a little to it; if she hasn't got someone to bring it. So every two months, when it comes, maybe the next month, it will not end for her to bring it. It will be like that. Then she will not provide chop money. My senior sisters will provide chop money. So when the money is sent, they bring her cloth. When the money comes, they again bring her cloth. It was like that. For when they buy your things like that, it becomes envious; so as for the market women, (The market really?) Look! Yes; as for the market at all, it is not good; these our oranges, as for those of us who are here, we are not jealous like the Kejetia people. Ei! they can make juju (Is that so?) Look! Or the plantain people, (How?) Plantain people, ei! It is not good. (Say it for us to listen) It is not good; as for them, they can make it, on the part of juju. I, what are oranges that I should not stop selling for them to take the work. Aa! So they like juju; as for the market people, except one, one, one, don't like juju. So my mother stopped and stayed at home. Even her who was already doing her thing at all was in trouble; I, will I go to do it? I will not go. As for us, it

was the oranges that we were selling bit by bit like that. Now, all my sisters have stopped. As for the most senior one, only four of her children are in London. The second one, her children are six and the one who had an accident came and died and we buried her. And another one, her children are six over there. All of them, their children have built houses for them, except me only that they have not built any for me. (It has not been long since your children went.) They are going to sell oranges. The senior one is not good. It has been a long time since they went. (A woman?) A man. Rather, when women go, it is better. (Yes) Yes. (Some of the men are also good) Yes. It is a long time since he went. It is seven or eight years ago. Is it small? ~~If~~ you say that you are going to ^{be} serious about the work, you will go first (i.e. you will be the first to die). If you don't die too, maybe you don't know what you will get at all. The people at our place, as for them, they don't like juice. The people at our place. If someone doesn't get some, she is not bothered. I may remove you quickly to go and buy bananas to keep them to ripen. That may be the mind of someone. When she buys bananas to keep them to ripen, ~~by~~ the grace of the Lord, you will get what you will use to buy food to eat. Only that is necessary. (And when you began to sell)

oranges, were you not getting food to eat or were you not getting money to buy food to eat?)
The oranges? (Yes) As for me, my mother was selling. Do you see? (Is that so?) My mother was selling. So when she peeled, she made me carry to go from place to place at the market. Do you see? When she peeled, I arrange them on a tray and go from place to place at the market like that. When I come back, I give the money to her. When she says penny, she gives it to me; or two pence. I go to buy rice with money and eat it. When we finish, then she does shopping and we go home to cook and eat. The next morning, all of us come back to peel and take it to go round. Like that. As for me, if you buy some cloth, a yard, I sew and put it on. That was how we were doing it. And as for me myself, where do I go to get money? Except when I grew up. And my mother too, she has stopped selling so I have to sell my own. That is it. (So even when you married, you were not selling yours?) When I married? (Yes) O, for when I married, I was selling mine. When I married I was selling mine. I was the only one selling mine. For even my mother, she had stopped selling. (When you married, had your mother stopped already?) O, she had stopped (Yes) She was selling snails so she was not getting

oranges again. And my brothers too, do you know how they were doing it? Early in the morning about six o'clock, they had picked some of the snails and sent them to my mother's section at the market. (Is that so?) Yes, before they go to school. (Before they go to school) (They take it from where to go?) They are at home. (Yes) Maybe when the people of Abidjan bring them, do you see? When the people of Abidjan bring them, when they bring them like that, and maybe when they are at home, in the morning, they get up early and they bathe. As soon as they bathe, then they take them to the market. They put on their school uniform and from there, they go to school. Today, who will go? These young men of today. Ei! (And as for you, did you go to school?) No, they did not let me go to school. My father was at Akwem, (yes) Asinkwa. So when my mother goes on the road like that, she goes to Abidjan to take snails like that, my father too, when he goes to his town, I go with him. And it means that I went to school a bit. So when I went, then my senior brother finished school; he was going to teach and they could not get anybody to cook for him. They said that I should stop school and go with him. (As for him, he has finished school and he was teaching and he says you should stop school) My mother said that I should stop going (Get up)

and go and cook for him.) For her, she did not go to school and if she had gone to school, would she have done that? Do I lie? Then I stopped and I went. And I stayed at home for some time (At which place?) Osino (Osino) (Osino, Accra Road) (Yes) Osino. That my father's town is Asiakwa; do you see? Do you know Asiakwa? (A bit) A bit. On Accra road; that is it. Asiakwa. So stop; therefore immediately I stopped, my mother, my father came and he said, I should come for us to come to Kumasi. And I came to stay here with my father. That is how it is. (And in what class were you when you stopped?) Min. P3. (Is that so?) Yes. (Ei! A small child like that, you were cooking; you were doing everything at home.) Know that my mother was not there. I and my father only. When I cook, my father's another child too, he is a male. When I cook, then he also pounds it. (But you were with your senior brother. How many years before you came back to Kumasi?) It was not my senior brother. (O, your father) My father (Yes) For, at that place. It was not that we stayed there for a long time, and there, cocoa was there. So when it reached the time for harvesting the cocoa, then he goes with us and he goes for his money. (Yes) And he goes for his money.)

and he can go there again for two months and we come back. That was what he was doing. (So it was your senior brother who taught and they said that you should go and cook for him?) He is even the one who has built a house that I live in it. (He has built a house, you see?) His house is it in which I now live. He has built a house at Magazine, Takwa Magazine Takwa (Yes, Takwa) (It is there you live now. That is good. You have helped him a little and he too, he is helping you a little.) As for me, I don't know, I can make account about money so if I had gone to school, would it not have been good? So at times, it hurts me very much. (Is that so?) Mm. Now, at times, when they bring the oranges here, I finish taking all the money and I go home, I say, I will look at how I will sell it, two thousand and three thousand. Maybe 60 is how much? Or maybe 20 is how much? Then he goes to take a paper, and I say, I am coming. Right there, I say it is this much. When they finish writing, he says, "Ei!" If I had gone to school, it would have been good. (You would have known arithmetic very well.) Aa! (Mathematics will help you very well.) (And the day you began to sell oranges, what had really helped you in the)

business?) I get some to buy food to eat. (Yes) I get some to buy cloth to wear. For example, my children's school things at all, my husband gives me some and now, you say he is not here; when I want some, won't I go and take some? Today, like this, when I got up this morning, you have seen that there are no oranges. When I got up this morning, the two children, one, my grandchild and one, my child, when I got up this morning, they said my grandchild said, he/she should come and pay printing fee, they are going to take a test. (Aa, printing fee) Everyone \$1300, \$1300, both of them. I owe \$2600.00 and I gave it to someone and I added the children's school money. That is 600.00 That person said it was missing. It is all due to bearing children. So, as for the oranges by the grace of the Lord, we have got a little to put into it. It is now that we are suffering, but what shall we do? (And formerly, you were not suffering like that?) Formerly like that when I was small, I, I depend, I see to it that my mother, having gone to sell the oranges, ~~and~~ she gives me money to buy food to eat. She buys cloth for me to wear. I did not know how to give chop money; do you see? As for today too, the world is hard. So when the man gives you the money at all, it is not enough;)

unless you add some to it. (Is your husband there?)
 Yes, for him, he does monthly work, unless he
 is paid, before he gets a little in the month for me.
 The little he gives to you, will it be enough?

(It will not be enough. It is small.) (But in
 whose time did it begin to be difficult like
 that? You have seen that formerly —.)

As for this, ~~except~~ someone tells you. (Then
 we haven't finished) You say, you have
 seen that at first like that, we were buying
 cloth at two pounds ten shillings, three
 pounds, five Cedis; that was how we were
 buying cloth. (It was at whose time?) It
 was at Kwame Nkrumah's time, that we were
 buying cloth for five Cedis, two pounds ten shillings.

Today too, this, when you go to lift it up at all,
 they say this 16,000.00. Some too, 17,000.00

(Yes, it is very expensive. And at Akyeampong's
 time; it was whose time; it was whose time
 —) That the cloth was five Cedis? (No,

that the things began to go up like that? It was
 during whose time?) Ah, you say it was
 during whose time? (Yes) (Do you understand?)

She means, during whose time? (Yes) (Was it
 during Akyeampong's time?) Oh, during Akyeampong's
 time, for how much was a cup of rice sold?

(Cedi, one Cedi) Yes; today too, a cup of rice
 is how much? Today, a cup of rice — (320.00)

320.00, 400.00 — They say, some at all is 800.00 (Yes, one cup) (Is that so?) One cup. For today, the price of goods is expensive. But we shall thank God. There is some which is expensive, but you don't have money to buy it. (True) Do you see? Now too, you get money to buy it. There is some which is cheap, but you don't get money to buy it or do I lie? (Yes.) As for today, by the grace of the Lord, whatever it is, the Lord will give you money to buy it. We will take it like that (So formerly, it was cheap but you didn't have money) You didn't have money with which to buy, do I lie? (Yes) (So the orange business, is it a long time that you began?) I am telling you that as for me, it is my mother's work. So as for me, when I was born, when I was conceived, my mother was selling oranges. So as soon as I was born, I came into it. That is how it is. (Was your mother going on the road?) No. She stayed at the entrance here to look for some. (So I would like to ask you that those with whom you began to do the orange business, was someone able to sell to make property with it?) Ah, excuse me to say, I see that with the oranges about one or two people have built a house (From money in the oranges?)

(And what did they do, by what means did they use to get money?) Ah, you have seen a sister, she lives at our place. For you yourself, have seen, as I am saying, this morning, the money I shared for these children, 1450.00 which they have to take to school only. Then, the house owner, do you see? She has not given birth to him/her. So he/she cannot get up in the morning to give money to someone. If you don't take money like that, then you have a little so, won't you save? (Ah, you can save.) Save. She doesn't get up to buy A.P.C.; she doesn't get up to buy codaine. You too, as soon as you get up in the morning, it does not last three days, this person says, "I am sick" and you take him/her to a doctor; you are going to pay for it. That is it. And at that time too, some people who supply oranges would come to buy and they also supply all prisons and supply Gee (ie Komfo Anokye Hospital). Someone comes to buy from her and they send them to them. At that time too, they were four shillings, three shillings. So she was wise to buy the land. And she did it little by little; she was able to build it. (So now as the sale of the oranges is, can someone sell it to acquire property?) As a house, it is difficult. (Yes) By the way what you are eating at all, except God

As for that, you will not get it. (And as for now, what will really improve the business?) How about the business, does she mean? (If we are saying now, how it can improve that you will get something from it.) Now, as for me, that this orange, there is none. If by the grace of the Lord, it is in season, I say, I get some to eat; ~~as for~~ now, we are not looking for what we shall save. And we don't look for what we will use to buy food to eat only now as what is important to us. (Yes) Do you see? I, as we are there now, when I get some to buy food to eat, it is finished. (Yes) And now, that alone is what we are looking for. Now, if you get some for the children to buy food and you also get some to eat, you are not going to look for some to save, and where at all will you get it? So by the grace of the Lord, as you have got some to buy food to eat at all, you have to thank God. For there may be some who don't cook. (Is that so?)

Ei! Some buy Kenky and other things. They buy Kenky; in the evening, they buy Kenky. I too, by the grace of God, except one day, maybe when we are going to a funeral, and maybe I did not ~~go~~ with food items or they didn't come for things, when I go, I make them buy Kenky. Or maybe when I

Come, I say, I am going to a funeral; I will not come on time. They say, we will buy kenty. For, that they will even cook is something painful for them. (Is that so?) Yes; e! They are going to cook; it pains them. That is it. (So now supply, the method she uses, it is that that brings the supply) I didn't do it like that. For a man, she found him, for as for him, as for him, when he comes and it is nice, then he buys; if it is cheap, then he buys. As for him, he was not doing it with one person. He was dealing with all of us. Even the man is sick. He had got a stroke. He is at home. As for him, if it is cheap and nice, he buys. (And formerly when you were selling, were you getting customers like that?) How? (When you began to sell when your mother stopped. Did you have customers like that? Suppliers or someone who goes to sell?) At first, the oranges were not many like this. (Is that so?) They had not planted them like that. (Is that so?) Yes. They had not planted many. So now, you have seen that today, you do see oranges. Formerly, by this time, you would not see oranges at all. (There are oranges at Kejetia but they are not nice) Agric. (Three for two hundred Cedis) A particular man has grown them. Formerly too, by the time like this, you would

not see oranges. (Is that so?) They are gone already. So when you sell a bit, and formerly too, there was no jealousy in the world. Do you see? At first like this, oranges, when I get one at all, and maybe, I went with you and maybe you say, stand here. She says, I am coming and I go to get the oranges to buy. As soon as I went to get it, then I call her. I say, "come, I have got one. Let all of us go and sell it. When we go to sell, whether we get two shillings or four shillings, then we divide it into three. As for today too, ei! Like that! When she gets ten at all, she won't give you. I, at all, when I get tens I won't give you some. That is the truth; unless you, you, add profit to it. (Yes) Like two hundred or five hundred Cedis for me before I give it to you today. When I am standing there with you at all, when I am called and I go to see it, when I have bought it, except I like it, will I give one to you that take it. If I like and I am giving it to you at all, you have to add a profit to it for me. At first too, there was no jealousy in the world (Is that so?) Yes. But as for money, it creates jealousy a lot. (And you say formerly, there was no jealousy) No (And what made it so?) You know that as time is going, then time goes. Today, at first too,

there were not many people in the world like this. Now too, there are many people in the world. We have become many. That is what it is. (Formerly, children were not many like today.) Yes, no, people were not many. People were not many like today. Today, the people have become many. You see that, at first like this, that at very first, my sisters children at all, when they went to Europe or America, as for good cloth, that good cloth like garment or ~~it~~ I have not bought some for a very long time, it is more than twenty years, I have never bought some. If I will buy, it is for funeral, a funeral one. My sister, when her children are coming, this one brings me two, this one brings me three, this one says, here is mine, this one says, here is mine. As soon as my child went, they wrote a letter that my child has gone, nobody will bring me anything again. (Oue!) Is that so? That is your sister? (It is so!) For the children, it became a fight over there even for them (Is that so?) All of them — That my mother's children are ten. It is me alone that have never been to London before. As for one ~~of~~ she began to go there twenty years ago. But if she has not gone several times, she has gone more than twenty, ten times, if it will not be twenty at all, it is about fourteen

or sixteen times. They tell their children that, my children, my children have gone there so nobody should bring me cloth. (Ou!) It was the children that were fighting and they rang me that they should tell me that what has happened is this and as for me, they say they won't bring me cloth again. And I also say, is that so? She says, yes. And I said, all right, I have heard it. I say why? Me mother, this mother says, We should not bring you cloth again. As for today, you too, your child is there. And I said, all right. And her own senior child rang everyone that she won't mind her. For, at first, you have seen that even today, that I, for example, the cloth, when I put it on, when they come to this place, I will not give it to her, except the type that a mother wears and a child wears, I will not give it to her. So when they are getting cloth from their mothers they do not give them except me that I give some to the children. So the children say, the cloth I have given to them, they have to pay me for it very well. Ei! Chana here! (So, have they stopped?) O, they have stopped. When their mothers said it at all, they go on, but nobody does something that will put her into difficulty; why? (Ou!) My in-law is there. Two of my in-laws are there!

They are there. By the grace of God, one, as for one, if they ever bring me some, my brother who comes before me will really bring me some. (Is he the one you prepared food for him to eat?) He is not the one. The most senior; he is the one he too comes after him. The one whose wife's mother died that I attended. (Yes) Yes, he is the one. Owi an ugly cloth at all, she says, maybe, an ugly cloth which that was tied at this place of me, it is Tema made which is not a good cloth. I say, I don't have cloth to come to the market. Immediately, he brought me some. He brought me that one and he brought me Benkorohene in addition. As for "Benkorohene" at all, I sewed it (Is he in Europe or America too?) Yes, he brought it to me from Europe or America that I should sew it and use it to go to the market. The red "Nsuachumu", when he came, he had brought me some. (Ei! Nsuachumu?) Ei! As for that my brother, he likes me very much (That is good) I come after him. That, I am the lastborn. If even they don't bring me some, what I have at all, I, I don't go anywhere, except on Sundays. Even nowadays, I was not going to church and about two weeks ago that I have started to go to church again. (Then go again) Ei! I go very much. (Which church)

do you attend?') I say I go to Presby. at Mmaakuro. That Sunday, Bible Class members celebrated their fourth year anniversary. That Sunday morning. The chatechist at Ahodwo came to conduct the service for us. (If you attend Mmaakuro Church, then last year, at Christmas time when we were having consade, Akua, and I came.) I told you that I was not coming. (Were you not coming to church?) Yes, I was not coming. (Then, try to go.) And now, I go. For, how my sister used to insult me, because of how my sister insults me, I would like to go. As for us, in our home, except (my brother who died) my mother's brother who died, so we are coming to celebrate the forty days anniversary, he used to go to Baptist Church. And it seems to me that his third child is also a Baptist. And my two sons, as for the young men of today, when they say, I say, wedding, because of wedding, they go to this thing, Pentecost. And they too go to Pentecost. And one of my mother's sister. As for the whole of our house, like my sister's children who are in London, there is no one who has not been blessed. All of us too, like me, I was blessed at Adum. I was baptised over there — (Try to go —) Now I go (And go to the women's fellowship) I attend women's class but I don't go. (Make all effort to go) The debt I owe, I cannot pay unless I go to

to register as a new person. I have been even confirmed (It doesn't matter. When you say that you love it, and now as for debt —) The wife of the Chatechist will not understand it. (His wife?) I am telling you. Ei! It has now let many people to leave the church. Some even have left to join Ramsyer. The Chatechist is God. (We don't do, we don't do it like that. Even at our place, we don't allow, if you are a pastor, if you are a Chatechist, your child, your wife to be leader of women's fellowship) As for now at all, she is not a leader. It seems to me now that she is a treasurer. They themselves voted for her; people who seek for favour. (And even in your life, maybe you are not working, maybe, there is a youngman whose work is not good, and he told our leader that now, I cannot pay dues. And she says, O, it doesn't matter. It is not the money that shows that you are a member of a church. Do you see? The word that you will listen or obey. I could not pay dues. For ^{about} two weeks, I had not paid dues. So one day they had a harvest for me that I should take it to pay my child's school fees.) At our place, they collect hundred Cedis. Hundred Cedis, when you need it, you go for a loan. May I go for a loan to become a debt for me. When you go for twenty, twenty thousand Cedis, when you go for it

and you spend it, you will pay. But one thing with them which is not nice to me at all is that, as for that, I say, the day that I will go, when they say that maybe elders are meeting, I will go there. You have seen that at the very beginning when we went to church, our building was like one third of this. (Yes) Our building was very small. Very small like this, and we have built a new one. We have built this building a new, and a bit by bit like that. Some help very much; they help the church very much. At first like this, when someone gets a funeral, we hired a bus and went with it. As for today, they collect three hundred Cedis from everyone. The donation that we will give, they collect the same amount. If you don't pay, when you get a funeral, we will not attend. As for that, I understand. Even when we go to join a society, it is the same. And when you get a funeral too, today, they don't hire a bus again. They select about two, three or four people. They say, you who want to go, go. You yourself should pay for it. That is not nice. Do you know that members of Pentecost and Assembly of God do not perform their funerals like that? As for them, as for them alone, if it is for the church, then they will go with their bus and band. As for us too, if we have gone to hire a band, eleven or twelve people will go. Do I lie?

That by your own grace, do you give us a hand.
 (Let me teach you something. Like that, do you see?
 Women's fellowship districts.) As for Women's
 fellowship, when you die, as for that, they will
 keep wake till daybreak. (I am coming. Are you
 talking about church?) Yes, the congregation (is
 all right. And you are under which branch?
 Are you under Bantama? If you don't
 understand anything, you can ask the elders; they
 will explain to you. Do you see? Yes, that is
 why the elders are there.) For, I have heard;
 recently, a woman, she is called Dwonta (i.e.
 one who gives birth to twins) She was in big
 difficulty. And even me, as I am there, I was
 in big difficulty. For me, right now, as I am
 there, if there are no oranges, I have some
 serious problems. I have serious problems but
 recently, they said that they were coming to take
 to them (To go where?) To Europe, London.
 (Yes) That is why they sent me a little amount
 of money. So I also, oranges are there and
 I will not spend it. (Yes) So ~~if~~ the little
 amount I got from the oranges is what I am
 spending. So recently, everyday — (Lady, take —)
 he/she told me plainly. Because of that, I am
 going to Acena for my brother, maybe he will
 give me twenty pounds and I will come and
 exchange it and use it as transport fare. Like that.)

He came and prepared a passport. Now, this passport too, we haven't got it. It is now that I am going to make another one. Do you see? So, the choir, if you are going to a funeral, as for the transport fare, the choir pays it. They don't collect money from anyone. Your money which is there, you go to take some. You use some to hire a bus. Women council members like this, when they are going to a funeral, everyone pays her transport fare. (Adum too, that is what they do.) That everyone pays her transport fare. (Yes. You see, formerly, people were not many. Today, when they say that the society should do it, at times, society has no money, because they don't have the means through which they use to get money. When they go to a meeting, the collection they take is all. Or when they celebrate their day, then that they get money. And when you celebrate a day too, the money, you send it to the districts and so on. So when they go somewhere, everyone pays her transport fare. Then, that is the thing which is there. They hire the bus to come and stand there. When you get into it, then you pay. Whether you go or not, you will pay. Now, that is the rule that has come. And when a society member dies too, when a society member dies, you will pay thousand Cedis. That is what)

has come. Formerly, we were paying five hundred Cedis. But the money that has come is not good. So at Adum when a society member dies, everyone, your debt is thousand Cedis. If someone gets a funeral, then we have to share; if yours is two hundred Cedis, that is what is there. For now, they don't have money. And formerly, they were getting money. And formerly, people in Europe or America were helping us. Right now, the white people are no longer helping us. Are they not tired? (Do you see? Now, we are doing our own thing. Yes. So if you don't do it that, and society too, if you don't understand something as for you, you come, if you are under Bantama, when you ask your elders, they will teach you. Don't let it be a stumbling block for you. For worldly society at all, worldly society at all, that is what they do. Do you see? Yes. So if you don't understand something and you ask, they will explain it to you. So try and go. Don't let that be a stumbling block for you. Keep trying that,) Ei! As for now, I go. (It is not because of funeral that you are going to church. You are working about your soul; you are serving your God, it is not someone.)

(You would like that the relationship between you and God will be very fine. If you look at that of someone, you cannot go to church, do you see?

(Yes) As for today, I did not sleep. (No, you have said all nicely) (If there is anything, add to it. There is a lot there, bring them out.) Now, there is nothing there, it is finished. (The story, there is some, therefore bring them.) (Have you done something that has changed from the past up to today? Do you have something to say about it, that you tell me that I will understand it well?)

(Yes, Now many changes have come. Do you see? So can you tell us something, maybe, what has brought these changes.) (Changes like what? Like in life, it is not like the first.) O, as for that, that is what I explained that as you observed that even my sister's children, how I was getting on with them; that one of my sister's children called Sammy; this child, I was carrying him always at my back. His mother gave birth to this child, when she gave birth to him, when she gave birth, she had not finished school and she gave birth. Therefore, when she gave birth, two weeks and a day, she returned to school again. So we did not let her go to Bantama, & Adum; we did not let her go there. And truly, we have to face the fact, as it is like, nobody can explain it, except God. We did not let

her go and we took her to —
 (She was going to school and she got pregnant?) Yes,
 she got pregnant, my sister's child. So when she
 became pregnant, she stopped going to school and
 gave birth. So after she has given birth we took
 her to Duase school; they did not admit her
 And we took her to Fumasua and she
 completed school. So after finishing school,
 exactly seven days after, her uncle came to
 take her to London. She stayed there for
 a long time. When she was going too, her child
 was very small, she had not walked, very, very
 small. Her mother looked after her like that.
 Today, the child is in London. She has been
 married and has got a child. (And when she
 gave birth to her, you looked after her?)

My senior sister (Yes) Her mother. She did not
 have a child again too, the only one. (Yes) The
 only one. She did not have a child again. The
 child even has been married; she has got
 a child. How I cared for the child so well! When
 she came, and when she was going, even five
 Cedis, she didn't give me and she went away.
 I am also staying there with her. For I, myself, I
 have none. For, if I have some, this foolish
 kindness, there is none; this thing, you have
 done good act for this thing is finished. If I
 have some, I would not do this foolish kindness

again. (Yes. And you told me that when you were a child, many men were selling oranges) My brother. Yes. (And you said many men were in the market carrying oranges) E, you know that, one sister of mine, sister Agatha, do you know that her children, they carry oranges? Now, he has finished school; he says he will not carry any more. (But now, you don't see children who are boys doing that work.) Ei! No, no, they will not sell. One sister of mine, she is at the market. Her child, he ~~has~~ finished school, last year; he says, he will not sell again. I too, my child, when one child of mine, he, when he finished school, and they said, a child, when you are not eighteen years, you should not carry things, (i.e. you should not trade) (Is that so?) (Yes) (You should not carry things) It happened here like that. (There was a time when you were under age, they would not let you sell things.) Unless you are eighteen. I too, I say, I cannot go hawking; and I said, then, I would stay at home. And I peeled some oranges and I said I would take them to go around to sell. As soon as I said that I was going around with them, then my child began crying. "I will go with them; they should arrest me." True, too, when he went, they arrested him. (Oh!) They arrested him; they said, they had arrested

Kwaku Dua; they were bringing him. Right there, so climb on to your box. And I climbed a box and said, Ou! (What box did you climb?) My boxes which were there, they were standing there. (Ee) And I said that I was sick. And I was shaking myself like that. (You have pretended to be sick) Yes, for they had arrested my child. They were coming to arrest, the policemen, they were coming to arrest me and to take me away. (Aa! Why you allowed your child to go and sell the oranges?) Yes, they will arrest us. (Yes) And they came to tell me. When they came, they said, "Where is this child's mother?" And he said, my mother is the one who is lying there sick." They said, "Where is your mother?" He said, "Here is my mother." "Yaa Boosu ee!" I got up. "Your child, they have gone to arrest him." "Father, I am sick and I cannot go hawking and I begged my child that he should go with it." The father too had seen that my body was shaking. Right there, people came to beg him. I was lying there; I was not getting up. When I got up and said that, right there, I went to sleep again. And I said, you should cover me with a cloth and I went to sleep. And the people there were begging him. And I said, "Then, father, now I cannot throw them away; I also don't have money." The father then said, "The child may take them to pass up here to.)

go and sell, and when they see him, they will arrest him, and his mother is truly sick. But today, ei! (i.e. today who will do that) When he finished school, he carried them (i.e. he sold the oranges) for about a year and half before a gentleman, staying in our house, he lives in my brother's house, I am staying with him, so he buys soap to Takoradi. He carries spare parts and buys soap like that. So when the gentleman is going, he goes with him. He has his own truck. (i.e. the gentleman). And he brought ten thousand Cedis to me to go and find work for him. When I went, they said, fifteen thousand. I paid the master's portion, fifteen thousand and I paid little little amount about it; a fee for not coming early to learn the work and what and what and what; I paid all and they accepted him into the job for the child to do the work little by little like that. Today, who will carry oranges for his mother (i.e. who will carry oranges to sell for her mother?) (What work is he doing?) For now, he sells spare parts. (What did he learn?) Mechanics but he didn't do it. He stopped. He stopped completely and went to Abidjan and when he came, he passed through to do someone's work and now he is doing his own work, selling motor spare parts. As for today, the children, they will not carry the oranges. Ei! Even the

~~The~~ girls say they won't carry and like the boys. (Even at first, you will find big boys and they were frying 'bofurootu', meat pie for them to carry to sell. I remember, maybe, an adult at all. Sometimes, he might be like Papa Yaw and he was selling bofurootu and meat pie. But for today, none is there.) He will not sell at all. (And why have they stopped?) Paa Kwasi, the boys who were selling Paa Kwasi's powder. (Yes, a white child who is at Asawase.) As for him, today, he is dead. He died just recently. (Is the child dead?) Yes. (Ou!) And the ^{are} Ashanti two boys, one Fante, one Ashanti, they ^{are} living in Europe. Both of them all. (They have sold the thing and have gone to Europe with it.) As soon as one finished selling, he said, I will cut into it. (i.e. buy air ticket to go) One had a passport and he bought a ticket and he said, I will sell a little more, right there, he took the money and went away. When he was going, he said that the powder he was selling at fifty, fifty Cedis, he had got money; he is gone. Today too, when you say that they should do it, they won't do it. Yet, today, there is no bad work or job. For today there is no work in the world. (Even recently, at the market, a man was cooking lollof rice; he was cooking rice.) (As, is that so?) Yes. He is about the same age as Papa Yaw (Yes. He was cooking rice) (He was cooking rice)

and they used oil, no stew was added. Rice which they use oil and fry onions and eggs and put them on it. And he wears headkerchief, a complete man. Cloth sellers buy a lot; people buy it a lot.) Maybe he has stopped? (I don't know if he has stopped) Ei! People were buying it very much. (It was during whole time? Is it long ago?) (Just recently, recently, not long ago.) (Is that so?) (Yes) It seems when I started going to the market with you that I saw him. Formerly, he was there. He was cooking rice to sell. They buy it a lot. They buy it. You know that at first when we were plaiting the hair, some men were in the market who were doing it.) Yes, they plait the hair. They were getting — (money) (Is that so?) Ei! (Men were plaiting women's hair?) Yes. They have learnt how to do it very well so they were going round the market, ^{one} shilling, two shillings, one shilling and six pence, two shillings and six pence. (Is that so?) Yes. (It is long ago. They were plaiting the hair — He splits it like this. He cuts it like that and plaits it, nicely with strings and folds it over there.) (Is that so?) (Yes) And men were doing it; yes. (But they were getting work. When the men do the women's work, they get money more than the women.) Yes, sometimes, they look interesting.)

(Yes) So when anyone comes, they call him; won't you come and plait my hair for me, won't you come and plait my hair for me, won't you come and plait my hair for me (Is that so?) Yes. (Ei! Is it long ago?) (Not much long ago) O, it is long ago, it is long ago. (Now, nobody plaits her hair again.) Today, who is plaiting it? Everyone does perming. Everybody will plait wheel ball, everybody will do mesh. But formerly, when they used to plait their hair, they were doing it very much.) (Yes. Ei! Many changes have come.) Even now, there are many saloons that the men do the mesh. In saloons, big, big saloons, some men are there doing the mesh.) Now, where I am living, even at Takwa, I have seen that a woman and a man are doing hair dressing there. (There at Takwa, at your house, by that side) Yes, by the side of my house. A woman and a man have opened a kiosk doing hair dressing. There is also one upstairs, she and her husband came from Europe or America. (Yes.)

[Did you see that when we went, Akua! (Yes) (When we went to your friend who is at, a woman we went to her at Adum, on a two storey building (Yes) do you remember? (Yes) she has an office, (yes) you see that when we climb the steps, 'The Couples Hair-dressing' (true) yes, a woman and her husband do hair dressing.]

(Is that so?) Yes. They have a beautiful saloon. They use hair cream. Kofi Sae and his wife, they have been to Europe or America and are back. Both of them do the hair dressing. They have ^{been} to Europe or America and are back but both of them run ~~the saloon~~; they have opened their saloon. (Yes; yes, in Europe or America, many men plait hair; they do perming and all this things like that. Maria and her sister and another one do hair-dressing.) Your sister who is at this place? (Her sister who is at, it means that —) (She says her sister who is here.) Maria? (Yes, my sister who is here.) (All right, then if you don't have anything to add, then it is finished.) Yes, as for now it seems to me that we shall close, do you see? If God helps, you too, you have to go and see my house. (Yes) Do I lie? (Yes, it is true) We shall go and see there. (Yes) So, today even, the children were going with the key. I took it and tied it to the ~~end of~~ my handkerchief; you may look at it. I have taken it and tied it there; I say, we are going to my house today. (O, please, I don't understand it properly.) All right. (So where do you live?) Mmaakuro, Jakwa Mmaakuro. Magazine. (Aer, it is far) (Are you going to the market?) Yes, I am going to the market. We must go. It seems to me, it is going to rain. It is cloudy, so we will go. (Yes)