

As you have first heard of many people's versions, I too, at my place too, it is by the grace of the Lord that now, I am staying here. Since I started, when I got married at all, I married in 1944, (Is that so?) and I gave birth in 1945, my first born, that we are one like that. About 1964, my mister died. My husband died. From that time too, because of the Lord's grace, I did not marry and I ran the store with him. At first it was a drug store; we were running a drug store. So when he died, I went on with it to try to do what I could to look after the children. Then when the country went into a different situation, it appeared to be that if you did not have a pharmacist, you could not do the work, so the work too requires a pharmacist or something like that so it made me change it and went into hardware, all sorts of things; anything that I will get as people call it "alata" (ie Nigerian) yaa alata. Anything that I would get, I was selling them bit by bit in order that I could use it to look after those children. In fact, at first in our Ghana here or in our Kumasi here, if you had even one pound, you could use it to buy things to prepare food all right, but today too as things have gone, it is very difficult that two thousand worth of money at all, you cannot use it to buy things to cook. Two thousand, when you spend it, it will not be possible; so now, it has made our

~~our~~ living conditions very difficult; it is very difficult that it is by the grace of the Lord that we use it, change it, but it was not like that at first. And now, as we see it, or you have heard it from many people, it is difficult. Formerly, we were spending penny, half penny; today too it became one shilling, two shillings. As for today it became pounds and so on. As for now, we have gone into thousands. So it means that when you examine it, it is very very difficult that it is only God who is sustaining us. If it was not God, we would not have been as we are now, but by the free grace of God, we are able to live. So right now, if you have come and you say that you are studying history, it is history from, if I will say it well, it is from 1940 that it began, it is from 19— when we had independence at all, (Is that so?) 7th '57 when we had independence, even that we said that it was difficult but at that time at all, it was good; it was very good. When we had independence, it was good up to 64 and 66, even up to 70, it was good. And then from there going, when the country went into the hands of soldiers, that has now let the problems become too much on us. We cannot look after children; we cannot look after schools. Today, school problems have become very very difficult. If you have two or three children and you are looking after them at school, then you have to make:

very serious effort. If you don't make an effort, it won't go well. School fees are very expensive; everything is hard as you have heard from many people. So as for now, as for Ghana, when you go back to your roots, you may remember us in prayer for it is hard. In our life, it has become hard but by the grace of the Lord, we live in it; we are in it. Wherever God will put us, then we take it like that. So if you ask about this country and our life, that is where Nana Yaa can put you. If you have another one too, if you remember something and you will ask and I remember, that too maybe I will be able to reveal it to you. Lady Mary, over to you. (And when you were a child in school, was school fee expensive as it is now?) Right now, as for the school fees, it is God that pays for us. For right now, the children who I am now looking after, them are for my senior child, my first born, who also, when he grew up and finished going to school, he became a teacher. He was a headmaster at Presbyterian school at this place. He too, he died. It was seven years just recently when he died. It was in this March. (Just recently?) Yes. (Amponsah?) Amponsah (Fi!) Seven years in this March since he died. So now, it is his children that he has left them behind that we are caring for. The senior one is)

is the one with whom you came here now. He has finished secondary school. Where is work? (True) And the one who comes after him too, now, he too, he is in a secondary school, and the next one, he too is at JSS. And the very small one, when he died, the wife was pregnant and that one too has been born. It is now that he is six years. He is the one walking about there; the small one. Do you see? So it is God who looks after us. (Yes) It is God who looks after us. And illness won't give him chance. This time in which we are, it is illness and other things. Rather, I am a person who can progress, I work very fast. Now too, I am down with sickness that if I have to go somewhere which is far and nobody goes with me, I cannot go. I am all the time sitting at one place. (Yes) So, as for the school problem, it is God himself that looks after the children bit by bit for us. (Yes; please, have you been to school?) As for me, I have never been to school. (And at that time, did many people go to school?) During our time, they said that it was not necessary for women to go to school. (Is that so?) Yes. During our time, it was said that it was useless for a woman to go to school, (yes) so the men rather were sent to school, so a woman, when you were a bit old, you were asked to marry. But by the grace of the Lord,

When I married, I got married to a man who had been to school. (Yes) So, he too, he knows the importance of school, therefore he made an effort that he would let all the children have education, but by the grace of God, when he died, the children were very young yet by the grace of God, I made it bit by bit and looked after all of them and let all of them attend secondary schools and others. (So did all your brothers go to school?) Yes, my brothers, some went, some did not go, and even those who went, all of them too, they came out of it; they died. (Is that so?) Yes. And ~~as~~ my sisters and the others together, my mother had fifteen children (Yes!) Yes, she had fifteen (Ei!) Yes; but all of us, none went to school except the men, the few, went but those who went to school, all died. (~~And~~ did they die early?) Yes, they died early. Quickly. They died early, and it remained those who did not go to school. They also made a living to some extent and they too died. So now, for my mother, her real children, only women are left and the women now have had children and our children have received very good education. Now, my senior sister whom I follow, her child is a medical doctor at 37 military hospital. He is an army major which today some are soldiers, police, nurses and many others. Me too, my child too, by the grace of the Lord, she too, she.)

is a nurse at Manhyia at this place (i.e. Kumasi)
Yes; today she is a nursing sister at that place.
For us, they did not send us to school, yet we got married to people who went to school. The educated people that we married them, we humbled ourselves to them. It let them care for our children. They educated our children at school so as for our home, there is nobody that we will say that as for this person, he/she did not go to school. All of them went to school. As for our children and grandchildren, all of them went to school. And we, the parents who are mothers, no one went to school. (And when you were a child, you didn't go to school, did you do some work before you got married?) Yes. (What work?) Because I didn't go to school, my mother gave me to someone. I stayed with someone (So?) Yes. (Here in this town?) In this very town. I stayed with someone for some time. I went to be a house maid to that person. (Is that so?) Yes. So the training that person gave me, has encouraged me that I also, have been able to live with it; yes. I did not go to school, yet the training that I received has helped me, for me too, to make a living (Yes) Yes (What sort of training did she give you?) Well, the woman with whom I stayed, she too, was working; she was selling goods; (Yes) she was selling goods; she was selling yam. She used to go away to bring yam. Sometimes, she tied the money at my waist for me)

to go. I used to travel; maybe to Ejura, Atebubu or Yeji. And she would phone the farmers. When I go, any quantity of yam that I can pay for, I pay and when I pay to them and I send message to her that I have got some of the yam and she lets a lorry come to take them and we bring them. At this time, when you pick one piece of yam, you pay three pence and a penny. This three pence of yam, when we cook it for all people who are here, we cannot eat all. (True) It is very big. So like that, bit by bit until I grew up and got married. When I got married too, my husband too was also working at G. B. Ollivant (Yes) He was working at G. B. Ollivant as a store clerk. Then, whilst he was in for some time, he said that he would not work again with G. B. O.; he would do his own business and he came to open this store. It was when he made this store that he made it that I should come to look after it that when he is not there, then I too, will take care and we have been in it until he passed away that by the grace of God I too, have been in it up to today. (Yes) (So when you married, you stopped going away for yam?) Yes, if I have married, then I am not with my mother again. I am coming to do my own business, do you see? Yes. And the business that I would have done, my husband said he would not let me go and work at the

market or something like that. If he is working, then I should come and help for us to do the work to look after the children. (Is that so?) Yes. (So won't it bother you that you have stopped your own business?) I am not worried. Because I know that the work that he is doing, it is the same work that will look after the children. (Yes) It did not bother me. The work that he is doing, that will give us money for food, that will buy clothes for a child; that will pay school fees. So if I am helping him to let him work and use it to care for the children, then I know that it is not wrong. And it is good that I help him and I use, and we use it to look after the children. (O, he is a good husband that he uses all his money to look after the children) That is it.

(Please, where did you see him?) The man? (Yes) Kumasi here. Here, in Kumasi. The man was from Atebubu. (Yes) And I am from Kwahu. (Yes) Yes. For all of us came to meet at this place where we married. (So you work with your husband. Don't you do any other work in addition?) Oh, I did work with him. At the store where I was, maybe I had children, so house girls were with me. So maybe oranges; I buy one bag of oranges and put it there and I peel them for the children to go out with them to sell them bit by bit and we also use it to help, maybe some little items. You don't have to ask)

the man to give you everything. You too would like to have something so I do the work bit by bit. Maybe I peel oranges. Also I used to fry things, yam and ripe plantain in front over there. At that time the man was there, yet he allowed me to do it. For, if I have had time to look after his work, he won't give me permission to go and work somewhere to abandon the store. So if I am right there and I am looking after it, when I look after his business, there are children also there who are looking after mine too for me so that, Σ , it is not for everything that you will say that Sir, bring it, bring this, so there is something you also have to do a little that you too use it to help for you to make a living (All right, I have understood it. For now, but you don't see many women doing work like that, doing one work with their husbands. And formerly, did they often do that?) Yes, for formerly, the man and the woman could do one work together to make a living. And for today, it cannot happen like that, because for today, there is too much jealousy in people. The man, when he gets it, he uses it to think about another one; he will not think about you and your children. (Is that so?) Yes, so the woman too, ~~if~~ she follows you too much to rely on you to do the work, she cannot and her mind becomes shaky. So it is better that she also separates from him)

to make her own and you also do yours.
(Yes) That is it. (So at that time, what kind of work was in this town that went on very well?) O, as for that time, as for the work, stores were things that were not many. (Is that so?) They were not many like that, only few people. Also these women at all, women of today who have opened big, big stores, formerly, they were not there like that except individuals, and mainly perhaps cloths, selling of cloths like V.A.C. and others, They had obtained passbooks and were using them to sell cloths gradually. As today women can obtain buildings in thousands and other things, formerly, it was not there like that. And formerly, it was money that was scarce (Is that so?) Money was scarce. Also, you have to work very hard to get about hundred pounds. When you had hundred pounds, then you had money. (True) Yes, you had money. People had respect for money. As for today, today this hundred pounds, if you give it to this my little grandchild, at all, he says, what should I take it to buy? He will ask you that what should I take it to buy? What he is going to buy with it, it will not be sufficient for him, (true) so he will not go and buy. (And now or in the past, which chop money is cheaper, that the former one, the money you take to do shopping, it was not big, about one shilling or three shillings. But you will.)

be very tired before you will receive your three shillings.) Yes, that is it. That is why I was saying that formerly, the money had value. Formerly, the money was scarce. If I will remember very well, the time when I even married, my chop money was six pence. (Yes) My chop money was six pence. When I had a child, I was given one shilling, that the child would eat porridge or something like that. (Yes) Do you see? So this six pence, it was enough. When you go to buy pepper, penny worth of pepper, you will get garden egg, you will get onions, you will get beans; a mixture like that, half penny, and you buy. (Yes) Do you see? You will get this a bit, this a bit, maybe half penny and you buy it. So even meat, when you have bought too much at all, when you have bought much at all, it would be three pence. (Yes) Cassava, penny, plantain, penny. So when you go to buy pepper and things, you won't eat all in a day. You would leave some; the next day, you will eat some again. So it means that the former chop money, when you compare it with today's, then today, it is not a small thing. Because today, the money we go to the market with it, it can build a house in the past. You can build a house. Now, the two thousand that today we go to the market with it, in the past, the two thousand, you will build one Kumasi house. (True) Do you see? (But when will you be very tired before you get it, so, yes.)

the money with which you go shopping. Do you see that formerly, if you ~~did~~ three pence or one shilling, would you get it quickly or you would be tired before?) E, it depends on you. (Yes) It depends on you your personality. A, it depends on your personality. Because if you are not lazy and you want it, you will have it. For there is nothing that ~~when~~ you sell, they won't buy. They will buy. So if you have small amount of money, you can work with it ~~as you also~~, your money is like. You will make profit and you also use it to buy something to eat. As it was at first so it is today too. Today the money has gone up, it has gone very high; yet as it has gone up, if you sit down quietly like this, then, you will remain broke like that. But if you make effort that you will turn here and there, you can live. (Yes, all right) You have seen that formerly, cloth was bought; this cloth for example, I bought it for five cedis, five cedis. The five cedis, (two pounds ten shillings) Two pounds and ten shillings, thank you. This five cedis, and I say, Ci! ~~and~~ so much; for cloth which is two pounds and ten shillings, why? It is expensive. The cloth seller, even this, I bought it on credit. The two pounds and ten shillings, I bought it on credit. Do you see? And thirty thousand, yet they buy. Do you see? And thirty thousand! This, when you are going to buy, thirty thousand (True) Do you see? So, when you look at it, you don't see)

how it is like and for our grandparents, when they are taking out twenty five thousand of money, or thirty thousand to buy cloth, it hurts them very much. It hurts me very much to take out money unless they are taking me. — then I always tell these children that, when you see me wearing an imported cloth, it is by the grace of these children and maybe someone has sent me some. Then, my sisters'/brothers' children who are in Europe or America, they do send me things. E, this your sister/brother, she/he sends me things. So, when they bring them, then I too, I tell some Kumasi people. If it was not like that, then they will say these old cloths are what you are always wearing. (And at that time, was your husband there? Were there men selling goods at the market?) E, at that time, men were selling goods at the market. (What goods were they selling?) The goods which they were selling at the market, the small store owners, were selling; then even when my father was in Kumasi, he used to run a small store. (Yes) Yes, he did run a small store. He sold goods, buckets, metal pots and all other things were there. Some of the men too sold cloths and other things. The stalls which are at the market, men used to work at the market (Is that so?) Men used to sell (they sold cloths) cloth. (Ah, as for today you don't see some of them.) Yes, as for today, men are not there. For the past, men were at the market selling all kinds)

of things there. ~~The men too, some were selling~~
~~clothes and other things~~ it was men; but
mostly they were Kwahu people. They were
Kwahu people, yes. After the Kwahu people left,
excuse me to say, did the Ashantis also
enter into it. (Is that so? Did they go into
farms?) They went to their town. (Yes) The
Kwahu people went to their town. (Yes) (And
the day that you went, when you were going
on the road for yams, were men also
going on the road like that?) No. At
that time, women were going. (So now, is
it only bread that you sell?) As for now,
the store needs help, but I don't have money
(Yes) Yes. So I am doing it bit by bit. If
I get any little things, I put them in and ~~this~~ for
~~this~~ bread, it is for our daily eating in order
that everyday, we will have three pence to
feed ourselves. So when I go to bring it
and what will be bought, and the profit
on it, we use to go to the market to
shop and use it to cook food to eat and
the other little things that are there, if they
kindly come to buy some, that too we
save it in order that by the end of the
month, we will ^{get} money to pay the house
owner, light bill and water bill bit by bit.
(And when your husband was there, what were
you selling at the store. Drugs only?) Yes, we
were running a drug store. It was a drug
store only. It was only drugs that we were selling
(Was your husband a pharmacist?) He was not.)

a pharmacist; when you had a licence B, then you qualify to sell drugs. And it was later that they made it that you should have a pharmacist before you could sell drugs. (True) And as at first, when you had licence B, you could sell the drugs. (And you, when your husband passed away, you said that it was necessary that you stop selling drugs, and what were you selling in your life?) E, when I stopped, I was dealing in different kinds of goods, bags and coolers which are there and travelling bags and other things. And when Rawlings came, he also came to fix control price. So they came to buy all goods which were there at control price and took all away. And so I could not fill in again and it is there bit by bit. The goods that were there, all these bags, different types of bags; so when Rawlings came, he said, control; they came to take them, soldiers came to take all the goods away free and then, we were unable to sell. So it appeared to be that the yams that I was frying, I went on to fry it to help myself with it bit by bit. And now too, my eyes; after returning from surgery, the doctor says I should not be near fire, and that had made me stop frying things that now bread is what I am selling bit by bit (Yes) (What happened to your eyes that you had to be operated upon?) As for my eyes, it was cataract. (Yes) Yes, they said it was cataract. So they operated upon

both of them (There were cataracts on both of them?). On both of them - But you won't see 'em! (Could you see?) It was getting on my eyes. I could not see. I could not see. (It has covered them) It has spread over them. For when it is there, I don't see that a person is coming. Also, I don't see that this is Mary or this is Akua. (True) But I had seen that as for a person, a person is coming. So when someone comes to greet me, then Aunt has asked me, did you see the person who greeted you? I say, I don't know. Unless I know your voice before I know that it is you or something like that. By the grace of the Lord, as I went, if I wear the glasses (i.e. the lens) then I see everything. But when I put it down too, I don't see anything. When I take away the glasses, I don't see anything. Both of them.

So your friends who were the same age with you, did some go to school or some of them are still there who are still doing big businesses today; at that time in your days that you began?) As for this time, there may be somebody whom when you see, you will not recognise her as she is. Those with whom I began, many are dead. Those who are there, when you see them, you find that life has become difficult and so on, so you see that all of them are not in good shape. So when you look at it, then it is better that you thank your God as you are. (So now, the bread that you are selling, are you)

able to sell about five thousand Cedis a day?)
 On, if selling is at its peak, I will be able to
 sell twenty thousand Cedis a day. (Yes) Yes.
 (O, that is good) If selling is good, from
 morning to evening, you will be able to sell
 about twenty thousand Cedis. The day that
 they didn't buy at all, maybe ten thousand
 Cedis, they will buy. (And when you sell, does
 she give you commission? Today, how much
 is the commission?) When you sell thousand
 Cedis, yours is two hundred Cedis. (When you
 collect thousand Cedis worth of bread, the
 commission is two hundred Cedis.) Yes, two
 hundred Cedis. (And does she provide papers
 for you?) No, you yourself have to buy
 your papers and wrappers. (Doesn't she give you
 money for papers and wrappers?) No, no, no.
 (A, then, they are cheating you at this place) Yes,
 they cheat us. Yes. (At my place, for me, I
 don't collect much; I collect three thousand Cedis.
 When you collect three thousand Cedis worth of
 bread, you collect your commission, six
 hundred Cedis; do you see? And she gives me
 two hundred Cedis for papers.) (Is that so?) (Yes,
 if she doesn't have papers and wrappers, she
 will give me two hundred Cedis worth of
 bread and I sell and I use it to buy papers
 and wrappers.) As for this person, as for this
 person, she will not give you. There may be
 a day that she will ^{give} you about three hundred
 or four hundred Cedis worth of bread. That too,
 maybe you have sold bought about eight thousand.)

~~worth of bread~~ seven thousand, six thousand
worth of bread. Sometimes I collect ten thousand
Cedis worth of bread, sometimes, fifteen thousand,
and it will not finish that very day. The next
day, I have to collect some and mix them
and that too will finish. And if chop money
has not become difficult now, and for the
past, it was good however. We were doing
it little by little and it was good; it was good
and now I don't eat plantain, I don't eat
yam, I don't eat cassava, I don't eat this
thing, because of diabetes (Do you have diabetes?)
Yes. So, except plantain only. Today's plantain,
even if I buy eight hundred Cedis worth of
plantain, it is not enough for me. (Yes).
It is not enough for me. Before I look for what
these children will eat. Do you see? That is the
thing that worries me now. So each day,
maybe I spend about two thousand, two
thousand five when I have to collect bread
about twenty thousand worth of bread
before I get this two thousand Cedis; and this
twenty thousand too, maybe it will not finish
that very day; do you see? So it means
that every time, there is a debt ahead of you,
but because of God, we do it little by little.
If you owe someone and you know how to go
about it, he/she will not come to demand it.
So when they give it to us and we finish selling
it, then we go to give it to them. So every time,
then we too are doing it bit by bit. (And as for
now, then what helps you in the selling of your
bread?)

There is no other work in addition to it, only the bread. (Yes) And the store too; occasionally, they may come and buy one of the coolers. Maybe these bags, they come to buy one; maybe the door mat, they come to buy one; bit by bit like that. There is no any other work. (And from the time you began the store up to Rawlings' time: bags only were you selling or there was something else?) Yes, the bags and the coolers. And anything that I would get, I would buy and put them in it. Anything (Yes) Any small items; anything; they would buy. Anything that you would get and put them in it, they would buy. (And at that time, what problems were in the work?) There were no problems; there was no problem in it. For when you go to bring the thing, and they come to buy some, you will get a profit of three pence on it. You too, your chop money at all, will not be much, just a little. Do you see? This chop money, you will take very little. & if rice at all, maybe, a cup will be a Cedi. Do you see? And you use it. You cook it. So it was a bit difficult, but it was not too difficult for us. It was not too difficult like that and for now, it has become very very difficult. It is God himself that cares for us otherwise for now it would be — (Yes, when did the problem really become worse?) The problem started in 1983. (Is that so?)

It was from that time, the starvation which in 83 - (Yes) The starvation that came. From ~~that~~ time things have not become normal. Sometimes, up, up, it goes (True.) From 83, the starvation that came is making us suffer like that. (And as for now, there is food.) Now? (Yes) As for now, (As for '83, there was no food, but for now, there is food) In 83, there was no food, but that at all, it was somewhat good. And now, the food, as right now, what you see is that people have become too many (Yes) People have become too many that today, how the people have become so many, there is no food that will be enough for them. There is food but it is expensive. The 83 that we are talking about, we could not find it to buy but — (There was none at all for you to buy) Yes; but we were not buying a finger of plantain for three hundred Cedis as we buy it today. Today, three fingers of plantain, five hundred Cedis; E , E , this thing. You see that it is really painful (Yes) It is painful. (All right) People have become too many. (What has made people become too many like that?) It is from generation to generation. Continuous birth has increase the number of people. Excuse me to say, we women, as I was saying that my mother had fifteen children, from my mother's womb, ~~one~~ fifteen children. Today, there is the one who had ten children, the one with six children, the one with

eight children; our children too are giving birth; you understand what I am saying; our children are having children. So, it means that we are increasing. Do you see?

My mother, she was born as the only child to her mother. But now, her children and her grandchildren, her descendants are getting to about thousand. (Yes) Yes, we are getting to about thousand. Because, right now, our children and our children's children at all, there are some that I even who live in Kumasi here, do not know some of them.

Do you see what I mean? So people have become too many; people have become too many. (And you at all, how many children do you have?) Me? (Yes) I gave birth to six.

(And your grandchildren are how many?) Now, my grandchildren are very many. My grandchildren are just many. (And you say that you are from Kwahu; did you live in your town a bit?) I never lived in my town. (You never lived in your town?) It

is right here that I lived. (It means that you have never been to a farm.) As for a farm, I don't know about farming (You are really a citizen of Kumasi. Are your father and mother all in Kumasi?) As for them, they were at Kwahu. (Aaa, is that so?) At first, I say, they gave me to someone and I came to stay with someone. (O, is that so?) They gave me to somebody. (In which town at Kwahu, do you come from?) I am from Ahaakwa.

(Aaakwa) When ^{you} leave there, then you are going to Kwahu Tafo. (At Kwahu, what work do you really do over there?) ~~There?~~ (Yes) We do farming. Farming only. (What do you grow?) We grow cocoa, coffee. (Yes) Do you see? Coffee and cocoa, and plantain and cocoyam, mainly. As for there, only farming. And at our place too, those who farm form the majority, yet trading, those who do it are in Accra. Real trading. The Kwahus like trading very much so all of them too are there. (Are you the only one in Kumasi?) Yes, o, many Kwahus are at this place, but here do I live. (I know that the Kwahu people grow tiger nuts, groundnuts and onions. Plenty of onions are there. Onions. Formerly onions, greater part of it came from Kwahu. The onions over there, formerly, the onions, the small Ashanti onions, they were coming from Kwahu only. It was later that the Ashantis planted some which seems to be like the Northern type, the big ones, came. And as for Kwahu, the onions, tiger nuts and maybe groundnuts were what they grew. Even for groundnuts, they were not growing that much as the Northerners. The Northerners grow a lot of groundnuts. So onions, groundnuts and sponge were what they were working about. (The sponge we use for bathing?) The sponge we use for bathing. The ancient type known as Abansa. (The net type had not yet come.) The net type had not yet come. When you were going to buy

a sponge, you say, I want Kwahu sponge. So the Kwahu people who were there, someone like Mr Minta who died recently (Aaa, The Minta people) Minta E, this person. All the descendants of Minta, their work is mainly tiger nuts and sponge. They worked only on sponge. Like Madam Asantewa for example, sponge only was she picking to help her husband who also went to purchase cocoa. And as for my mother, farming work did she do. Farming work did she do. (And the Aunt with whom you were staying, was she a Kwahu citizen?) No, she was an Ashanti (And at that time, you were going on the road for yams. Was there a week that one day you will incur a debt?) Oh, as for yam, when you go for it, and someone goes for it and this person goes for it and it becomes abundant, you can run into debt (Yes) As for that, yes, when the thing becomes abundant, debt comes. (And you too say, when yam becomes abundant, its price goes down and you incur a debt.) Yes, if it becomes abundant, it means that the price also goes down. This person's supply has come, this person's supply has come, this person's supply has come, so when you bring it, the buying price is no good at the market. There is no market for it at all, because everybody has brought here. (Yes) Yes, everyone has harvested here, so it has no price. So as for the yam, what they do is that, when they harvest it, then they dig a hole again and

put them ⁱⁿ and cover it. Yes; and they sell some and some is there. That is why the yams can last long. They harvest and put them in the ground; for today that food has become scarce; those who have put them under the ground, that is what now they are removing them to sell. And at that time that they have harvested yams which is June, July there about, that time, yams are plentiful. It is June, July that yams become very plentiful. At that time, there is no market for it. So the one who has something small (i.e. little money) she/he will not sell and would dig the ground and put them there. She/he keeps them there for some time. When the dry season comes, then she/he removes them to sell. (And you say they don't have market. I did not understand.) (It has no price) (When there are many goods at the market, the price goes down) The price is low. (Yes, so you say there is no market, meaning that the price has gone down) It means that I have some, you have some, this person has some; this person has harvested here/his, this person has harvested here/his; who will buy someone's. Therefore, the price has gone down. So even if you carry them to somewhere at all then this person too carries here there, and the price goes down. So if there is someone and she/he too has a big farm, she/he will not bring them to the market at all. He/She will put them away. He/she will put them away to

wait for the dry season, before he/she will dig them again to sell. (So at Ejura side, were you buying them at the market or you were going to the farm?) You go to the farm. For you who buy in large quantity, you cannot buy them at the market. You will go to the farm to buy them. Then, when you go to the farm, to buy, then a lorry goes to bring them. (And at that time, what made the work go on to help you to let the work progress?) All is that if you do yam work, that is what you have to do; maybe that you will take a lot or if you see that the trading is going up, (i.e. it is becoming expensive) you will stop a bit. (Yes) Yes, you will stop a little. Sometimes, it rained very much. Lorries cannot go into the bush. (True) Do you see? Lorries cannot go. Therefore, when it happens like that, then it means that you too, you have to stop. You stop going on the road a little till the ground will become dry before you can go. (I have understood it. Please, about how many years ago since you stopped?) Is it the yam business? (Yes) Oh! It has been a long time since I stopped. I stopped long ago because, as for that, when I had not married and I was staying with someone, did I do that work. And when I married too, I have come to do another work with my husband, so as for the work there, I was no longer among. (And please, how old were you when you married?) When I married, I was about

twenty years old. (Yes, so you are a bit old)
 (Now, you are about how many years?)
 Now? E, all right. If we will say it in
 years, I am about seventy (Ei!) Yes. (Is
 that so?) Yes. Then, you are beautiful; then
 God has grant you strength) Yes, seventy.
 Because, right now, I was saying that I gave
 birth in 1945. Do you see? I gave birth in
 1945. I too, when I married, I was about
 twenty years. Do you see? Check to see.
 (Yes, it is true) During our time, our date
 of birth was not recorded so maybe when
 you were born, something happened, an
 event concerning the chiefs and other things, then
 our elders use them to determine our year
 of birth. So when you grow up, then they tell
 you that when you were born, we were
 doing this and that. Do you see? And you
 keep it in your head. So when you give
 birth, for you, when you do not know
 anything at all, use the date of your child
 to count. When you count with the date of
 your child, that is all. (So you gave birth
 at twenty.) Yes (So you have twenty years
 already.) Already. (And -) From 1945 to
 this time. (Ah, up to this time) (Yes, so
 you were born about twenty five years.
 Then it is a long time. You have suffered.)
 (You will be seventy.) I say seventy, a!
 (It is seventy) (God has helped you a lot.
 You are beautiful.) Hmm. I have got it.
 (Before you came to stay with someone, didn't you?)

do any other work?) O, I was young, I was young. (You were a little child) I was a little child when that person took me. I was too small. I was small. I was very small when I came to Kumasí here. So the person who took me, I did not know my mother ~~and~~ father ~~where~~ I grew up. It was later that I got to know them. Yes. (And the day that you went on the road for yams, were they unloading yams at "Bode" as today?) No; as for now, as for now at all, I don't know the place now, — where Mo Darko Adade and others are. (As, it goes to this place, Alabar.) This very place. (As, that place is Alabar. ~~At~~ the entrance of Alabar.) Here at Aboabo Station. There, were they unloading yams. Just right here. (Yes) That place was the market. (Up to today, they call that place Alabar.) (It is a market.) That place was the market. (Going to the site where we park our car. Where there are roofing sheets; the main street.) There, that place was where yams and other things were unloaded.?) That place was the "Bode" where yams were unloaded. (Is that so?) Yes; and they talked and talked and they again moved it to up there. And they again talked and talked and brought it back. So, now at all, at the market there, it was at a place that I even don't remember that it was this ^{PLACE} that we were doing this or that. (And at that time, was there a queen for yams?) At all this time, there was a queen for yams. (Ei. It has been 1)

a long time since you began.) Yes; at all this time, there was a queen for yams. The queen for yams was called Amma ASO. (Yes) Yes, Amma ASO. Aaaa Baasi. Aaaa Baasi; do you know her? (Yes, I have heard her name.) Her sister. Her sister was Amma ASO. Her house is just by the Church building. The Amma ASO. (Presby. Church building?) Yes. Right by the Church building. A place where right now they have built a two storey building like that. A short one storey building is there. It is there that the madam's building is. She is called Amma ASO. She was the queen for yams (And someone told me that one day the Gao people wanted to come and sell yams and there was a fight. Were you there at that time?) As for that time, I had left from the yam business. At that time, I had married. That was later on. It meant that the Gao people wanted to take over the trading, and the hauliers too would not agree, so it brought confusion. As for that time, I had married and had children even. (Is that so?) Yes. (How did the fight come? Explain for me to listen.) E, O.K. As for that time, the Gao people were ~~also going~~ on the road. And as for them, they were helping one another. Formerly, the hauliers who were doing the work, when they went to bring the yams, the Gao people looked after the yams for them. They were watchmen, they could buy the yams and do everything. So when they

did it and became perfect in the work, then they began to break away to do their own business. And we said that we would not let them take away the business to do it because they don't come from this country. Do you see? We would not let them do it, and that brought the fight between them. It went on and on and on but they did not succeed for it was during that time that they installed a queen and the Ashanti Queen mother stopped them (the Gaos) saying that they would be watchmen and watch the yards for they had no right to take over the work and do it. But because, excuse me to say, some Ashanti women —

When ~~was~~ bring the yards, I send them to Mary. So as soon as I come from the road, I come to tell Mary that I have come, and she too comes to look at the yards and pick them and I tell her that this is the price, and she sells them; if she sees that there are plenty of yards at the market, and the price I have come with is expensive, she will reduce it that they may buy to let me get money to go to look for new ones to come to clear the debt. She will not take them and put them there. And that was what they were doing. So when you go on the road, when you go on the road to bring them, then it means that you have someone to whom you are bringing them. When you come, you stay away and Mary herself will sell and collect all the money. That was what we were doing. (Ei! You got to know how to sell yards very well, and you stopped) Yes, for the work, when it comes to a certain point, it is good that you have to stop; then you stop. (That is good. And when you were keeping a store with your husband, what problems were there that one day, you will run into debt?) O.K., when we were keeping the store, it was the man himself that kept his account. He made the account for his work. As for that, I know nothing about the account. (O, is that so?) Yes, as for that, he himself takes care of his thing. He goes for his goods. When he comes,

and he says, this, sell it for ~~three~~ pence, then I sell it for that; sell it for six pence, then I sell it for that. So as for that, I didn't know the account about it, (O, true) until he died that I got to know that this, he bought it for this much, we sell it for that much; this he bought it this much, so when I also go, his friends with whom he did business, when I go, they give me the goods as much as I want. When I come to sell, I go and give them their money. (Yes) Yes, that is it. (So did you continue to sell a bit before you stopped?) O, I continued to sell for about ten years or more. (Is that so? O, before you stopped) Yes. (O, then —) I sold for a long time, I sold for a long time. (And you were getting your goods from where? The drugs, you say from your husband's friends. Did they have stores?) Yes, they had big big stores at Adum. For when I go, yes, there was somebody who was importing his drugs. So when I go, he gives me some and I come to put them there. When they are bought, I go to give him his money. What he doesn't have too, and I have little money, I go somewhere and buy and bring it, and sell it bit by bit. That method did I use it. (O, then; so you continued your husband's business for about ten years,) before I stopped. (Until all your children finished school?) The children did not finish school before I stopped. When it reached a point when I was saying that)

things were getting hard, when they said ~~was~~
 unless you have a pharmacist, then I stopped.
 (Yes) Yes, I stopped. (All right. Then you have
 seen or known many jobs. Different types.)

(So, when you were young and unmarried,
 was it this place ~~you~~ that you lived up to
 this time?) At first, when I married, my
 husband was working at G.B. Ollivant, and I too, I
 was selling plantain at the market. (Yes) (Were
 you selling plantain at the market?) Yes. I
 used to sell plantain at the market. I sold it for
 some time. When he came to open the store,
 he made it that, when he was going out to
 collect goods, he had nobody to look after the
 place for him, so I should stop selling the
 plantain to look after the place for him.

(Was the store at this very place? In this
 store?) This very store (Where was your
 husband also living?) We were living at
 Bompata here. (Yes, Bompata here?) Yes.

It was this very place that we lived. It was
 later that we came to have a room in the
 house here. (Yes) (Ei! As for this store, it
 has been here for a long time.) Yes. This store,
 we came to ~~open~~ it in 1947. (Ei! It has been
 a long time.) Yes, we came to open it in 1947. (How
 do you compare the rent of the store room at that
 time to that of today?) As for that time, for
 the room, as someone said, it was good. As for
 the rent of the room, at that time, it was good,
 as for today too, — (About how much
 were you paying?) Formerly, we were paying

about two pounds and ten shillings. (It was five cedis.) Yes. But today, it has gone to twenty thousand and over. (Ou!) (Is that so?) Yes. (Ei! The rent of a room) (The plantain business, explain a bit of it for us to listen. And you said that when you were selling, were you going on the road?) O, no. (Were you buying it from the market?) I was buying it from the market. When those who were going on the road brought it, then we picked them. When you picked a little aside, then she gave a price to you. After giving you the price, maybe five shillings, maybe four shillings, then you buy and you too retail them at three pence, penny, two pence. You retail them like that. By the time you finish selling, maybe your profit on them would be one shilling and you have what you would cook to eat and you go your way. (And how did you get to know how to sell plantain so quickly?)

You sold yams and you stopped to go and sell plantain; who taught you? That all of it, it is in the same market. (Yes) For plantain, I go to buy plantain. So when I married and stopped the yam business, and I married, so I went into plantain, so the plantain, when somebody brought them, then we picked them. The women, all the women selling plantain, they picked them and put them in groups and the owner would come and give you a price. When you are given the price and you bargain for it, immediately, you put your chair there and retail it. When you retail and what you will

have, you get what you will eat and you get one shilling profit on it, or six pence, then you take your tray and you go away. (Is that so? And it means that anybody can go with you.) That was how we did it. So, the plantain, when they brought it, we picked it. Everyone picked it. When we picked them, then we put them in groups and bargain for them. Whatever price that you come to, you too retail them. Maybe four for three pence, and you retail and when they are bought, then you get what you will eat. When you get what you will eat and you get a penny profit on it, then you go and buy pepper and garden eggs with it and you go away. (All right, I understand it. All right, then if you have something to add to it,) O, there is nothing that I will add to it. All that is that I am pleading with you that when you arrive at your country, you may remember those of us who are also here. That life is difficult here. (Yes) Life is hard. So your brothers and sisters who are sympathetic that they will come to help us physically and spiritually we will be grateful to you very much. (And what will help you very much? If someone would like to come and help you, government, Ghana government or American government, if he would like to help you. What help will help you very much?) Help that you will give to help me. O, help that you will give to help me, excuse me to say, Akua, as you have come and you have seen me, and I too, have told)

you my life story, maybe, when you go, you say, O, maybe, I went to meet my mother. Her living condition is like this, so maybe I, even one refrigerator, they may take it to her. If she will use it to sell water, that is a help. Do you see? You see what I mean. Maybe something like this, when you send it to her ^{and} that also will help her, that too is some of the help. You see what I mean. Yes. For now, our living conditions here, if you don't turn your eyes to come and care for us, our living situation is difficult. (But, can't the government see what will make life not difficult?) As for him, things are not difficult for him. You are the one suffering. The plantain that you are going to buy at five Cedis a finger, he will never buy some. Someone depending on him, will bring him what is so nice. So for him, he will not buy some. So, excuse me to say, the toilet that we use, and pay money, is he ~~going to~~ pay anything? (No) Formerly, when we went to the toilet, did they take money from us? (No.) Today, when you go to the toilet and you don't have money, you won't go to the toilet. Today too, unless you pay money. (True) If you don't have money, you know that it is difficult. When you go, remember us that we too, some are there who are suffering very much. Some also are living well. Some are not living well. (True.) That is how it is. We may say it and say it and say it. Someone will hear, someone too, will not hear. But we will try.

(Maybe, you will be able to help the government of Ghana; he will let us, like those in the cities, have toilet that we won't pay money. So if you are walking outside and you feel to go to the toilet or you will urinate, then you go, and you go —) (And when you go to Europe or America at all, when you would like to go to the public toilet, you will pay for it.)

As for your place, it is different. Do you see? At your place, you are more civilised than us. (When we came ~~to~~ pay money, it was done gradually.) In Europe or America, too, when you are going to the public toilet, will you pay money? (Yes) It may be that he has gone to see that, he has come to sell $\epsilon, \epsilon, —$

(That at that place too, life is not like this place. We need many things before we reach that stage; O, we lift it up at once and up we go. Little by little, we will educate the person for him/her to understand that, maybe, as the world is going, maybe, some time to come, when you go to the toilet, you will pay for it. And you don't say anything; suddenly, and you tell him/her that, pay it, it is a problem.) A child, ϵ , a JSS student at all, when he/she goes to school, you say that when he/she is going to toilet, and when he/she feels to go to the toilet, when he/she is going, they say to him/her to bring twenty Cedis. Will it happen like that in Europe or America? (Yes, but in Europe or America, if some people are in school, they won't pay. If someone goes to school,)

and there is toilet in the school, it will not be necessary that he/she goes out like that)
(All right madam Yaa, then we thank you very much. We thank you a lot) (Is that so? And that time, were there many Nigerians in the market?) Yes, and at the market. There were many Nigerians. As for now, Nigerians are not there. But for formerly, the Nigerians were there a lot. So as for Nigerians, they were selling everything. (Yes) Yes, so we have a saying that you ~~want~~ money like a Nigerian. Then, if pence which is the profit on it, she will accept it; if the profit is six pence, she will accept it; if the profit is three pence, she will accept it. Therefore, I too, when I began, I sold this thing, sponge, oranges, fried yam, fried ripe plantain. So when anybody reaches there, ei! Yaa Alata, Yaa Alata (ie. Yaa Nigerian) and it has become Yaa Alata. (So it was Nigerians that were selling little little things) Yes, that is so. (All right, I understand).