

DANQUAH — AN IMMORTAL
OF GHANA

Compiled by
DANQUAH FUNERAL COMMITTEE

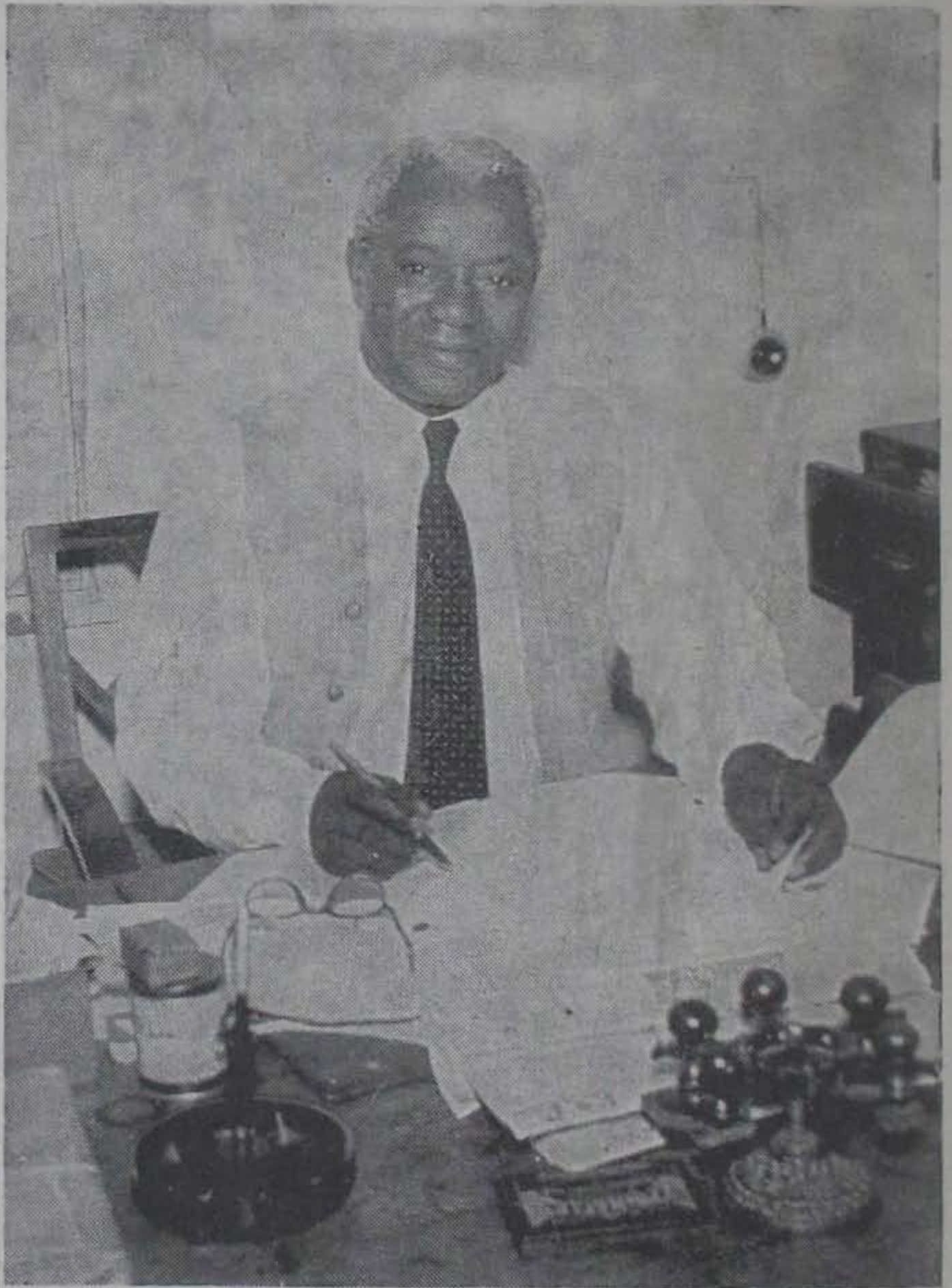


With a foreword

by

Professor K. Twum Barima

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J.B. at work in his office

DEDICATED
TO ALL
THOSE WHO DIED IN
NKRUMAH'S DETENTION CAMPS

Let us hold tight to the realities of politics and leave fancy dress and P.G. Caps alone. Let us go forward with our stern and grim determination, but at the same time let us watch the C.P.P. in power and also pity them, lest from their ignorance of the meaning of real S.G. they land our country with a heavy load of self-government in chains.

J. B. Danquah—24/8/51

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African Cases

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PREFACE

THIS SOUVENIR PAMPHLET is published to commemorate the third anniversary of the death of **Doctor Joseph Boakye Danquah**. It contains a short story of his life, some of his poems, extracts from his speeches and writings and, also, notable extracts from what people said about him before and after his death.

May Dr. Danquah's selected thoughts, expressed both in verse and prose, especially the verse, some of which are published here for the first time, as well as the tributes contained in this pamphlet, always remind Ghanaians of this distinguished son of the land and serve as a spur to greater deeds in the service of our fatherland.

May he rest in peace.

H. K. A.

Canaan Lodge,
Kaneshie, Accra,
6th January, 1968



Acknowledgment

The publication owes an immense debt of gratitude to Mr Kwasi Dua Sakyi, Legal Adviser to the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Council, without whose assistance it would have been impossible for the pamphlet to come out at this time.

H. K. A.

FOREWORD

THESE short biographical notes of an illustrious son of Ghana are an evidence of the many sidedness of a man who in his very crowded life found time to give expression to his genius as an astute politician, a lawyer, a philosopher, a poet, an ardent nationalist and a scholar.

On the Ghana scene where "men of affairs" were goaded by avarice to feather their own nests, mostly behind, but often in front of the blazoned shield of socialism, DOCTOR JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH sacrificed his all, yea, his very life for a cause which was dear to his heart: that the men and women of Ghana whom he loved so well might enjoy true freedom which he passionately believed to be the brithright of every Ghanaian.

His ever youthful spirit made him develop an undying faith in the youth of Ghana. His understanding of them and his deep conviction that Ghana youth will also dream dreams and see visions and discern in all this the unalloyed truth emboldened him to suffer their insults and even their stones when any other person might have given up the struggle. He has, at last, been proved right. He knew the youth better than they knew themselves. They now mourn his death.

You, therefore, who are privileged to read through these pages, are invited to see in his life, as portrayed in this SOUVENIR PAMPHLET, one convincing sermon on faith in Ghanaians as a proud and intelligent peace loving people who, in spite of temporary lapses and aberrations, have a permanent and deep-seated desire for things that are of good report, for true democracy, for the rule of law, for human rights and civil liberty, for beauty and that which is elevating. For these, J.B. lived, suffered and died; and for these, his memory will live with us for ever.

Let us all, therefore, true Ghanaians like him, never despair even when "it is hell in Ghana just now", but remember with him always that to suffer even hell "for others is the greatest spiritual elevation". This we readily forgot while he suffered, with the gallant few, to his dying day in his condemned cell, for Ghana and Ghanaians. J.B. does not ask for sympathy; he does not need your tears. Rejoice with him, instead, that his life is for us to follow.

May our schools and colleges find in this pamphlet an invaluable lesson in civics and may Dr. Danquah's soul go marching on in Ghanaland for ever.

K. Twum Barima.



THE TWO GREAT BROTHERS

(Left)—The late Dr. J. B. Danquah—The doyen of Ghana Politics—and (right) The late Nana Sir Ofori Atta—one of the

'J.B.' — A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

"When all were asleep, or making money for themselves, or not quite sure that it could be, he delved into our ancient history and discovered and gave us the magic name Ghana—touchstone of Gold Coast nationalism. And he said "The hour of Liberation has struck."—The Talking Drums, 1951.

KWAME KYERETWIE, as he was popularly known in his early life, was born on December 21, 1895. When the Missionaries of the Basel Missionary Society which brought Christianity and Western education to the Eastern Region of the Gold Coast arrived at Kibi, his home town, his father, Yao Boakye, was a State Drummer to the King of Akyem Abuakwa, Nana Amoako Atta II. When his father heard the call of the word of God he forsook State drumming and joined the missionaries. Yao Boakye learned to read the Bible in the Twi language and eventually became a great preacher of the Gospel. His work was to establish mission stations in the outlying villages, and it was while his father was engaged in evangelical work at Bepong, in the Kwahu hills, that Kwame Kyeretwie was born.

Kyeretwie's father died in 1914, at the age of 80 and his mother Lydia Okom Korantemaa, his father's second wife, died in 1934 aged about 55.

Yao Boakye's first son by his first wife was Mr A. E. B. Danquah who later became the powerful chief, Nana Sir Ofori Atta. Sir Ofori Atta was educated by the Basel Mission, and was brought up on the Bible, which he learnt to read in Twi, English and Greek.

J.B., as Kyeretwie became popularly known later, grew up at Kibi and went to school at Begoro. He left school in 1912 and though he was intended to be a school teacher he refused to be trained as such, preferring to become Lawyer Buckle's clerk, and later his brother's Court clerk. He studied diligently on his own while working, and tried the matriculation examination three times, succeeding in the last attempt—such was the story of his life, a life that knew no defeat. Nana Sir Ofori Atta, who knew a promising boy when he saw one and who was impressed by J.B's efforts, decided to send him to England to study law.

In England J.B. worked very hard at his books. He visited the late Kobina Sekyi at Cape Coast in August 1921 before he went to England in November 1921. Sekyi advised him to go to his own College,



THE STAFF OF
"THE TIMES OF WEST AFRICA."

J.B. (seated middle) and his staff of "The Times of West Africa."

the University College, London. He followed Sekyi's advice and studied at the College from 1921 to 1927. His academic attainments included the B.A., and LL.B. degrees. He was called to the Bar in 1926, and in 1927 obtained the degree of Ph.D., his thesis being "The Moral End as Moral Excellence."

Arriving in the then Gold Coast in 1927, Dr Danquah practised as a lawyer for four years, before he established and edited the first daily newspaper in the country "The Times of West Africa". The paper, even in those days, campaigned constitutionally for self-government for the Gold Coast but folded up after five years of existence.

J.B. returned to London in 1934 as Secretary to the National delegation of Gold Coast and Ashanti to the Colonial Office in 1934 when the demand was made for "enlarging the membership of the Legislative Council and for non-Chiefs to be made eligible as provincial Members of the Legislature." When the delegation left for home, he stayed behind in England from 1934 to 1936, on his own account to research into French, Latin, Greek, Arabic and English books and maps in the British Museum for evidence in support of his 1928 hypothesis that the main Gold Coast tribe descended from ancient Ghana.

On his return home Dr Danquah involved himself for eight years in Youth Conference politics to educate the youth to rid themselves of the prevalent imperialist mentality that they could not stand on their own feet, and to prepare them for the ultimate deliverance of this country to be re-christened by its ancient name of "Ghana" in place of the mercantilist adjective, "Gold Coast", given to this land of gold by the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

In June 1946 J.B. was elected third Provincial Member of the Legislative Council under the Burns Constitution which gave to the Gold Coast an African-dominated Legislative Council—the first in West Africa. The election was keenly contested and but for the strong influence exerted by Nana Ofori Atta II., Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa, some of the Paramount Chiefs would not easily have given way. Before the election, Dr Danquah addressed a letter to Nananom of the Joint Council. This read as follows:

"Nananom," he began, "you are assembled at Dodowah this week to select nine suitable Chiefs and non-Chiefs as Provincial Members of the Legislative Council. I am, as you are aware, one of the 19 candidates nominated for the five seats in the Eastern Province. I allowed my name to go forward for nomination not

out of any presumption of my worthiness but chiefly because I have the greatest honour to consider myself a lifelong servant of our Natural and anointed Rulers.

'My apprenticeship in public service at the feet of our Natural Rulers commenced in 1916 and, but for a short break of six years spent in England to enlarge my knowledge and experience, this apprenticeship has been continuous, consistent and constant.

'I was with Nananom at the Conference of paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province from 1916 to 1921 when the foundations were laid for the establishment of the Joint Provincial Council. I was with Nananom in the 20s in the drafting of the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927. I was with Nananom in the 30s when the principles for organising the treasuries of our States were laid down and a system of taxation was agreed upon. The system, I have to confess, was then extremely unpopular with the masses, but I, almost alone of the educated students of our politics, sided with the Chiefs who suffered martyrdom at Saltpond.

'I was with Nananom in the delegation to the Colonial Office in 1934 when the demand was made for enlarging our membership of the Legislative Council and for non-Chiefs to be made eligible as Provincial Members of the Legislature. I was with Nananom at your Joint Council at Swedru in 1938 when harmonious relations between Chiefs and the intelligentsia were cemented to prepare the way for the great events of 1943. The Youth Conference, which I then led, received the blessing of our country's Natural Rulers, and it enabled it to prosper and gain for the Chiefs an increasing measure of confidence among the people.

'I was with Nananom in 1941 when, at your request, the Youth Conference prepared a Memorandum of 400 pages for changes in the constitution and in the administration of the Gold Coast. That Memorandum, of which I was the draftsman, was accepted by Nananom and a copy was asked for by Government and accepted by them. I was with Nananom when a Committee was appointed, in consequence of the Memorandum, to draft the terms of a new Constitution for submission to Government. Again, it was to my happy and willing lot that the task fell to draft the Committee's Memorandum for Changes in the Constitution. Mr Justice K. A. Korsah, not then a Judge, was Chairman of that Committee. It was also my lot to be chosen as one of the plenipotentiaries of Nananom to the Asantehene and the Ashanti Confederacy Council to secure their adherence to the Memorandum.

I was successful in that mission. It resulted in the two southern territories of the Gold Coast presenting a united front to the Rt. Hon. Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State, to place in his hands, upon his visit here, the country's joint request for a new order to take place of the old.

'I was not with Nananom when the Joint Council assembled at Dodowah in 1944 and, under the persuasion of other advisers, Nananom accepted certain measures and Bills which denied us in the Colony our inherent right to establish our own Courts or Tribunals and to determine the distribution of authority to our own Native Authorities or Chiefs in the State Council.

'But despite the rebuff I then suffered, I was back again with Nananom when the entire country registered its opposition to what was described as the modern "Lands Bill." The effectiveness of our opposition to the Bill is recent history, fresh in our memories. I cannot indeed recall or recount all the great and all the little occasions—such as the occasion of the controversy of the Separation Allowance—on which I have been with Nananom and have been of one mind with them.

'Throughout my 30 years of service under Nananom, I earned an unenviable reputation of "favouring" the cause of the Chiefs as against the people. In consequence, in certain quarters, my policy was misunderstood and a section of the people considered me a 'Government man.' Since 1944, however, due to my unremitting criticism of a principle in the two measures which took away from us our inestimable inheritance for the preservation of which our ancestors in the Fanti Confederation, in the Aborigines Society, in the golden age of the Provincial Councils, and in the 1934 delegation fought, the position has changed and I am no longer called a 'Government man.'

'Today, I can truly say the political philosophy that has guided my work for thirty years has received the universal assent of our people. I have and enjoy the confidence of our national daily press. I have and enjoy the understanding and sympathy of our peasants and producers. I have and enjoy the comradeship and understanding of the intelligentsia, both in the municipalities and throughout the country. I am still counted upon by our leading Chiefs, either individually, or in their joint assemblies. The case is, I am proud to say, the same in Ashanti as in the Colony. I have belonged to three generations of political experience, and the dreadful animosity entertained against me in

certain lively quarters is, please God, a measure of my personal force.

‘Throughout these 30 years I worked with E. J. P. Brown and towards the closing years of his life I gathered my clothes at the feet of Casely Hayford. His successors in the Legislative Council, Dr F. V. Nanka-Bruce and Mr Justice Korsah, as also those of the present decade, Mr G. E. Moore, Mr R. S. Blay, Mr Techie-Menson, and Mr Akilagpa Sawyerr, have at all times found me a willing assistant, when called upon. Today the country faces a new era in which new men and new faces are to be tried. I consider myself fortunate that my face and my policy are not new to you, Nananom. And I consider myself fortunate also that I have been deemed worthy of nomination to serve in the new Council not as a representative of a Municipality, but as a man from the Provinces, one who knows and understands the trials and perils of chieftaincy; one who is ever willing to support and sponsor policies that strengthen and modernise the ancient order; one who was born and bred of the soil out of which our inarticulate people spring; one who, in all things, counts himself fortunate to have been chosen for promotion in life by one of the greatest Chiefs and leaders of our country and generation—Nana Sir Ofori Atta.

‘Such is what I am. And such as I am I throw myself upon your election for further and higher and wider service in the new Legislative Council. There is, I persuade myself, a unanimous desire to provide me with a Provincial seat in that Council. That being the case, I pray that Nananom of the Joint Council, as representing their respective States, express that desire by giving me their respective votes.

‘Remembering always my service to you in the past as in the future.’

As a matter of fact, the principal contribution Dr Danquah made to the independence of Ghana is that when almost all of us, Chiefs as well as people, had been lulled to sleep and smug satisfaction with the Burns Constitution of 1946, he rose up, and towering like a giant over the shoulders of all of us, he saw what many of us either could not see, or seeing, had not the courage to translate into words and deeds. He saw that the Burns constitution was as dead as the dodo. He saw also that it would be profitless for the Gold Coast to live by and with a dead constitution.

And so in January 1947, this man Danquah, in conference with three friends, George Alfred Grant, a timber magnate, Robert Benjamin Blay and Francis Awoonor Williams, both of them barristers, resident in Sekondi, conceived the noble idea of a new movement for liberation of the Gold Coast from imperial rule.

After months of preparation and propaganda, the United Gold Coast Convention was formed. It was inaugurated at Saltpond on August 4, 1947, by a great assembly composed of Paramount Chiefs, lawyers, clergymen, traders, teachers and hundreds of thousands of men, women and children of all classes of our common Ghana humanity.

But the most impressive of the events on that historic day was the inaugural speech of Dr Danquah. He showed no bitterness against either the Chiefs or the British. He welcomed all, Chiefs and non-Chiefs to the United Convention. "He who is not with us here is not against us," he said, "and we who are here are not against those who are not with us here. None can claim not to be of the people, except a foreigner." The following is the full text of the great speech:

"Mr Chairman,† Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have, from all the corners of this country, come to Saltpond today for a specific purpose: for a decision: We have come to take a decision whether our country and people are any longer to tolerate a system of government under which, those who are in control of government are not under the control of those who are governed.

"Seven or eight years ago, we had a Governor by the name of Sir Arnold Hodson. His policy was that it was far better for the people of the Gold Coast to remain under the official majority, under the benign and kind control of an official executive, than to be free, than to have an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council.

"That Governor, Sir Arnold Hodson, after saying this, went away to an island in the West Indies, and there he died.

"After that Governor left, another came, by the name of Sir Alan Burns. He came from the West Indies. He was a different type of person, different from Sir Arnold Hodson. He had one supreme qualification in that respect: he did not agree with Sir Arnold Hodson that we would not be better governed if we had an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council. He believed that a people governed by an official majority were not a free people.

† The late George Alfred Grant.

“Consequently when we presented our Memorandum for changes in the constitution to the Secretary of State in 1943 he did everything possible to secure the approval of the Secretary of State to our demand for changes.

“In our Memorandum we asked that we should have control of legislation as also of policy. We asked that there should be set up for us a Committee of Government, a Committee of Policy, in which the chosen representatives of the people will have charge of the blue prints of policy.

“But, here again, this new Governor, Sir Alan Burns, had his own ideas. He did not think that a people who controlled the unofficial majority in the Legislative Council would be much better governed if they were given also the power to shape and to control policy.

“His idea was to keep policy in his own hands, in the hands of himself and his Executive Council. But to placate our feelings, he said this: When policy was being adumbrated the Chiefs of the Joint Provincial Council and the Chiefs of the Ashanti Confederacy Council will be consulted.

“Our experience is that during the last twelve months Government has adopted a new policy on the Harragin Commission's Report; a new policy on past performance after the war; a new policy in regard to the timber industry, a new policy in regard to the resettlement of ex-servicemen, a new policy in their refusal to pay compensation for farmers' cocoa trees cut down in respect of swollen shoot, a new policy in regard to four grades in the marketing of cocoa, a new policy in regard to the industrialisation of our lands for groundnuts, and not in one single case were the Chiefs of the Joint Provincial Council and the Ashanti Confederacy Council consulted.

“So our position is that, at the present time, whilst our Chiefs are made to believe that they are part of the Government, it works out in practice that it is merely make believe, and that in most essential things the Government constantly and repeatedly ignores them. So our position is that, whilst we have the unofficial majority in the Legislative Council, we meet only twice a year, and when we meet every one in the official side is in a hurry to close the session on a set day. In all the different policies enumerated above, not once was the advice and consent of the Legislative Council sought. In fact, in the nature of things, not being a constituent assembly on policy, there never was need to consult them until after everything had been completed.

"In the specific case of the Harragin Commission's Report, the Government consulted the Financial Secretaries of the Gambia and Sierra Leone and Nigeria and came to their own decision in what came to be called the Accra Conference before ever the elected members of the Legislative Council knew what was happening.

"This mockery of form without reality we can no longer tolerate.

"But perhaps some one would say, why not wait for a new Governor from the West Indies or from the East Indies; he may come and grant to us the power to control policy. He may come and change everything that Sir Alan Burns did and what Sir Arnold Hodson did not do.

"But surely, ladies and gentlemen, is it safe and secure for us to live under a constitution in which the system of government depends upon the whims and caprices of a man from anywhere who may be sent to us as Governor? Must we longer tolerate this system of want of continuity which for ever lands us in nowhere but despair and frustration?

"We have, as I said, come to Saltpond for a decision. We have come to Saltpond to ponder and to deliberate upon the ways and means to bring an end to this insecurity and this frustration. British freedom is a precious thing. But British freedom is not Gold Coast freedom. British liberty is grand to have, but you cannot have and possess British liberty in a Gold Coast atmosphere. We must have, here and now, if we are to be well governed, a new kind of freedom, a Gold Coast freedom, a Gold Coast liberty.

"Perhaps I strain the point when I speak of a new kind of freedom. Love of freedom from foreign control has always been in our blood. 870 years ago we struck against the attempt of the Arabs to impose a religious slavery upon us in Ghana. We left our homes in Ghana and came down here to build for ourselves a new home.

"But there is one thing we brought with us from ancient Ghana. We brought with us our ancient freedom. Today the safety of that freedom is threatened, has been continuously threatened for a 100 years, since the Bond of 1844, and the time has come for a decision.

"And remember this: when we were attacked by the Arabs in Ghana there was plenty of land to escape into. There was this

rain-forest area and gold and diamond bearing lands in the Gold Coast, Togoland and the Ivory Coast. We came here and settled here.

"Today we are cut off to the south by the sea, and to the north by the desert, and if fearing that our ancient freedom is dangerously threatened we decided to evacuate this land and go elsewhere there is no where else for us to go. So our duty is clear. We must fight against the new domination. And we must fight with the weapons of today, constitutional, determined, persistent, unflinching, unceasing, until the goal of freedom is attained.

"Ladies and gentlemen, as the Chairman said, we have taken six months to draft the terms of this constitution for a United Gold Coast Convention. We call it united because we hate the idea of any one saying "who are the people?" as if the people and their Chiefs are living in warring camps.

"We are not at war with our Chiefs. We are at war with our present system of government. We are at war with the system because it pretends to govern us through our Chiefs indirectly, whereas in fact, it governs both our Chiefs and ourselves directly and our Chiefs are in a very pitiable condition. It is our duty as their people to save them from that pitiable condition. They cannot by themselves act because they have been told they are part of the Government, of the Colonial Power, and that they get their power from the Government.

"We must bring an end to that. We must bring an end to a system of government in which the Chiefs who govern us are made an instrument of mis-government, even of oppression, by the Colonial Power. How truly can our Chiefs say they are free to represent us before the Colonial Power when they are themselves part of that Colonial Power?

"Our duty is clear. It is our duty to alter the constitution in such a way that both the Chiefs and their people will have the reality of power in their hands.

"That is the object of this Convention, and I invite you without any reservation to accept the constitution as drafted, and, once for all, to save this country."

Immediately after this speech, Mrs J. B. Eyeson, of Saltpond and Kumasi, mother of the Eyesons, mounted the rostrum, an impressive figure, and said; "Dr Danquah, we had in the past

given enthusiastic support to the cause of the Church. Today it is the cause of the nation. Women of the country are behind you.”

Then Dr Danquah made what appeared later to be a tragic mistake. He invited Nkrumah who was an indigent student in London to act as Secretary for the Convention. He did not previously know this man Nkrumah but it was Ako Adjei who recommended him to Dr Danquah. How Nkrumah undermined and discredited Dr Danquah and his colleagues of the Convention and climbed to the top will be dealt with later.

The following year, 1948, was the year of the Gold Coast Disturbances. In the afternoon of February 28, the ex-servicemen were marching to the Castle with a petition to the Governor when Imray, a European Police Officer shot at and killed two of them at the crossroads of Christiansborg. The country was in a state of confusion and there was darkness everywhere. But J. B. saw light in the gloom.

Early in the morning of February 29, with the consent of his colleagues of the United Gold Coast Convention, he despatched a cablegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the United Kingdom and informed the world that the Government of the Gold Coast had collapsed and that the Governor should be recalled, a Commissioner should be sent out, an interim government should be set up, that they of the Convention were prepared and ready to take up that interim government, and that a Constituent Assembly should be called to draw up for this land a self-governing constitution. The concluding portion of the cablegram reads as follows:

“Unless Colonial Government is changed and new government of the people and their Chiefs installed at centre immediately outraged masses now completely out of control with strikes threatened in Police quarters and rank and file Police indifferent to orders of officers will continue and result in worse violent and irresponsible acts by uncontrolled people.

“Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare prepared and ready take over interim government.

“We ask in name of oppressed, inarticulate, misruled and mis-governed people and their Chiefs that Special Commissioner be sent out immediately to hand over Government to Interim Government of Chiefs and people and to witness immediate calling of Constituent Assembly.

"Governor Creasy unfortunate inheritor of aftermath of Governor Alan Burns oppressive and window-dressing administration be recalled and relieved of his onerous and impossible burden.

"We speak in name of inherent residual sovereignty in Chiefs and people in free partnership with British Commonwealth for our country to be saved from inept and incapable Government indifferent to sufferings of governed.

"Souls of Gold Coast men slaughtered in cold blood upon Castle Road cry out for vindication in cause of freedom and liberty.

"Firing by police and military going on this morning.

"Let King and Parliament act without delay in this direst hour of Gold Coast people and their Chiefs.

"God save the King and Floreat United Gold Coast."

J.B. at the same time addressed a message to the Chiefs and people which was widely published in all the newspapers entitled "The Hour of Liberation Has Struck." Among other things, he said:

"In His Excellency's broadcast on Monday night we were daubed as "a clique" and accused as persons 'working for their own selfish ends.'

"These are phrases with which we all are familiar. We do not ask for the judgment of our country and countrymen. We know what that judgment is. We do not ask for the repose of their confidence in us. We know they are not in doubt as to our intentions. Our one and only concern is liberation of our country from the old thraldom imposed by a treaty, chiefly one-sided, and altogether misapplied or unapplied.

"That treaty was made exactly 104 years ago, on March 6th, 1844. In effect we ask for a freely negotiated Bond of 1948, a constitution which will regulate the affairs between us and Britain in the day-light of freedom.

"It is said that the Standing Committee of the Joint Provincial Council consisting of twelve Paramount Chiefs and the Ga Native Authority praised the Government for what recently was done. We do not and cannot agree with that form of praise.

* * *

"Nananom and People. It is our view that the hour of liberation has struck. Our economic strangulation has been recently accentuated for witness by all the world in the boycott of imported

goods which Nii Kwabena Bonni III, kept going for no less than thirty-three days.

“Our political ineffectiveness is daily brought to our own consciousness by the incapacity of the newly constituted Legislature to assemble even when Accra, our chief metropolis, burns; even when property is destroyed; even when life is freely taken. The Governor has promised us an enquiry. We welcome the inquiry provided it is not a Martindale.

“Inheritors of Ghana’s ancient Kingdom. My message as you see, is not moved by fear. Aggrey blotted fear from our Dictionary. ‘Eagle fly for thou art not a chick.’

“Threats in the midst of national danger are part of the danger. In this crusade, there is only one guarantee I can give you. I helped in drafting the ‘Memorandum of Things to Change in the Gold Coast for the Joint Provincial Council. I helped in drafting the Memorandum upon which the present Constitution, except in one vital aspect, is largely based. I drafted it for the Provincial Council and the Ashanti Confederacy Council.

“This is the mood in which we work, the mood of King Ghartey IV of Winneba, President of the Fanti Confederacy: ‘Be constitutional.’ I did not draft those Memoranda for my own selfish ends.

“In this crusade the Working Committee will act constitutionally, but will not fear to act.”

It must be confessed that it was this magic message which broke the spell of darkness and brought hope and inspiration to the people.

For doing all this, on the 13th of March, 1948, J.B. and five of his colleagues, namely, Obetsebi Lamptey, William Ofori Atta, Akufo Addo, Ako Adjei and Kwame Nkrumah, were arrested and detained in the Northern Territories. A warrant that was produced for J.B.’s arrest and detention was signed by the Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy. It was entitled “The Removal (J. B. Danquah) Order, 1948”, and read as follows:

‘WHEREAS I am satisfied with respect to JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH, that it is expedient for securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order to make a Removal Order against him under the provisions of regulation 29 of the Emergency (General) Regulations, 1948 (inserted in such Regulations by the Emergency (General) (Amendment) (No. 2) Regulations, 1948:

Now in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the said regulation 29 of the above Regulations, and in pursuance of such regulation, I DO HEREBY MAKE THIS ORDER, and direct that the said JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH shall be apprehended and detained and that he shall be removed in custody, as soon as may be, to such place in the Gold Coast as I shall hereafter appoint by directions under my hand.

AND I DO HEREBY FURTHER ORDER and require that the said JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH, from the time of his removal to the place to be appointed by me, and so long as this Order continues in operation, shall at all times:—

- (a) remain and live in, and not leave or be absent from the place to be so appointed by me;
- (b) comply in all respects with such directions and requirements as I may issue at any time.

This Order may be cited as the Removal (J. B. DANQUAH) Order, 1948, and shall come into operation on 12th day of March, 1948.

A week after their removal, the Government published a document entitled "Brief Narrative of Events" in which Dr Danquah and his colleagues were accused as "a set of ambitious men plotting with a European Communist emissary to seize the Government of the Gold Coast by force and establish communism in the Gold Coast."

J.B. had a restless pen. Upon being served with a copy of the document, he immediately set down to work and sent a letter (20-pages foolscap) to the Governor in reply to the several counts that were set forth against him and his colleagues in the document. He went into that detention with his portable typewriter, type-writing and carbon papers. The letter concluded thus:

"To say of me that I am a communist, or I have allowed myself to be used as a communist and practised communism with an object of seizing the Government of the day by force and violence, and that I had actually organised riots in pursuance of that policy, is to say an unkind and an atrocious thing of me—probably the last of the intelligentsia defenders of our patrician age."

Continuing, he said:

"For my part I stand as firmly as ever before by the United Gold Coast Convention and its policy. And I pray that their aims and objects, that the control and direction of Government shall,

by all legitimate and constitutional means, pass, at the earliest possible time, into the hands of the people and their Chiefs, shall have an opportunity of being realised so as to ensure that the people directly charged with the administration of Government should directly be responsible to the people with power in the people to change the personnel of Government when they feel that the Government or Cabinet of the day had failed them, or served its time. That constitutional goal I am pledged to pursue without flinching, and I trust Christian charity, if nothing else, will give my colleagues and myself credit for not hiding our heads under a bush. I am certain that when the foundation of life in this country is examined it shall be found necessary to reconstitute it in a way that the sufferings and the privations of the people will be the first and paramount object of their Government at all times, and that the grievances of the people such as those recently expressed in the blind form of a boycott, and settled amicably in a way which even now, has not adequately assuaged their hurt, will stand a better chance of being critically examined and constructively readjusted by a parliament or legislature elected by the people direct, and responsible to the people, direct. No doubt, that the paternal Colonial system of Government has served its day truly and well, but I am not happy with its modern substitute of partnership, which is a half-way house to 'limited' liability joint stock company system, and is not a true government. Self-government within the Commonwealth is the only solution, to my mind."

In April the Commission of Enquiry asked for by Dr Danquah and his colleagues in their cablegram to the Secretary of State came from Britain with a dual purpose, to investigate the disturbances, and to find out whether the demand for liberation was a genuine nationalist movement or a communist plot.

Deserted by other leaders and chiefs in the country, with the exception of the late Kobina Sekyi and the ex-servicemen, J.B. and his colleagues appeared before the Commission and demanded that the Gold Coast be granted self-government because, as they maintained, "the Colonial constitution of 1946 was outmoded and the Government under it was window-dressing". J.B.'s contribution to this Commission was great. It was in fact he who brought home to the Commissioners the true political aspirations of this country. He therefore deservedly won the appellation "The Doyen of Gold Coast Politics" from the Watson Commission.

The result of Dr Danquah's direct demand for self-government was a recommendation by the Watson Commission for a local Committee to state our Gold Coast case precisely. The result of

that recommendation was the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reforms, and the result of that Committee's work, in which Dr Danquah and four of his colleagues, namely, George Grant, Akufo Addo, Cobina Kessie,† Obetsebi Lamptey, participated, was the Arden Clarke Constitution which gave the Gold Coast eight African Ministers in the Executive and an elected Legislative Assembly of 84 members, representative of all interests and of all the four territories of the country—the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland. This constitution was the last but one step to full self-government.

While the Coussey Committee was about to complete its work, disturbing elements had entered the country's united front. There was a tense atmosphere in the country, and nationalism was rising to new high levels of bitterness.

On June 12, 1949, Kwame Nkrumah in a dramatic move broke away to form his own party—the Convention People's Party—which, as he falsely claimed at the time, was formed “within the Convention in the name of George Grant, of Ghana and of God”. His aim, he said, was to secure self-government not “in the shortest possible time”, by constitutional means, but to secure it “now” by positive action. Nkrumah's real motive was later set down at page 97 of his book entitled *Ghana*. He knew that the time was fast approaching “when decisive *action* was going to be necessary, when in all probability *control would be in my hands*, and I realised how important it was to plan my next steps”. That is to say, while Dr Danquah and others thought of the success of their team, Nkrumah was devising means to undermine them to enable him to “capture power”. He accused the leaders of the Convention of “faltering and quailing before imperialism.”

Because Dr Danquah thought in 1948 that our nationalism should be built from the bottom, upon all fronts, including the field of sports, he saw the late Sir Sydney Abrahams at Lancaster House during the Conference of African Legislative Councillors, called by the Colonial Office, and invited him to come and reorganise our Gold Coast Athletics Association, then practically defunct. Sir Sydney was formerly Gold Coast Attorney General, and it was he who founded our Gold Coast Athletics-Association. Sir Sydney accepted Dr Danquah's invitation and came to Ghana in April, 1949. Nkrumah and his men buzzed around the country and spread the idea that J.B. and his noble band had given up the struggle for self-government and substituted sports in its place, and also that Sir Sydney did not really come out to help with sports but had come as an imperialist

† He later defected from the Party and joined the C.P.P

agent. Some of the C.P.P. propagandists went about in a whispering, villifying campaign to the effect that Dr Danquah and his men had been bribed by the Imperial Government to the tune of £25,000 each and that Nkrumah was the only patriot of the six leaders who refused to take his share of the bribe, because of his alleged love for this country!

Every attempt, subsequently made by J.B. at Sekondi and Saltpond to have the C.P.P. dissolved because he did not see the country's problem as a "party" issue, became abortive. It failed because many inexperienced people who followed Nkrumah sincerely believed him and all that he was supposed to stand for. They believed his assurance that after the attainment of self-government poverty and disease would automatically disappear; the reward of labour would be great and, in a short space of time, the country would be transformed into a paradise flowing with the proverbial milk and honey.

The fact is that even some intelligent people believed Nkrumah and followed him. They were so captivated by the magic of his words that they did not stop to think for themselves and believed everything said against J.B.

At a delegates conference of the Eastern Region of the United Gold Coast held at Koforidua immediately after the split, J.B. in an address to the members said:

"Awake but not asleep, we entrusted the torch of the struggle into the hands of some one who turned out to be a serpent under our feet—to spit his dirty and slimy poison of a false charge of bribery over our bodies and let the people reject us."

From that evil day, June 12, 1949, J.B. who was the idol of the masses became their enemy. There was no town or village in the country he visited, in the interest of his country, where he was not stoned at, hissed at, booed at, nay, even spat upon. But he stood against all this bravely and smiled, going to the same places the next day or week later for the next rally of the Convention neither daunted nor discouraged, not even disappointed in the least. Danquah had an indomitable spirit and such a great faith in the people of Ghana, coupled with an abounding optimism and confidence that he believed fervently, to quote his own words, that the "time is yet to come when the people now stoning me will come to their senses". And no more prophetic words were ever said than these.

In 1951, Dr Danquah was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the first Rural Member for Akim Abuakwa on the ticket of the United Gold Coast Convention. "Realizing that the task ahead



Dr Danquah (left) in a happy mood poses with Mr Neizer, Dr K. A. Busia and Mr William Ofori Atta, after his motion for "S.G. Now" has been overwhelmingly defeated (6 against 84) at the Assembly

requires fore-thought and timely action", he moved, in the Legislative Assembly, on 24th April, 1951, in the following terms:

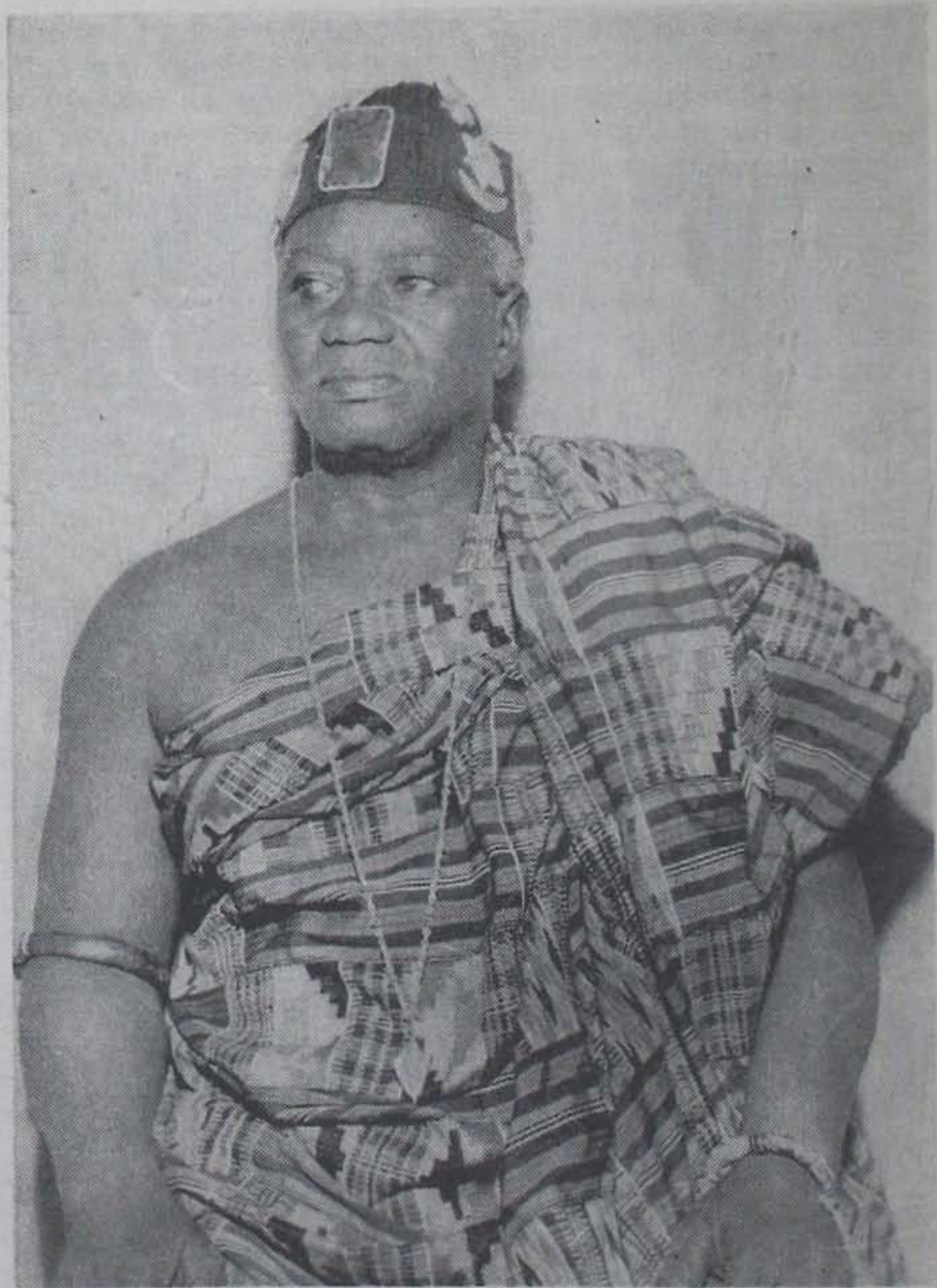
"That to ensure for the people of the Gold Coast a Constitution of their own making a Select Committee of the Assembly composed of Elected Members be appointed to examine all available and Dominion and similar constitutions and report upon the terms of a constitution suitable for the Gold Coast as a fully self-governing Dominion within the Commonwealth, and to make the necessary recommendations for its early implementation".

Dr. Danquah suggested that the process might last about four years and that the earlier we started to think about it and to get it ready for "early implementation" the better. He actually went far afield to state that if it took forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai for the Israelites to obtain their divine constitution of Two Tables, India about four or five years, and Pakistan a much longer time, it stood to reason that "we in Ghana cannot get away with it in a short period."

J.B. lost the motion principally because he was not a C.P.P. but the actual excuses given by the Government spokesmen for turning it down might be of interest to readers. Mr Casely Hayford, son of the late eminent jurist of that name, said it was unnecessary to start drafting a constitution so soon after his becoming a Minister, but that when the time came a constitution "that is fit for this country" would be turned out by the C.P.P. "overnight without sleeping from day to day for three days." The late Hutton-Mills, also son of a celebrated barrister, shortened the period to three hours: ("I can guarantee that I am able apart from my learned Senior Minister of Justice (Mr Patrick Branigan) I can sit down and within three hours I can produce a constitution"). Mr Kwame Nkrumah also took part in the debate with a suggestion that "the mind that actually conceived this motion is a criminal mind," and, in any case, he said, a constitution for Ghana could be found at the back page of a textbook on constitutional law.

Mr K. A. Gbedemah, who had at a meeting at the Arena said that he would prefer to live under British Imperialism than to support a motion for "S.G. Now" made by Dr Danquah, rounded off the two days' debate. Gbedemah said on that day:

"He (Dr Danquah) even served on the Committee appointed by the old Legislative Council to see to the implementation of this Constitution and yet barely two months, Sir, that this constitution has been given or is being given a trial he is the first man to come



Dr Danquah in his traditional dress as Twafohene of Akim Abuakwa. He is seen here wearing the "Abubummabaa" gold chain given him by the Gold Coast Farmers Union at Nsawam, 1946

and tell us that we must *start planning* for another one. This can only be frustration, it can only be in order to confound the masses and discredit the Leader of the majority party in this House. If we must have self-government let it not be on the Honourable Dr Danquah's initiative, but let it be on the initiative of one who can lead it to a victorious end. Dr Danquah is a peculiar political animal, changing colour more often than the chameleon. Our leader is like a good General who if he loses one battle changes his tactics and leads his army to victory."

The 1951 promise of writing a constitution fit for Ghana in three days' or three hours was not fulfilled. The search for a suitable constitution lasted, inevitably, for a number of years, and involved two general elections in 1954 and 1956. The rejection of Dr. Danquah's motion delayed independence for three years, and instead of George Grant's prophetic date of 1954, i.e., 110 years after the Bond of 1844, independence came belatedly in the funny year of 1957, 113 years after March 6, 1844.

In 1952 the Ghana Congress Party gathered the scattered strands of the opposition together and took over from and succeeded the United Gold Coast Convention. Dr Danquah became a member of its National Executive, stood on the Party's ticket during the 1954 General Election and lost to his nephew, Mr Kofi Asante Ofori Atta, mainly because the elections were rigged.

Almost immediately after the elections, J.B. received a cablegram from New York which conveyed to him news of the award of the first Bryant Mumford Writing Fellowship to the United Nations. He spent three months at the United Nations and produced a book entitled "Let there be Peace: A commentary on the United Nations". But Benjamin Cohen of the United Nations said the book could not be published because it looked upon the doctrine of "Peaceful-Co-existence" as one of escape and not as solution.

In January 1954, on the very day of his arrival at Kibi from New York, J.B. was elevated to the status of Senior Divisional Chief by the State of Akyem Abuakwa. His State name and address was *Barima* Kyeretwie Dankwa. His 'military' rank in the Adonten Division, where he was placed, was Twafohene, or Chief of the Vanguard, or Scouts. He was particularly proud of the honour for it was conferred in recognition of his services to the State as its Chief Legal Adviser and political adviser. In Akyem Abuakwa there are seven Senior Divisional Chiefs in the State, and Barima Kyeretwie Dankwa became the eighth. It might be mentioned that there are about 20 Divisional Chiefs and several Chiefs in Akyem Abuakwa.



The forms of address for Chiefs in the State, starting with the Paramount Chief, are *Nana*, *Barima*, *Bafour* and *Opanin*.

Democracy is mass response. In 1957 Ghana gained self-government under the aegis of the Convention People's Party. Kwame Nkrumah at once seized the opportunity to introduce certain obnoxious laws to cripple his political opponents. But by far the most repressive of his measures was the Preventive Detention Act which was introduced by Nkrumah himself. Under the Act any citizen whose actions Nkrumah's "Party" considered prejudicial to the relations of Ghana with other countries or to the security of the State may be jailed without trial for up to five years or more. In the preface to his book, *Ghana*, Nkrumah said: "Even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind." Said the late J. W. Tsiboe, of the *Pioneer*: "But even those of us who knew him best had little idea how totalitarian he would be".

The very day the Preventive Detention Act was passed by Parliament, Dr Danquah wrote to Nkrumah and delivered the letter personally at the Flagstaff House to Miss Erica Powell, Nkrumah's personal secretary, as Nkrumah himself was then having his bath.

The letter was concluded in the following poignant words:

"In order to avoid the anti-climax of repression, after liberation, I ask your Government in the name of Grant, to withdraw the Preventive Detention Bill, to review recent legislation which tend to limit or restrict freedom, and to take active political steps to eliminate the causes of tension and fear since you came to power."

Nkrumah replied the next day that it was on account of Dr Danquah's "repeated and determined efforts to hamper the forward march of those who, after much blood and sweat, succeeded in liberating Ghana from her oppressors, that it had been found necessary to introduce certain legislation and to take other protective measures to ensure that the freedom which has been won by the personal sacrifices of the common people is secured for ever." In short, Nkrumah wanted to tell Dr Danquah that it was because of him that he had passed the Preventive Detention Act.

In April 1960, J.B. was nominated by the United Party to stand against Nkrumah for the first presidency of Ghana. The 1957 self-governing constitution had been thrown overboard and a Republican constitution had taken its place. J.B. in his policy statement proposed a constitutional reform commission, leading to a bicameral parliament "with real power". Danquah promised to repeal laws permitting

detention and deportation, "restore independence" to the courts, and introduce a five-year plan to expand industrial production by 25 per cent. He proposed to align Ghana with the West, and called Nkrumah's project for a union of African states "a mad hatter's dream."

In his manifesto to the Chiefs and people, Dr Danquah said among other things: "True blue Ghanaian nationalism and sovereignty which inspired Ghana to be the first to reach the freedom targets and to shoot the bull's eye in the Colonial struggle for liberation (that is to say (1) Crown Lands Bill defeated in 1897, (2) African majority legislature in 1946, and (3) Independence without bloodshed or violence in 1957) is definitely played down in the draft Constitution as if it were poison. "By article 2 of the draft Constitution", says the Government's White Paper, "the people are asked to entrust to Parliament the right to *surrender* the sovereignty of Ghana so that Ghana can, at any time when this becomes possible, be merged in a Union of African States" (page 5).

"By reason of this mad hatter's dream of a possible union between Ethiopia, Guinea, Egypt, Ghana, Congo, Nigeria, Mali, Mozambique, Madagascar, etc., the draft Constitution, says the White Paper, "is *not* based upon any form of nationalism" (p.4). The fact is that the draft fails to appreciate that if the nationalism of Ghana is meaningless unless all Africa is liberated, then the continentalism of Africa would likewise be meaningless until the whole world of humanity is liberated. The Bible has a word for this kind of irredentism: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen"? (1 John 4, 20)".

As was expected, J.B. was finally defeated, after earlier success in Accra.

After the election he was reported to have said:

"I was acutely disappointed with the results. I had hoped to win because the entire draft Constitution is so ridiculous, I thought for once the Chiefs and people would let partisanship go by the board and vote for what was right and sensible. But I was mistaken. I hope I will not always be mistaken about human nature, which appears to be the most stupid of all natures."

Immediately after the railway strike in 1961, Dr Danquah, who was regarded by Nkrumah "as his most dangerous political opponent", was arrested and detained on the alleged ground that "some unnamed capitalist traders or merchants had passed a sum of £10,000 through him for the workers at Sekondi/Takoradi to induce



The late Solomon Odamtten, former Chairman of the United Party, is seen introducing J.B. as United Party's candidate for the Presidential Election to the Kumasi electorate

them to go on strike or start a demonstration against the Government's 1961-1963 Budget". With him were other opposition leaders and a number of United Party members.

In a letter to the Speaker of the National Assembly while in detention, Dr Danquah denied the charge which he described as "egregious and outrageous fabrication". He wrote among other things:

"As a matter of fact, until I met the railway workers in detention with me at Nsawam most of them were complete strangers to me. Sekondi-Takoradi had never been an area of strong support to me politically, as witness the poor number of votes given me by the twin towns in the Presidential election of 1960. To anyone who knows the facts it must be utter nonsense to suggest that in June or July or August or September, 1961, I went around Sekondi-Takoradi with £10,000 in my pocket to hand it over to persons I did not know in the hope of getting them "to cause the overthrow of the Government of Ghana by unlawful means".

"In 1949 certain three men, wishing to climb to the top of Ghana politics over my dead body, spread a vile campaign against me that in asking the late Sir Sydney Abrahams at a tea party in Lancaster House, London, at the African Conference of 1948, to come back to the Gold Coast, as Ghana was then called, to reorganise our sports for us, a visit which led eventually to the first Gold Coast Sports Ordinance and the construction of the present Accra Sports Stadium, I did so upon a corrupt basis at the instance of the British Government for a bribe of £25,000 for me to abandon Gold Coast politics for Gold Coast Sports.

"The men who set this vile rumour in motion against me pointed at Sir Sydney Abrahams, a former Attorney General of the Gold Coast and founder and first Chairman of the Gold Coast Athletics Association, as man who brought me and my colleagues of the United Gold Coast Convention a bribe of £25,000 each to turn the people's mind from politics.

"At that time the evil campaign spread by the three men was made the plank upon which the new party, the *Convention People's Party*, now the caesarian or imperialist Party of Ghana was founded, the original leaders of the U.G.C.C. being thus sought to be discredited by the fabulous story of their having accepted British money to ease off from politics to sports.

"It hardly occurred to that over-ambitious political trio that in planning the liberation of Ghana what our wise men of the ages

from Prince Brew of Dunkwa in 1871 to George Alfred Grant in 1947, sought was not merely 'the political kingdom' in the hope that 'other things' would be added freely, but the total kingdom of modern nationhood, including even culture, literature and sports!

"I cannot know, but can only guess, why years after the great event of 1949, my body, which the three believed was dead, should be exhumed from the grave with a sum of £10,000 hung around my neck as money received by me, this time not for myself, but for other people to use it and 'to cause the overthrow of the Government of Ghana by unlawful means'.

"It is clear that one or other of the three men responsible for the 1949 evil calumny must still be about and is capable of operating on the old model in the hope, once again, of rolling my body over as if it were dead, and to step over it to cover up aspects of Government's activities which even now, after twelve weary and exhaustive years, I am still able to show up as the black star or the dark area of murky darkness against the brilliant light of the nation's true salvation and the sun of its grand deliverance."

He was subsequently released in June 1962.

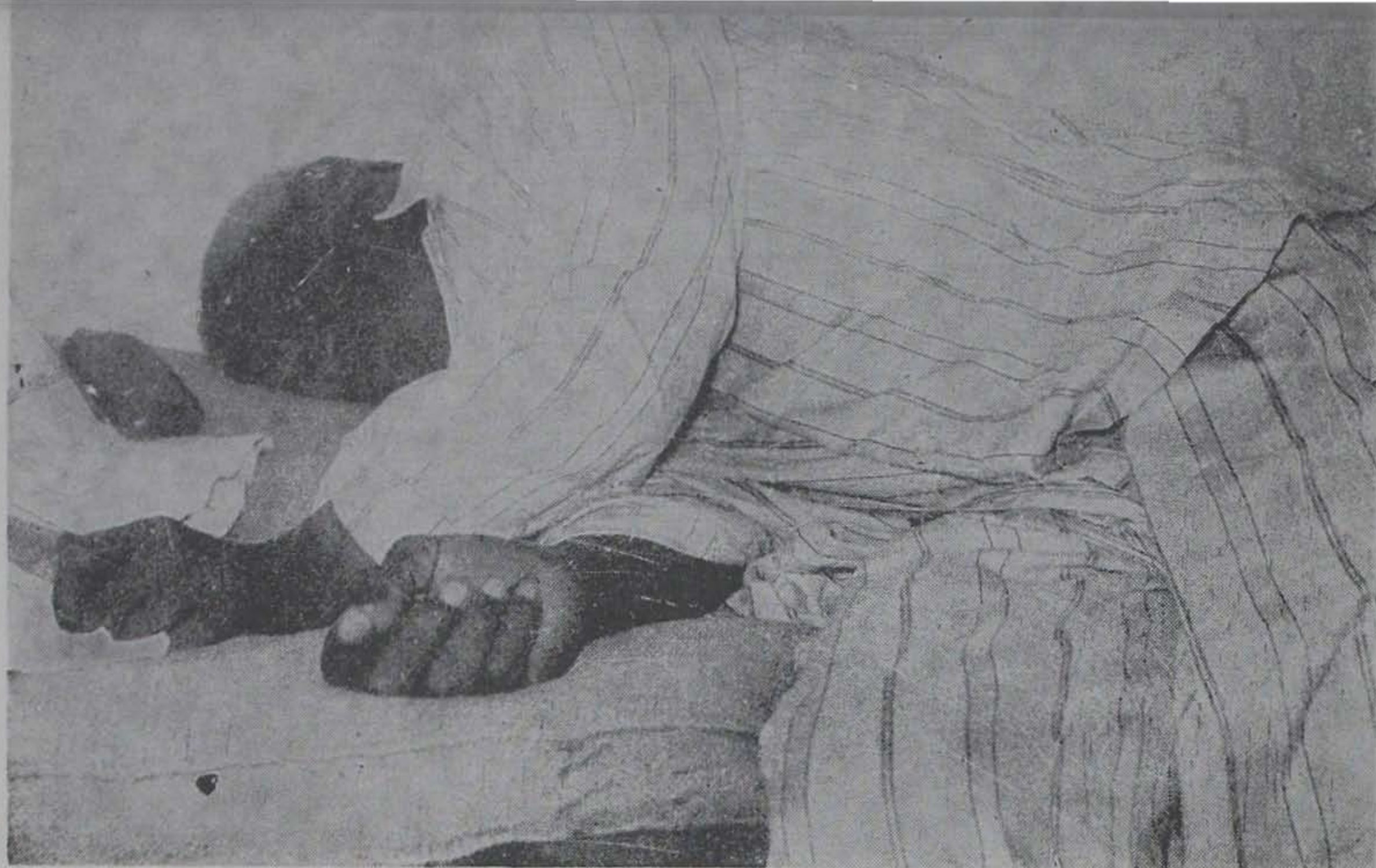
On January 8, 1964, Dr Danquah was arrested and detained again after Police Constable Ametewee's attempt on the life of Nkrumah in the grounds of the Flagstaff House because, as it was alleged, he was behind the plot to assassinate Nkrumah.

There was something about J.B. that seemed to defy the ravages of time. He seemed to have found the secret of daring "all the ills that flesh is heir to". One found it difficult to associate pain and physical suffering with him. When he was detained for the first time by Nkrumah, some of us thought that he would die. It was quite a surprise to see him on the day of his release. His health was good and his outlook bright. There was nothing to show that J.B., at the age of 66, had been to prison. "Yet, even the sturdiest oak, which has weathered the storms and tempests of countless years, must at length bow its head and be humbled in the dust."

But sad to relate, a year after his detention, in the morning of February 4, 1965, the Doyen died, lonely and alone, in his cell in the Nsawam Prison in the cause of our fatherland, as a result of what the Prison Committee Report described as "ill-treatment and intolerable conditions imposed on him".

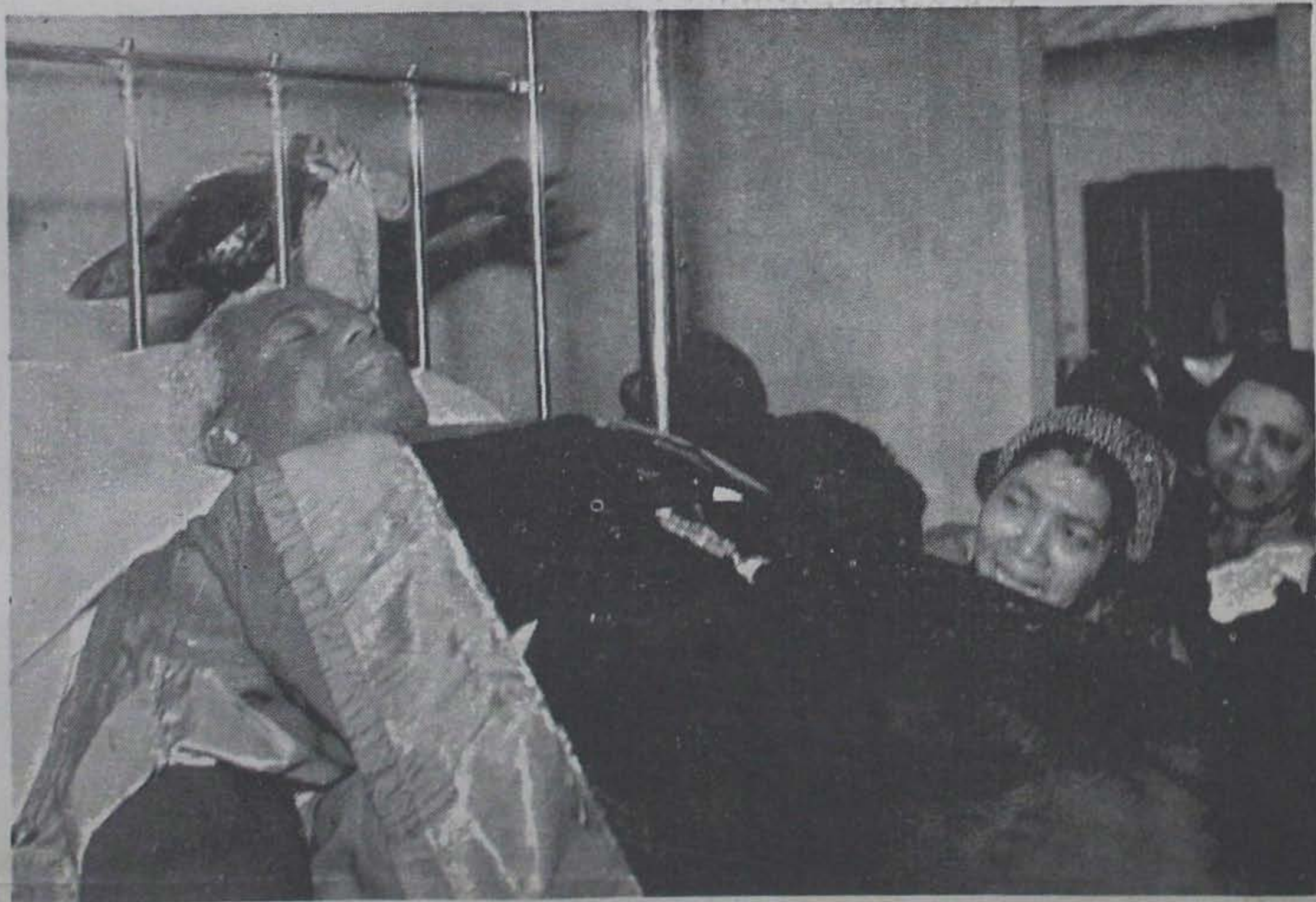
It is indeed a tragedy that Dr Danquah did not live long to see the disgraceful end of that political harlot—Kwame Nkrumah. Danquah deserved to see the fruits of his labours. But Heaven willed otherwise.

H. K. Akyeampong

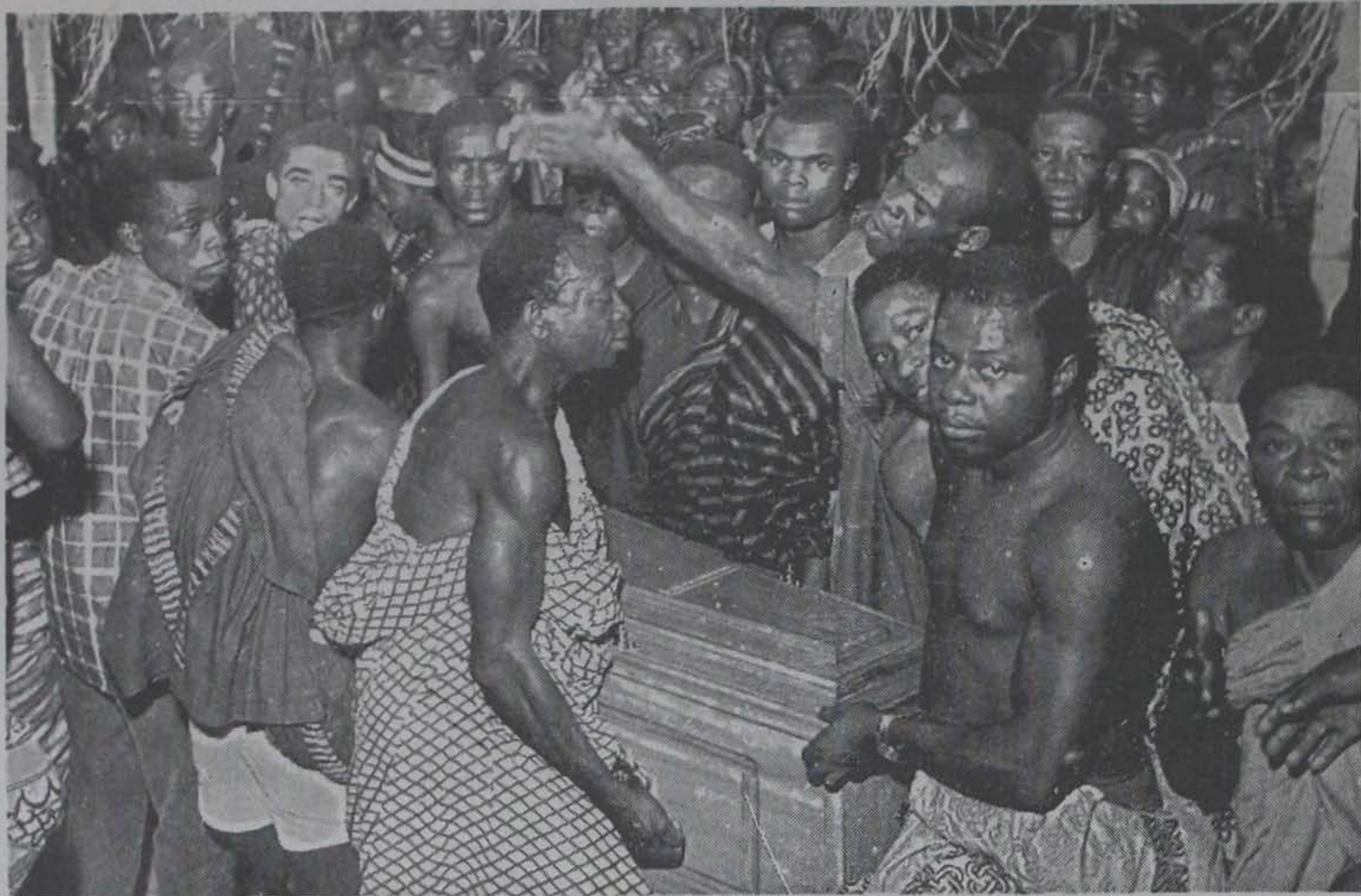


THE DARKEST DAY IN THE HISTORY OF GHANA

The Doyen — as he lay dead in one of the condemned cells in the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, 4th February 1965.



As he laid in state. By his side is the wife, Elizabeth, weeping.



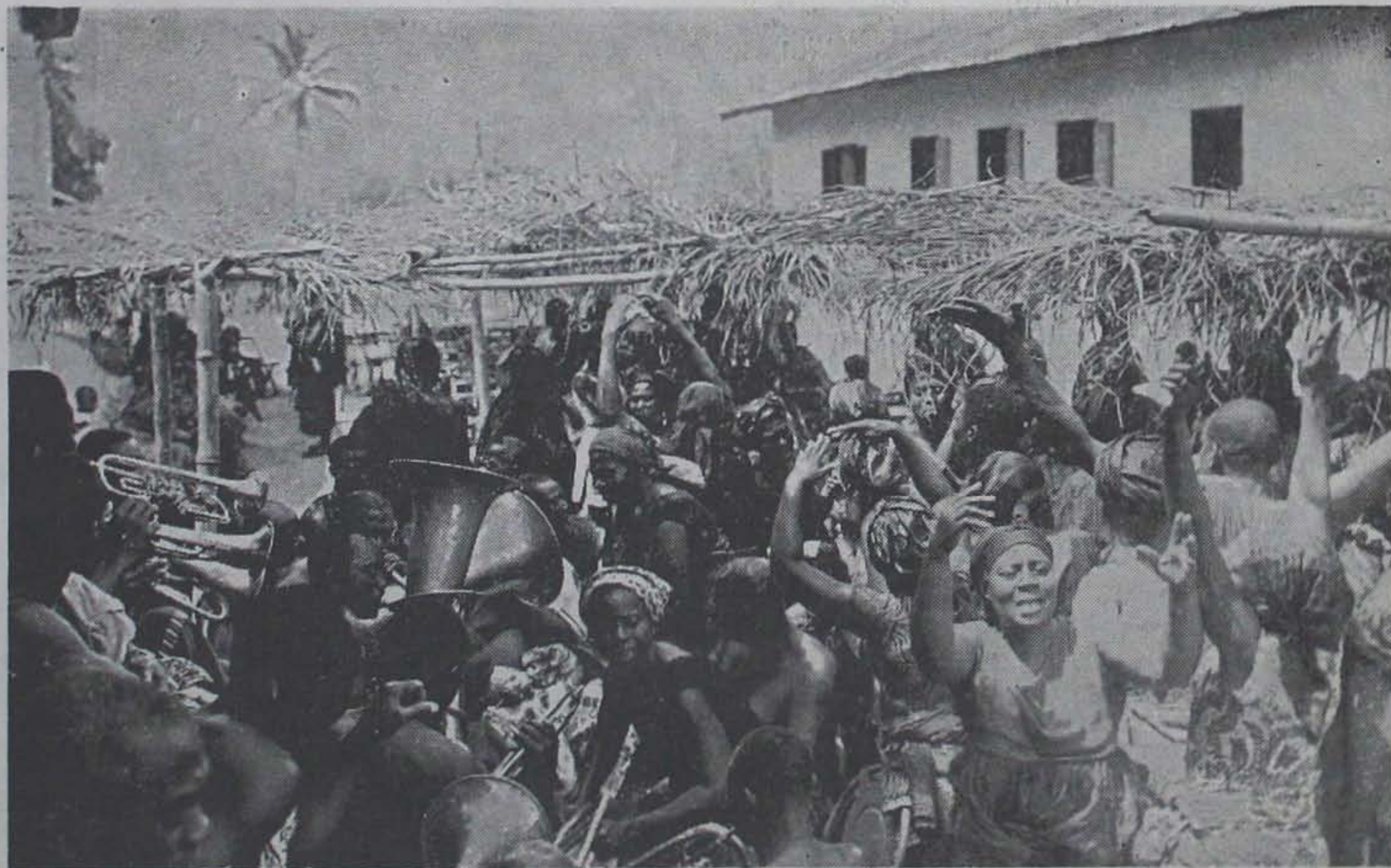
The Coffin-bearers carrying the body to the cemetery. The man with the outstretched hand is popular "Kibi Kwaku Ahya," who was defended on more than 10 occasions by Dr Danquah free-of-charge during the hectic pre-Self-Government days, 1954-1956



Seen in the picture is Rev. W. V. Ofori (third from right), officiating Minister at the cemetery. "All go unto one place; All are of the dust and all turn to dust again."



Despite the reign of terror and intimidation at the time, thousands of people flocked to the cemetery to pay their last respects to their leader.



It was indeed a great day of mourning and despite the fact that they had earlier been threatened with detention by the then District Commissioner at Kibi, the Kibi Presbyterian Church Band joined the wailing women with their sorrowful tunes.



The second anniversary of the Doyen's death was celebrated quietly at the Kibi palace where the Okyenhene (second from right) sat in state to receive well-wishers and sympathisers. Among them were (sitting first row from left) Mr M. K. Apaloo, Mr S. D. Dombo, Mrs Elizabeth Danquah (the widow), Dr K. A. Busia and Brigadier Akwasi Afrifa



Dr K. A. Busia, laying a wreath at the tomb of Dr Danquah on the occasion of the second anniversary of his death. On the



Mr S. Macbride, general secretary of the International Commission of Jurists, about to lay a wreath on the grave of J.B. In a short tribute, he said, among other things, that Dr. Danquah "was the greatest son of Ghana who devoted all his life to the cause of liberty and freedom of his fellow citizens." On his right is Mr. Dua Sakyi, an Accra Barrister and (left) Mr. N. Y. B. Adade, secretary of the Ghana Bar Association.

THE WOMAN I LOVE

I love a woman,
She's a black woman.
Her skin is soft
And cool in touch
Like wind from Mampong hill,
She is tall,
But not too tall,
In size is well proportioned;
Slim and slender and rounded
Like carving done in ebony.

There is luster in her hair,
Sweeping upward from the temple
To a shock background of waves.
Black, like a storm tossed sky
Unruly from high tornado,
It illumines the setting sun
In a halo of crimson gold.

My love is a queen,
A gracious queen,
In walk,
In pace,
In gait,
There is queendom in her carriage,
And she strides a throne of motion
In her silhouette combinations.

Not slow in getting there,
Nor fast in coming near,
She sails over the earth and me
Like a swan on the Serpentine.
Robed from her crown to heel
In folds of gorgeous cloths,
Her tiny feet are fringed in red
And bordered in rouge of strange allure.

Her legs I have not seen,
Because of old tradition,
Like Victorian crinoline,

Her legs are draped in longish robes,
And it's hard to see the extremities.
Love, they say, can conquer all,
And constancy to what I adore
May yet reveal a true vision
Of the stand her legs can make.
The intimations of harmony,
Given in her stream of steps,
Affect my mind with joys to come
Of gentle beauty,
Queenly strength,
And firm contact with mother Earth.

Often have I seen her arms,
In treasured moments of chivalry,
Bring comfort to me and mine,
And cheer to broken hearts.

Artist to her fingers' tips,
With each she speaks a tongue
To unfold her varied worth,
And express her mind in moods.
Her wrists are rich in things that cheer,
And things that bring content.

If there is goodness in chocolate,
Its colour has her colour,
The tinge her hands can give.
Her magic touch contains a thrill,
And tenderness travels from it,
Passionate,
And warm,
And urgent,
To fill the longing in your throat.

I often see her face,
Often in my dreams.
Open, like an Egyptian queen's
Full of high expectancy,
It's confident and self-possessed,
The form carved in chisels
Of arching broad to point;
A high forehead,
A prying jaw,
A nose that crowns repose,
Yaa Ampona had no beauty,
Unless her beauty could match this dream.

More matured than adolescent,
Her flesh is young and warm;
The lips are arched and seem to coo
In unison
With the magic of her eyes:
Two bewitching pools of fire.

I saw her last,
A little tired,
Just home from a venturous trip.
She spoke of love that could have been,
Her love for men abroad.
Her bosom heaved;
She took deep breath;
And her bosom heaved again.
There was sadness in her eyes,
An eclipse in her vision.
A wistful look,
A troubled brow,
A distant look of distress;
Her heart had loved and lost,
And won this trepidation.

Then, like the rising sun at dawn,
Beyond the dark horizon,
Her eyes were lit with burning fire,
More brilliant than had been.
Distress had disappeared
With the diamond drops of tears,
And where old hope had been before,
I saw a new determination,
For she sang the Eagle's song:

'The suspense, and suspense!
And birds on the wing.
That Gyekye, the wretch!
But *I am* grateful to him.
The suspense, and suspense,
And birds on the wing!'

(*Nkensen, nkensen!*
Ntakraboaa, yaa, yaa!
Me da Gyekye ase!
Nkensen, nkensen!
Ntakraboaa, yaa, yaa!)

I love a woman,
A black woman,
Akosua Adae is her true name,
Or Asi in Fantiland.
For Sunday was her day of birth,
And Adae is the festive day
When her father,
Nyame Kwame,
And her mother
Asase Afua,
Rejoice that their child was born
A goddess to love and cherish.

I love a woman,
A black woman.
Golden is her personal name,
Guinea's Golden Lady,
As christened by her God-fathers,
But from birth,
Ghana.

1936

BUCK UP, O YOUTH!

BUCK up, O youth, and kill the bogey!
The bogey that your race is infant!
Know ye not that GOD is very busy,
And helps only the few who are constant?

Nations have been which once were great,
And grew from nothing but constancy.
Then, from adult, they saw too late
That age and death had intimacy.

Nations now are which once were not,
But tribal groups with hydra heads.
Then youth met youth and soon forgot
That there is virtue in clannish sheds.

They broke the sheds and built a town
Which grew stronger as city or state.
The city advanced as Accra has shown,
And the infant town conquered its fate.

So, the great can fall and the small can rise,
And it is by youth that the die is cast.
Dream now and plan your future skies,
And aim at stars that will hold fast.

Buck up, O youth! and kill the bogey
That constantly haunts the infant!
No race was won without alacrity;
Do what you would this very instant.

1938

“HALF-A-CENTURY PLUS TEN”

by



J. B. DANQUAH

who

(through no fault of his own)

was born

in

EIGHTEEN NINETY FIVE

HALF-A-CENTURY†

I was born
 and was sick of it;
I was nursed
 and survived it;
I went to school,
 and finished it;
I made a farm,
 and reaped it;
I carried cocoa,
 and sold it;
I went to work,
 and clerked it;
I arrayed the classics,
 and winnowed them;
I tried government,
 and shared it;
I tried Matric.,
 and failed it;
I tried twice more,
 and passed it;
I crossed Knowledge,
 and absorbed it;
I dined for Law,
 and devoured it;
I reached Death's station,
 and by-passed it;
I much scribbled,
 and styled it;
I hit politics,
 and noised it;
I edited news,
 and sold it;
I dyed my hair,
 and stopped it;
I espied a truth,
 and published it;
I gossiped youth,
 and gave them faith;
I coloured my State,
 and edged it;

I wooed the Golden Lady,
and engaged her;
I visioned Great Akan,
and slaved for it;
I fuelled research,
and natived it;
I entertained family,
and paid for it;
I stood up to the English,
and preferred them;
I denounced Evil,
and annoyed it;
I encountered Pilate,
and he washed his hands of it;
I kept the Golden Rule,
and embroidered it;
I saw life was a wicked thing,
and I loved it.

1895-1945

† The poem was written by J.B. to celebrate his Golden Jubilee.

HALF-A-CENTURY PLUS TEN†

I sat in Council,
and out-moded it;
I pushed the hand,
and 'the hour struck';
I deserved 'Siberia',
and got it;
I talked to Watson,
and he got it;
I united the Six,
and one split;
I stuck to Grant,
and he survived it;
I married again,
and she suffered me;
I hit C.P.P.
and I stumbled;
I took a count,
and stood erect;
I aimed at a star,
and hitched U.N.,
I lost a seat,
and found a Stool;
I kept on searching,
and found Ghana;
I sponsored the name,
and it stuck.

(1945-1955)

† Written to celebrate his Diamond Jubilee.

POLITICIANS WITHOUT SHAME

SHOULD politicians without shame
Enter the West African game,
To blacken more, our Negro name,
And add lustre to our fame
Blacker than the Biblical blame
Pinned to our racial window frame,
By our tolerance of the same,
Do we wonder that we were lame
Before the Christian standard came?

We find excuse and make merry,
Caring little for the query
Which nations across the ferry,
With whom we smile and drink sherry,
Ascribe to all our misery!
We eat the prickly blackberry,
From the bush of Londonderry,
Preferred by us to celery
And end to our mystery!

Was the Blackburn man made to scrub
The backyard of the human grub,
For his ideal and divine cub?
Gutter-snipe from the saloon pub,
Not a genuine Blimp but a Sub,
A spoke broken from its own hub,
Whose elevation was a rub,
And whose parent trunk was a shrub
Never washed and brushed in a tub?

If with Blackburn West Africans
Dishonesty pleases the fans
Of the partisan Black-and-Tans
And the panjandrums of the vans,
As copied from 'civilised' clans
And therefore good for Ghanaians,
Then, let us not pretend to man's
High estate, as upright Akans,
But be, your truly blamed humans.

Men of honour and high esteem,
The Gharveys and the older team,
Born and bred of a higher seam,
Made politics a worthy scheme
In which dishonour did not scream,
And gaining wealth was not their theme.
If leaders of the modern stream
Would let honour in Ghana beam,
Cast out thine own eyes' mote and beam.

1957

ARISE AND SHINE

Arise and shine, our Golden Land!
Let Ghana's radiant rays expand
Upon the ground our people stand.
 Glory to God:
 Arise, Ghana!
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

For long athirst for Liberty,
We dedicate ourselves to thee,
Ghanaland of the brave and free.
 Land of glories,
 Self-dependent,
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

Ye Volta Rivers of the Blest,
Savannah lands, shrub and forest,
Beneath our hills and o'er their crest,
 Land of cocoa,
 And land of ores,
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

Arise, Eagles, and soar upwards,
Ye Eagles of the march onwards!
Spread your wings and soar towards
 The highest sun
 Of victory.
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

From cultures in an eastern cline,
Where man began his count of time,
We now can reach our highest prime,
 Women leading,
 Men of vision,
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

United in our land we pray,
United be the world today,
A world at peace to sing hurray—
 In Ghana, peace,
 Neighbourly peace.
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

A world at peace sing hurray!
 In Ghana, peace,
 Neighbourly peace.
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

God the Father, God Ancestor,
Of old and now our sheet anchor,
In war and peace our conqueror;
 Ghana conquers
 With faith in Thee.
Arise and shine as star of old,
Shine o'er all in the land of gold.

1958

SOME EXTRACTS FROM J.B.'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

But there is one thing we brought with us from ancient Ghana. We brought with us our ancient freedom. Today the safety of that freedom is threatened, has been continuously threatened for a 100 years, since the Bond of 1844, and the time has come for a decision.

4/8/47

Without in any way desiring to be captious I can honestly say that the form of communism I regard as thoroughly suitable for humanity is the New Testament type.

9/4/48

I am not myself an iconoclast, being a tame student of Kant's moral philosophy, but I believe that the world would be better rid of certain incredible cants and icons. They should be debunked.

1/12/48

Correct thinking is the treasure of the philosopher. Words, it is said, are wise men's counters. It is easy enough to win the man in the street in half an hour by a trashy kind of "scintillating nonsense", but my desire is to talk sense, and that means thinking, and thinking, of all the exercises, is the hardest of all.

10/8/49

†Sir Kwame, it is said that hasty climbers have sudden falls, and believe me, there is wisdom in it. Go, therefore, and get that wisdom and desist from that evil-mastered plan of "To Hell with Patience!" The Ghana of which I dreamt before you came is not a hell of destruction but an earth of discontent, rational struggle and, in the end, a crown of happiness for the people. Let this Ghana sustain your faith. The Ghartey spirit is still with us. Act in that spirit or your impatience and desperation may plunge the country into a long-lasting perdition.

25/12/49

†When Nkrumah decided to declare Positive Action.



Addressing members of the Akim Abuakwa Progress Union at a farewell party organised in his honour on the eve of his departure to New York when he gained the Bryant Muntford Writing Fellowship Award of the United Nations.

Men's opinions and beliefs are based partly upon what men wish to believe as well as the interpretation they place on conflicting facts or allegations. But Truth admits of no opinions, nor of any beliefs, but stands stark naked and unadorned, the view of her the evidence conclusive that she is a reality and not a fantasy or an imagined thing.

1/6/50

Where is our national vision? Why do we not think twice before we attack some one for thinking AHEAD of the many, in the interest of the nation? It is said in the Bible that where there is no vision the people perish. Our country is to be pitied, for unless we act with the vision of statesmen, that Bible prophecy may make us gnash our teeth.

12/8/50

I was born a fighter and I shall die fighting—**Hansard.** 24/4/51.

My one aim in my thirty years of hard struggle was to arouse the youth and the elders to realise that the best qualification for self-government is neither education nor wealth but the capacity to think of self-government, the intense desire to get it, and the courage to demand it and try it. Today the man in the street thinks he desires self-government quicker than I do, and that is why I am proud of him. He ought to govern himself.

12/12/51

Since my energy is dangerously limited and since my 'life is necessarily short, and since I would rather achieve a bit, however little, than attempt many things on a broad scale, I have made it my aim to attain satisfaction if I were to realise my dream of a Gold Coast nation before my death. As we say in the vernacular: "Man is sent to this world to do a bit, not to do all" (*Onipa beyee bi; wammeye ne nyinaa*).

7/3/52

Communist methods of rule threaten our new nation at its very foundation and I wish to God the Socialist party in U.K. would wake up to that and stop thinking that this nasty baby is their type of baby or that the way it is being brought up is their own projected design.

23/6/53

By the radical changes in the constitution since we founded the U.G.C.C. six years ago, the political aim of self-government is soon to be attained; by the establishment of a Gold Coast Bank this year the national aim of economic independence is also at our door steps. But our politicians, most of whom condemn learning and culture, have as yet not heard the still small voice of philosophy without which men's mighty deeds are like dross.

1/6/53

So far as I am personally concerned if there are active youth in Akim Abuakwa who believe that after 39 years of service to the State, from 1913 to date, although I had not betrayed the State, nor done anything disgraceful to sully its name, I should be got rid of, they are quite welcome to their opinion, provided they are themselves able to do better for the State and for the country than I am doing now. I am myself very anxious for active youngmen to come into the field and help. I am myself quite willing to retire and leave my place for others to fill. But I will do so on only one condition: that the men to succeed me should show evidence that their motives are pure and they are capable of doing the work they think I have failed to do. I should very much like to see a Youth Association working in Abuakwa, but it must not be led by people whose aim is motivated by evil thoughts to destroy this or that man.

19/6/53

What I feel just now is that Ghana is on the brink of a great catastrophe, but I would not see the outlines of the vision quite clearly. With our constitution denounced by the Party in power, the very Party who claim to have founded Ghana on it, and with all the constitutional safeguards against oppression, confiscation of property and violation of laws and civil rights due to be removed in a light-hearted manner in the National Assembly this month, my feeling of an unhappy fate for Ghana in the ensuing years under a totalitarian regime unnerves me completely, or almost completely.

3/12/58

The hour of our second liberation is moving fast to the striking point. Only those who are blind and are without vision fail to see the moving hands. Soon the hour of our second liberation will strike to save this land from the national suicide of false values and false foundations.

4/12/58

The whole country is activated by an unholy fear, and the Police are not only armed but make a show of their 12 armoured cars mounted with Bren guns—armed against the benumbed civilian population. I am myself beginning to get frightened, but my courage is still steadfast.

9/3/59

Ghana has a mission. She is the exemplar of Africa's idea of freedom and democracy. To have a law like the Preventive Detention Act in our country is to degrade and negate the very personality of Ghana as the beacon of Africa's own idea of freedom and democracy.

21/3/59

I think it a great national loss for so intelligent and educated a Ghanaian as Mr Robert Gardiner to be lost, even for a short period, to the Government of Ghana and the nation.

16/4/59

Down, down with the hypocritical Pharisee who has built up a false aura of wanting no money for himself, and yet would draw the highest salary of any African in the land without compunction. Where you make the pay of Ministers too attractive you tempt all sorts of vain pretenders and charlatans to turn politics from a public service into a profession of money-making.

9/1/60

When Independence was achieved, the Convention People's Party had not been formed. The inauguration of Independence took place when C.P.P. was in power, but the Priest who baptises a child, is not by any chance the child's parents.

9/1/60

Where you have a Constitution which is so planned that the President and the Parliament shall *always* be in agreement, and where the Cabinet are given no powers to advise but are there merely to assist the President who is the sole executive power of the State, and who is "not obliged to follow advice tendered by *any other person*" and who has power to veto over the Legislature, and without

whose permission "the people" cannot exercise any of the reserved powers and who alone can use the nation's funds in giving unlimited loans to all and sundry, what would you call the man at the head of such a structure—a despot, or autocrat, or dictator, or democrat or Ohene or God?

19/3/60

I am thinking seriously of resigning from my position as Chairman of the Ghana Bar Association to see whether the Branch can go on with a less encumbered Chairman than myself. More and more I feel heavily the sense of oppression and want of justice in Ghana as Judge after Judge refuses to tell Nkrumah in the face that he cannot in law lock up people without trial if they are accused of a known offence! The latest is the judgment of Mr Justice Sarkodee Addo in the Bafour Akoto case. It is hell in Ghana just now, but yet I do not despair.

3/6/60

. . . I am now more than ever convinced that I have never known myself as my Maker knows me inside out. He fashioned me and has used me in His own fashion, and, as I see it, the reason why I still live and breathe and am able to exert myself in life must be the simple one that my Maker hasn't quite finished with me yet. There are lots more He wants me to suffer for, and to use me for. I do not myself mind suffering so long as it is not suffering for myself. To suffer for oneself is the emptiest of all suffering: to suffer for others is the greatest spiritual elevation.

2/10/61

What I have tried to do any body else could have done, but I hope that our dreams of Ghana, as a free country, and a prosperous and happy country, will one day become a reality.

1/8/62

Since my return from detention I have seen many signs that the people are beginning to see that they have been much misled and that they would like to see a new order of things in Ghana. For the moment our plan is to wait for the shaking of the waters by God's angel. I think, in God's own time it will happen, and then we shall respond to the call to duty.

7/8/62

I personally hate all that Gbedemah and Nkrumah stand for in our political history—the dangling of false paradises before the trusting masses, the stirring up of stupid and illegal hatred in the masses by telling malicious and libellous stories of bribery and other terrible crimes against other leaders, well knowing that those stories were false, but telling the stories continuously with the avowed object of discrediting and destroying such leaders and then walking over their dead bodies to climb into power and personal fame! I hate people who stand for that and will continue to hate and detest them so long as there is breadth of life in me.

2/10/62

All my life I have pinned my faith in the Ghanaian, that he is sensible and is capable of thinking as a human being. I do not wish to lose my faith in Ghana! May God help my faith.

1/1/63

Forget not your rights, but boast not with them;
Think more of duties that must be achieved,
And duties so done will expand your rights.

(From **The Third Woman**)

THINGS SAID OF 'J.B.'

"THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S visit to the Gold Coast, in September 1948, provided an opportunity for the leading political figures to clarify their constitutional proposals. A new memorandum on constitutional reform had been drawn up by Dr Danquah. It took four hours to read to the Confederacy Council, and marks the zenith of Dr Danquah's celebrity as the Sieyes of the Gold Coast. . . . The unification which Ashanti failed to accomplish by military force in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been brought about, within a framework of British power, in terms of Western constitutionalism. The year 1946 may well come to have the same significance in Gold Coast history as 1707 has in Britain"—MARTIN WIGHT, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (Faber & Faber), pp. 201, 205.

"THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION was mooted in April or May, 1947, and held its inaugural meeting at Saltpond in August, 1947. We were given a circumstantial account of its birth. However interesting that proved, we are satisfied that its creator and driving force was Dr Danquah. Dr Danquah might be described as the doyen of Gold Coast politicians. He has founded or been connected with most political movements since his adolescence. He is a member of the Legislative Council and but for the accident of birth might have been a notable chief. He is a man of very great intelligence but suffers from a disease not unknown to politicians throughout the ages and recognised under the generic name of expediency."—*The Watson Report* (Colonial 231, p.17).

"J.B.'s place in Ghana's history is assured, even though, in the end he never held power. His long list of scholarly writings on Akan customs, his Twi play, his pamphlets and occasional writings would ensure that. But he was, too, at the centre of Gold Coast politics at a crucial time; he was a leading member of the Coussey Committee, appointed in 1949, and his contribution to independence is significant. Above all he is the man who, more than anybody else, argued the case for calling the Gold Coast "Ghana", a case based on careful study in the British Museum. Is that not enough to justify the title "a great Ghanaian?"—*The West African Review*, March, 1957.

"AT EVERY CRISIS in our national life, on every occasion when the happiness of the people of Ghana, or the liberty of the subject, or the

independence of the nation has been at stake, 'J.B.' has always been at the helm of affairs to weather the storm."—**William Ofori Atta** (Culled from *The True Pioneer*).

"DR DANQUAH was deeply religious and lived his religion. Though he never made much fuss about it, he seemed to have firm convictions about man's origin and his destiny. His religion was practical. It was shown in his love of his Creator and of his fellowmen."—**The late Dr C. A. Akrofi**.

"IT IS an irony of history that a great pioneer of Ghanaian scholarship should die in a detention camp, barely eight years after his country had become free from foreign domination."—**Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe**.

"AT his funeral tears were economised out of fear. Happily, that fear is no more. Ghanaians must now mourn for him."—**Koi Larbi**.

"J.B. was an indomitable fighter. The freedom for which he fought, the cause of human rights and civil liberties under the rule of law in which he made his battleground a universal cause, is worthy of the highest and best of intellect and spirit."—**Professor K. A. Busia**.

"DANQUAH'S passionate love for his country and his faith in his people was unbounded and unsinkable. From my cell—No. 5—1 could actually feel with him the bitter pang of anguished pain that stabbed him as and when in impotent rage he had, from time to time, to rebuke his guards; "Don't you know that it's for you people that I have to endure all these things?" But his faith for the ultimate triumph of what he stood for, lived for and suffered and died for remained with him unabated to the end."—**M. K. Apaloo**.

"IT WAS DR DANQUAH who led in the liberation of Ghana and achieved it. It was he who fought and whose sterling worth laid the foundations of that freedom for which a demogorgon later had the credit and it will be he who will be remembered for this and for his own innate goodness by generations of Ghanaians yet to come."—**E. Lance Mallalieu, Q.C., M.P.**

"DANQUAH was too intellectually honest to be a success in the politics of his days. But it is a happy reflection that the ideals of democracy and the rule of law, for which he fought and died, are now emerging triumphant in Ghana."—**Chief Obafemi Awolowo**.

"DR DANQUAH died one year too early. The exercise of the Armed Forces and the Police Service which toppled the old Regime came in rather too late. I wish we could have rescued him. Our new generation will mourn this greatest son of Ghana who in our history will remain a martyr and greatest Ghanaian of our age."

Brigadier Akwasi Afrifa.

"IT IS difficult to think of a successor to J.B."—**B. K. Edusei.**

"HIS ALMOST reckless unconcern about his own safety or welfare during those unhappy years was remarkable: only recently does it seem to have won the admiration it deserved. He knew that his task was, at that time bound to fail, but he continued it against all odds, until death overtook him. His name will be honoured in Ghana for all time."—**Rt. Rev. Richard Roseveare, S.S.M.**

"AFTER DANQUAH had left the parliamentary scene, slowly but inevitably the rot set in. The proceedings began to acquire a certain element of insipid farce. Many in the House privately wished for a return to "the Danquah days". Such was the meticulous care with which he studied his Bills that Parliamentary Counsel went over their drafts with a fine-tooth comb, the Minister did his home work, and the Clerk sat at the table with suspended animation. During words of heat he stood his ground with poise and gave blow for blow with the scornful efficiency of a perfect marksman. His style in debate was great, his power of analysis formidable. He was interested in everything, not just the big fundamental issues. While he was preoccupied with the question of self-government, he asked questions about the mosquito menace in Accra."—**K. B. Ayensu.**

"FEW men in our time and age have made a greater contribution to the advance of their country than that made by the late Dr Danquah. For selflessness, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty and to an ideal, it was hard to find his equal."—**A. Casely-Hayford.**

"HIS energy was enormous and he would work selflessly for long hours each day in any cause which appealed to him. He appeared sometimes to neglect the practice of his profession where lesser men would think of their financial gains, in order to pursue vigorously a course of action which he considered just and worthwhile."—**Modjaben Dowuona.**

"OF his many great qualities, the one that made the deepest impression on me was his dependability. When he became convinced

of the rightness of a cause, nothing would deter him from pursuing the path which he considered right alike for friend or foe. You could depend upon him in rain as well as in sunshine.”—**Richard Akwei.**

“ALL who came in contact with J.B. marvelled at his industry and capacity for research, but he was above all the enemy of oppression and injustice. His belief in the rule of law was unconquerable and he never tired of resorting to the law courts for redress even when he knew that timid courts may not be inclined to give him a favourable hearing. Men of J.B.’s calibre are indeed rare in this country.”—**R. S. Blay.**

“WE, the people of Ghana, were in a large measure responsible for the death of this great man. We were responsible because we remained “hinds” and so permitted Nkrumah to become a “lion”; we were responsible because we allowed our stomachs and the material and other intangible comforts of life to persuade us to remain dwarfs when men were needed to stand up boldly for the right. To our everlasting shame, this period of our national history will remain as the hall-mark of perfidy and spinelessness. May J.B. and all those who died in detention forgive us!”—**Joe Appiah.**

“INDEED by his life and example, Dr Danquah helped to enlarge our conception of the duties of the good and responsible lawyer, and his role in society. At a time when it was highly profitable to be morally cowardly, to side with authority, to help to pervert justice and undermine the rule of law, he more than anyone else among the lawyers in Ghana tried to show that the duty of a lawyer is to be bold, to stand for the truth, justice, and the rule of law, regardless of the cost to oneself and one’s family. J.B. also tried to show us that winning cases is not the most important thing in the practice of the law.”—**Dr. E. V. C. de Graft-Johnson.**

“J.B. died a martyr to the rule of law in which we Ghanaians did not believe. He was a selfless patriot in a state of selfish individuals. His death should be a lesson to the younger generations, since he made it clear that some men can resist evil till the end.”—**Professor L. H. Ofosu-Appiah.**

“SINCE 1948, I have been privileged to visit many African countries. There I have met the leaders of the newly emergent nations. Some of them I have represented before courts or inquiries as I once represented the Big Six in Accra. In nearly all cases they have become my personal friends. But there is no one of them whom I remember with greater affection and regard than Joseph Boakye Danquah.”—**Sir Dingle Foot.**

APPENDIX A

COMMENDATORY AND ACCLAMATORY ADDRESS

TO

THE HONOURABLE DR JOSEPH KWAME KYERETWIE BOAKYE DANQUAH, B.A., LL.B., Ph.D., (Lond.), of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law and Solicitor of the Supreme Court; Third Eastern Provincial Member of the Legislative Council, Gold Coast; of Yiadom Chambers, Accra, and of Yiadom Hall, Kibi, Akim Abuakwa:

AKUAFO KANEA KWAME DANQUAH

THE COCOA FARMERS GROUP ORGANIZATION AND PRODUCERS AND PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY SALUTE YOU:

YOU, the light that shines and illumines the chain between the farmers—the poor, diseased, neglected and despised, yet the most vital and indispensable support of this country—and the Rulers, both the Colonial Government and our Natural and anointed Rulers;

You, as “Abubummabaa”, a fortress of security in the cocoa farmers’ and the people’s cause;

YOU, as “abubummabaa”, a protector to save the farmers from attacks of all forms;

YOU, as a feeder and redeemer, the “*Yiadom*” to feed the farmers’ hungry and diseased body and soul and to reclaim them from perdition;

YOU, who led the successful farmers’ delegation to Col. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State, on his visit to the Gold Coast in 1943 and drew up a Memorandum of the farmers’ case which was presented to the Secretary of State and resulted in the ultimate increase in cocoa price;

YOU, having hitherto served as the voice of the producers of this country in seeking redress, justice, fair play and equal rights and opportunities for all with an undaunted, persistent and pertinacious spirit;

YOU, with your noble pursuits towards the advancement of this country in particular and for Africa in general;

YOU, as an advocate of reconciliation, unity, true understanding and peace between all sections of the community;

YOU, for your signal effort which helped materially to avert the proposed hold-up in 1945 of the main crop season;

YOU, with your inspiring writings, your literal interpretations and simple instructions and earnest advocacy, through which you are lifting men, women and children from a lethargy of despair to a height of enlightenment and faith, admitting all and sundry into the adytum and inner recess of your clopaedic knowledge and power born of knowing;

YOU, *Yiadom* of your people and country, YOU DO MERIT being proclaimed and you are hereby proclaimed and acclaimed, with ecstasy and God's blessings, by the cocoa farmers group organizations and producers and people of this country, the AKUAFO KANEA, the Light and Illumination of the Farmers, for your exemplary, faithful and loyal championing of the cause of your fatherland—Gold Coast of Africa, in the appreciation and gratitude of which this illuminated address is our constant and ever eloquent testimony.


MADE AND PRESENTED AT NSAWAM, GOLD COAST
THIS 13TH DAY OF JULY, 1946.

"IN ALL THY WAYS ACKNOWLEDGE HIM,
AND HE SHALL DIRECT THY PATHS".

APPENDIX B

Below is a photostatic-copy of the only *one* message of condolence received by the Okyeman Council the next day after the death of Dr. Danquah had been announced on the Radio. It is a great message, for it was sent at a time that anyone who dared to come out openly in support of Dr. Danquah was loaded with an offence and whisked away into a detention camp.

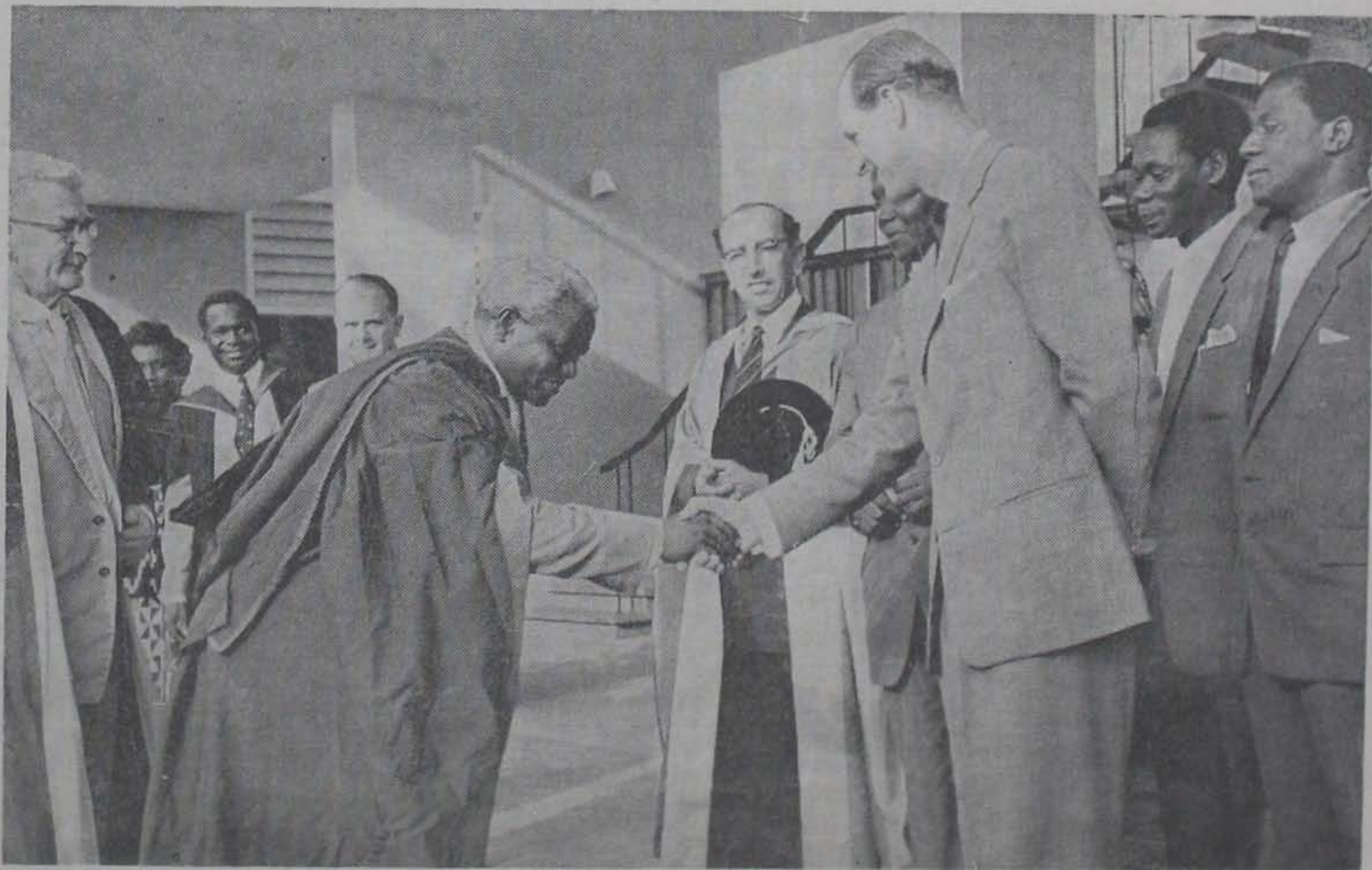
May God bless Mr. Ofei, the brave, fearless, patriot and a true freedom fighter.

B & C		POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS, GHANA			No. _____
Circuit No	Prefix	Time handed	Office of origin and Service Instructions	Words	Date
8		9-30	Cape Coast	41	
To: <u>1140</u> From: <u>ICF</u> By: <u>A</u>			To Okyeman Council KIBI		
accept condolence & abuwaman in particular a Kanfo in general africa as a whole has lost a most mighty and erudite Statesman & what of naming all males born tomorrow abuwaman area after him & may he rest in peace					
					Ofei Forestry

If the accuracy of this Telegram is doubted, inquiry should be made at the office of delivery. This Form should accompany any inquiry.

GP/V3769/50.000pds./501/11/63-64

P. & P. 20



Prince Philip meets Dr Danquah at the University College during his visit in November 1956

MEMBERS OF THE DANQUAH FUNERAL COMMITTEE

1. Barima Apeakorang Awere II (Chairman)
2. „ Owusu Asimeng II
3. „ Boateng Sekyerehene
4. „ Frempong Manso
5. Bafour Kwaku Amoako
6. Mr. William Ofori Atta
7. Bafour Osei Akoto
8. Okyeame Kwame Asare
9. Brigadier Akwasi Afrifa
10. Mr. Kwasi Dua Sakyi
11. Mrs. Susana De Graft Johnson
12. Miss Dorothy Kani
13. Mr. S. D. Dombo
14. Mr. Ofori Ware
15. Mr. R. R. Amponsah
16. Mr. Mark Addo
17. Mr. M. K. Apaloo
18. Mr. K. B. Ntim
19. Mr. Amfo Kwakye
20. Dr. S. K. Opoku
21. Mr. Frank Adu
22. Mr. Otu Darko (Secretary)
23. Mr. Kwesi Lamptey
24. Oheneba Ekow Richardson
25. Dr. K. A. Busia
26. Dr. E. Amu
27. Professor K. Twum Barima
28. Rev. G. K. Sintim Misa
29. Mr. Paul Danquah
30. Mr. Kwame Kesse Adu
31. Mr. H. K. Akyeampong

