

Fractal Complexity in Alexander Crummell's *The Future of Africa*

by

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Abstract

Although interdisciplinary research is not new, combining mathematics and the study of African culture in this manner is a relatively new approach. Bridging various disciplines allows for the creation of new ideas and innovative ways of learning and introducing new concepts. Pluridisciplinary methodology, the approach utilized in this paper, allows one to use qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyze text. Looking at Alexander Crummell's work through a pluridisciplinary lens offers a new way of analyzing research in African Studies specifically. The paper, to the best of my knowledge, is also the first major systematic analysis of *The Future of Africa*.

The purpose of this paper is to delineate the fractal complexity of Alexander Crummell's work that influenced Black Nationalism and Pan-African thought. Alexander Crummell has been called the eloquent voice of the Pan-African movement. He was known not only as a Black Nationalist but also as a Pan-Africanist for his belief of uniting Africans in the Diaspora and on the continent. The analysis indicates what W.E.B. Du Bois called double consciousness. Crummell, an American, returned to Liberia to spread Christianity where he represented the views of the colonizers and his homeland America; however, he still wanted to connect and represent the views of Africans as a Black man. The findings demonstrate this internal struggle faced by many in the Diaspora at the time.

Introduction

Alexander Crummell, the author of *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc. Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* (1862) was an African American Episcopalian priest, missionary, and educator. Crummell was born in New York City on March 3, 1819 to Boston Crummell and Charity Hicks-Crummell (<http://plato.stanford.edu>). His father, Boston, was enslaved as a child and became free in adulthood; his mother, Charity, was born free and her family lived on Long Island for generations. Crummell's parents were Episcopalian and brought up their children in the faith. According to Wilson Jeremiah Moses, "During the 1820s the family was fairly prosperous and able to provide Alexander with a basic classical education in the New York African Freed School and through private tutors" (Moses, 1992:3). As a child, Crummell experienced racism because of his desire to be educated and was denied entrance in the General Theological Seminary in New York (Moses, 1992:3). Despite the race based discrimination, he received his theology education in the Diocese of Massachusetts. In 1842 Crummell was ordained to be the diaconate; two years later, he was invited to the priesthood by the Bishop of Delaware (<http://www.episcopalarchives.org>).

Alexander Crummell established a small mission in Philadelphia where he became politically active calling for equal suffrage and for the abolishment of slavery. After being excluded from the Pennsylvania diocesan convention, he left the diocese and moved to England in 1848 (<http://www.episcopalarchives.org>). While at Cambridge University in England, he studied moral philosophy under William Whewell (<http://plato.stanford.edu>). Crummell became the first Black graduate at Cambridge University. After receiving his Bachelor's degree at Queen's College at Cambridge, he resumed his avid participation in the anti-slavery movement. He later went to Liberia to assume the position of professor of English and moral philosophy at Liberia College (<http://plato.stanford.edu>). While in Liberia, Crummell sought to teach Liberians English and convert them to Christianity. He believed that African Americans needed a moral and spiritual revival and viewed Liberia as the place to accomplish his mission. This provided him an opportunity to create a model Christian republic where Blacks could experience a racial uplift with the Episcopal Church (<http://www.episcopalarchives.org>).

Although he spent 16 years in Liberia, Crummell's desire to create a Christian republic failed to manifest and he returned to the United States after the civil war in 1872. He moved to Washington, DC where he established the St. Luke's Episcopal Church in 1879. He served as pastor of the church until 1894 and spent the final years of his life writing and lecturing (Moses, 1992:3). Crummell lectured at Howard University; however, his "most enduring contribution to Black American letters was his co-founding of the American Negro Academy in Washington, DC, in 1897. He helped to assemble a number of leading Black intellectuals—including Du Bois and, much later, Locke—to publish research on problems facing Blacks" (<http://plato.stanford.edu>).

Crummell continued to advocate on behalf of African Americans until his death in 1898. Wilson Jeremiah Moses in his book, *Destiny and Race*, describes Crummell as follows:

A passionate man with a keen, acerbic wit, but he was also a dark, brooding, Miltonic figure. He was optimistic concerning the future of black people in America and what he called 'the destined superiority of the Negro'. But he was also pessimistic about human nature and spoke repeatedly of human degradation and depravity (Moses, 1992:5).

Crummell's optimistic and pessimistic views of society are evident in his writings. He authored several books, including *The Greatness of Christ* and *Africa and America* (1882). The most referenced of his work is *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc. Delivered in the Republic of Liberia*. Until now, there has not been a systematic analysis of his work; thus, this paper attempts to fill the gap. The book is analyzed in this paper employing pluridisciplinary methodology (more on this later). In order to properly understand this work, it is appropriate to begin with definitions of the two major concepts: (1) Africa and (2) its future. By defining these concepts, the reader will hopefully gain a clearer understanding of this research.

The continent of Africa must be defined for the purposes of clarity. Aside from the geographic location, the knowledge of Africa being the second largest continent in the world and where civilization originated, there has not been, to my knowledge, much discussion about the origins of the name of the continent. Until now, I have not given it much thought. When speaking of Africa, many confuse it as a country comprised of several states; or when one is not sure of a particular country in the region, s/he merely says Africa to encompass all of the countries. The continent itself is vast, consisting of over 50 countries, many ethnicities, languages, religions and cultures. Attempting to group all of these varied people under one name is misleading; people living on the continent cannot be more different. Much debate exists over the origins of the name Africa. Upon further examination, there are at least seven conflicting theories on where the continent received its name. The contending disputes of the origin of the name Africa are:

A Roman name for what the Greeks called "Libya," itself perhaps a Latinization of the name of the Berber tribe Aourigha (perhaps pronounced "Afarika"); (2) it is derived from two Phoenician terms either referring to corn or fruit (pharika), meaning land of corn or fruit; (3) from a Phoenician root faraqa, meaning separation or diaspora; a similar root is apparently found in some African languages such as Bambara; (4) it is drawn from the Latin adjective aprica (sunny) or the Greek aprikē (free from cold); (5) it may stem from Sanskrit and Hindi in which the root Aparā or Africa denotes that which, in geographical terms, comes "after"—to the west—in which case Africa is the western continent; (6) it is the name of a Yemenite chief named Africus who invaded North Africa in the second millennium B.C.E. and founded a town called Afrikyah; or (7) it springs from "Afer" who was a grandson of Abraham and a companion of Hercules (<http://science.jrank.org>).

Also, it has been said the name has African origins and it is derived from the Egyptian word "Afru-ika," which means motherland. The name origin debate brings about several questions such as, how and when the people of the continent began embracing the name and if they have thought about changing it to something that is more organic to the region if many reject the claim that it originated from the Egyptians? A prime example is the case with the Indian city of Mumbai. It was given the name Bombay by the British who colonized the country; wanting to do away with remnants of colonialism, the citizens decided to rename the city after a Hindu goddess. The idea of a possible name change is for further review at another time. The name Africa was popularized by the forceful removal of many of the continent's citizens to far and distant lands. The name is now part of our vocabulary and is widely used and accepted by Africans and non-Africans alike.

Lastly, if we are to examine the future of Africa, then a discussion also needs to be included as to what exactly is meant by future. According to The Oxford's online dictionary, the future can be defined as "a period of time following the moment of speaking or writing; time regarded as still to come" (<http://oxforddictionaries.com>). Studying the future of the continent can begin with where Africa needs to go from this very moment to forecasting 100 years from now. Oxford goes on to define the future as something happening "at a later time; going or likely to happen or exist" (<http://oxforddictionaries.com>). Therefore, discussing the future of Africa can consist of solely looking at the continent as it is now and predicting where it will be based on its progression or lack of progression presently. The definition of future can also be an aspiration: "the likely prospects for or fate of someone or something in time to come; a prospect of success or happiness" (<http://oxforddictionaries.com>). Africa's future can be what those with a vested interest wish for the continent. The future of Africa could be what individuals, stake holders, citizens and those in the Diaspora would like the continent to look like and function as in the days, weeks, months and years to come.

Now that the two major concepts have been clearly defined, it is the hope that the reader now has a better understanding of what they mean. The following section examines what other writers have stated about the text being studied. After that, the theoretical framework and research methodology upon which this paper is systematically grounded are presented; the data analysis follows; and in the end, a conclusion is drawn.

Literature Review

The nature of the literature reviewed here is an assessment of many articles that have looked at *The Future of Africa* by Alexander Crummell. The book comprises a series of lectures given by the author in Liberia in 1862. The only literary works that exist are those of individuals that have cited this work for the purposes of qualitative study, one literary criticism, and the remaining are content analyses.

For the purposes of this literature review, I employ a diachronic or chronological instead of a synchronic or thematic, approach to examine the existing literature. Since the book is dated and based on a series of Crummell's lectures, it is difficult to use a synchronic approach for this literature review. A synchronic review consists of grouping literature by themes, those in support of the literature versus those who oppose the author's subject matter, or by ideology/schools of thought such as realist, liberal, or constructive. The authors of the respective articles all have taken different segments of Crummell's lectures for the benefits of their particular research interests. Analyzing the works chronologically, or in a diachronic manner, is the best approach for this section.

In the article, "Crummell on the Metalogic of Non-Standard Languages" (2007), by Stephen Lester Thompson, the only literary criticism found, he examined Crummell's views on reasonable resources of defective languages. Particularly, Crummell labels as defects in language those spoken by Africans and other Blacks in the Diaspora. He believed that the native languages of Liberians were logically insufficient to serve the rational needs of the citizens. Crummell wanted Africans, principally those in Liberia, to adopt the English language as their primary language because of three main factors: (1) its forcefulness and its ability to be direct and bold, which can only beget men of common sense, honest minds and character; (2) such language gave way to ideas of freedom and liberty; and (3) the English language's usage for the formation of "trial by jury, the people's right to participate in government, freedom of speech, and the press, the right to petition and freedom of religion" (Crummell, 1862:22-25).

Thompson's aim was to analyze a claim to which he believed Crummell would prescribe which is "a language-using population ought to adopt that natural language variety whose conceptual scheme is most capable of realizing the language of propositional logic as its logical form, and the deductive apparatus of propositional logic as its deductive apparatus" (Thompson, 2007:77). Thompson used his analysis to determine where Crummell fits in the history of defective logical theory and how his analysis may have an impact on Black thought. He had hoped to demonstrate "how black thought can produce logically interesting results and show how problems in history of philosophy can be profitably understood as problems about calculi, without doing injustice to either" (Thompson, 2007:78). He tested Crummell's claim against three theorems by utilizing a model-theoretic and proof-theoretic analysis in an attempt to see if the claim holds up logically. Thompson acknowledged that there was an error in Crummell's claim and later discovered that the error was not that the native language of Liberia was defective; but that languages which Crummell have said were defective should not be adopted (Thompson, 2007:99). He concluded by stating that "Work in Crummellian metalogic opens up enormously interesting questions about black reason for the formal cognitive sciences—logic, mathematics, and linguistics—a development that is long past due" (Thompson, 2007:100).

The remaining articles all ask questions about the Black experience from issues of self-identity to Africans' place in history. The next article titled "Who Are We? Africa and the Problem of Black American Identity" (2000) by Tunde Adeleke examined two significant periods in world history and how those events shaped Black American and African consciousness. The first event was the Revolution of Haiti, 1791-1804, when the enslaved in the country overthrew their French rulers. Haiti's independence served as a beacon of hope for Blacks in America. The second transformative event was the federal legislation of 1807-1808 "prohibiting ships flying under the U.S. flag from engaging in the importation of slaves. Blacks welcomed this as signaling an end to the long sufferings brought upon Africans by enslavement and the transplantation process" (Adeleke, 1999:49). These new developments created a quagmire for Blacks which led them to question their self-identity, asking whether they were Americans or Negroes:

A fundamental challenge has been to determine whether Blacks are Americans who have completely shed all trappings of their African ancestry, or they are Africans, residents in an alien and hostile environment, who somehow managed to retain their Africanness despite centuries of separation from Africa and acculturation in a new world environment (Adeleke, 1999:51).

Adeleke's purpose was not to decipher which perception is correct; his objective was to look at the historical context of identity. He looked at how Black Americans felt and defined their African connection or if one existed. Adeleke discovered that many Blacks turned to Africa to reaffirm their African roots with some migrating back to West Africa. Two Black nationalists, Alexander Crummell and Henry McNeal Turner, led the charge in developing a Pan-African consciousness. According to Adeleke, "They considered the African heritage an identity worth affirming and defending in the context of rejection and alienation in the United States" (Adeleke, 1999:76). Ironically, these men discovered that they had more in common with their American identity than with those in Africa. Their cultural identity was Eurocentric and they wanted to shape Africa in this image (Adeleke, 1999:77). Crummell referred to Africans as barbaric and violent and believed that the British government should use all methods, even force, to subdue Africans. This realization led Crummell and Turner to construct a new identity, using the period of enslavement as its foundation. The forceful removal of Africans to America served as their awakening period when they were moved out of the darkness of Africa into the socialized light of Europeans values in America. These Black nationalists saw the practice of enslavement "as a necessary price to pay for the benefits of Western civilization. Though this redefinition of slavery was done partly to bridge the gap between Europeans and Black American nationalists...enslavement amounted to a nullification of the African identity" (Adeleke, 1999:80). Adeleke concluded his article by asserting that the answer to the question, Who Are We? all depends on who you ask.

Phillip S. Zachernuk's "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis'" (1994) attempted to determine if historiography written by Nigerians existed before professional historians arrived in Nigeria in the late 1950s. It has been argued by the likes of Robert July and conversely A.E. Afigbo and Michael Crowder that if such text exists, the writings are either anti-colonial nationalism or the colonizers' vision of the African past (Zachernuk: 1994:427). Zachernuk wrestled with this debate by examining the wide array of historical writings dating back to the 1870s. The literature of the time mirrored the changing climate and opportunities in Nigeria, Europe and the Black Atlantic world. What the author referred to as the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' dates back to biblical times which divided humanity into the families of Noah's three sons—Ham, Japhet, and Shem. Before the 1800s, Europeans believed Ham found the Black races of Africa and, thus, all of his offspring would be cursed to a life of servitude. This European belief was rewritten after the French credited the wonders of ancient Egypt to Negroes. Theologians then argued that Ham and Egypt were White, crediting the wonders of Egypt to the Europeans. Ham's youngest son, Canaan, was Black, and his offspring were cursed and populated Sub-Saharan Africa (Zachernuk, 1994:428).

Many African American writers did not revise the curse of Ham; they believed that one branch of Ham's offspring may have been cursed and the other branch could have founded ancient Egypt. As Zachernuk stated, "African-American historians reacted to Europeans and white American attempts to disconnect Africa from history by developing their own version of the 'Ancient Model' which stressed that the roots of civilization lay in African hands" (1994:434). Although many scholars made the claim that West African history existed, they could not find records to back their assertion. African Americans then began to accept Alexander Crummell's view that "The sad and startling fact, that mental and moral benightedness has enshrouded the whole of the vast continent of Africa, through all the records of time, far back, to the earliest records of history...So far as Western African is concerned, there is no history" (Zachernuk, 1994:434).

"The Protestant Episcopal Church, Black Nationalists, and Expansion of the West African Missionary Field, 1851-1871" (1988) by J.R. Oldfield studied how Black Americans were sent to West Africa by the Episcopal Church to rescue the souls of Africans from moral doom. Oldfield pointed out: "...hundreds of American missionaries were dispatched from New York and Baltimore to convert the heathen tribes of Africa and wrest a continent from ruin" (1988:31). The Episcopal Church wanted to establish authority in Liberia by creating institutions in two major cities in Liberia and, hopefully, in Monrovia, the capital. The church discovered that White missionaries were not successful in Africa because they found the climate to be too difficult; therefore, the church decided to deploy its Black missionaries.

Black clergy sought to create an Episcopal congregation in the capitol of Liberia free of European control. Alexander Crummell was chosen by a fellow clergyman to head the efforts of expanding the mission of the church in Monrovia. Crummell had aspirations of creating more than just a church; he wanted to establish The National Church of Liberia.

The Reverend noted that working in Liberia was not just another ordinary mission; it was an experiment at nation-building and, if successful, would prove that Blacks had the capability to self-govern (Oldfield, 1988:32). Crummell attempted to convince the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to back him in his endeavors. Unfortunately for Crummell, the Board of Missions decided that a national church was unnecessary; this caused major infighting. His inability to create a national church left the members of his congregation dispirited and allowed for another clergy member to draw Crummell's worshippers away from his church. This led the bishop of the church to relieve Crummell of his duty as head of the expansion effort. As a result of the reverend losing his position, the governing body began to have doubts on appointing Black Americans as leaders of expansion exertions in West Africa. Crummell resigned from his post all together and decided to leave West Africa in 1872.

"The Liberian Coasting Trade, 1822-1900" (1977) by Dwight N. Syfert chronicled how Liberians benefited from coastal trading before and after their independence. Syfert observed "Liberians became so extensively involved in local trade, exchanging imported manufactures for rice, palm oil, camwood, and other commodities destined for export, that historians have labeled many of them 'merchant princess'" (1977:217). Liberians dominated the coastal trade during this period by importing goods from other countries and exporting local goods to as far away as New York and Liverpool. Liberians were able to garner import/export success in West Africa by having small Liberian coasters and being more familiar with conditions and trade routes compared to their larger vessel foreign counterparts. Liberians ensured that their African goods would be sold at favorable prices and the American Colonization Society (ACS) had no choice but to oblige their demands. However, foreign competition was a major factor for Liberian traders. As Syfert put it, "In an attempt to deal with foreign competition...numerous ordinances were passed by the colonial council" (1977:217). The council created a port of entry legislation requiring all foreign traders to specific ports which benefited Liberians greatly. The government as well as private citizens all profited from coasting ventures. According to Syfert,

The health of the coasting trade, and, to an extent, the economy of Liberia, thus depended on three conditions: the continued availability of African produce close to the coast and to riverine trade routes, the restriction of foreign commercial competition to a few points...and a continued demand for Liberian products at favourable prices in overseas markets (1977: 228).

Liberians owned and operated at least 234 vessels between the periods of 1822 and 1900. Even the Liberian author, Alexander Crummell, noted that Liberians owned more vessels than any other country in Africa (Syfert, 1977:234). Unfortunately, these times of profit did not last as long as Liberians would have hoped. In the last three decades of the century, coastal trade eventually plummeted due in large part to the commercial recession of the time, the drop in demand of goods such as camwood and palm oil due to technological advances, and competition from foreign steam packets.

Thomas H. Henriksen's "African Intellectual Influences on Black Americans: The Role of Edward W. Blyden" (1975), looked at how Blacks in America should be aware of the rich history of Africans. The author credited Edward Blyden for instilling Black pride in African Americans by exposing the underrated role Africa played in the history of mankind. As Henriksen noted, "African civilizations have been credited with making substantive contributions to human progress, but the impact of African thinkers on Black American thought is scarcely recognized" (1975:279). Blyden, with the help of other intellectuals of his time, thought it was his duty to dispel the misconceptions of Africa's insignificance in history which were perpetrated by Whites and accepted by some Blacks. Henriksen observed:

Blyden emphasized four main themes in the defense of the Negro race: it possessed past achievements worthy of pride; its African traditions and culture must be preserved; its progress was thwarted by adherence to Christianity and enhanced by the pursuit of Islam; and it had intrinsic qualities which he termed the "African Personality" (Henriksen, 1972:281).

Blyden believed that Christianity taught Blacks that in order to be a good man, one must emulate the ways of the White man; whereas Islam, in his point of view, discouraged racial discrimination by advocating that all men can achieve their goals while preserving their racial identity. Africans, according to Blyden, possessed three main traits that other races and societies should imitate: "the community of African life; the African conception of wealth and ownership; and the fundamental spirituality of its life" (Henriksen, 1972:281). Africans, by nature, exercised mutual help and cooperation with one another; they believed that things found in nature such as land, water and trees were not individual property but belonged to everyone in the community, and Africans did not believe in a sharp contrast between religious and secular life. These characteristics of Africans should be practiced by all, and humanity could benefit greatly by adopting these traits. During Blyden's years living in Liberia, he worked with Alexander Crummell. Although Crummell was a strong advocate of European societies, he, too, believed that Africans and Black Americans should not have to assimilate to European culture, and that all races have their own unique identities that should be embraced and celebrated. Crummell, on the other hand, sought to civilize Africans by bringing and introducing them to Christianity.

The preceding works are reviewed in a diachronic manner which is the most fitting approach to reviewing the existing literature. Since Alexander Crummell's text, *The Future of Africa*, is a series of addresses and lectures given by the Reverend in Liberia in 1862, the preceding works all selected an address or a particular lecture to support, critique, or analyze Crummell's thoughts.

The limitation that emerged from these works is that each author drew from different parts of his speeches to further their research. Thus, the existing literature is not a cohesive body of work. The primary strength of Crummell's work is also its weakness, because it is a series of speeches from which one can draw on any number of his proclamations to advance his/her particular research interest. This essay, to the best of my knowledge, is the first major systematic analysis on the book. Consequently, it fills a gap in the literature. The hope in this paper is that it raises new questions, challenges the current literature, and inspires others to fill more gaps that may exist.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this paper encompasses a discussion of the theoretical postulates of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism and how Alexander Crummell contributed to ideologies. Black Nationalism has been known to be a reaction to the isolationism faced by Blacks in the 19th Century. Before the forceful removal of Africans to far off distance lands, there was no need for a notion of Blacks uniting because they were on the continent. According to Moses, "slavery was, in a sense, the cause of black nationalism. It destroyed the ethnic loyalties of those whom it enslaved; it disastrously eroded traditional culture within a generation or two. But while it tended to strip the enslaved of their local traditional cultures, it endowed them with a sense of common experience and identity" (1978:16). While slavery sought to divide families, in turn it actually united Blacks who could relate in this common experience birthing the Black Nationalist ideology. Nationalist movements in general seek to break away from their oppressors and unite those that are separated, and the Black Nationalist movement sought to do the same. This movement is slightly different than other movements because "Its adherents are united neither by a common geography nor by a common language, but by the nebulous concept of racial identity" (Moses, 1978:17). Some Black Nationalists have argued for a geographical nation, but most want just a sense of uniting Blacks world-wide. The movement pursued to unit Blacks in Africa and the diaspora is known as Pan-Africanism.

Moses states that "Pan-Africanism seems to have originated with the awareness of Westernized Africans that all Black people were suffering from the slave trade which tended to confer an inferior status upon all Black people, whether slave or free, regardless of the continent upon which it lived" (1978:16). Where colonialism used the theory of divide and conquer to rule, Pan-Africanism used unity as a strategy to defeat colonialism. Although Pan-Africanism was born outside of the continent of Africa in its early stages, it succeeded at creating a link between African leaders and Civil Rights leaders in the United States. As Moses notes, "its roots, as a mass movement, are in the maroon revolutions of Haiti, Jamaica and Surinam, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the rebellions of Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner in the nineteenth" (1978:18).

Some of the early prominent spokesmen in this movement were Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmont Blyden, Martin R. Delany, and others. These men believed in a need to civilize and Christianize Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora. The movement fought to introduce lawful commerce and trade into Africa, encourage natives on the continent to become producers as well as consumers of local goods, and to improve conditions of all Blacks. These men and others are credited with finding and advancing the Black Nationalist school.

Alexander Crummell, more specifically, has been called the eloquent voice of the movement. He was known not only as a Black Nationalist but as a Pan-Africanist for his belief of uniting Africans in the Diaspora and on the continent. In the words of Moses, “Crummell belonged to a trans-Atlantic class of educated Africans and African-American intellectuals who realized that they could never be completely at home in any existing cultural setting. Distrusted by the Africans and Afro-American masses and rejected by English and Anglo-American elites, Crummell sought, as did other assimilated Blacks in Africa and America, to create a universal African civilization movement” (2004:83). Growing up, Crummell was born free and unlike many African Americans of the time knew to which African ethnic group his family belonged. His ability to trace his family back to the continent created a connection to Africa that would live with him throughout his life. His father, Boston Crummell, recalled the day when he was taken away from his land in Sierra Leone and forced to come to the New World. Although Alexander was born in America, he had a strong allegiance to Africa. This dual consciousness, as Du Bois called it, shaped Crummell’s theoretical angle. Moses views Crummell as a civilizationist who believed that if Africans adopted the discipline and the more sophisticated lifestyle he associated with Christianity, they could rival the accomplishments of Victorian civilization. His writings and lectures depicted the desire for nations in Africa to become as civilized as those in England and America.

Stephen Thompson states that Alexander Crummell “was the most prominent rationalist of the Black American enlightenment thinkers in the nineteenth-century. He stands out among his contemporaries—Frederick Douglass, Anna Julia Cooper, Booker T. Washington, most notably—for his robust defense of the central place of reason in moral agency. His attempts to work out the consequences of that view for the nature of language and history lends his philosophy a breadth and depth not matched by other enlightenment thinkers” (<http://plato.stanford.edu>). Thompson examines the lectures and writings of Alexander Crummell relating to Civil Rights, Moral Reason, Motivation and Moral Change. In the Civil Rights debate, Crummell argued that Blacks should not be given rights because of public sympathy or the philosophical pressure of the time since these emotions are volatile and unreliable. Instead, he argued that Blacks should be given rights because it is the state of nature. His Natural Rights Argument, “...begins by asserting that rights exist, and not merely in the conventional or partial sense of public sympathy. They have a “higher origin” and a “purer birth,” as much in the sense of logical priority as in the sense of metaphysical independence. That is, Crummell takes the Problem of Civil Rights to require for its solution an appeal to rights as existing prior to and independent of the legal environment in which such rights are contested and adjudicated” (<http://plato.stanford.edu>).

Crummell's theoretical framework consists of an appeal to logic, reason and rationality rather than emotion. He believed the solution to issues that plagued not just African Americans but Africans and those in the diaspora would require logical, Christian principles that could unite Blacks and advance the plight of people of color that could move them onto a path of greatness.

Research Methodology

The methodology employed is pluridisciplinary, which is defined as using two or more disciplines or branches of learning to investigate a phenomenon thereby contributing to those disciplines. Abdul Karim Bangura in *Fractal Complexity in the Works of Major Black Thinkers Volume One* argues that Chiekh Anta Diop called on African-centered researchers, in particular, to become pluridisciplinarians when researching aspects of African history. He notes that "The history of pluridisciplinary methodology can be traced back to the mid-1950s with the works of Diop and Jean Vercoutter" (Bangura, 2012:1). According to Bangura, Diop who has been called one of the greatest African intellectuals of the 20th Century studied African history, Egyptology, linguistics, anthropology, economics and sociology (2012:2). Diop, along with Vercoutter, a French Egyptologist, agreed that in order to accomplish their research, they needed to study and incorporate several disciplines. As Bangura noted, Clyde Ahmad Winters and Alan Anselin are "two major scholars who have advanced the pluridisciplinary approach by combining anthropological, historical, and linguistic methods to explain the heritage of African people, constituting a third school of Africentric researchers" (2012:2). Bridging various disciplines allows for the creation of new ideas and innovative ways of learning and introducing new concepts. For the purposes of this analysis, mathematics and linguistics are used as the two disciplines of learning.

The unit of analysis for this research is linguistic presupposition, which can be defined as "an implicit assumption about the world or background belief upon which the truth of a statement hinges" (Bangura, 2012:10). The linguistic presuppositions for this paper are derived from Crummell's text. His topics are the "a priori features, such as a clear and unquestionable change of subject focus, for defining types of linguistics presuppositions found in an examined text" (Bangura, 2012:10). The topic changes were recorded as *order* or *disorder* in order to conduct the fractal analysis. As Bangura points out, in choosing the writer's topic as the recording unit, the ease of identifying topics and correspondence between them and the content categories are seriously considered. Guiding this choice is the awareness that if the recording unit is too small, such as a word, each case will be unlikely to possess any of the content categories. Furthermore, small recording units may obscure the context in which a particular content appears. On the other hand, a large recording unit, such as a stanza, will make it difficult to isolate the single category of a content that it possesses. As suggested by Bangura, in this paper, two methods were appropriate. First, there is the clear and uncontested change-of-the subject focus. Second, topicalization was found to have been used to introduce new characters, ideas, events, objects, etc. (Bangura, 2012:10-11).

Fractal analysis uses mathematics to analyze text. Fractal methodology and its application in the social sciences have been around since the 19th Century; however, looking at Alexander Crummell’s work through a fractal methodological lens offers a new way of analyzing research in African Studies. The concept of fractal remains an enigma; however, Bangura offers a general definition: A fractal is “a pattern that repeats itself on an ever-diminishing scale” (2012:13). Fractal methodology and its application in the social sciences are explained by Clifford Brown and Larry Liebovitch in their work. They state that several early applications of fractal mathematics appeared in the social sciences. Some of the works that utilized fractal analysis include Vilfredo Pareto’s 1897 study of the distribution of wealth; Lewis Fry Richardson’s 1948 and 1960 studies on the intensity of wars; and George Zipf’s 1949 studies of the distributions of word frequencies and city size (2012:13). According to Bangura, “Brown and Liebovitch argue that while these ideas were known by experts in the field, they were isolated, quirky concepts until Mandelbrot developed the unifying idea of fractals in the 1970s and 1980s” (2012:13). The authors discovered that social scientists have begun to utilize fractal mathematics more frequently in their research. As Bangura points out, “They cite examples that fractal analysis had been employed by criminologists to investigate the timing of calls for assistance to police, by sociologists to investigate gender divisions in the labor force, and by actuaries to study disasters” (2012:13). The range of the applicability of fractal analysis in the social sciences led Brown and Liebovitch to call for further studies to examine the commonality that unites these studies which would lead to a comprehensive overall understanding of their causes and occurrences.

For the purposes of this paper, following Bangura (2012), after computing the data for the univariate and bivariate statistics for the descriptive and inferential statistical analysis, I then plotted the data for oscillations between *order* and *disorder*. This technique allowed me to visually show the attractor reconstruction of the text. As can be seen from Figure 1, a log-log plot (or log-log graph) was employed to represent the observed units described by the two-dimensional variable encompassing *order* (y) and *disorder* (x) as a scatter plot/graph. The two axes display the logarithm of values of the two dimensions, not the values themselves. If the relationship between x and y is described by a power law,

$$y = x^a;$$

then the (x, y) points on the log-log plot form a line with the slope equal to a. Log-log plots are widely used to represent data that are expected to be scale-invariant or fractal because, as stated before, fractal data usually follow a power law (Bangura, 2012).

A logarithm is an exponent. It is illustrated in the following definition:

For $b > 0$, $b \neq 1$ and for $x > 0$,

$y = \log_b x$ if and only if $b^y = x$

Thus, since a logarithm is an exponent, it is easy to use exponent laws to establish mathematical generalizations (Bangura, 2012).

Analysis

Before engaging in the fractal analysis of the data generated from Crummell's text, I will begin with a description of the results generated after a thorough examination of his book. As shown in Table 1, a total of 239 topic entries were teased out of Crummell's ten chapters. Of these, I categorized 188 or 79 percent as presuppositions of *order* and 51 or 21 percent as presuppositions of *disorder*. The chapters in this text consisted mostly of presuppositions of *order* than of presuppositions of *disorder*. The mean for the *order* category is about 17 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 13 presuppositions; the mean for the *disorder* category is about five presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately four propositions. The range for the *order* category is 38 presuppositions and that for the *disorder* category is 13 presuppositions. This means that Crummell's work contains more instances of order, albeit not statistically significant, than of presuppositions of *disorder*. Moreover, the difference between *disorder* from chapter to chapter is relatively small. The standard deviation and the range for *order* are large, suggesting that the majority of Crummell's book is positive in nature.

Table 1: Univariate Statistics by Types of Presuppositions in *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc.*

Chapter	Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Order	Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Disorder
Preface	4	0
Chapter One The English Language in Liberia	33	10
Chapter Two The Duty of a Raising Christian State	28	1
Chapter Three The Progress of Civilization Along the West Coast of Africa	6	4
Chapter Four The Progress and Prospects of the Republic of Liberia	12	3
Chapter Five God and the Nation	13	2
Chapter Six The Fitness of the Gospel For Its Own Work	17	3
Chapter Seven Addresses on Laying the Corner-Stone of St. Mark's Hospital	7	1
Chapter Eight The Relations and Duty of Free Colored Men In America	42	9
Chapter Nine Hope for Africa	21	5
Chapter Ten The Negro Race Not Under A Curse	5	13
Total: 239 or 100%	188 or 79%	51 or 21%
Mean	17	4.6
Standard Deviation	12.6	4.2
Range	38	13

Source: Generated by the author

Figure 1 illustrates the fractal nature of the two-dimensionality of the variable. The figure demonstrates the course of the book. Figure 1 starts off orderly and takes a sharp dip at the end, which is consistent with the layout of the book. In the beginning of the text, Crummell saw a bright future for Africa; he embodied positive intuitive thinking. The text then moved on to discuss the plight of the continent from the time of enslavement to the progress made in West Africa through trade, and finally addressed what he believed to be the curse on Negros. As social scientists, we are tasked with explaining relationships; so in this analysis, it was appropriate to run a binary regression procedure to determine the strength of the relation between x and y (disorder and order). The binary logistic statistics reveal that the relationship between the two dimensions is not statically significant at the 0.05 level.

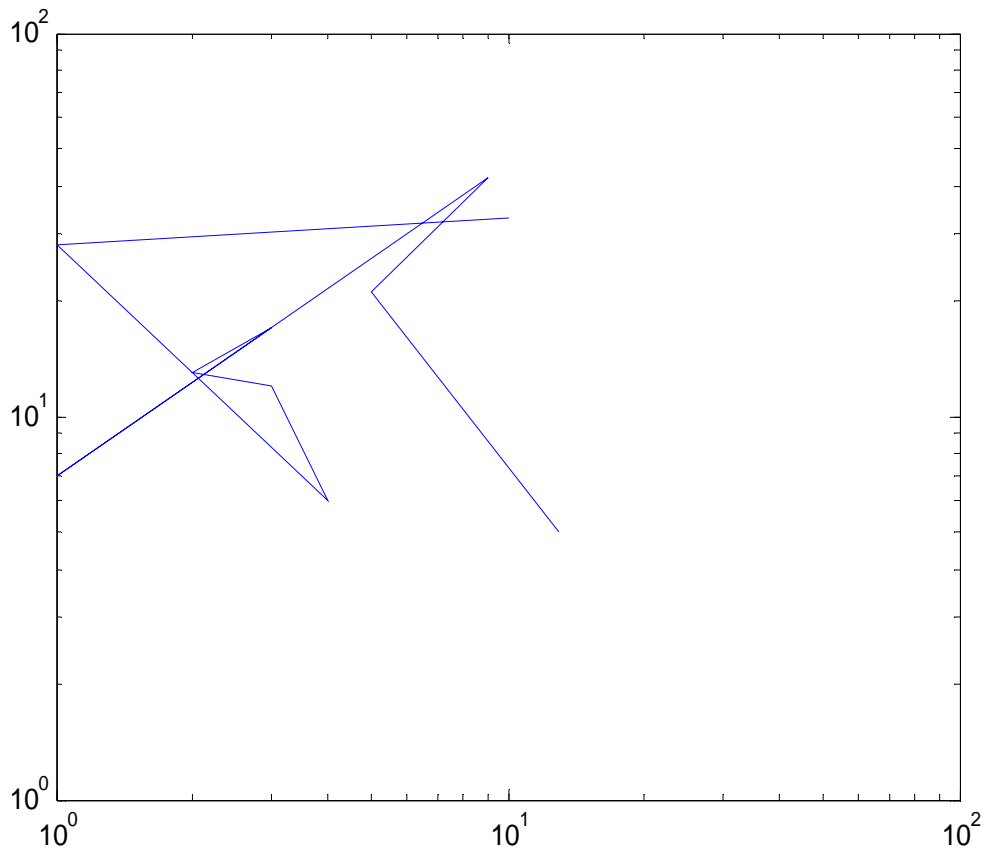


Figure 1: Log-log Plot Order vs. Disorder in *The Future of Africa*
 Binary logistic: $y=0.334+0.938$
 $R^2 = 0.112$; $p=.315$

In sum, Crummell's text consisted of what W.E.B. Du Bois would call double consciousness. The notion, as defined by Du Bois, refers to how African Americans were torn between two worlds; the American way of life where they are looked upon as foreigners or someone different than their White counterparts and their connection to the continent of Africa. As an American sent to Liberia, he represented the views of the colonizers and his homeland America; however, he still wanted to represent the views of Africans as a Black man. The notion of double consciousness has, however, been met with criticism for its implication. African Americans do not have a separate conscious. Their minds are not equipped with this "other" dementia that makes them different from other races. As Molefi Kete Asante argues in his text, *An Afrocentric Manifesto*, such words, phrases and notions are social constructs. The experiences faced by many African Americans are valid; however, as Asante acknowledges, there is a uniqueness to being black in a white-dominated environment (2007:5). The experiences of those individuals are tangible but it does not mean they have a separate consciousness to grapple with their feelings. Asante contends that not every Black person experiences this notion of feeling like an outsider. He states that double consciousness did not exist in the lives ordinary Blacks in America; it existed in fact, in Du Bois' life and perhaps in the lives of others like him who were more financially well off. Asante argues that ordinary Blacks were not faced with the matter of double consciousness because they do not have a desire to belong to the greater society. The author acknowledges that he did not experience the notion of double consciousness because he grew up in a predominately Black town with segregated schools so he did not have the experience of seeing himself through the eyes of Whites as Du Bois did growing up in Massachusetts.

Charles F. Peterson, also expresses his contention with Du Bois' idea of double consciousness in his work, *Dubois, Fanon, Cabral: The Margins of Elite Anti-Colonial Leadership*, in it he examines the life of Du Bois, Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral and concludes that, "The experiences of these three writers were those of individuals that had experienced a degree of privilege under colonialism that was not uncommon for their fellow blacks. So the Demographic for Double Consciousness was located in the elite groupings of colonialism" (2007:6). Peterson, like Asante, believes Du Bois' consistent interaction with Whites made him more aware of his skin color ultimately leading him to coin the phrase. Double consciousness, is thus a class specific analysis of the lives and experiences of Du Bois and his contemporaries. Although the idea of double consciousness has been met with reproach, the realities of Blacks being treated as second class citizens and looked upon as less than by Whites are accurate.

Crummell emphasized a Christian solution to lift Blacks out of their position of oppression. Although, he lectured and preached that Christianity was the only way to bring morality to uncivilized Africans in Liberia and to African Americans he found difficult to convince Liberians of his belief. With this new insight, it was important to revisit the literature review to gauge what the authors had to say about Crummell's work and contrast their views with the findings.

How many of these authors missed the mark? Which ones were spot on? Which ones only used a portion of Crummell's work to glorify or demonize him to further their own research? Upon the new, more informed fractal analysis, I was able to ascertain rather quickly which side of the spectrum these scholars found themselves.

For instance, in the article, "Crummell on the Metalogic of Non-Standard Languages" (2007), by Stephen Lester Thompson, he examined Crummell's views on reasonable resources of defective languages. He utilized parts of Crummell's speeches to advance his research on defective logical theory and to show how Black thought can produce logically interesting results. Phillip S. Zackernuk's "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis'" (1994) and "The Liberian Coasting Trade, 1822-1900" (1977) by Dwight N. Syfert both conducted historiographies to answer their research questions. The former wanted to discover if written history of Nigerians existed prior to the 1950s and the latter on how Liberians benefited from coastal trading before and after the country gained independence.

The article, "Who Are We? Africa and the Problem of Black American Identity" (2000), by Tunde Adeleke, spoke to the dilemma that African Americans then and now grappled with, which is how they define their African connection or if one exists. Adeleke examined Crummell's work since he and a few others were credited with developing a Pan-African consciousness. This dilemma, as illustrated in Adeleke's article and in Crummell's book, led to a spiritual tug-of-war of whether or not African Americans have an African identity worth affirming. Ultimately, Adeleke noted as evidence in Crummell's text that Crummell and others realized they had more in common with their American identity than their African heritage.

Along the same lines, "The Protestant Episcopal Church, Black Nationalists, and Expansion of the West African Missionary Field, 1851-1871" (1988) by J.R. Oldfield picked up on this notion of Black missionaries being sent to Liberia and how they felt it was their duty as Black Americans to "rescue the souls of Africans from moral doom" (1988:31). These Black missionaries wanted to prove that by enlightening their African brethren and helping them improve the conditions in Liberia, it would show that Blacks were capable of governing themselves.

Thomas H. Henriksen's "African Intellectual Influences on Black Americans: The Role of Edward W. Blyden" (1975) highlighted Blyden's belief of Black pride and the significant role Africans played in the history of mankind. Blyden wanted African Americans to connect the history of Africans with their own history as descendants of the continent. He and other intellectuals of the time thought it was their role to teach African Americans about the considerable role Africans played in the history of civilization and not to believe the misconceptions perpetrated by Whites.

In weighing these works, it was discovered that Oldfield's text completely missed the mark because it did not acknowledge the tug of war in African American consciousness. Adeleke and Henriksen both addressed this issue of African Americans wanting to help the continent and dispel fallacies about Africa and the history of the continent, at the same time realizing that their homeland was now America and they had more in common with the American way of life. Thompson was the only author to utilize Crummell's work to further his own research on logical theory and did not discuss the content of his speeches.

Conclusion

Borrowing from Bangura's fractal analysis essay on *Towards a Pax Africana*, the conclusion will recap the methodology and findings. The data gathered from Crummell's *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* made it possible to explore fractal patterns embedded in two dimensions: (1) *order* and (2) *disorder*. This was done to determine whether the topic entries in the ten chapters of the text display self-similar and stochastic fractals. The substantive findings, as stated earlier, reveal that because Crummell's work is a series of speeches that cover an array of topics from the benefits of the English language to the debate of whether the Negro race is under a curse, it allowed other authors to draw from various speeches to advance their research. This inconsistency in Crummell's work coupled with the theme of the book, debating the future of a continent where he discussed the history of Liberia, the good and the bad, is evident in the binary statistics employed to determine the strength of the relationship between *order* and *disorder* in the data, which is not statistically significant.

The findings demonstrate what many African Americans faced at the time: i.e. the idea of double consciousness. African Americans were mistreated in America and some went back to Africa to improve conditions there with the hope of returning; others struggled with their allegiance to Africa if one should even exist, and some were torn with accepting the fact that life in Africa was very different and perhaps relatively worse than life in America. These notions were repeated throughout the text and even supported (to my surprise) in Figure 1. The plot demonstrated the back and forth between positive and negative aspects of the text and of the lives of many African Americans during this difficult time in American history. Suggestion for future research could be a fractal analysis of the works of contemporary major Black thinkers to see if the double consciousness dilemma still exists today.

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