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The Lyceum as Contact Zone

Bayard Taylor's Lectures on Foreign Travel

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One of the fundamental questions that divided Americans from the early postcolonial period through the antebellum era was a debate about the foundation and formation of cultural life in the young nation. This ongoing debate played out and heightened a schematic division between two sharply opposed conceptions of the process of nation building—pitting cultural independence against global interdependence; exceptionalist isolationism against expansive or expansionist outreach; a cultural nationalism that came to be commonly associated with the Young America movement against a cosmopolitan vision that came to be associated with the life and work of Washington Irving. Should the new nation develop its own forms of self-expression by turning its back on the world and erecting firm defensive barriers to seal the garden of its cultural distinctiveness and purity, or should it grow and mature by throwing open its doors to foreign interchange and influence?

In this essay, I explore some ways in which these midcentury cultural debates were played out or negotiated in the programming and the performances of lyceum lectures. Challenging a sense of the lyceum as a discursive and educational space defined by and fully allied with cultural nationalist imperatives, I first sketch a general overview of Washington Irving and his important legacy in nineteenth-century America as it framed an alternative vision of the goals of lecture culture, especially within the realm of the popular travel lecture. Bayard Taylor, a widely celebrated world traveler and travel writer who became one of the leading stars on the midcen-

tury lecture circuit, then provides a vivid case study of the impact of this Irvingesque aesthetic vision on lyceum culture, bringing to the fore both its severe limitations and its great expressive possibilities. Indeed, in key moments in his lecture performances, Taylor transforms Irving's foundational model in important ways as he adapts it in response to the rapidly shifting international dynamics of a later historical period.

Taylor's example raises a second level of questions about the nature of the cosmopolitan vision that might be expressed in midcentury lyceum lectures. Travel writing and travel lectures—expressive forms that rose to an astonishing popularity in the mid-nineteenth century—are, in the most basic ways, globalizing forms, speaking for a strong contemporary fascination with and curiosity about modernizing developments that were bringing about increased contact between the world's formerly isolated and insulated cultures, tribes, or nations. But Walter Mignolo distinguishes two opposed modes of cosmopolitan vision that could arise in response to such developments: a "managerial" stance that promotes projects oriented toward mastery of the newly expanding world, and an "emancipatory" stance that aspires to new forms of "planetary conviviality."[1] How, then, does the midcentury lyceum travel lecture relate to these opposed modes of cosmopolitanism? Does it promote a global vision that serves as a vehicle for cultural forms of colonialism or imperialist expansionism, simply confirming the supremacy—the global reach and dominance—of Anglo-Saxon or Eurocentric cultures? Or does it offer to its audiences, in some modes or aspects, a cosmopolitanism aiming at cultural mediation rather than conquest, engagement rather than othering, interconnectedness rather than separation—seeking to effect a broadening of horizons, an opening to world influences, that might substantially transform a listener's sense of Americanness and of America's place in the world, developing as a vehicle for important critique of the narrowness of vision in the home culture?

Irving's *Sketch Book:* Template for a Cosmopolitan Tradition in American Arts

Widely celebrated as America's first great writer, and as the first American to make writing his profession, Washington Irving became, as one capsule history aptly puts it, "the central American literary figure between 1809 . . . and his death in 1859."[2] His visions of story, of the writer's or artist's stance, and of America's cultural position in an early postcolonial period shaped the work and thought of several generations of American authors, visual artists, and cultural critics. With his peripatetic life as an international

traveler, aesthetic tourist, and diplomat, he emerged as a founding example of and spokesman for early Romantic notions of an aesthetic or cultural cosmopolitanism, introducing a hugely influential model of the American writer as an expatriate global traveler, a cross-cultural ambassador, a cosmopolite. Inaugurating an important tradition within the new nation's arts and culture, Irving evoked through all of his writings the paradoxical vision of an American identity that finds itself most fully in transnational, or international, situations.

Irving's literary career coincided with the beginning of a great age of American travel and of travel writing, a transitional moment when an earlier age of exploration was evolving into an age of tourism. Going abroad to mark the beginning of his serious commitment to professional authorship, and then living abroad in a succession of European locations for much of his adult life, he made himself the model of the American writer who writes about home while always moving away from it, speaking not from within a bounded and self-contained "home culture" but more often from a life of constant physical and spiritual movement through a series of homes-away-from-home: wayside inns, firesides, coffeehouses. The title of one of his later story collections, *Tales of a Traveller* (1824), captures this characteristic sense of Irving's writings as dispatches from a life on the road. And indeed his foundational work in this line, *The Sketch Book* (1819–20), turns around a vexed or paradoxical relation to home, home soil, or home culture. The two invented works of American-based folklore here—"Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow"—mine the mythic potential in the Catskills and Hudson River area, showing how legend or story can arise out the native materials and native soil of an isolated, provincial American region, and so served as founding works breaking the ground for later literary movements of American regionalism or local color writing (as well as for Hudson River school painting and other native school work in the visual arts). But one cannot overlook the fact that these regionalist tales are presented within the frame of a book of foreign travel, as the meditations of an author searching for his place and his voice through voyages in other worlds.

As a narrative of foreign travel, *The Sketch Book* departed in fundamental ways from a dominant line of early travel writing that tended toward nationalistic chauvinism and a moralizing xenophobia. But *The Sketch Book* came to have a powerful legacy of its own, establishing the cultural stance, the conventions, the literary strategies, and the narrative structure—the genteel, sentimental, and picturesque aesthetic vision, and the openness to other cultural forms and influences—that would shape an important alter-

native line of American travel writing for generations to come.[3] And if they set a key pattern for American travel writing, Irving's travel-based books also set key patterns for American travel, for his celebrated works came to be widely used as literary tour guides defining itineraries and destinations for the voyages of generations of later aesthetic tourists.

Centrally inspired by Irving's portrait of the artist formed through foreign travel, aspiring writers, painters, and sculptors paid special, reverent attention to the autobiographical introductory chapters of *The Sketch Book*—"The Author's Account of Himself" and "The Voyage"—which express Irving's characteristic sense that to write is to embark on an oceanic voyage, and that legend arises not when one is rooted in the soil of one place or of one bounded culture but when one is at sea, alone in that sometimes terrifying gulf between worlds. In the book's first paragraphs, he tells us that his career as an artist had its germ in his youthful "rambling propensity"—an imaginative tendency always leading him outside the bounds of his home turf, toward the different, the exotic.[4]

These introductory chapters set the template for the image of the American writer or visual artist as a dreamy, idle, rootless bachelor traveler at sea, forever on the move and finding his aesthetic sources through experiences as a cosmopolitan mediator in cross-cultural encounters—always located at, and speaking from, the threshold between cultures. Opening up exploration of the international theme that would be so important to Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry James, as well as to Herman Melville, Irving highlights a condition of cultural estrangement seen to be basic to the writer's predicament. Indeed, the two most celebrated and resonant American legends in *The Sketch Book* both associate story and story-telling with homeless, traveling figures in exile—Ichabod Crane and Rip van Winkle—who play out divergent aspects of Irving's own situation as an imaginative writer in postcolonial America, allowing him to meditate anxiously on the unsettling implications of his aesthetic stance even as he is introducing and defining it.

But whatever the complexity and ambivalence inherent in Irving's position, his vision became foundational to the self-definition of several generations of the nation's most popular authors—including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Herman Melville, Henry T. Tuckerman, N. P. Willis, Donald G. Mitchell, Bayard Taylor, Richard Henry Dana Jr., Edward Everett Hale, Bret Harte, and, later, William Dean Howells and Henry James—each of whom took up the voice, tone, imagery, and stance of the Irvingesque voyager, founding his literary career on writing grounded in travel and centering his work on exploration of the dynamics of cross-cultural interchange.

"The Great American Traveler": Bayard Taylor's Travel Lectures

Bayard Taylor, one of the major followers in the line of Irving, combined impulses to write and to travel more fully than any other American in his era, merging these two vocations so thoroughly and successfully that Larzer Ziff describes him as the "inventor" of the "profession" of "travel writer"; by the early 1850s he had, certainly, as many observers have noted, made himself the "best-known professional travel writer" in America as well as "the archetypal 'travel lecturer' of the period" (fig. 8.1).[5] Stimulated by the careers and writings of Irving, Longfellow, and Willis, the young penniless Taylor followed their model for the formation of the American artist through foreign travel, but in the process he transformed that tradition significantly. First, his work spoke for and led to a dramatic democratization of such travel experience. Beginning his career as an adventurous youth addressing other similarly young aspiring travelers, Taylor produced writings that served in part as how-to manuals, showing through practical example that exotic foreign travel could be accessible not only to members of a well-heeled leisure class coming to see aesthetic tourism as a required display of cultural capital but also to youthful or working-class adventurers willing or even eager to seek out more bohemian down-and-out experiences in foreign lands—to rough it abroad "on the cheap." Then, responding in later writings to the requirement that a professional travel writer must always remain a step ahead of the tourist crowds, Taylor felt the need to seek out ever more far-flung experiences, further challenges to his own ability to rough it in exotic cultures under extreme circumstances. In this way, he also dramatically expanded the global scale of Irvingesque voyaging.

Setting out in 1844 on what would develop into more than a decade of almost nonstop foreign travel, venturing far beyond Europe to test himself physically as well as spiritually through rugged experiences of life in truly distant lands, amid truly exotic cultures, Taylor, as Tom Wright observes, covered "more ground than perhaps any other American of his age."[6] Beginning close to the *Sketch Book* model with a two-year walking tour of Europe, he then traveled to the American West in 1850 (as Irving had done in the 1830s) to witness on horseback the frontier life of Mexico and the California gold rush. In 1851, largely inspired by Irving's stay in Spain and his writings about Moorish culture and the Alhambra—"Your cordial encouragement confirmed me in my design of visiting the East, and making myself familiar with Oriental life,"[7] Taylor writes in dedicating his book *The Lands of the Saracen* to Irving—Taylor set out to explore the Middle East and North Africa, crossing the Nubian desert by camel and sailing down

FIGURE 8.1. Bayard Taylor, from *Putnam's Monthly* 4, no. 4 (August 1854). *Courtesy American Antiquarian Society*.

the White Nile from Cairo far past Khartoum before journeying on to Palestine, Asia Minor, and Spain. Then, in 1852, he passed through China and India on the way to a historic opportunity arranged by his publisher, Horace Greeley: the chance to become one of the first Americans to see Japan as an embedded journalist accompanying the 1853 mission of Commodore Perry to force the commercial "opening" of that isolated, exotic land. As a cap to this debilitating schedule of constant globe-trotting mobility, Taylor would make further voyages in 1856–58 meant to provide balance to his earlier experiences of southern lands, exploring first Scandinavia and the Arctic zone and then Greece, Russia, and Crete.

The journalistic letters he published in American newspapers while on

these voyages soon made Taylor a celebrity at home. And he was quick to take advantage of the public fascination by publishing a series of eleven hefty travel books (collected as *Bayard Taylor's Travels* in 1874) that he managed to produce during any brief moments between trips. The European tour resulted in *Views Afoot; or, Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* (1846), which went through six printings in its first year and twenty by 1855; the buoyant, charming letters home from the California gold mines were brought together in *El Dorado* (1850); the extended voyage through North Africa, the Levant, Spain, China, India, and Japan resulted in a series of popular tomes: *A Journey to Central Africa* (1854), *The Lands of the Saracen; or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain* (1854), and *A Visit to India, China, and Japan in 1853* (1855). And the prolific, hardworking, ambitious author also converted his later travels of 1856–58 into writing in *Northern Travels* (1859) and, finally, *Travels in Greece and Russia, with an Excursion to Crete* (1859).

Through these writings, Taylor succeeded in making himself one of most popular authors in his day, a literary sensation at least briefly holding a place in the pantheon alongside Irving, Longfellow, Emerson, James Fenimore Cooper, and John Greenleaf Whittier. (Over the course of a long career Taylor published seventeen volumes of poetry, four novels, dramatic works, story collections, books and essays in literary criticism, and important German translations—of Goethe's *Faust,* for example—but his status as literary star rested almost entirely on his preeminence as a travel writer.) To nurture this popularity, as well as to respond to it, Taylor soon found himself answering the call to appear on the lyceum lecture circuit—the "people's town hall" evolving in just this transitional period into a venue merging education and entertainment, instruction and showbiz, and increasingly centered on the celebration and amplification of the figure of the media star, the author as celebrity, the cultural spokesperson as "personality."[8]

In this travel-crazed period, American audiences from coast to coast were clamoring for the chance to see and hear in person the man now becoming a household name, in fact apparently coming to be widely known as "The Great American Traveler."[9] He then emerged as one of the preeminent voices on the lecture circuit throughout the 1850s, an indispensable fixture on the program of any ambitious lyceum. Lyceum historian David Mead describes how, through his lecture tours, Taylor became one of "the most admired and talked-about men in antebellum America," and a *Harper's Weekly* obituary, looking back at Taylor's life, paints a vivid picture of this midcentury moment when his "lectures of travel . . . were more charming and attractive to the public than any other Lyceum oratory; special trains

were run, and no hall was large enough for the crowds that wished to hear him."[10] So, for Taylor, a life and literary career grounded in foreign travel quickly translated, in North America, into a life defined by even more rapid, restless, nonstop wandering from lectern to lectern.

Deluged with invitations to speak, for many years through the 1850s he endured, and became deeply frustrated by, a highly lucrative lecture season of nearly two hundred performances, lasting from fall to early spring, in a wide range of far-flung venues.[11] During the 1854–55 season he lectured 130 times, to full houses on each occasion, which would have earned him between $7,000 and $10,000. He told one friend that he had performed 278 times in eighteen months in 1859–60.[12] By another measure, Taylor apparently delivered nearly eight hundred lectures between 1850 and 1865.[13] His biggest successes came, though, with his series of travel lectures given from 1853 to 1858, in which he played variations on a repertoire of five main scripts about different exotic experiences and cultures: "The Arabs," "Japan and Loo Choo," "India," "Life in the North," and "Moscow," sometimes paired with a more generalizing effort, "The Philosophy of Travel."

It is easy to imagine how the preeminent traveler who had, in Ziff's words, "brought the world to the American fireside" would come to have a special fascination for average Americans in the 1850s.[14] In some ways Taylor does clearly perform the fundamental function so well defined by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes,* her seminal study of European travel writing since 1750: the stories of his personal experiences of the "contact zone"—Pratt's apt term describing "the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact and establish ongoing relations"—speak to the huge hopes and deep fears of an audience coping with a form of culture shock brought on by the rapid pace of globalizing movements forcing new openings to and interchanges with the broader world.[15]

Early movements tending toward such an expanded global awareness had been celebrated by Irving in his 1819 *Sketch Book,* where he voiced the hope that Americans might be especially well situated to lead the world in defining an "enlightened and philosophic" approach to this emerging cosmopolitan reality: "What have we to do with national prejudices? They are the inveterate diseases of old countries, contracted in rude and ignorant ages, when nations knew but little of each other, and looked beyond their own boundaries with distrust and hostility. We, on the contrary, have sprung into national existence in an enlightened and philosophic age, when the different parts of the habitable world, and the various branches of the human family, have been indefatigably studied and made known to each other."[16] But the developments that Irving had blithely hailed in 1819 had

expanded dramatically in scope by the midcentury, and could be felt to be progressing at a dizzying pace.

Taylor's travel lectures, then, helped to bring home the abstract dynamics of globalization and imperialist expansion, as he enacted, in his own person, the unsettling drama of the interdependence and interconnectedness of the world's peoples, giving a human face to his audience's confusions and questions about the relation of their own bounded, "fireside" lives to the increasingly planetary movements of capital, power, and knowledge. And, while addressing the anxieties of his readers and listeners, Taylor's accounts could also reassure them, helping them to feel part of these planetary developments, offering them what Pratt sees as basic to the cultural work of travel writing in the era: "a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized."[17]

The great attraction of Taylor's lecture performances seems in fact not to have been the chance to hear further accounts of marvelous sights in faraway places, or to be amazed by reports on the exotic lifeways of foreign peoples. All of that was already abundantly available in books and articles. Rather, what brought out the crowds was the opportunity to encounter and assess the enigma of the traveler himself: the representative American everyman who had left small-town Pennsylvania to immerse himself in a wild range of global cultures and now returns to tell about it. How would this speaker—who had learned foreign languages, eaten foreign food, worn foreign clothes, traveled with foreign peoples—have responded to or been transformed by his almost incredible experiences of Otherness?

Taylor often appeared on the platform in the costumes of the people he was speaking about—donning an oversized fur hat for the lecture "Moscow," or an Oriental turban and robes to deliver "The Arabs"—and his image came to be associated in the popular mind with these trademark foreign garments. The Bedouin robes, in particular, became central to the appeal of his lecture performances, as Carl Bode observes: "Dressed in his colorful Arab costume with a scimitar at his side, Bayard Taylor . . . found as ecstatic a welcome as any lecturer could wish."[18] Indeed, the podium appearances of this bearded, athletic-looking speaker with his turbaned head, loose-fitting Bedouin gown and trousers, and curved Oriental sword were "reported to have made women swoon."[19] When the painter Thomas Hicks wanted to capture an epitome of Taylor's stance as traveler (and travel lecturer) in an 1855 portrait, he presented his friend in "Bedouin" costume, reclining with his Middle Eastern hookah above a view of Damascus—a vision then reproduced in Whittier's poetic portrait of Taylor: "One whose Arab face

was tanned . . . / And, in the tent-shade, as beneath a palm, / Smoked, cross-legged like a Turk, in Oriental calm."[20]

To twenty-first-century readers, Taylor's emphasis on costuming might be dismissed as a marketing strategy, an attention-grabbing gimmick reflecting the lyceum's turn to showbiz and entertainment. More seriously, it might suggest the shallowness of a vision that sees only the surfaces of foreign folkways and trivializes the complexities involved in cross-cultural interaction, making the difficult process of reciprocal exchange seem as simple as a child's game of dress-up. Hilton Obenzinger, for example, mocks the "orientalist theatricality" and "cultural transvestitism" of romantic midcentury American tourists like Taylor, whose wearing of Arabian Nights costumes seems to speak for a facile and complacent appropriation of the Other.[21] Donning that foreign dress could seem to imply an assertion of the ease of cultural dominance, with the globe-trotting Western adventurer displaying his Arab robes on stage as a sort of trophy—a commodified sign that Taylor has been to the desert, confronted it, conquered it, and returned as its possessor. Indeed, Hicks's painting *A Morning in Damascus* can be read in just this way: the painter imagines the American voyager naturally taking his place of privilege in a new incarnation as a Arab sheikh, surrounded by the accessories of his leisure, lording it over his barefoot native servant, and mastering the background Middle Eastern city from his position on a panoramic overview.

But this was not how Taylor's midcentury lecture audiences were meant to respond to his foreign costumes. On the contrary, the Russian hats and Arabic robes served during Taylor's performances as key elements in his effort to present himself as a personal embodiment of his central message—a message fundamental to his cosmopolitan vision—about the potential life-altering effects of cross-cultural travel. The point is not that Taylor has emerged from his international voyages as an imperial self able to project his values onto other cultures, and free to appropriate the cultural forms of others; on the contrary, the costumes are Taylor's stagey way of registering that he has himself been transformed by his interactions with the foreign. Conceiving of his travel lectures as a mission, a crusade to promote his cosmopolitan ideal to American audiences, Taylor appeared at the lectern as a figure who has recognized the globalizing dynamics of the contemporary world and has taken them on—not in the sense of resisting those developments, but in the sense of opening himself to them and incorporating them into a reformed, refigured personal and cultural identity. An American wearing Bedouin robes, familiar yet strange, Taylor appears before home audiences as an uncanny, hybrid figure, performing the transnational

human identity he wants to evoke and celebrate. This consciously unsettling, provocative self-image is meant to challenge settled complacency and chauvinism in the home audience, provoking listeners into thought about their own self-definition.

In "The Philosophy of Travel," his most abstract lecture articulating the goals of what he called his "lecturing crusade,"[22] Taylor puts a central stress, in example after example, on what he sees as the foundational gift necessary to make possible the highest form of cross-cultural travel—the gift of being flexible, adaptable, resilient, which can help the traveler go beyond his own cultural limits and be reformed through international exchange: "He whose nature has not been harnessed by the moulds of custom, or warped by the prejudices of sect, is to some extent a microcosm, embracing within himself something of the characteristics of all the races of men." Quoting the words of "an old Arab poet" to reinforce this main, Irvingesque theme—"Fly thy home, and journey, if thou strivest for great deeds"—Taylor sums up the desired result of such an "enlarged experience of the world": the traveler "learns to overlook the narrow boundaries of creed and sect and to perceive that . . . there is some truth everywhere—that all the virtues of humanity are not monopolized by his own peculiar circle." And this broadening of horizons, opening into an expanded, cosmopolitan vision of how a global humanity expresses itself in a diverse range of cultural embodiments, begins for Taylor when the voyager is able to "penetrate the national character of each country he visits, and without losing his own, to identify himself as much as possible with new habits of thought and new standards of judgment."[23]

But, for Taylor's traveler as for Edgar Allan Poe's detective Dupin, this process of intersubjective identification with the object of investigation is not only intellectual or imaginative; the "penetration" of a "national character" is seen to operate through a physical playing of roles, with the traveler taking on not just foreign "habits of thought" but a foreign *habitus*—the language, foodways, gestures, bodily carriage, and everyday practices that define a distinctive way of inhabiting the world. "The true cosmopolite," Taylor tells his lecture audience, must be able to shift his "habits according to his locality," thus "making himself equally at home in all parts of the world": "He wears the Andalusian jacket, plays the guitar and dances the bolero, in Spain; he eats macaroni, and swears by Bacchus and by Hercules, in Italy; he drinks beer and smokes meerschaums in Germany; in England he wears stiff cravats, short whiskers, and a pink in his button-hole; in Turkey he sits cross-legged, hires a pipe-bearer, and assumes a grave countenance."

For Taylor the lecturer, then, the adoption of a foreign costume is seen not simply as an effort to imitate the external surfaces of other people's lives but as a performative way in to the visceral, lived experience of other people, other lives, other cultures: "You can establish no magnetic communication with another race, without conforming in some degree to their manners and habits of life. Unless you do this, you carry your own country with you wherever you go, and you behold new forms of life merely from the outside, without feeling the vital pulse which throbs beneath. The only true way of judging of a man's actions is to place ourselves in his situation, and take our bearings from that point; and the only way to understand a people thoroughly, is to become one of them for a time." Here Taylor takes up the theatrical dynamics central to Irving's model of aesthetic tourism only to transform the model in surprising ways. While Irving's bachelor traveler is always a detached spectator, appreciating the picturesque surfaces of local scenes at a distance, Taylor holds up the example of the "sympathetic traveler" who is able to play a role himself, in the manner of the local actors. This idealistic vision of travel as physical and spiritual self-transformation—as an attempt to become other, or to be able to pass fully as another—begins when Taylor's shape-shifting voyager cuts himself off from all contact with his native land (traveling alone or with locals, leaving compatriots behind, and avoiding letters or newspapers from home) in order to immerse himself in a new *habitus* and so to take on the new forms of a foreign life: "There is no home influence to attach him to his old self, and he speedily puts on the new nature which he travels to find."[24]

Competing Cosmopolitanisms in Taylor's Travel Writings and Lectures

In many contemporary reports, this does seem to have been recognized as the central effect and message of Taylor's travel lectures. He came to be widely celebrated as the era's epitome of the "cosmopolite" or "cosmopolitan," emerging not only as the prime spokesperson for the cosmopolitan ideal but as, in Tom Wright's words, a celebrity embodiment of that ideal, fascinating and provoking American audiences through his enactments of a "performed cosmopolitanism."[25] In a report on one talk, "The Arabs," a Wisconsin newspaper explained the compelling power of Taylor's local lyceum performance by relaying the speaker's presentation of his own situation, giving a sentimental, melodramatic, midcentury spin to the classic story of the cosmopolite "citizen of the world": "As a traveler, Bayard Taylor has no equal and probably never had one. The ties of home being early sundered

by affliction—the world is his country, and all mankind his brethren. Whether turbaned like a Turk bestride a dromedary, traversing the pathless desert, or in the luxurious Capital of the Prophet, he is equally at home. In Japan or Africa, he is among friends whose customs he adopts, and whose opinions he respects."[26] A San Francisco report paints a similar picture, explaining that crowds naturally throng to hear "so universal a traveler," curious to assess the character and presence of a man who has come through such demanding cross-cultural experiences: "He is a tall, good-looking and still youthful man. Nobody would suspect that he had been in every quarter of the globe, and had described almost every representative country in the arctic, temperate and torrid zones, and almost every race of people."[27]

But beyond playing to the midcentury audience's basic curiosity about personal experiences of the global contact zone, what *sort* of travelers' knowledge would Taylor the cosmopolitan offer to the listeners who filled every seat at his lyceum performances?

It is difficult to answer searching questions about the implications of Taylor's cosmopolitan stance and message, largely because, in his travel writings as in his lectures, Taylor can seem to be almost schizophrenic—speaking, writing, and thinking at different moments in two distinct, and opposed, modes. Giving expression to the larger culture's dividedness on these central issues, he can oscillate between what seem to be contradictory stances and discourses even within a single moment in a particular travel report. Although many characteristic passages promote a globalizing vision that is Eurocentric, chauvinistic, imperialist, and hierarchical in its "scientific" ranking of the world's races, the vital expressive moments that Taylor was most known for—eloquently conveying to his audience the firsthand drama of being immersed in a fully foreign world—are designed to take his listeners on an imaginative voyage through an intercultural contact zone, speaking for disorienting and enriching experiences of interaction, reciprocity, and self-transformation that invite and enact an opening to the world in the service of a utopian effort to bridge the apparent differences between the world's peoples. Taylor undoubtedly offered his lyceum audiences a broadly cosmopolitan vision, then, as a counter to contemporary advocates of a bounded cultural nationalism or isolationism. But this cosmopolitanism could work in two very different ways. In some modes it operates as a tool to reinforce imperialist expansionism and notions of Western or Anglo-Saxon cultural supremacy; in an alternative vein, it develops as an oppositional discourse that can serve as the basis for unsettling critique of a narrowly Eurocentric or chauvinistically American worldview.

A Cosmopolitanism of Mastery: Mapping Hierarchies of Global Culture

Several critics have recently put a strong emphasis on key passages in Taylor's works that seem to define his cosmopolitanism clearly along the lines of the first mode described above: as an ideological tool providing a rationale to support contemporary movements working to extend Western economic, political, and military domination around the globe. The subtitle of his California book, *El Dorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire,* could be taken as a fitting summary for much of his thinking in this mode. And Taylor's direct participation in Commodore Perry's mission to "open" Japan would then stand as the epitome of this position. Of course this voyage was an anomaly in Taylor's work, since for he was best known not for travel on the giant vessels of a huge military machine but for his low-tech, on-the-cheap, quasi-bohemian solo explorations on foot, camel, horseback, or reindeer sleigh. And the idea that he might be allowed to serve as the only embedded reporter accompanying the Perry mission did not originate with Taylor. Although he did personally win over the reluctant commodore during a private interview, the basic arrangements, giving Taylor a major journalistic coup, were made for him by his sponsoring newspaper, the New York *Tribune,* and its insistent editor, Horace Greeley. Also, in writing up his experiences with Perry's team, Taylor did register his confusions and questioning as he was being rushed along to join up with this imperial mission, offering withering criticism of the effects of British colonial rule in India as a prelude to his service as witness to his own nation's encounter with the Japanese.[28]

But Taylor's participation in the opening of Japan, narrated in his lecture titled "Japan and Loo Choo," does underline the potential relation between the travel writer's cultural cosmopolitanism and the powerful dynamics of American expansionism, expressed in this case through a brutally aggressive assertion of military and diplomatic force in the service of a blatantly exploitative form of economic globalization. Here a fundamental cosmopolitan ideal—the sense of the need for all human societies to open into intercourse with the community of other nations around the world—is co-opted as a rhetorical rationale justifying the opening of new global markets to Western profiteering and the threatened invasion by military force of an isolationist local culture. In the official *Narrative* compiled by the Perry mission, Japan is put forward as an admonitory example of the necessary destruction of localist barriers; cosmopolitanism emerges as an inexorable, universalizing cultural and intellectual movement that requires the breaking

down of those barriers—a force that dominates, that can be imposed: "Japan had no right thus to cut herself off from the community of nations" and must "obey the universal law of hospitality."[29] Though he refrains from full boosterish support for such a vision of this imperialist encounter, Taylor's written and spoken reports of it do narrate what Ziff describes as the Perry mission's "display of triumphant diplomacy" in a way that could pander to the jingoism of an American audience eager to hear of these latest movements in an expansionist destiny, a continuation of the national push to the West.[30]

Another more general, and perhaps more telling, way in which Taylor's vision of cosmopolitanism is linked to an imperialist model comes in his lecture "The Philosophy of Travel," in a rising passage celebrating "mobility" as the foundational dynamic basic to his sense of the "progressive" values inherent in a cosmopolitan model of culture: "If we note the course of History, we shall find that a country is progressive, in proportion as its people travel. None of the great nations of the ancient world ever grew up to power on its original soil. The Egyptians, the Hindoos, the Greeks and the Romans, all migrated to their seats of Empire."[31] Of course, Taylor goes on to trace the historical evolution through which these dynamics of ancient imperial conquest came to be refined in more contemporary movements of commercial travel, scientific travel, and travel for personal education. And the point of this historical lesson is to reinforce Taylor's main theme—his enthusiastic advocacy of the intellectual benefits of travel for individuals: "Travelling is, in fact, the world's greatest college. . . . These are the results which we seek to attain by going forth into the world:—the pleasure and profit to be derived from a wide range of experience; the enlargement of our intellectual vision; the cultivation of our entire nature."[32] But Taylor's history of the traveling impulse does underline his basic sense that cosmopolitan, traveling peoples (whether societies or individual members of those societies) are resolutely separate from and superior to local or sedentary ones, not just because of their "progressive" breadth of knowledge but because this travelers' knowledge is related to power: the power to move in and occupy the soil of others; the power of "conquest."

Here we mark a crucial transformation in the travel dynamic that Taylor inherited from Irving and Longfellow. While Irving and many of his initial followers made their journeys in an early postcolonial moment as visitors opening up new ties to lands that had been dominant colonial powers in their home country, Taylor's later voyages take him farther afield—to explore relations with lands and peoples that could in some ways be considered potential colonies of a rapidly expanding American power. Certainly

Taylor's writings on Mexico include strong, direct advocacy of national expansion into that territory.[33] And many of his reports from more exotic, truly Other lands conclude with blunt summary assertions of a Western cultural superiority that grounds current economic and political developments extending Western mastery over increasing areas of the globe. During his extensive tour of Egypt and North Africa, Taylor tells readers that, in the end, all that he has seen simply reinforces his appreciation of the virtues of the race that has produced the "progressive" civilization that he shares with his audience: "the highest Civilization, in every age of the world, has been developed by the race to which we belong."[34]

The celebration of "mobility" in "The Philosophy of Travel" similarly culminates in a vision of the great hierarchical typology of races: "With scarcely an exception, the inferior races are stationary, and the roving propensity increases as we ascend the scale, until it culminates in the Anglo-Saxon, which is now the ruling branch of the highest, or Caucasian race, and which has so scattered itself over all the lands and seas, that before many years its telegraph lines will be able to put a girdle around the Earth in forty seconds."[35] Where Irving's *Sketch Book* began with his evocation of the idiosyncratic "rambling propensity" that defined the American artist's mobile imagination and sent him out into the wider world as a homeless bachelor traveler testing his relation to the powerful traditions of other longer-established cultures, Taylor's vision is founded on a "roving propensity" that defines not so much a personal quality as the essential character of a race—a race of Caucasian travelers who have now begun to penetrate all the lands on the planet and whose technology will soon "girdle" the globe.

At such moments the message of "The Philosophy of Travel" develops in complex, confusing, contradictory directions: advocacy of personal travel as a broadening of horizons merges in problematic ways with promotion of travel as an expansion of national or cultural dominance; emphasis on the urge to learn from other cultures can morph abruptly into expression of the urge to rise above other cultures; enthusiastic evocation of the ideal of "planetary conviviality" can conclude with powerful support for "managerial" mastery; and a cosmopolitan celebration of the human potential shared by all peoples sits uneasily beside sudden turns to rankings of the world's peoples in relation to the ideal of cosmopolitan mobility: "In our day, the nations which travel are the Anglo-American, the English, the French, the German and the Russian, and these are the great powers of the Earth."[36] While the most extended argument in "The Philosophy of Travel" urges the desirability of crossing cultural boundaries—stepping into other lives and experiences without judgment, toward a goal of expanded universal

understanding—Taylor can then invoke this internationalist vision to make essentialized distinctions between the world's nations or races, judged according to their native interest in or gift for intercultural travel and exchange. The shape-shifting abilities of Anglo-American globe-trotters, allowing them to gain a full panoramic sense of a universal potential in all humans, make them clearly superior to less-developed "inferior" peoples who remain "stationary"—bound to the singular, settled cultural forms of their ethnic or racial enclave: "The negro race of Africa, . . . have always clung to their original seats, and have never emerged from their original barbarism"; "When the Chinese shut themselves out from communication with the rest of the world, their life began to stagnate."[37]

In summary conclusions such as these, Taylor is offering American readers and lecture audiences a flattering sense that the mobile representatives of their progressive culture can bring back to them privileged access to a form of comparative cross-cultural knowledge that makes them masters of the world. They can feel that they are gaining a knowledge that differentiates them from others, opening up a totalizing global perspective that orients them in relation to others. This is the aspect of Taylor's books and lectures that leads Ziff to conclude that the cosmopolitan world traveler finally only confirms his audience in their provincial complacency: even though "he educated Americans about their place on a racial map of the world," thus undeniably broadening his audience's narrow frame of reference, "the message the famous traveler conveyed to his stay-at-home countrymen was that their cultural/racial superiority was confirmed by the ways of the world."[38] Taylor's travel lectures, then, can be seen in some ways to operate precisely along the overarching lines defined by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes,* her study of European travel writings—they "created the imperial order for [those] at home and gave them their place in it. . . . They made imperial expansion meaningful and desirable to the citizenries of the imperial countries"—or summarized by Bruce Harvey in *American Geographics,* his analysis of the cultural work of midcentury American travel texts—they "provide Western mastery of the non-Western."[39]

As we have seen, one key way in which Taylor works to forge meaning out of the world's multiplicity and diversity is to embrace currently popular hierarchies of nationality and race. It is surprising, in fact, to see the broadly educated Great Traveler, at certain moments, summarizing the results of a voyage by resorting to the most reductive forms of racial essentialism, referring to new "sciences" of craniology or phrenology to fit different human specimens into the neatly differentiated typological pigeonholes of a sort of natural history cabinet, on the basis of their bodily forms. This is not

a cosmopolitanism of cultural relativism. In such moments, a form of cosmopolitan, cross-cultural knowledge is deployed not to bring out a sense of the connections between the world's peoples but, rather, to make possible invidious comparative judgments that help to establish radical separations between cultures and peoples. In his more generalizing travel lectures, Taylor could assert this physiological vision with blunt clarity: "Moral and mental traits are almost uniformly revealed in the physical appearance of a race. The African Negro is tall, but absolutely without grace or beauty. Correspondingly, he has no significant art."[40]

One of Taylor's chief concerns in *A Journey to Central Africa* is to argue, along these lines, for firm distinctions between the Negro or African race and the Egyptians or "Orientals" who are seen to be the ancestors of the Caucasian peoples: the "graceless" movements of African warriors help explain why the Negro race, unlike the Egyptians, has never been capable of the progressive development that would allow them to attain "a higher degree of civilization than is at present exhibited in Congo and Ashantee."[41] In his "Japan and Loo Choo" lecture, differences in physical appearance between the Chinese and Japanese define the moral superiority of the latter, as the "stolid, impassive" faces of the graceless Chinese speak for their "mental inertia" and the "stagnation" of their culture, whereas the graceful and curious (even Yankee-like) Japanese faces express that progressive race's "lively and active mind."[42]

Underlying these physiological judgments and codifications is an unexamined aesthetic vision; the standard of grace or beauty or symmetry often invoked here as a universally applicable measure is that defined by the progressive Western civilization. And at the top of this classificatory hierarchical typology comes, always, the white European, as could be made most apparent in the direct distillations of the basic message in Taylor's travel lectures: "Every important triumph which man has achieved since his creation belongs to the Caucasian race. Our mental and moral superiority is self-evident."[43]

How do we explain such moments within Taylor's work? Perhaps, most simply, he is here—usually in the concluding passages of lectures, articles, or books—trying to wrap things up neatly, assuring audiences that they will receive some pay-off, some take-home message. And he often does this by giving his midcentury listeners what he thinks they want, pandering to expectations of a rise to a patriotic point, or to strong-felt demands in this period that global knowledge should be expressed through increasingly precise schemes of "scientific" international classification. At midcareer Taylor also faced a crisis of confidence that led him to give a new value

to what he saw as the "sciences" of travel. When he undertook a massive project of research and reading to make selections and prepare the preface for the *Cyclopaedia of Modern Travel* (1856), a hugely ambitious historical compendium of nineteenth-century travel writing, Taylor came to see the travel mode for which he had become known—the narrative of personal experience—as limited, inadequate, near-sighted, uninformed, leading to no new knowledge.

Overwhelmed by what he found in the writings of Alexander von Humboldt, the genius to whom the *Cyclopaedia* was dedicated, Taylor resolved to transform his own work by attempting to develop the basis of a true traveler's stance through study of the modern sciences of anthropology and ethnology. This impulse is also what led to his decisions to undertake his two later voyages, to the Arctic zone and Russia, in order to balance his earlier southern explorations and thus attempt to give his oeuvre the overall shape of a "human cosmos"—a compendium registering and mapping all the grand divisions of the world's humanity.[44] Park Benjamin's famous, damning witticism about Taylor, which has now perhaps come to have more currency than any of Taylor's own writings—"[Bayard Taylor] has traveled more and seen less than any man living"—seems to imply just the self-critical point that Taylor himself would begin to make about his own work: immersing himself in firsthand sensations and perceptual details, he often failed to provide a final overview, to arrive at a grand, outside perspective from which he (and his readers) could "see" the big picture. In fact, Taylor wrote that he would have agreed with Benjamin's remark (which he initially believed had been made by Humboldt) if he had said, "No man who has published so many volumes of travel has contributed so little to positive science."[45]

A Cosmopolitanism of Cultural Mediation: The Lecture Hall as Contact Zone

But Taylor's efforts to achieve what he came to valorize as positive, scientific knowledge in fact seem to have led him to turn away from his real strengths as a traveler and writer. In his books and articles, there is often a characteristic turning point when Taylor makes a sudden, signature transition from graphic, detailed re-creation of his own particular foreign experiences to attempts at generalizing, comparative cross-cultural analysis—to the "philosophy" or "science" of travel. This transition can be even more marked, and forced, in his lectures as Taylor leaps from accounts of close-up immersion in the life of a foreign land to the detached, outsider's overview

of that life. And it is remarkable how often the concluding overview seems not only to be detached from the traveler's experiences just recounted but to contradict those experiences.

"The Vision of Hasheesh," a *Putnam's* article building upon a set-piece passage from *The Lands of the Saracen,* recounts the hallucinatory bafflement provoked by an excessive ingestion of hashish as a sort of microcosmic enactment of the plot of a standard travel narrative: we follow the narrator on a disorienting trip to a world in which no familiar standards apply. But, in the end, this essay offers a clear example of Taylor's tendency to turn away from his own insights and experiences out of a characteristic urge to conclude things in a state of mastery, of solidity, of safe return. After many pages of vivid, graphic, and hilarious description, in the dark romantic vein of Poe or Thomas De Quincey, conveying the overwhelming effects of this experiment in letting go, of yielding to the influence of mind-altering Middle Eastern drugs—where the ground is very clearly shifting under the feet of this naive pilgrim—Taylor steps outside the experience in the last paragraph to speak for a moralizing lesson that minimizes the mental travel into irrationality that has kept readers mesmerized: "It has taught me the majesty of human reason and of human will . . . and the awful peril of tampering with that which assails their integrity."[46] In a more directly travel-oriented case, Taylor's lecture "The Arabs" went on at length, in some performances, about his discovery of the richness of the Muslim religion and the value of its vision of the historical commingling of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian traditions—Arab culture suggests that "portions of the Divine Laws have been revealed not to us alone"—before concluding in its last few sentences with a paean to the superiority and distinctiveness of Christianity: "the religion of Mahomet has done its duty."[47]

The "Philosophy of Travel" is crucially marked by similar swerves. Though not based on any one travel experience, this lecture centers on an extended series of colorful, concrete, visceral evocations of the efforts of Taylor, and of other famed voyagers, to make contact with foreign lives by inhabiting foreign lifeways: "I have lived on red-peppers and black beans in Mexico; rice and curry in India; roasted sheep and raw onions in Central Africa; goat's flesh and garlic in Spain; and shark's fins and bird's-nest soup in China."[48] These catalogues of graphic travel scenes—meant to incite audience members to consider setting off for their own experiments in cross-cultural exchange—imply a performative notion of culture, as model Western travelers show by example that one can "cut loose" from the forms and practices that define one's "native character" to take on a role in the social theater of a foreign people, moving like them, dressing like them, eating

like them, speaking like them, and so becoming "one of them, for a time."[49] But then, when Taylor feels the need to arrive at a general "philosophy" of such travel, he falls back on a deeply ingrained habit of cultural categorization: "In the floating society of travel, no less than in fixed communities, we get the habit of arranging men into classes, and after a little experience it is as easy to decide to which class a person belongs as it is to pronounce upon his nationality."[50] Where the Africans or the Chinese ignore the benefits of cross-cultural interaction, the Frenchman makes a good traveler "because his nature is essentially theatrical"; such impulses are also "the natural inheritance of the Saxon and Scandinavian races"; but "after the Germans and the Russians, the Americans are the most sympathetic of all travellers."[51] In such passages, the argument turns, once again, from a stress on the porousness and malleability of cultural constructions to an opposed emphasis on the immutability of distinctions in essential "nature" among different cultures or races.

Here, again, Taylor's celebration of the ease and desirability of cutting across cultural boundaries—following the example of the traveler who learns to "identify himself as much as possible with new habits of thought and new standards of judgment"—confronts the scientist's model of the planet as a natural-history cabinet defining firm barriers between each categorized national identity.[52] And with this move we turn, characteristically, from a nonjudgmental, relativistic exploration of diverse "standards of judgment" to a hierarchical ranking of global cultures. Indeed, by the end of the lecture, Taylor feels the need to stress his reintegration within the home culture and values of his audience, as he concludes by defending himself from any possible suspicions that his long history of participation in the lives of exotic peoples may have led him to go native, losing his original identity as a representative of the dominant civilization of the West: "I am a most earnest advocate of Civilization. . . . The coarse life of a savage is abhorrent to all our sympathies. . . . The true nobility of human nature only exists in civilized lands."[53]

In his book *Going Abroad,* William Stowe introduces a clarifying analysis of American travel writing according to the classic, tripartite structure of tribal-initiation ritual defined by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, in which the voyaging persona moves through three phases: from separation, through a liminal/mixed/threshold stage, to a final reintegration within the home community. Stowe takes Bayard Taylor as his prime example of a traveler who only goes through the motions of the mixed, confusing "liminoid" experience of cross-cultural travel because, for him, the entire process is, from the outset, so fully oriented to the moment of reintegration

as "an inevitable, foregone conclusion": "[Travel] changed him, however, not a whit." In Stowe's view, Taylor stands as the polar opposite of Margaret Fuller, whose trip to Italy developed as a transformative, "revolutionary odyssey." Taylor, by contrast, never really leaves home; the central persona in his travel writing is never capable of being transformed; and thus his travel accounts might be *in*formative but can never be *trans*formative for readers.[54] But while Stowe's vision does capture something of what I have been describing as the strong drive for an ending—or for reintegration into the home culture of American audiences—evident as one characteristic tendency in Taylor's travel narratives, I would argue that Taylor is in fact more appropriately understood as a *specialist* in the liminal, and that the most vital and intriguing moments in his work come not in the pat conclusions of his writings and lectures but in his introductions and intermediary passages—with his graphic and scenic re-creations of his personal sensations, experiences, and responses during the unsettling, destabilizing liminoid stages of his initiations into foreign cultures and his voyages through foreign lands.

From the first, what distinguished Taylor's approach to travel was not his desire to master or to dominate or to judge through external observation but his adaptability, his eagerness to connect with and to get a feel for other lives from within. Even Ziff highlights his remarkable gift for "submerging himself in local ways."[55] As we have seen, the central, and distinctive, message in Taylor's "Philosophy of Travel" is a celebration of the "sympathetic" traveler's willingness to give himself over to an experimental, perhaps utopian, effort at participatory immersion in the practices of foreign lives—as the basis for what he calls a "true" cosmopolitanism: "[The sympathetic traveler] . . . is the true cosmopolite, shifting his habits according to his locality, and making himself equally at home in all parts of the world. . . . You can establish no magnetic communication with another race, without conforming in some degree to their manners and habits of life. Unless you do this, you carry your own country with you wherever you go, and you behold new forms of life merely from the outside, without feeling the vital pulse which throbs beneath."[56]

Lecture performances of "The Arabs" began with a similar keynote message, not imposing a singular Western system of values but advocating the benefit in recognizing a relativity of cultural standards: "Those who have always lived in the same climate, and associated only with men of their own race, can form but little idea of the diversity of human character." Urging a stance of "charity to all," Taylor then went on to argue against easy, "one-sided," anti-Arab judgments: "We must adopt *their* highest ideal of excellence

as the standard by which they must be judged, as men."[57] Rather than treat the Arabs as enemies, he says, he "associated and fraternized" with these people—"In their steps I followed"—and presents himself as someone who "loved them and desired to be their advocate."[58]

In his Europe book *Views Afoot,* he insists on the fact that his tour was undertaken mainly on foot, and that this meant he spent most days not with tourists or ruling elites but in the company of migrant, indigent, working-class commoners and itinerant students. In the same way, the preface to *A Journey to Central Africa* stresses, as his main motive for undertaking this demanding journey, Taylor's "desire to participate in their free, vigorous, semi-barbaric life." He also makes clear that, counter to currently dominant modes of Orientalist vision, his focus is not on a frozen memory of past existence in Egypt but on contact and interaction with the living, evolving present; his interest is "more in the live Arab than the dead Pharaoh."[59] And this cross-cultural interaction is most fully achieved after a major turn in the book, when Taylor leaves behind the luxurious mode of aristocratic tourism he had adopted while floating down the Nile in the company of a German count and his many servants—just observing the aesthetic show as he drifted by it at a protected distance—and, in a new phase, decides to head out on a camel for an extremely demanding desert crossing in the company of native camel drivers speaking only their native Arabic. Riding the camel for eight to ten hours a day, Taylor shifts from the role of Irvingesque tourist to that of Ledyard-like explorer, from spectator to participant, as he tests himself by immersion in this new life, and the focus turns (as it does in the later narratives of Lawrence of Arabia's initiation in the desert) to his own physical, emotional, and spiritual responses to the camels, to these Arab companions, and, especially, to the blowing sands and intense sun.

This tendency in Taylor then tends to erase, or at least to blur, what at other moments can seem to be a sense of absolute difference between the mobile cosmopolitan and his isolated, grounded, local subjects of study. In these scenes the accent shifts to areas of connection or resemblance between the American traveler and natives from other races. In the company of camel drivers crossing North African deserts, or common sailors crossing the Atlantic, or itinerant workers walking between European cities, Taylor can feel a special sense of comradeship or even identification with "locals" who are also fellow travelers—"free and roving peoples," as he puts it in "The Arabs." The "Wandering Arab" is a fitting type of that race, Taylor observes, expressing special reverence for the Bedouin camel drivers he relied on as "mariners" in the oceanic expanses of the desert.[60] Especially in the case of

these Bedouin guides, who are seen to live an existence based on continual mobility—always on the move between more sedentary tribes or settlements—and who can surprise him with a comparative, travelers' knowledge not only of diverse tribes but also of other regions and cultures, Taylor presents his interactions with exotic natives not on the classic hierarchical model of emerging ethnography—as encounters between broad-minded cosmopolitan voyagers and bounded, limited locals—but as, in James Clifford's words, meetings between "discrepant cosmopolitanisms."[61] Looking back in later years at his time among the camel drivers crossing the Nubian desert, Taylor can even hold up those "mariners" as models of the best approach to travel, thus placing them as non-Western cosmopolitans figuring an alternative to the classic European cosmopolitanism of a Humboldt.[62]

Compared with most tourists or travel writers, Taylor stayed much longer in each land that he visited. And during his stays he did, as he says, eat the local foods, wear the local clothing, live (for the most part) in local dwellings. Over and over, this point is noted as the chief interest in reports on his lecture appearances. A San Francisco report on a performance of "The Arabs" notes that Taylor began with his usual emphasis on the fact of his own extended participatory immersion in the exotic worlds he will describe: "Eight months he lived with Arabs, as one of themselves. He spoke their language, dressed, ate, and drank with them, slept in their tents and wandered with them over their deserts."[63] Angela Ray notes that here Taylor was fulfilling in spectacular fashion what had become a basic requirement of lyceum performance: the sense that a lecturer be seen to be speaking from firsthand, eyewitness, personal experience.[64] Another news report promoted Taylor's "Philosophy of Travel" lecture in just these terms: "Certainly the author of the 'Journey to Central Africa,' the man who has traveled over a good part of a hemisphere and taken its 'views *afoot,*' who has taken *Hasheesh* by the quantity and traveled among the Arabs as a Bedouin, and who has seen the Elephant he told us of on Tuesday, in India, must have a system of philosophy on such things worth hearing."[65]

But in some ways the close-up, detailed reports of his immersive cross-cultural experiences could prove to be more profound than Taylor's efforts to arrive at systematic philosophical conclusions or to frame the results of his personal experiments in international travel within a comparative study of global cultures. Perhaps the most significant of Taylor's attempts at engaged participation in foreign lives came with his efforts to inhabit the local language. Following in the tradition of Longfellow, Taylor would, on most of his extended stays, take the time to develop something like fluency in the native tongue as well as in the local literary or aesthetic forms. As a

result, his travel reports are distinctive in that they do not always operate unselfconsciously in one linguistic register, simply representing the lives of foreign peoples by translating them into Western terms or by imposing Western grids of expectation on them.

In *The Lands of the Saracen* and *A Journey to Central Africa,* Taylor's everyday encounters with foreign natives (who speak only Arabic) frequently revolve around questions about their language or discussions about their literary conventions and distinctive modes of expression. And the "Arabs" lecture gives a central place to reporting the results of these conversations through extended evocations of the distinctive, non-Western expressive modes that so fascinated Taylor: the intricate elaborations characteristic of the nonrepresentational mode of the arabesque; the magic and romance of *Arabian Nights* fable; the exhilarations and dangers latent in flights of a Middle Eastern fictional imagination—studied as a form of wild "exaggeration," which is itself explained as "the imperfect form of metaphor." Taylor is effusive in praising the artful musicality and gorgeous images of Persian poetry, which he knew well, having published *Poems of the Orient* (1854), a collection of his own work in the mode of the fourteenth-century poet Hafiz, in which his persona frequently speaks as a globally aware Muslim, expressing his Eastern worldview while refuting Western misperceptions of it. And in his effort to speak for the moral character of an Arabic verbal culture, Taylor also incorporates into the "Arabs" lecture a retelling of a number of short Arab prose parables.[66]

In Taylor's written travel narratives, peak moments of reciprocity are often marked by the exchange of stories—thus not simply imposing a mode of representation on the local culture but, in some ways, conveying a record of the local culture's own self-image in its own modes and figures. A major turning point in *A Journey to Central Africa* comes when the romantic traveler finds what has always been the highest goal of his Middle Eastern visit—"a living experience of the Arabian Nights." Here, after another discussion of local expressive modes, his Bedouin guide Achmet agrees to recite, in Arabic, an oral tale for Taylor, who reclines with his turban, pipe, and coffee to relish every word, which he then transcribes at length for his Western readers. Christoph Irmscher describes this extraordinary moment, when Taylor gives his book's narrative voice over to his local servant for the length of a chapter, as "an egalitarian exchange hardly to be found elsewhere in the American travel literature of the time."[67] Sealing a personal bond between the Western traveler and his local guide, this exchange of fables then leads to an intimate exchange of passages from sacred texts (mainly the Koran and the Bible) that culminates in a cosmopolitan shar-

ing of religious principles—a recognition of "the one great and good God" beyond the differences of Prophet and apostle—making Taylor and Achmet close, tale-sharing comrades for the rest of the voyage.[68]

The ability to enter into some forms of two-way communication, then, means that often Taylor is able to present foreign peoples not only from the outside, through surface descriptions of their bodies, clothing, and behaviors, but also through re-creations of their roles as participants in a rich, highly defined culture. Unlike the Western travelers catalogued by Pratt, Taylor always stresses that the people he visits do have a religion, a complex code of conduct, an aesthetic vision, and so on. And because Taylor has developed at least a rudimentary ability in the local language, his travel experience becomes much more interactive than that of more standard tourists; in key moments, we see him not only judging his companions but learning *from* them.

In his eyewitness mode, Taylor characteristically presents himself not as an older voice of wisdom able to make firm pronouncements about what he sees and knows, but in his original persona as an adventurous youth, open to the experience of an initiation into unknown ways of being. In this attitude, Taylor is not dominating but, more often, yielding as he comes slowly to a fuller sense of the ways of life around him. The drama in these moments is not so much about a final urge to know, to convert everyday interactions into knowledge, as it is about the traveler's experience of not knowing. Knowledge in Taylor's firsthand descriptions of his experiences of the contact zone is not the possession of the well-traveled visitor but of the local hosts. And in extended scenes tracing Taylor's slow processes of learning, initiation, and adaptation, *he* is the one who is being transformed—changing his manner of expression, his bodily *habitus,* his clothes. When Taylor appeared at some travel lectures wearing his Arabic robes and turban, or his Russian fur hat, he was, first of all, bringing lecture audiences back to the key moments they would remember from his travel books, in which he managed to follow guides who could help him to give up his learned values and everyday practices to immerse himself in local ways. As we have seen, the foreign clothing was meant as a sign that Taylor has incorporated some elements from his travel experiences into his reformed being; that travel has involved some reciprocal interchange; that, contra Stowe, Taylor has not returned from his journeys the same as he was when he began.

When Taylor emerges from these liminoid experiences to try to put into words what he has learned through this process, we get a remarkable series of strong statements advocating values diametrically opposed to those of the "scientific" and imperial Western vision. *The Lands of the Saracen*

works to counter an unhealthy, obsessive American work ethic through extended celebrations of the value of "rest" and "indolence," of new experiences of the senses and of bodily sensuality, and a revisionary defense of what Taylor terms "animal existence." Touring Spain, Taylor compares "Orientals" to "Christians" and asserts, "One's sympathies are wholly with the Moors." If he were to begin anew and decide his own religious affiliation based on what he saw of the practitioners of all the world's religions when visiting Jerusalem, he says, "I should at once turn Mussulman."[69] Surprising audiences by reversing their conventional vision of Western values, Taylor would assert in the "Arabs" lecture his certainty that "Christian knights first learned their sense of honour and chivalry among the Saracens at the time of the crusades."[70] (The oppositional thrust of that point might be heightened as it was spoken by a lecturer proudly wearing an Arab sword said to have been made in 798 A.D. and to have been used in bloody battles against Christian crusaders.) In a later lecture on Egypt, Taylor told his audience that in North Africa he discovered that all that is best and most progressive in America's "progressive" civilization—"the best elements of our sciences, laws, morals, and religion," as well as the movements for temperance and women's political equality—had its basis in ancient Egypt.[71] As he said, Taylor wanted to counter anti-Arab sentiment and speak as their advocate. So the liminal initiation into other worlds can, at certain moments, especially when the topic is the Arab world, turn Taylor's native worldview upside down—and leave him speaking *for* the "foreign" *to* his countrymen. In this mode the traveler uses what he has learned abroad not just to flatter Western or American chauvinism but to critique it, making use of the comparative platform of travel writing to challenge and resist the self-limiting aspects of midcentury nationalism, and to denaturalize American values. In the last lines of his "Arabs" lecture, he summarizes for his listeners the most profound result of his experience among the "remarkable people" of the East: it has left him deeply skeptical of the "insatiable national vanity" that has led Americans "to think we are about as near perfection as men can reach."[72]

But more often Taylor's liminoid, firsthand experiences of being immersed in another world *cannot* be so clearly distilled into such summary value judgments—pro *or* con Western, "civilized" values—or into solid bits of take-home comparative knowledge. Instead, in the most compelling moments in his writing and lecturing, he seems to seek to put himself into confusing, disorienting, extreme situations that cannot be rationally, abstractly summarized and articulated, but instead can only be presented through close-up, blow-by-blow accounts of strong, strange sensations, quasi-hallucinatory visions, and, especially, immersive threshold experiences. These

graphic firsthand accounts, for which Taylor was best known, do not center on rock 'em sock 'em physical adventure so much as on extreme tests of the traveler's self-identity—challenges that situate the individual spirit not in a state of imperial mastery but, rather, in something like abjection, or ecstatic, ascetic dispossession. In scenes re-creating his encounters with the light and sand of the desert, his efforts to endure the light and cold of the Arctic, his experiments with hashish, or his literal immersion in the Arabian baths, Taylor is not only documenting an exotic exterior environment with detailed, scientific empirical solidity but also recording *changes in himself,* in his interior life, testing his own epistemological and spiritual bearings.

In *American Geographics,* Bruce Harvey has shown how, for a line of early American travelers, the Holy Land of the Middle East became the site for tests of a voyager's theological and psychosexual virility.[73] Taylor, exceptionally fit, succeeded in joining this lineage, making himself, in Ziff's words, "America's first great popular Orientalist."[74] But while Taylor's physical exploits in following the White Nile in North Africa showed him pushing farther than previous explorers into dangerous new territory, and his desert crossings involved feats of extreme endurance beyond anything in John Lloyd Stephens, his writings and lectures urged an opposed approach to the experience of the cross-cultural voyage. Describing his ideal of "sympathetic travel" in "The Philosophy of Travel," he argues that "the most favorable physical temperament is that which is pliant and yielding, rather than that which accompanies bodily vigor. Men of large frames and great muscular strength are apt to suffer from changes of climate: their systems are resistant and set up an active opposition, instead of accommodating themselves to the change of circumstances."[75]

In *A Journey to Central Africa,* Taylor models this stance of yielding rather than conquest, accommodation rather than resistance, in his ecstatic descriptions of his physical ordeal of immersion in the desert sands and sun. He notes that most tourists feel the need for lined umbrellas, broad hats, or green veils to protect them, but Taylor wants nothing to come between him and the "fierce red Desert"; he wants not so much to see it (through the distorting frame of protective veils) as to feel it. And although the intense sun was painful, physically damaging his eyes—thus forcing him to give up a reliance on the dominant sense of vision—he describes the full-body immersion in its rays as a "burning baptism" through which he begins to be initiated into the life of the East: "You must let the Sun lay his scepter on your head, if you want to know his power."[76] Here Taylor does not adopt a stance of virile mastery but yields, passively, sensually, to the dominant force of a visceral experience arising out of the foreign environment.

The value of yielding to the mastery of the foreign is also dramatized in sensational fashion in the scenes of Taylor's experiments with hashish, which are narrated in an article in *Putnam's* and a key chapter in *The Lands of the Saracen* and re-created in central passages in the "Arabs" lecture. Although this ordeal is psychological rather than physical, the hashish is first taken as a cure for the severe eye problems caused by Taylor's immersion in the harsh North African sun, and the drug-inspired visions show how the traveler has internalized the dynamics of the desert crossing: "I was moving over the Desert, not upon the rocking dromedary, but seated in a barque made of mother-of-pearl. . . . I suddenly found myself at the foot of the great Pyramid of Cheops . . . [and] saw that it was built not of limestone, but of huge square plugs of cavendish tobacco!" In this hallucinatory reprise of his Egyptian experiences, Taylor takes his audience through an Arabian Nights experience of cross-cultural travel, of "wandering for years in some distant world." Far from dominating, the traveler is now seen to be "possessed," under the influence of a powerful Oriental drug that "masters" him and gives him a new bodily form: "I was a mass of transparent jelly, and a confectioner poured me into a twisted mould." This mental travel does expand his horizons—"the walls of my frame were burst outward and tumbled into ruin"—but the loss of a familiar frame here is fearfully disorienting, bringing Taylor close to madness.[77]

A much more positive vision of this mode of travel experience comes in another of the set-piece chapters in *The Lands of the Saracen:* "A Dissertation on Bathing and Bodies." The "peculiar institution" of the Eastern bath is celebrated as a "sensuous elysium," and Taylor counsels a literal immersion in its ritual practices as the most direct means of transforming oneself and beginning to inhabit the lifeways of the East. Here again the proper stance is not one of "stiff-necked" resistance but, rather, once again, of yielding to the mastery of foreign arts and influences: "The Oriental yields himself body and soul" to the heat and steam, and to the sometimes painful physical manipulations, of the bath process. To understand the bath, a Westerner must accept the pipe from the young attendant with "submissive lips" and lie "passively," like an infant, to respond to the molding and reformation of his body: "He must be as clay in the hands of a potter." Though an uptight initiate might be fearful of this deep massage, Taylor advises, "It is only resistance that is dangerous. . . . Give yourself with a blind submission into the arms of the brown Fate, and he will lead you to new chambers of delight." One will find that all these bodily ministrations, provoking "thrills of the purest physical pleasure," transform the soul as well as the physical frame. This visceral experience, then, inspires Taylor to effusive

praise of the beauty of the naked human body, grounding what emerges as a strongly Whitmanian challenge to fundamental Western values—urging the importance of rest as an alternative to a compulsive mobility, idleness as a healthy complement to an obsession with productive work, and reverence for the body as temple to counter censorious Victorian attitudes toward sensual bodily enjoyment.

In his account of his own initiation into the bath, Taylor uses the pronouns "you" and "we" to draw his individual readers into the process, placing himself as a guide who can lead a newcomer, moment by moment, through the stages of this disorienting, transformative experience: "Come with me, and I will show you the mysteries of the perfect bath. Here is the entrance, a heavy Saracenic arch, opening upon the crowded bazaar. We descend a few steps."[78] The account is meant to work, then, not only as a report on Taylor's own past travels but as a present experience of travel for the reader who participates imaginatively in the scene.

This is the effect Taylor is aiming for during some peak moments of his travel lectures, especially in the "Arabs" lecture, which was based on the books *A Journey to Central Africa* and *The Lands of the Saracen* and weaves together reprises of those texts' set-piece essays on pipes, coffee, baths, bodies, hashish, and Eastern expressive modes. Working in this register, Taylor not only recounts a moment of personal experience but also attempts to present that moment in a way that places the reader or listener as a participant at the experiential center of what is being described. Tom Wright has noted how the sensually detailed, vivid, scenic firsthand reporting in the lectures is rarely presented in the first person. Instead, Taylor characteristically slips into the second person in these passages—"you see" this and "you sense" that—thus drawing the engaged listener in, placing him or her within the developing scene.[79] So here the travel lecturer may not be simply reporting *on* the experience of complex cross-cultural interactions in the contact zone but attempting to give some audience members the feeling of voyaging through the contact zone themselves.

And this voyage is not always solidly grounded, settled. Taylor brings in listeners in this way not only for his great set-piece panoramas, providing what Mary Louise Pratt terms an imperial "monarch-of-all-I-survey" vision, but also to conjure the effect of his more subjective experiences of dispossession and loss of mastery.[80] The "Arabs" lecture, for example, begins with strong attempts to convey the overwhelming intensity of noonday sun in the desert, as Taylor shifts away from a first-person syntax to situate his listeners within the landscape that in his view is the ground of Arab culture: "at times the eye can scarcely support" the "deep and dazzling colors"

experienced in this "inmost heart of fire." Audience members are also meant to relive Taylor's original affective response to the bracing purity of the desert air, imaginatively taking it in themselves: "You breathe the unadulterated elements of the atmosphere."[81] In the same way, the "Moscow" lecture takes listeners through the process of a first entrance to the city—just as the "Baths" chapter guided initiates into the bathhouse waters—introducing each added detail in the second person so that the elements of this dazzling, disorienting visual spectacle slowly come together before the eyes of each audience member: "Your eyes, accustomed to the cool green of the woods and swamps, are at first dazzled with the sight."

But Taylor's goal here is never to arrive at a moment of perspectival mastery, when all becomes clear in overview. Rather, his tendency is to evoke the sense of foreign travel as an experience of overwhelming wonder: "There comes a moment when you doubt whether what you see belongs to this actual world, or whether some work of the genii, forgotten since the age of fable, has not been left to punish your modern unbelief." Taylor characteristically associates this effect of enchantment with his own experience of Arabian expressive modes. Introducing his Moscow lecture with reference to an Arab legend about a "marvelous city," he suggests that listeners who participate in the visual spectacle of his approach to Moscow will feel with him that this city "was built while the lamp was yet in Aladdin's hands" and observes that, in the Russian winter, these colorful buildings "appear as strangely out of place as a turbaned Oriental smoking his pipe on a block of ice."[82] A Taylor travel lecture, then, seeks to initiate engaged listeners into a romantic vision of cross-cultural travel, in which the dazzled voyager enters a wonderland where standards and proportions are constantly shifting, and it is difficult to tell what is real and what is Arabian Nights enchantment—or hallucination.

Another especially intriguing lecture passage that seems to work in this way comes in the middle of "The Arabs." Here Taylor is explaining how he became familiar not only with the words and grammar of the Arab language but also with some more profound aspects of the East's distinctive expressive modes, especially the tendency to "exaggeration" or "lying," a "vivid imagination" and "Orientalism of style" that, he claims, traces its roots to the use of Indian hemp or hashish. Western travelers who fear intimate association with Arabs, thinking the locals will take advantage of them through their infamous lies or exaggerations, need only prepare themselves: knowledge of native modes of communication is the key to success in cross-cultural interaction. Taylor then admits that, after many months of his own everyday conversational interactions with Arabs, he

found himself transformed by these local habits, beginning to think and speak in the mode of fable, legend, or exaggeration: "To confess the truth, after I was able to converse with some fluency in Arabic, . . . I was frequently guilty of the most shocking enlargements." Though he assures his audience that he has now learned to tame this habit, having returned to a mode of Western "veracity" and to the "plain" truths expressed in English—"I am now strictly speaking the truth"—he nonetheless leaves the half-joking but provocative suggestion here that this return to Western "veracity" may be a ruse, and that perhaps much of this lecture has been an exercise in Arabian "exaggeration."[83]

This suspicion might then be strengthened when Taylor's lecture immediately turns away from the mode of "plain" truth to dive into further enthusiastic discussions of the extraordinary imagery in Arabian tales and the elaborate verbal ornaments in Persian poetry, only to move from there into an extended recounting of the hallucinatory visions that possessed Taylor during his experiment with hashish—an experiment he undertook in an attempt to understand the sources of the fantastic Arabic imagination. Perhaps Taylor has not only been providing knowledge *about* Arabic language but has been addressing his American listeners from within an Arabic expressive discourse that he has now internalized. Perhaps he is not only wearing Oriental robes but has also taken on the deep structure of the Orient's language. If it does work in this way, this complex lecture passage would involve a lyceum experiment in something like what Pratt calls "transculturation."[84] In the place of a knowing Western discourse *about* the Orient, we may be encountering an Oriental voice talking back, foregrounding the limits of the Western ethnographic project. Taylor here plays with the potential *heteroglossia* of the contact zone—seen to operate not only in his original experience but now in the experience of his listeners. Is this lecture offered as literature or science? Fiction or fact? An Arabic or a Western expression? The effect is to provoke and test members of the lecture audience, to pose a challenge to them, and perhaps to give them at least a taste of the disorienting experience of true travel into the mixed world of the contact zone.

What I have been evoking in these final examples is not the *only* voice in Bayard Taylor's writing or lecture performances, but it is one of the most distinctive elements in his work, and it does serve as the ground for an alternative form of cosmopolitan traveler's knowledge that unsettles the solidities of the system of power and knowledge inherent in the dominant mode of globalizing imperial vision—the vision that is so powerful in shaping the generalizing conclusions in many of Taylor's travel reports. This

other, distinctive voice and perspective in Taylor's lectures could represent his most important, still-relevant legacy for twentieth-first-century readers as we continue to try to negotiate questions of cosmopolitan identity in an increasingly interdependent world.

NOTES

Access to autograph lecture manuscripts (archived at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania) and to some newspaper reports on Taylor performances was made possible through the generosity of Tom Wright.

1. Walter D. Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism," in *Cosmopolitanism,* ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 157–58.

2. Hershel Parker, introduction to *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* ed. Nina Baym et al., vol. B, 6th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 960.

3. On the place of Irving's *Sketch Book* within the history of nineteenth-century American travel writing, see Alfred Bendixen, "American Travel Books about Europe before the Civil War," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing,* ed. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 103–26.

4. Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.,* ed. Haskell Springer (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 8.

5. Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 119, 157; Bendixen, "American Travel Books," 118; Tom F. Wright, "The Results of Locomotion: Bayard Taylor and the Travel Lecture in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States," *Studies in Travel Writing* 14, no. 2 (June 2010): 112.

6. Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 120.

7. Bayard Taylor, *The Lands of the Saracen; or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain* (New York: Putnam, 1855), iii.

8. On this point, see Angela Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005), 36–41; and Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1956), 201–23.

9. Bayard Taylor to James T. Fields, 17 February 1854, *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* ed. Marie Hansen-Taylor, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884), 1:269.

10. David Mead, *Yankee Eloquence in the Middle-West: The Ohio Lyceum 1850–1870* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), 113; "Bayard Taylor Remembered," *Harper's Weekly,* 11 January 1879. Both cited in Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 120. See also Bode, *American Lyceum,* 230–31.

11. Kent P. Lyungquist, "Lectures and the Lyceum Movement," in *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism,* ed. Joel Myerson, Sandra Petrulionis, and Laura Dassow Walls (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 337.

12. Paul C. Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor* (New York: Twayne, 1973), 52, 61.

13. Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 120.

14. Ziff, *Return Passages,* 169.

15. For more on the concept of the "contact zone," see Mary Louise Pratt, "Criticism in the Contact Zone," in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 8.

16. Irving, *Sketch Book,* 48–49.

17. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 3.

18. Carl Bode, *American Lyceum,* 217.

19. Malini J. Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms: Race, Nation, and Gender in Literature, 1790–1890* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 32.

20. John G. Whittier, *The Tent on the Beach and Other Poems* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 16.

21. Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 45. See also Hilton Obenzinger, "American Palestine: Mark Twain and the Touristic Commodification of the Holy Land," *Yale MacMillan Center Working Paper Database,* 1 September 2002, 121, http://opus.macmillan.yale.edu/workpaper/pdfs/MESV5-3.pdf.

22. Taylor to James T. Fields, 15 April 1854, *Life and Letters,* 1:274.

23. Bayard Taylor, "The Philosophy of Travel," 2, 7, 42–43, 28, lecture manuscript, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA (hereafter, CCHS).

24. Ibid., 30, 31, 41.5.

25. Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 126.

26. "Bayard Taylor's Lecture," *Wisconsin Patriot,* 6 April 1855.

27. "Bayard Taylor's Lecture on The Arabs," *San Francisco Bulletin,* 2 September 1859.

28. Bayard Taylor, *A Visit to India, China, and Japan* (New York: Putnam, 1853).

29. Francis L. Hawks, ed., *Narrative of the Expedition of the American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan,* 3 vols. (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), 1:76, 273. Cited in Ziff, *Return Passages,* 142, 148.

30. Ziff, *Return Passages,* 146.

31. Taylor, "Philosophy of Travel," 5.

32. Ibid., 4, 7–8.

33. See Ray, *Lyceum and Public Culture,* 106.

34. Bayard Taylor, *A Journey to Central Africa, or, Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile* (New York: Putnam, 1854), 237.

35. Taylor, "Philosophy of Travel," 6–7.

36. Ibid., 6. Walter Mignolo uses the terms "planetary conviviality" and "managerial" mastery to distinguish two competing visions of the cosmopolitan in "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis," 157–58.

37. Ibid., 5–6.

38. Ziff, *Return Passages,* 140, 154.

39. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 3; Bruce A. Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830–1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 10.

40. Taylor lecture cited in Richard Croom Beatty, *Bayard Taylor: Laureate of the Gilded Age* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 150.

41. Taylor, *Central Africa,* 336, 158.

42. Bayard Taylor, "Japan and Loo Choo," 4–5, lecture manuscript, CCHS.

43. Taylor lecture cited in Beatty, *Bayard Taylor,* 151.

44. On Taylor's vision of "scientific" travel inspired by Humboldt, see Ziff, *Return Passages,* 156–57; and Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor,* 51, 70.

45. Benjamin and Taylor cited in Ziff, *Return Passages,* 166–67.

46. Bayard Taylor, "The Vision of Hasheesh," *Putnam's Monthly* 3, no. 16 (April 1854): 408. Versions of this account are repeated in chap. 10 of Taylor's *Lands of the Saracen* and in his lecture "The Arabs."

47. Taylor, "The Arabs," 33–34, lecture manuscript, CCHS. See also "Bayard Taylor's Lecture on The Arabs," *San Francisco Bulletin,* 2 September 1859.

48. Taylor, "Philosophy of Travel," 36.

49. Ibid., 33–34, 31.

50. Ibid., 20.
51. Ibid., 31, 34.
52. Ibid., 28.
53. Ibid., 39–40.
54. William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 22, 26. Stowe uses the word *liminoid* to distinguish Turner's vision of the potentially transformative middle stage as opposed to the more conservative function of van Gennep's "liminal" moment.
55. Ziff, *Return Passages,* 121.
56. Taylor, "The Philosophy of Travel," 30–31.
57. Taylor, "The Arabs," 1–3.
58. "The Arabs," *Texas State Gazette,* 4 April 1854.
59. Taylor, *Central Africa,* 2, 5. Malini Schueller points to passages like this when, in her survey of midcentury American writings about the Orient, she singles out Taylor for his definition of a self-conscious, historically aware traveler's stance that in many ways resists and critiques the era's conventional thinking about an exotic, dematerialized East; Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms,* 32, 156.
60. Taylor, "The Arabs," 1–3.
61. James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies,* ed. Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 108.
62. "Bayard Taylor on the Arabs," *Macon Georgia Telegraph,* 14 February 1854. This vision of the Bedouin drivers also recurs at several points in Taylor's *Lands of the Saracen.*
63. "Bayard Taylor's Lecture on The Arabs," *San Francisco Bulletin,* 2 September 1859. Taylor's script for the lecture actually reads, "For seven months I was in almost daily intercourse with the Arabs"; Taylor, "The Arabs," 4.
64. Ray, *Lyceum and Public Culture,* 104.
65. *Milwaukee Sentinel,* 1 March 1855.
66. Taylor, "The Arabs," 19, 23–24, 29. On *Poems of the Orient,* see Christoph Irmscher, "Bayard Taylor and the Limits of Orientalism," in *The Limits of Literary Historicism,* ed. Allen Dunn and Thomas F. Haddox (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 77–104.
67. Irmscher, "Bayard Taylor," 91.
68. Taylor, *Central Africa,* 240–41, 257.
69. Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen,* 425, 79.
70. Taylor, "The Arabs," 8; "Bayard Taylor on the Arabs," *Macon Georgia Telegraph,* 14 February 1854.
71. "Ancient Egypt," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 9 March 1875.
72. Taylor, "The Arabs," 34. On this point, see Tom F. Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 125, 127.
73. Harvey, *American Geographics,* 107–8.
74. Ziff, *Return Passages,* 138.
75. Taylor, "The Philosophy of Travel," 41.
76. Taylor, *Central Africa,* 521–22, 495.
77. Taylor, "Vision of Hasheesh," 402–8. Also appears as a chapter in Taylor's *Lands of the Saracen,* 133–48.
78. All citations here and above are from chapter 10 of Taylor, *Lands of the Saracen,* 149–60.
79. Wright, "Results of Locomotion," 123.
80. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 197–204.
81. Taylor, "The Arabs," 5–6.
82. Bayard Taylor, "Moscow," 1, 4–6, 20, lecture manuscript, CCHS.
83. Taylor, "The Arabs," 18–19; "Bayard Taylor on the Arabs," *Macon Georgia Telegraph,* 14 February 1854.
84. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 7–8.