

INTRODUCTION

Malini Johar Schueller

Can a slave write a travel narrative? To even pose the question is to bring together fundamentally unequal rights of access: those available to a slave and those available to a citizen free to travel. The *Dred Scott v. Sanford* decision of 1856 had made these inequalities abundantly clear. Even free blacks whose remote ancestors had been brought to the country as slaves were not, and were never intended to be, included as “citizens” of the United States. The movement of slaves from the South to the free states was therefore simply the movement of a slaveowner’s property, a right protected by the Constitution.¹ Travel, however, implies a certain freedom of mobility and access to sights and cultural spaces that then get reported in travel narratives. This does not mean that slaves did not travel but rather that their travel was circumscribed by the fact that they were part of an entourage; they waited on their masters or looked after his children. Slaves, like the servants of Victorian bourgeois travelers, scarcely ever achieved the status of “travelers,” the power to comment and interpret being largely an “Anglo” privilege, one involved in the production of what Mary Louise Pratt has called Eurocentered forms of planetary consciousness.² Being a traveler meant assuming mobility and the complex network of race, class, and gender privileges accruing a genteel (Anglo) identity. It is not surprising, therefore, that most antebellum African-American travel narratives are accounts of travel by escaped slaves, freeborn African-Americans, and newly freed slaves, all of whom had mobility, albeit of a highly contingent sort, and who could, through the displacement of travel, aspire to certain forms of privilege.

But even when they did have the freedom to travel (a freedom experienced emotionally only outside the boundaries of the United States) and to appropriate different forms of identity, African-Americans wrote travel narratives that were substantially different from those of their white counterparts. Anglo-American travel writers appealed to the curiosity and genteel Europhilia of their readers when writing about Europe, and their desires for exoticism or Christian pity when writing about the Orient or Africa. Some wrote as proud Americans, reverent of Old World history, but contemptuous of the European present, a tendency satirized by Mark Twain in his 1869 travelogue, *The Innocents Abroad*. African-American travel writers, on the other hand, even if they were occasionally Europhilic like William Wells Brown or Nancy Prince, used their changed vantage points as sites from which to rearticulate and refashion arguments against the dehumanizing effects of slavery and the degrading treatment of African-Americans in the home country, particularly in comparison with the relative humanity afforded black peoples overseas. African-American travel writing, in other words, substantially foregrounded its exhortatory purpose, whereas Anglo-American travel writing largely presented itself as a vehicle of entertainment and cultural consumption, and projected the travel writer as privileged gentleman.

David F. Dorr's *A Colored Man Round the World* (1858) is a unique cultural and literary text because it challenges the racial aesthetics and ideologies that separate Anglo and African-American writing in the antebellum period. By subverting the hegemonic black-white racial definitions of the dominant culture, Dorr asserts the right of African-Americans to fashion varied identities and also questions the class assumptions of antebellum white identity.³ *A Colored Man Round the World* points to the heterogeneity of antebellum African-American writing, the importance of regionalism in a consideration of this writing, and the variety of forms of African-American protest writing. It also questions

the idea of slavery as a uniform experience.

Like many Anglo-American writers, Dorr uses travel writing to project a leisurely, gentlemanly self and to fashion an aristocratic selfhood through the display of inherited "cultural capital."⁴ Thus Dorr presents to his readers a panorama of the history, culture, and customs of the countries he visits, pausing to convey his enchantment with particular artifacts. Although he makes his slave status clear early in the text, Dorr critiques slavery and slaveowners through the lens of taste, the symbolic expression of class position, rather than simply through moral parameters.⁵ Like many radical African-American thinkers such as David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, Dorr takes pride in his African heritage and enters into the acrimonious arena of argumentation with proslavery advocates, but he presents these as the frivolous musings of a dilettante. And he identifies himself multiply as "colored," "quadroon," "slave," "black," and as a "southern" gentleman. These contradictory racial interpellations or namings can be explained, in part, by the particularities of antebellum New Orleans as well as of Dorr's personal situation.

The facts about Dorr's life are scarce but can be pieced together from his enlistment and veteran's disability records. We know that Dorr was born a slave in 1827 or 1828 in New Orleans.⁶ His owner was Cornelius Fellowes, a lawyer who, Dorr mentions, treated him all his life like a son.⁷ Dorr was apparently light-skinned enough to pass for white.⁸ For three years, from 1851 to 1854, Dorr traveled with his master around Europe and the Near East, Fellowes having promised Dorr his manumission upon return to the United States. When Fellowes reneged upon his promise, Dorr escaped from Louisiana to Ohio. It is not known whether his master attempted to hunt for him. No notice of a reward for Dorr appeared in either of the major New Orleans newspapers, the *Daily Picayune* or the *New Orleans Bee*, in 1854.

In Ohio he moved to Cleveland, where he decided to publish his account of his travels, based upon the diary he had kept. Dorr

obviously had, or mustered up, the resources to have his book privately printed. *A Colored Man Round the World* was published in September 1858 and attracted enough attention to be reviewed immediately in all three major Cleveland newspapers—the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Daily Cleveland Herald*, and the *Cleveland Leader*. However, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, the only black newspaper published anywhere near the vicinity (Salem, Ohio) in 1858, includes no mention of it. The book was similarly ignored by the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

Although the city directories do not list Dorr in Cleveland at this time, he apparently lived in the area and made his living as a clerk.⁹ The little information available about Dorr suggests a somewhat arrogant young man, proud of his erudition, and consciously affiliating himself with African-Americans. In May 1860, for instance, he arranged to deliver a lecture, “The Ballet Girls and Quadroon Ladies, and the Nobleman and Merchant Prince,” at the popular Cleveland hall, the Melodeon. Again, notices of the lecture appeared in all the three major Cleveland newspapers. The talk was postponed due to a small audience, drawing the ire of Dorr, who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* lamenting the banality of intellectual life in the Western Reserve.¹⁰ On August 26, 1862, in Cleveland, Dorr enlisted as a private in the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry (O.V.I.), where he served till November 1863, when he was wounded in the head and shoulder at the battle of Ringgold in Georgia. He was discharged on August 15, 1864, in Cleveland.

For the next few years, Dorr’s life seems to have been one of physical debility and legal wranglings. The wound on his jaw was painful and disfiguring, rendering him incapable of masticating solid foods, while the wound to his shoulder prevented full movement of his right arm. In short, as he declared in his Invalid Pension form, he was unable to perform any labor. In 1865, Dorr was pensioned at a rate of six dollars per month in Cleveland, his disability being declared temporary. By March 1867, however,

“A COLORED MAN ROUND THE WORLD.”—A neat little volume with this title has just been published in this city by the author, Mr. David Dorr. The book is a graphic and racy sketch of the author's travels in foreign lands—what he saw, heard and experienced. The author claims no special merit for it as a literary work, yet we think he has succeeded in making an exceedingly interesting work, and one which must command a wide and ready sale. He indulges in no pompous rhetoric, but jots down in a free-and-easy, everyday style the incidents of his travels. He tells us of what he saw and did in Liverpool, Paris, the Netherlands, at Waterloo, in Ghent, Rome, Naples, Constantinople, Athens, Venice, Florence, Cairo, on the Desert, at Jerusalem, Jerico and Damascus, &c., &c. The author was in Paris during the coup-d'etat of Louis Napoleon, and gives us a thrilling account of the scenes and sensations of the time when “the fate of Paris, like a stormy sea, was rocking to and fro.” The author is a Quadroon but would readily pass any where as a white man (and an excellent white man, too,) but he is still not ashamed to call himself “A Colored Man Round the World.” He dedicates his book to his “Slave Mother.” It is for sale at the book stores.

Review of A Colored Man Round the World.
(*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 20, 1858, 3.)

Mr. Dorr's Lecture.

Mr. Dorr, an Octoroon gentleman who has "traveled," announced that he would speak on Saturday evening last in regard to "the Ballet Girls of Paris and Quadroon Ladies of the South," at the Melodeon. He went to an expense of \$37, but only about two dozen persons were present. He concluded to postpone the lecture. He writes us a letter in which he says:

My lecture of "the Ballet Girls and Quadroon Ladies," I rehearsed at the Melodeon on Friday evening, before a Greek, Latin and French scholar, to his entire approbation. He had never heard any lecture *par excellence* of novelty and interest.

Now, my friends insist upon my getting a list of ladies and gentlemen to *call my lecture*. I said to them I was willing to put it off until the theater closed, and then appear again on my own expense, and if I did not get people to come and hear a *classical arrangement* of the various *silent intrigues* that are governing all classes of society, I would offer to the *gay people* of Cleveland a *free lecture*; and if I could not then get an audience, I would offer to pay them *a cent apiece* to come and hear me *explain* some things they had not met thousands of times to *rehash*. My subject, Mr. Editor, is an original one, and for *God's sake* let us have something original on the Western Reservo.

Your obedient servant, DORR.

Those wishing to hear "a classical arrangement" of the subjects upon which Mr. Dorr proposes to speak, will govern themselves accordingly when he next announces his lecture.

Dorr's letter to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*

Dorr's deteriorating health caused the examining surgeon to declare his disability "permanent and total" and his pension to be increased to fifteen dollars per month. Soon thereafter, Dorr moved back to New Orleans, where, in 1871, he applied for another increase in pension. By this time Dorr's five-foot, eight-inch frame had wasted away to 115 pounds, and he suffered from extreme exhaustion. He probably died in 1872 or shortly thereafter.¹¹

As the preceding biography intimates, the particularities of Dorr's social position are especially complex: born a quadroon in New Orleans in the 1830s, raised as an educated slave, and writing in Cleveland in the 1850s. Before the 1850s, as Joel Williamson suggests, a black-white distinction based on versions of the one-drop rule—any person with a drop of black blood being black—was not the case in New Orleans. Instead, mulattoes constituted a special third category, analogous to categories in Latin America.¹² The more affluent of free mulattoes "lived very well—nearly on a par with their white neighbors, to whom they were tied by bonds of kinship and culture."¹³ Some rose to wealth through planter status and the ownership of slaves. It was only in the 1850s, when long-running intolerance of miscegenation elsewhere began to exert pressure in the lower South, that mulattoes began to lose their special status, although they continued to be counted in their own racial category by the Bureau of the Census until 1920.¹⁴

Mulattoes in New Orleans, particularly free mulattoes, thus constituted a distinct third category that cannot be fully understood through the black-white binary. Henry Louis Gates's contention that all "black texts are 'mulattoes' with a two-toned heritage" is well taken but does not explain the dualistic cultural specificity under which texts like Dorr's might have been written.¹⁵ We need to consider reading African-American texts outside the important, but not all-explanatory, black-white binary—in this case that of the antebellum mulatto identity in the lower South. It is probably the existence of a large number of sophisticated, wealthy,

COACH AND GIG HARNESS.

A FEW sets of new and beautiful style, just received and for sale by
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 AVIS.

A UNE assemblée des actionnaires de la Compagnie du Chemin de Fer de la Nouvelle Orleans et de Nashville, Mr. Joshua Baldwin a été appelé au fauteuil, et Mr. H. W. Palfrey élu secretaire.

Sur motion de Mr. Christy, appuyée par Mr. M. Hoffman:

Resolu, qu'en consideration du petit nombre des actionnaires, presents, cette assemblée soit adjournée à lundi prochain le 27 inst., à 3 heures P. M. précis.

Resolu, que l'ajournement de l'assemblée soit annoncé en deux journaux de la ville, en français et en anglais.

(Signé) JOSHUA BALDWIN, Pres.
 H. W. PALFREY, Secrétaire. Jan 22 64

FOR SALE AT A BARGAIN,

The full blooded Stallion

AMERICAN PRIAM.



Priam is a beautiful sorrel, 5 years old, full 15 hands high, and possesses every symmetry of the race horse, &c.

—got by Sir-Henry, (the competitor of Eclipse) out of the celebrated brood mare Shelah, by Buceorah; g. dam Young Matilda, by Duroc; g. g. dam Old Matilda, by Baronet; and g. g. g. dam by Sportsman, &c.

For further particulars, see American Stud Book, or Spirit of the Times.

N. B. One half interest in said horse would be disposed of to be located on the Brazos or Colorado rivers in the republic of Texas.

The said horse can be seen at 107. Carondelet street, or information obtained of G. W. BENNETT, Jan 23 64 Caldwell's Arcade.

NEGROES FOR SALE.



4 blacksmiths, 3 carpenters, 4 bricklayers, 3 house boys.—All of the above described slaves are now offered for sale in this market, either for cash or approved city acceptances at 60 or 90 days. All persons wishing to purchase mechanics, and particularly house or body servants, would do well in making the earliest application, when the capacity of each shall be first satisfactorily tested. For further particulars, apply to

G. W. SHALL, Jan 23 64. Or G. T. KAUSLER, at City Hotel.

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“Negroes for Sale.”
 (Daily Picayune, January 26, 1840, 3.)

free mulattoes in New Orleans, who were by law barred from interacting with the dark-skinned slaves, that helps explain Dorr's self-definition in the preface: "*though a quadroon*, [the author] is pleased to announce himself the 'Colored man around the world'" (emphasis added).¹⁶ Although a slave in New Orleans, Dorr was obviously aware of the social distinctions between mulattoes and the dark-skinned "colored" slaves, with whom the former did not naturally and readily identify. And yet, one must remember, as John Blassingame points out, that free mulattoes had to "be respectful in the company of whites and to obtain the permission of the mayor when [they] left the city, held balls, or formed social and benevolent societies."¹⁷ Dorr thus writes from particularly vexed sites of race and class. He writes as part of a privileged group as an educated quadroon boy growing up in New Orleans, yet a slave; the jottings about his journeys are done soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, when political pressures are working to deny privileges to anyone with a visible admixture of black blood and when free New Orleans mulattoes are visibly beginning to identify with their enslaved brethren; the book itself is published in Cleveland, where only the black-white distinction holds, and which is free of slavery and progressive, but where too, the free African-American community forcefully expresses its marginalization by calling its short-lived newspaper the *Aliened American*.

Dorr's very decision to write a travel narrative, rather than a narrative of his own life and escape, becomes more understandable in light of these complex racial positions. And because it is the only work he wrote, the choice of genre is fraught with cultural significance and embedded in questions of antebellum African-American racial identity. By his own admission, Dorr was a privileged slave, treated by his master as if he were his own son; he also obviously had some money because, like many New Orleans mulattoes, he considered himself "more than equaled in dignity and means" to his master (12). Nevertheless, Dorr found

his position as a slave unbearable enough to make an escape, leaving behind his mother, who was still a slave, in Louisiana. Despite the tolerance of mulattoes in New Orleans, it is important to emphasize that for most whites, slaves were simply commodities, articles for sale. Advertisements for the mass sale of "negroes" appeared every day in the *Daily Picayune* in the 1840s and 1850s, alongside with advertisements for horses, coaches, and face cream.¹⁸ There were also notices, though less frequent, for the sale of mulattoes.¹⁹ And notices of rewards, ranging from ten dollars to the occasional three hundred or five hundred dollars, for runaway slaves appeared frequently in the *New Orleans Bee* and the *Daily Picayune* in the mid-1850s, just when Dorr escaped his master. One such notice is worth mentioning because it demonstrates the particular hostility felt by the slaveowner threatened in his authority by the light-skinned mulatto. The notice reads, "Thomas, a mulatto boy, light complexioned, blue-eyes, aged about 25 years; 5 feet 10 inches in height, knock-kneed, bent back, surly look, discontented air. It is presumed that he has left New Orleans, with the intention of passing for a white man."²⁰ Dorr, the escaped slave, however, made his racial affiliation very clear in Ohio. Although he could have easily passed for an educated white, or as the writer for the *Cleveland Herald* put it, "an excellent white man," he continued to interpellate himself as a quadroon.²¹

Thus Dorr's decision to write a travel narrative based on the diary he kept of his travels, instead of a narrative of his life as a slave and his subsequent escape, is an important assertion of self as well as an intervention into the idea that different constituencies read Anglo-American and African-American writing. Most escaped slaves who ventured to write and publish began with accounts of their lives as slaves. They wrote, as William L. Andrews suggests, about freedom as a goal of their lives, but their freedom as writers was curtailed, to an extent, by writing under the aegis of white abolitionists, who promoted narratives of suf-

fering and deprivation (including intellectual deprivation).²² Many fought to retain agency and resist the commodification of their lives. Yet Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, and Harriet Jacobs all wrote personal narratives that were authenticated by prominent abolitionists. Brown could go on to write novels, travel narratives, dramas, and historical works only after he had published *Narrative of William Wells Brown, a Fugitive Slave*, in 1847.

This is not to suggest that accounts of slavery were not important to escaped slaves. The sheer volume of such narratives belies such an idea. Still, it is important to remember that northern white readers and abolitionist sponsors were prepared to accept only a certain type of blackness as “authentic” from former slaves, a blackness dependent upon a black-white binary. African-American writers were therefore constrained to perform narratives of suffering, humility, and perseverance, even as they rebelled against these constraints. Douglass’s later autobiographies, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881), increasingly stressed his autonomy and his role as a public figure. Instead of white abolitionist authentication, the second autobiography included an introduction by Dr. J. McCune Smith, a prominent African-American physician. Yet even if their texts confounded the expectations of white abolitionists, most antebellum African-American autobiographical narratives included overt declarations of racial uplift. Their rhetorical purposes included evoking the sympathy, righteous anger, and call to action from their readers.²³

Dorr’s personal situation obviously differed from that of most escaped slaves. He had the means to publish his own book without the help of white abolitionist sponsors. He organized his 1860 lecture at the Melodeon at the personal expense of thirty-seven dollars, more than six months’ worth of the pension he would receive in 1865. Yet, in a very real, personal sense, Dorr’s circumstances were similar to that of other escaped slaves. In order

to gain his freedom by fleeing to the North, Dorr was forced to lose contact with his mother, a fact poignantly recorded in his book's dedication "To My Slave Mother." Dorr's use of the structure of genteel travel narratives for his book thus boldly questions the idea of a singular racial identity constructed solely through dualistic racial oppositions and defined by a constant, overt polemic against racial oppression. Instead, Dorr posits a mulatto selfhood perfectly comfortable being positioned as genteel Anglo *and*, simultaneously, identifiably African-American, the kind of mulatto identity whites in the lower South had started to fear and loathe. Or, within the dualistic parameters of Cleveland, one could say that Dorr performs whiteness in order to better create a subversive form of blackness, one that questions the working-class ideological affiliations of antebellum black culture, but one that also indicts the hierarchies of the slaveholding society.²⁴ Ultimately, Dorr's book attests to the heterogeneous modes of antebellum African-American protest writing.

It would, of course, be a historical oversimplification to think of antebellum African-American texts as just transparent reflections of a dogmatic ideological purpose. Indeed, as many critics have suggested, African-American texts are constituted by different kinds of dual articulations. From Houston Baker's delineation of the contradictory construction of African-American identities caught within black and white worlds, to Sterling Stuckey's exposition of black verbal forms as ways of concealing meaning and deceiving whites, to Henry Louis Gates's positioning of the trickster as a central figure in African-American writing, it has long been clear that even the earliest of these texts were cunningly and complexly constructed in order to appeal to or appease a white readership.²⁵ Not surprisingly, the most revisited critical sites within these texts are those that position themselves polemically and displace racial hierarchies. Two such instances are Douglass's reclamation of manhood by striking his master and Harriet Jacobs's decision to have an affair with a white

man in order to elude the lasciviousness of her master. Dorr's text does not explicitly invite attention to such moments because the aesthetic apparatus of comfortable travel writing is so complete. Hegel uses the term *Dasein* to refer to the surface appearance of rest in a text or social formation beneath which is a restlessness we can see only when we crack the surface. In *A Colored Man Round the World*, genteel travel writing, and all the ideologies it assumes, is the apparent *Dasein*, one that marks the speaker as putatively "white." But this *Dasein*, this assumption of white forms, a sort of metaphoric whiteface, is at once a violent conjunction of contradictions and an audacious appropriation almost unparalleled in antebellum African-American writing.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ANGLO-AMERICAN AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN TRAVEL WRITING

In order to better understand Dorr's use and manipulation of the forms of Anglo-American travel writing, we need to take a brief look at travel writing as a genre used by both Anglo-Americans and African-Americans. Nineteenth-century Americans were voracious consumers of travel literature. Between 1800 and 1868 alone, some seven hundred books of travel were published.²⁶ The majority of these were about travel to Europe, but after the introduction of steam packets in the 1830s, many Americans chose Oriental destinations, the most popular being Egypt and the Holy Lands. The forms of Anglo-American travel writing were partly molded by these destinations.

For most Anglo-Americans, traveling to Europe was a ritual of cultural affirmation and affiliation.²⁷ Here, the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, are helpful in thinking about the relationship between class and culture that is integral to Dorr's text. Writing about art and culture, as Anglo-American travelers to Europe did, would be evidence of an accumulation of cultural

capital that “can only be acquired by means of a sort of withdrawal from economic necessity.”²⁸ This acquisition of culture favors “an enchanted experience of culture” predicated on forgetting the economic and social means of acquiring it.²⁹ Acquisition of European cultural capital and the writing about enchantment with this culture was thus preeminently a class privilege marking aristocratic heredity and taste and moral and civic virtue, rather than economic means alone. In antebellum America, the acquisition of this cultural capital and the status it conferred was very largely a genteel Anglo privilege, although in the lower South it could, to an extent, also be a mulatto privilege.

For the already elite, such as Henry Adams or James Fenimore Cooper, the contact with European history, art, and society, was a confirmation of their own status as possessors of this cultural capital through reading, schooling, and social contact. For middle-class or poor writers like Bayard Taylor, it was an opportunity to acquire genteel status through firsthand contact with Old World culture. Frederick Douglass rightly saw Anglo travel to Europe as the supreme form access to manners and class. Going to Britain was what “young American gentlemen” did “to increase their stock of knowledge, to seek pleasure, to have their rough, democratic manners softened by contact with English aristocratic refinement.”³⁰ Manners, morals, and class were complexly interlinked. The situation for African-Americans, he made clear, was very different. Thus, no matter what their economic status, Anglo-American travel writers to Europe wrote with a tone of gentility and assumed a literariness that marked them as refined, different from their more provincial brethren at home. And they wrote with appropriate respect for the artifacts of European culture. Christopher Mulvey explains that

the most pervasive fiction constructed by the nineteenth-century travel writer was that of the gentility of the writer and reader. Literary decorum demanded that an author assume a

genteel voice in order to address society. . . . The writer-travelers were therefore obliged to adopt a tone of voice which suggested very often that they were of higher social standing than that to which their actual social incomes or birth might otherwise entitle them.³¹

This is not to suggest that Anglo-American travel writers to Europe wrote only about art and monuments. Nathaniel Parker Willis, for instance, commented on the poverty of the working classes, but these comments were presented as digressions from the predominant objective of writing about culture.³² And the image he presented to the public was that of the gentleman of leisure who wrote “in a crimson-curtained parlour strewn with ottomans and ‘lap-me-delightfullys.’”³³ Similarly, Bayard Taylor, who actually had to approach numerous newspapers and journals to have his passage financed, made sure that his travel writing reflected a genteel, inherited cultural capital that European history and art confirmed. Every step in Westminster Abbey, for instance, recalls for Taylor “some mind linked with the associations of my childhood”;³⁴ the castles and towns along the Rhine evoke memories: “Every place was familiar to me in memory, and they seemed like friends I had long communed with in spirit and now met face to face.”³⁵ This kind of travel writing about Europe thus interpellated the traveler as cultivated, leisured, and free from necessity—in other words, genteel and Anglo.

Anglo-Americans traveling to the “Orient,” on the other hand, had little cultural anxiety. Here they simply assumed their roles as part of an imperial Western culture (indeed for many, the United States was the new empire) and wrote confidently from this superior position about the backward and passive, though exotic, Orient.³⁶ George William Curtis’s *The Howadji in Syria* (1852), begins, for instance, with exotic images of “acacia groves,” “costumes whose picturesqueness is poetry,” and the harems of the pashas.³⁷ “Oriental” civilization, Curtis suggests, is a chimera

of the past: "The poets at the cafes tell the old tales. The splendors of the caliphate flash, a boreal brilliance, over an unreal past. . . . Thus oriental life is an echo and a ghost."³⁸ In both cases, however, Anglo-American writers projected themselves into a European cultural tradition, citing previous travelers and historians, admitting what William Stowe calls "their cultural belatedness."³⁹ For the most, then, Anglo-American travel writing did not seek to challenge or resist the conception of high culture in America.

African-American travel writers, on the other hand, wrote from a very different sense of purpose. During the antebellum period, African-American travel writers were either escaped or freed slaves or freeborn. Travel writing, through geographic displacement, offered these writers complex identity formations. As Stowe suggests, William Wells Brown's travel narrative allowed him to claim a stake in the genteel Anglo-European tradition through which he then expounded his ideas on racial equality.⁴⁰ Gentility, for Brown, became a vehicle serving the major purpose of promoting racial justice. Thus no matter what roles they assumed, a major rhetorical purpose of the writings of African-Americans was to awaken their countrymen to the unjust and uncivilized degradation faced not only by slaves in the South, but by blacks everywhere in the United States. African-Americans traveling to Europe repeatedly testified to the sense of empowerment they felt at being treated without contempt in Europe. It was almost the birth of a new identity. At the end of chapter 1 of his travelogue, *The American Fugitive in Europe* (1855), William Wells Brown writes about this creation of a new sense of self thus:

No person of my complexion can visit this country without being struck with the marked difference between the English and the Americans. The prejudice which I have experienced on all and every occasion in the United States, and to some extent on board the Canada, vanished as soon as I set foot on

the soil of Britain. In America I had been bought and sold as a slave in the Southern States. In the so-called Free States, I had been treated as one to occupy an inferior position. . . . But no sooner was I on British soil, than I was recognized as a man, and an equal. The very dogs in the streets appeared conscious of my manhood.⁴¹

As the last sentence suggests, Britain allows Brown to construct a patriarchal (manly) selfhood inaccessible to him in America. In the expanded and revised 1892 version of his autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Douglass similarly contrasted the effects of racial distinctions in Britain and the United States: "Instead of a democratic government, I am under a monarchical government. . . . I breathe, and lo! the chattel becomes a man!"⁴² In her observations on Russia, Nancy Prince reported the comparative lack of color prejudice there.⁴³ Julia Griffiths's "Letters From The Old World" likewise focused on the formation and expansion of antislavery societies in England.⁴⁴ Similarly, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, in her descriptions of Canada, focused on Canada as an agricultural emigration territory for African-Americans. The possible attraction to the posture of the genteel Anglo traveler did not overshadow their consciousness of writing as marginalized racial subjects.⁴⁵

A number of African-Americans also wrote accounts of their travels to Africa and the Caribbean. Unlike Anglo-American narratives, however, the purpose of these accounts was not to titillate the reader with exoticism or to document the depravities of savage Africans, but to examine the issue of African-American emigration and to offer evidence of the salubrious effects of self-government. Nancy Prince's representations of Jamaicans, for instance, stridently counter stereotypes of them as shiftless people not fit for independence.⁴⁶ Dennis Harris's *A Summer on the Borders of the Caribbean Sea* (1860) includes a preface by the popular travel writer George William Curtis, but its concern is with

the future of African-Americans. Harris's travelogue painstakingly proves the desirability of African-American colonies in Central America and Haiti, including in the proof laudatory biographies of Toussaint L'Ouverture and discussion of the effects of black empowerment in Jamaica. Similarly, concerns about the viability of wholesale African-American emigration to Liberia motivated African-American writing about the country, no matter what the position taken. Thus William Nesbit, who saw the project as a wholesale deceit, intended to simply get rid of African-Americans, depicted Liberia as a land of darkness in *Four Months in Liberia*; on the other hand, Rev. Samuel Williams, in *Four Years in Liberia*, represented emigration as a promise and praised both the conversion of natives in Liberia as well as the mode of government.

Despite variations among the nearly seven hundred antebellum travel narratives, they are characterized by an important distinction between Anglo-American and African-American works. While Anglo-American works were accounts of cultural initiation written with a sense of participation in, or desire to participate in, a Europeanized culture, African-American travel works were closely tied with questions of black racial difference and slavery, even if, like Robert Campbell's *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland* (1861), they also provided conventional accounts of peoples and cultures or included aspirations to Anglo gentility.⁴⁷ Most importantly, African-Americans critiqued the denial of their rights by disaffiliation with American citizenship. "The meanest thing I have been obliged to do, and the greatest sin I have committed," wrote Dennis Harris, "has been the registering my name as an American citizen."⁴⁸ Given the divergent social functions of Anglo-American and African-American travel narratives, the former serving as cultural enhancement and the latter furthering the amelioration of the race, Dorr's narrative stands as a unique literary creation. It is probably Dorr's distance from traditional forms of antebellum African-American writing that has

led to his virtual omission from bibliographies or critical works on African-American literature, much like Harriet Wilson.⁴⁹ Monroe N. Work's *A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America* (1928) makes no mention of Dorr; nor does Benjamin Brawley's *Early Negro American Writers* (1935). He is mentioned in Geraldine O. Matthews's massive compilation *Black American Writers, 1773–1949: A Bibliography and Union List*, but in the history section rather than the literature section. In Dorothy W. Campbell's *Index to Black American Writers in Collective Biographies* (1983), Dorr is again erased. William Andrews in *To Tell a Free Story* mentions Dorr's work briefly in a footnote. My own discovery of Dorr came through Fuad Sha'ban's reading of *A Colored Man Round the World in Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought* (1991).⁵⁰

The neglect of Dorr's text is probably a result of his decision to write his narrative through a complete and wholesale usage of genteel Anglo forms. *A Colored Man Round the World* appropriates the forms and structures of Anglo-American travel writing so completely that what we have is a superb case of literary doublespeak: the blackest of texts in whiteface. Dorr's positioning of racial identity can usefully be thought of as a deliberate "performance," not simply aspiring to whiteness (a position critiqued by Fannon in *Black Skin, White Masks*) but using what we might call "whiteface," a deliberate donning of whiteness that, unlike blackface, was not culturally sanctioned.⁵¹ Dorr presents his enchantment of European culture through and despite his pride in his African ancestry; he displays an Anglo gentility but also demonstrates the lack of class of rich southern whites, thus questioning a major assumption of white identity in the antebellum South; and he rewrites relations of power during slavery by making his master an object. On another level, and most evidently, Dorr clearly writes of himself as a leisured traveler, a position that was overwhelmingly white.

Dorr's undermining of racial hierarchies begins in what seems

the most visibly raced parts of the text—the dedication and the preface. Here we particularly note Dorr's determination to create a new voice for himself. Dorr eschews all forms of authentication—whether those of abolitionists or other Anglo travel writers. It is important here to keep in mind the raced nature of conventions of authorship. William Charvat's enormously influential papers have shown the pervasiveness of the “gentleman-amateur” convention of anonymous authorship till the 1820s, its vestiges continuing in some cases till the 1840s and 1850s.⁵² But for African-American writers, precisely the opposite was true. Anonymous authorship meant white authorship because for whites, literacy could simply be assumed. On the other hand, an anonymously authored work could not be presumed to be black. African-American literacy and authorship, particularly that of former slaves, had to be laboriously authenticated through prefaces, introductions, and testimonials.

Travel writing as a genre allowed writers a little more freedom than did personal narratives, but many African-American travel narratives still included proofs of expertise. William Nesbit's *Four Months in Liberia* includes an introduction by Martin Delaney, while Robert Campbell announces his numerous official designations on the title page of his book, *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland*: “One of the Commissioners of the Niger Valley Exploring Party; late in charge of the Scientific Department for Colored Youth, Philadelphia; and Member of the International Statistical Congress, London.” *A Colored Man Round the World* disrupts these conventions in complex ways. The book begins without authentication, but simply with a personal dedication to his mother and with Dorr's preface. As if in the genteel, Anglo tradition, Dorr's name appears nowhere on the title page. Instead, the book is presented as authored “by a Quadroon.” Such a complication of authorship suggests Dorr's difference from both the assumed (Anglo) norm of anonymous authorship and the laboriously achieved subjecthood of former slaves. The designation of the

book as written “by a Quadroon” also emphasizes the power of racial definition and of Dorr’s own raced identity.

In the dedication and preface, antislavery sentiments and questions of African racial pride obviously predominate, but Dorr undermines racial hierarchies even more resolutely by an almost audacious cultural appropriation. The book begins with a dedication directed to his slave mother from whom the author is separated; as such, it testifies eloquently to the cruel breakup of the family under the slave system, as did Douglass’s account in his *Narrative* and Jacobs’s rendition of her enforced separation from her children while in hiding in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. The author is denied all information about the whereabouts of his mother. But at the same time he laments this lack of information, he situates his mother both as Revolutionary American and as slave: “Mother! wherever thou art, whether in Heaven or a lesser world; or whether around the freedom Base of a Bunker Hill, or only at the lowest savannah of American Slavery . . .” The dedication parallels abolitionist and revolutionary histories and appropriates the bastions of Anglo history for African-Americans. Written in the aftermath of the *Dred Scott* decision that denied citizenship to African-Americans, such a parallel is particularly empowering.

A similar kind of audacious appropriation and distorted mirroring is evident in the preface. Although only in his twenties when he traveled, having learned to read despite laws mandating slave illiteracy, Dorr positions himself with ease as a scholar. Like many learned African-Americans of his time, Dorr invokes racial pride by linking his ancestry with ancient Egyptian civilization. Egyptology had created considerable consternation for both phrenologists and theorists of racial classification because of the non-Caucasian features of Egyptian monuments like the Sphinx and the existence of people with negroid-African features in many of the carvings and parchments of Egyptian antiquity. While proslavery anthropologists strove to demonstrate the lowly

status of black peoples in Egypt, prominent African-Americans like Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, and later Pauline Hopkins, used Egyptology to validate the idea of Africans being the originators of civilization.⁵³ Dorr similarly lauds black Egyptians as his “ancestors”: “Well, who were the Egyptians? Ask Homer if their lips were not thick, their hair curly, their feet flat and their skin black” (11). Yet he ends the preface with the appropriation of a clearly imperialist cultural identity. He has decided, he says, to escape his master and flee “westward, where the ‘star of empire takes its way’” (12). By invoking George Berkeley’s famous line, “Westward the course of Empire takes its way,” which was echoed by numerous nineteenth-century politicians in order to legitimize expansionism, Dorr ironically conflates the forced flight of the fugitive slave with the imperial ventures of the United States. Coming at a crucial juncture in the text, just before the beginning of Dorr’s travel narrative, this conflation puts under question the very freedom of travel that the narrative, as whiteface, celebrates.

In the dedication and preface, Dorr constitutes himself as a subject within the text of slavery, but in the rest of the text, for nearly two hundred pages, he interpellates himself as an “American” ready to roam the world, as genteel traveler instructing his readers, and as gentleman being waited on by maids and lackeys. How, then, do we as readers reconcile these opposed constructions of the author as unfree and free? William W. Stowe suggests that Dorr, like William Wells Brown, uses his narrative for empowerment: “The most remarkable feature of Dorr’s text is its counterfactual narrative persona. . . . He uses travel writing as a dry run for freedom, a vehicle for fantasy, a way to dream what it might be like to be free, to imagine himself into an equal relationship with everyone he meets.”⁵⁴ Dorr himself is acutely conscious of the limits placed on his subjectivity through his interpellation as a slave and his textual transgression of that interpellation. In the opening paragraph of chapter 14, “The Secrets of a

Paris Life, and Who Knows Them,” Dorr provides the reader with a key to reading his text: “Reader, can a man dream with his eyes open? or can a man see with them shut? . . . Then let me dream of what I saw” (87). For the remainder of the chapter, Dorr intentionally offers a confusing set of textual cues so that we are never quite sure how, where, or when the dream portions can be separated from the travel narrative proper. This imaginative freedom is not simply personal but rather imbued with questions of race, power, and authority. *Traveler*, in the Anglo sense, was a status not allowed slaves or servants. “In the dominant discourses of travel,” as James Clifford points out, “a non-white person cannot figure as a heroic explorer, aesthetic interpreter, or scientific authority.”⁵⁵ However, through the display of cultural capital, a privilege generally allowed only leisured white Americans, Dorr brings together, and thus undermines, what the dominant culture had (even in the lower South in the 1850s) increasingly come to see as absolute oppositions: genteel and African-American; and more significantly, learned and slave.

Dorr’s deliberate performance of whiteface creates a racial and narrative instability that, in turn, destabilizes the reader’s racial and cultural assumptions. It is no wonder that contemporary reviewers of *A Colored Man* felt uncomfortable affixing a particular racial identity to Dorr. Cleveland, like many progressive northern cities in the antebellum era, offered simultaneous racial enlightenment and stereotypical racial division. All the major Cleveland newspapers, for instance, expressed outrage at the attempted returning of fugitive slaves in the Oberlin rescue case; yet, blackface minstrel shows such as the Morris Brothers and Hooley & Campbell’s were enthusiastically advertised as well.⁵⁶ Understandably, area readers of *A Colored Man Round the World* were confused about Dorr’s racial identity. For the reviewer of the *Daily Cleveland Herald*, Dorr was only putatively black. The reviewer wrote, “This is a book of 192 pages and is the journey of a colored man—if a Quadroon comes un-

der that title."⁵⁷ The comments of the reviewer for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reveal how Dorr's performance works to shatter the idea of a stable racial identity. Unable to interpellate the author in a single manner, the reviewer positions Dorr at the interstices of three raced categories: "white" as norm, "colored" as other, and "quadroon" as mixed. "The author is a Quadroon but would readily pass any where as a white man (and an excellent white man, too,) but he is still not ashamed to call himself 'A Colored Man Round the World.'"⁵⁸ Empowerment, Dorr suggests, comes from destabilizing the dualistic hierarchies on which the dominant culture's ideologies rest. As a quadroon from New Orleans, Dorr was uniquely positioned to attempt such a destabilization.

Perhaps the most transgressive effects of Dorr's assumption of Anglo-American gentility and culture is in Dorr's representation of his master, Cornelius Fellowes, and of other southern white men. One of the most fascinating features of Dorr's narrative is the fact that the term *master* is never used.⁵⁹ In most of his travels, carousings, and occasional difficulties with European manners, Dorr simply ignores his master, Cornelius Fellowes. But when he does introduce him in the narrative and devotes an entire chapter to him entitled "Col. Fellowes Learning Dutch," Fellowes appears as an object to be looked at and assessed, much like a slave on the auction block: "He is rather more than a medium size man, and straight as an exclamation point, with handsome limbs" (61). For the rest of the chapter, Dorr holds Fellowes up to ridicule and contempt as he scoffs at the latter's lack of sophistication and poor judgment. Fellowes's vulgar amusement over beggars running after the coins he throws ends up, for instance, making him a victim of beggars who pull at his clothes when he has no more money. Dorr writes, "Mr. Fellowes showed tokens of fear, and he hallowed out, 'Lacquey, why don't you take a stick and beat them off, don't you see they are robbing me?'" (68). By inverting racial hierarchies through the lens of taste and class, Dorr questions the cultural assumptions that link race, class,

and culture in the antebellum United States.

In the rest of the text, Dorr extends his genteel disgust to the most powerful within the racial hierarchies of antebellum America: southern white men. The southerner's very performance of southernness signifies his want of class. As the narrator observes in a public hall in Paris, "not one gentleman had his foot on the table, except an American quietly seated in one corner in profound soliloquy. He was chewing tobacco. I didn't stop to see where he spit, for fear he might claim nationality" (40). It is this kind of glorification in an upper-class status that marks Dorr's text as fundamentally different from that of other antebellum African-American travel writers. While most African-Americans harshly criticized their white countrymen for their want of morality, their complicity with slavery or racial oppression, Dorr expends great narrative energy criticizing them for their want of class. Cultural capital, a traditionally Anglo-American commodity, and gentility, the expression of Anglo-American class and virtue, become the issues here.

Like Anglo-American travel writers, Dorr presents his encounter with European history and culture as a belated one, as cultural inheritance. When Dorr evaluates Zurich as "the prettiest city in Switzerland," for instance, he does so in the spirit of correction, in light of Byron's praise of Geneva (47). In Frankfurt, the narrator makes the appropriate literary pilgrimage to Goethe's house, while in Heidelberg he invokes the novels *The Castles of Heidelberg* and *Erhreinstejn*. In the manner of traditional Anglo-American travel narratives, Dorr also pays appropriate homage to the contemporary and historical architectural feats of Europe, including the Crystal Palace in London, Notre Dame in Paris, and St. Peter's Church in Rome. Dorr does not simply describe Roman ruins but also provides the reader a history of emperors and senators. Writing thus becomes the occasion to display scholarship and learning. Dorr also uses the formal properties of his text to signify his cultural capital. *A Colored Man Round the World*

is filled with references to literary figures such as Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, and Goethe, and historians such as Plutarch. And as a final sign of culture, Dorr uses his New Orleans background advantageously by using French words and phrases at various points in the narrative.

A Colored Man Round the World also invites us to examine the writer's construction of a gender identity in relation to racial construction. Like other Anglo-American travel writers, particularly those traveling to the Orient, Dorr uses his narrative to enact a traditional masculinity. The idea of the Orient being figured as woman, against which a Westerner could define his masculinity, as has been well articulated by Edward Said.⁶⁰ Anglo-American travel writers such as George William Curtis and Nathaniel Parker Willis routinely wrote about their fascination with harems, Oriental women, and an exotic, feminized culture. As if in whiteface, Dorr continues to write within this Anglo-American Orientalist tradition. In Turkey, the fragile, diminutive, inactive women serve as a metonym for a supine "Orient" against which the author defines his masculinity: "I would have given five pds to lift her veil; I know she was pretty, her voice was so fluty, and her hands so delicate, and her feet so small, and her dress so gauzy; she was like an eel" (123). Oriental women might be unreal and shadowy, but women await Dorr everywhere in the text. The narrator's position throughout the text is that of empowered male. The "colored man" whose ownership of his own body was highly contingent in the United States, and who was denied the privileges of patriarchy within the slave system, becomes a hero with constant access to the European maids that wait on him in hotels and the Oriental women waiting to be unveiled. In fact, Dorr seems quite self-conscious of his role as traveling rake: "A man is a good deal like a dog in some particulars. . . . as soon as he sees his sexual mate, his attention is manifested in the twinkling of an eye" (15). Despite the critique, however, the assumption of the role of empowered male is both undeni-

able and racially significant. Exploiting the patriarchal imperatives of Orientalism allows Dorr to affirm his selfhood in a culture that denied him legitimacy both as subject of a nation and as male subject. Claiming manhood was crucial in questioning the hierarchies of the slave system even though the models for this manhood were white and imperial. Whiteface performance thus problematically reinscribes, even as it critiques, both Orientalism and a dominant masculinity.

Dorr's assumption of the cultural capital and the power inherent in the forms of the Anglo-American travel narrative thus allows him access to a white readership that was more comfortable seeing his text as white than as whiteface or mulatto. But Dorr does not simply attempt to "pass"; rather, his whiteface performance calls attention to the right of African-Americans to cultural capital. The very title of his book makes it clear that Dorr wishes to be thought of as "colored"; and, as we have seen, he voices his affinity with the culture of Africa and with the black men he meets during his journeys. Dorr's text attests powerfully to the heterogeneity of antebellum African-American literature and to the heterogeneity of slave experiences. We can think of Dorr's use of Anglo travel-writing forms as particularly well suited to the manner in which he wishes to mediate the experience of slavery—not as a suffering victim, but as privileged gentleman, the very use of the status signifying his determination to free himself of his slave condition.

Dorr thus critiques American slavery and racial oppression, not so much through expostulatory polemic as through genteel understatement, humor, and irony. While marveling at the world's fair in London, for instance, he mocks the uncouth *manners* and *stupidity* of the South Carolinian who would have exhibited his slaves as part of the American exhibit. His stupidity, Dorr points out, lies in his not realizing that the slaves would surely consider escape. The immorality of slaveowning is not explicitly addressed, but implicitly understood. Read in the context of Dorr's own sta-

tus as slave traveling with his master, it is also a poignant allegory of his own position as slave exhibit. It is in a similar manner that we can read the numerous references to African-Americans and Africans in Europe and the Near East: Mr. Cordevoille, the respected quadroon from New Orleans, and Frank Parish, who towers over the sultan of Turkey.

Dorr concludes his narrative by affirming his solidarity with people of African heritage even though he maintains the Anglo stance of the leisured traveler. Dorr enters into the heated debate between monogenists who believed in a single story of human creation beginning with Adam and Eve, and polygenists, who argued for multiple versions of creation. Supporters of monogenesis argued for the unity of human beings, delineated in the story of creation in Genesis. Polygenists, on the other hand, could not accept the idea of the fundamental unity of races and looked to scientific theories in order to support their beliefs about the complete and absolute separation of Caucasian and African races. Samuel George Morton's *Crania Americana*, published in the United States in 1839, provided proslavery apologists ammunition for supporting slavery on the grounds of moral differences among races. Dorr, like Frederick Douglass, whom he may have heard speaking about the subject, obviously followed these debates keenly and was aware of the large audience for them.⁶¹ He chooses to conclude his narrative by addressing these readers and arguing for the inherent reasonableness of monogenesis or "the doctrine of the unity of man" (192). In supporting monogenesis, Dorr aligns himself with major African-American publications such as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *Anglo-African Magazine* that in the 1850s often published articles questioning the ethics of polygenists.

Yet even while questioning theories of racial supremacy, Dorr maintains the stance of the cultured traveler. It is as a leisured and cultured gentleman that Dorr wishes to position himself, a position from which he demands recognition, not angrily or heat-

edly, but with cool presumption. That is why he situates what could, in the writings of someone like David Walker, be read as radical and revolutionary, as simply the exhortations of youth: "When you hear *can't*, laugh at it; when they tell you *not in your time*, pity them; and when they tell you *surrounding circumstances alter cases*, in manliness scorn them" (191–92). But to read them as simply the musings of a youthful dandy, without relevance to antebellum African-American experience, is to deny the heterogeneity of African-American voices and the ability of culturally hybridized writers such as Dorr to radically subvert Western forms.

Reading Dorr today reminds us of the multiplicity of African-American experiences, even under slavery, and the different forms taken by antebellum African-American writing. In a period when blackface was tolerated and enjoyed as a means of emphasizing stereotypes of African-Americans, Dorr's text asks us what it means to appropriate whiteface but not "pass." Most importantly, *A Colored Man Round the World* fundamentally questions the idea of an accepted "type" of ethnic literature. At a time when ethnic authenticity and identity are being problematized in disciplines as diverse as history, anthropology, sociology, and literary studies, Dorr's text invites us to explore the complexity of these issues, both in the nineteenth century and today.

NOTES

1. *Dred Scott v. Sanford, United States Reports*, vol. 60, 393, 395.
2. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 5.
3. My use of "class" in this essay refers to a particular lifestyle in addition to economic distinction. The idea of what constituted antebellum white identity (regional or otherwise) has been the subject of much recent scholarship. The relevant aspect here is that the normalized idea

of white identity separated itself from the lives and habits of poor whites who were often likened to African-Americans. See especially Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 28.

4. Pierre Bourdieu explains the acquisition of various forms of cultural capital—manners, the aesthetic disposition—as dependent upon class. “Legitimate manners,” writes Bourdieu, “owe their value to the fact that they manifest the rarest conditions of acquisition, that is, a social power over time that is tacitly recognized as the supreme excellence: to possess things from the past, i.e., accumulated, crystallized history, aristocratic names and titles, chateaux or ‘stately homes,’ paintings and collections . . . is to master time . . . by inheritance or through dispositions which, like the taste for old things, are likewise only acquired with time and applied by those who can take their time. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 71–72.

5. See Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 175.

6. Because birth certificates were not issued for slaves in Louisiana, no birth record is available for Dorr. The *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1866*, vol. 2 (Cincinnati: Wilstach, Baldwin, 1886), 234, lists Dorr’s age as twenty-seven at the time of enlistment (1862), but in his September 1871 application for the increase of invalid pension Dorr lists his age as 43, which would put his year of birth at 1828. The latter is probably more accurate because it is a record of what Dorr stated. An Examining Surgeon’s Certificate, dated June 1872 lists Dorr as being 45, which would put his date of birth at 1827. Dorr’s Certificate of Disability for Discharge lists his place of birth as New Orleans.

7. The New Orleans city directories for the 1840s and 1850s show no listing for Cornelius Fellowes as the owner of a law firm at the address Dorr lists in his book. However, the directories do list Felloweses as the proprietors of a firm of commission merchants (1846, 1849, 1850) and of cotton factors and commission merchants (1854, 1855, 1858).

8. A review of Dorr’s book in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* mentions that “the author is a Quadroon but would readily pass any where as a white man” (September 20, 1858, 3).

9. Dorr’s Certificate of Disability for Discharge lists his occupation at the time of enlistment as a clerk.

10. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 22, 1860, 3.
11. Dorr's last application for an increase of pension is dated August 1872. Given his failing health and the fact that the certificate for the increase of pension dated two months later has "dead" inscribed on it (though in a different hand), we can assume that Dorr died soon after. There are several discrepancies, however, in the war records pertaining to Dorr. Dorr's regiment, the Seventh O.V.I., acquired local and regional fame because of their annual reunions, encampments, and their publication, the *Rooster Record*. Dorr obviously did not participate in any of these reunions that were held in Cleveland but is shown to be receiving a pension in 1892. Because of the intensity of his wounds and the descriptions of his physical state in the pension records, as well as the fact that the pension records end in 1872, it is highly unlikely that Dorr was alive in 1892 as the *Rooster Record* suggests.
12. For an analysis of hybrid racial categories in Latin America see Garcia Nestor Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. Lopez (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
13. Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 14–15.
14. Williamson, *New People*, 3, 114.
15. Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), xxiii.
16. See John Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860–1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 21.
17. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans*, 15. Blassingame does not pay much attention to the special status of mulattoes but points out that in New Orleans "a mulatto was generally a free man (77 percent of the free Negroes in 1860 were mulattoes)" (21).
18. The mid-1850s seem to have been a period of increased wholesale slave auctions. In January and February 1854, it was common for there to be two to three hundred slaves advertised for sale in a single day. The *Daily Picayune* for February 6, 1854, advertised 650 slaves for sale.
19. The January 21, 1854, *Daily Picayune*, for instance, advertised "A superior mulatto boy, 13 years age, acclimated, speaks French and English; fully guaranteed" (2).

20. *New Orleans Bee*, October 26, 1854, 3.

21. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 20, 1858, 3.

22. William L. Andrews in his landmark *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), writes that early African-American autobiographies “‘tell a free story’ as well as talk about freedom as a theme and goal of life.” These autobiographers demonstrate that “they regard the writing of autobiography as in some ways uniquely self-liberating” (xi).

23. Arlene A. Elder argues that similar purposes guide even early African-American fiction: “The overriding concern of most of the novelists was to show the ‘true’ nature of Blacks and to reveal the actual conditions of their lives. The writers wished to inspire pride and determination in African-Americans and to arouse understanding, sympathy, and a desire for political reform in their white audience” (*The “Hindered Hand”: Cultural Implications of Early African-American Fiction* [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978], xiii).

24. Recently, there has been a lot of interesting work on the intersections of race and class. Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s argument about Huck’s blackness, mentioned earlier, relies on Blankenship’s lower-class status. The assumed though unstated argument is that African-American culture could only have lower class affiliations (*Was Huck Black?* 28). Carla Peterson, however, makes a convincing argument for the black racial affiliations of antebellum middle-class free African-Americans. Using Fanon’s argument about the estrangement of the “revolutionary elite” from the masses under conditions of colonization, Peterson argues that “not only did the black elite seek to uplift the subaltern classes, it also recognized the imperative need for racial solidarity” (*Doers of the Word”: African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1995], 12).

25. See Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 196. Stuckey’s contention that all black Americans are basically African in culture is not directly borne out in Dorr’s text but indirectly in Dorr’s race pride and conscious affiliations with African cultures (vii). Houston Baker in *The Journey Back: Issues in Black Literature and Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) argues that black

writers' identities are contradictorily constructed because the very entry into language signals a distance from the slave community (xvii). Henry Louis Gates in *The Signifying Monkey* shows that trickster figures create ambivalence and double voicing in African-American writing.

26. Mary-Suzanne Schriber, "Julia Ward Howe and the Travel Book," *New England Quarterly* 62 (1989): 267, 269.

27. See William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 13, and Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7.

28. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 53–54.

29. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 3.

30. Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Arno, 1968), 365–66.

31. Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 7.

32. Thus, although the enormously popular Nathaniel Parker Willis began his *Pencilings By the Way* with an account of the cholera in Paris, he went on to present his travels as cultural acquisition: "I have devoted a week to the museum at Naples. It is a world! Any thing like a full description of it would tire even an antiquary. It is one of those things (and there are many in Europe) that fortunately *compel* travel" (*Pencilings By the Way*, 2 vols. [Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1836], 1:75).

33. Sandra Tomc, "An Idle Industry: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Workings of Literary Leisure," *American Quarterly* 49 (December 1997): 783.

34. Bayard Taylor, *Views A-Foot; Or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1890), 10, 59.

35. Taylor, *Views A-Foot*, 72.

36. See Malini Johar Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms: Race, Nation, and Gender in Literature, 1790–1890* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 1–3.

37. George William Curtis, *The Howadji in Syria* (New York: Hurst and Company, 1852), 9.

38. Curtis, *The Howadji in Syria*, 17.

39. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 12.

40. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 71.

41. William Wells Brown, "The American Fugitive in Europe: Sketches of Places and People Abroad," in *The Travels of William Wells Brown*, ed. Paul Jefferson (New York: Markus Wiener, 1991), 98.

42. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Bonanza Books), 244.

43. Nancy Prince, *A Black Woman's Odyssey through Russia and Jamaica: The Narrative of Nancy Prince* (New York: Markus Wiener, 1990), 54.

44. Griffiths's "Letters" were serialized in *Douglass' Monthly*. See especially the April 1859 issue, 54–55.

45. Cheryl Fish points out Nancy Prince's attraction to the "colonizing paradigm with its assumption of Western superiority and endorsement of empire" ("Voices of Restless (Dis)continuity: The Significance of Travel for Free Black Women in the Antebellum Americas," *Women's Studies* 26 [1997]: 479).

46. Prince, *Black Woman's Odyssey*, 54.

47. A good example of an African-American travel narrative that offers accounts of "native" customs and lifestyles through a privileged observer, but is clearly written as a corrective to Anglo accounts of African countries, is Robert Campbell's *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey Among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa in 1859–60* (New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1861).

48. Dennis Harris, *A Summer on the Borders of the Caribbean Sea* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969).

49. Henry Louis Gates, introduction to *Our Nig; or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black* (New York: Random House, 1983).

50. Fuad Sha'ban, *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America* (Durham, N.C.: Acorn Press, 1991). Subsequently, William W. Stowe discussed *A Colored Man* in *Going Abroad*, 61–67, 133–34. See also Malini Johar Schueller's *U.S. Orientalisms* for a discussion of *A Colored Man* in relation to Near East travel writing, 105–8.

51. The idea of identity as performance has been suggested by Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990). Butler, however, thinks only in terms of gender and not race.

52. See Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed., *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800–1870: The Papers of William Charvat* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), 292–93.

53. See Henry Highland Garnet, *The Past and Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Races* (Miami, Fla.: Mnemosyne, 1969), 6–7, 12.

54. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 62.

55. James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992), 106. Mary Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* is a good example of the very different kind of "travel" experienced by slaves as compared to Anglo-Americans.

56. Minstrel shows were advertised with great frequency all through the late 1850s and early 1860s. The *Cleveland Daily Review* announced, "We see by the bills that the Morris Bros., Pell and Trowbridge Troupe of Ethiopian singers, imitators, and caricaturists, are to hold forth to-night at the Melodeon" (September 11, 1858). The *Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer* advertised Hooley & Campbell thus: "Wherever this company go they meet with brilliant success, and beyond a doubt they are the best band now before the public" (June 2, 1860, 3).

57. *Daily Cleveland Herald*, September 17, 1858, 4.

58. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 20, 1858, 3.

59. I want to thank Bradley Dilger for pointing this out to me.

60. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 138.

61. Douglass's commencement address to the Western Reserve College, "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," received laudatory notice in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (July 14, 1854). The notice makes no mention of Dorr, however.

