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"The City of the Magyar:" On Julia Pardoe's Travel Writing

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Abstract. Julia Pardoe, an English poet and historian, was among the first travel writers who described Hungary's institutions and contributed to the shaping up of the nineteenth-century British image of Hungary. In her book *The City of the Magyar or Hungary and Her Institutions* (1840), she thoroughly reported her experiences and observations regarding a country that, although being part of East-Central Europe, had not stirred the interest of the British public. Pardoe's narrative contravenes the patriarchal ideology of travel writing as well as the act of travelling per se as masculine preoccupations, while, in my view, it seeks to negotiate the gender norms of her age by adopting an equally acceptable colonialist perspective as well as a conventionally feminine, a gentlewoman's narrative perspective on the page. By making use of Andrew Hammond's theory of "imagined colonialism," I shall demonstrate that Pardoe's text can be interpreted as a negotiation between the conflicting demands of the discourse of female travel writing and of colonialism. In discussing Pardoe's travel account, I am also interested in the (rhetoric) ways in which the female traveller formulates her observations on Hungarian landscapes, people, and culture as civilized or less civilized – according to her own British national ideals and class norms. Pardoe's portrayal of Hungarian otherness served to raise the curiosity as well as the sympathy of the British towards a nation that was in need of and ready for progress/reform in the years before the Hungarian Revolution of 1848.[1]

Keywords: travel writing, Julia Pardoe, Hungary in the nineteenth century, imagology

Julia Pardoe, an English poet and historian, was among the first writers in the nineteenth century who provided a quite detailed account of Hungary in her three-volume travelogue published in 1840. According to Johnson, by the time she visited Hungary, she had already become a well-known traveller with her

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famous accounts on Portugal and the Ottoman Empire and had earned herself quite a reputation in the genre of travel writing (Johnson qtd. in Domotor 2014, 91). She was a single woman travelling on the Continent escorted by her mother (Fest qtd. in Domotor 2014, 91). Her travel to the less known parts of Eastern Europe, outside the geographical boundaries of the British Empire resulted in an extraordinary journey that not only strengthened Pardoe's writing career in her homeland, but it also raised the interest of British society towards a nation that, although being initially considered less civilized as compared to other European nations, showed great promises in terms of progress and the development of national identity. Pardoe's book is in fact considered to be "one of the founders of the nineteenth-century British image of Hungary" (Kádár 1990, 227). Pardoe, indeed, provided a very sympathetic picture of Hungarians, as she claimed at the end of the last volume: "in the full and earnest hope that my volumes may not contain one word to wound, nor one sentence to mislead; but they may serve to induce the interest and sympathy of my own countrymen towards the inhabitants of the Nation and City of the Magyar" (vol. 3. 1840, 402). In this endeavour, she is similar to her contemporary, John Paget, a fellow British traveller, who also provided a quite favourable picture of Hungary and the Hungarians for the Western audience.[2]

Male vs Female Travel Writing

In literary history, the general assumption about travelling and writing travelogues was that these are almost exclusively masculine activities. According to Thompson, travel "has often been regarded as an important rite of masculine self-fashioning. The journey is, therefore, construed as a test or demonstration of manhood, or, in some variants, such as the eighteenth century Grand Tour, as a rite of passage from boyhood to full, adult masculinity" (2011, 173–174). The goal of masculine travelling was not only to test one's physical and moral strength in a great quest[3] but also to form strategic (political as well as economic) alliances with the elite representatives of another culture and to come back to his homeland with practical, sometimes even scientific data regarding any form of relationship with the visited cultures. This agenda of bringing back knowledge of

2 On Paget and other male travellers in Hungary and Transylvania, I have written extensively in a previous research. See: "Representations of Hungary and Transylvania in John Paget's *Travelogue." Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* vol. 9, no. 1 (2017): 87–98; "(De)Constructing 19th Century Hungarian Stereotypes in John Paget's Travelogue." In *English Language & Literatures in English 2016,* 29–38. Budapest: L'Harmattan, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, 2018.

3 The conventions of the male quest go back to ancient stories, not to mention the mediaeval heroic journeys, during which the traveller had to demonstrate a chivalrous attitude, a strong religious belief, and noble virtues.

other countries and nations has often been, as Thompson argues, "gendered in a variety of different ways" (2011, 174).

Thus, certain gender norms and expectations have emerged regarding travelling and travel writing: masculine travel and travel writing was considered to be of great intellectual contribution, with a tone of seriousness, while female travel was culturally unacceptable, and female writing was determined as frivolous, trivial, and shallow, meant for mere entertainment. Such stereotypical associations influenced both "the differing modes of travel writing adopted by men and women, and also the reception that male- and female-authored travelogues received from reviewers and readers" (Thompson 2011, 175). Subsequently, the question arises: are male- and female-authored travelogues fundamentally different, does the aforementioned stereotyping result in specifically feminine and masculine characteristics of such accounts?

Some critics believe that the perspectives of female travellers are different from those of masculine travellers – as Mary Morris argues, women travellers are typically more focused on depicting the "inner landscape," and the "writer's own inner workings" than their male counterparts (2007, 9). Jane Robinson asserts that "men's travel accounts are to do with What and Where, and women's with How and Why" (1990, xiv). Yet, such generalizations and categorizations seem problematic since there is a great diversity of female travel writing; moreover, in order to get a more nuanced image of a specific travelogue, one must look beyond gender issues. Gender is part of a more complex set of factors that shape up a traveller's identity and her/his travel writing. As Foster and Mills argue, there are many more variables that should be taken into account while analysing a travelogue, such as "race, age, class, and financial position, education, political ideals and historical period" (2002, 1). Also, one has to take into consideration the historical as well as social context in which the journey takes place.

The heyday of travel writing started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with travel becoming a common social practice, accessible for everyone via the emergence of common means of transportation: the train and the steamer. Very quickly, travel became not just a new type of entertainment for the higher social classes but also a form of escapism, as well as a way of satisfying one's (scientific) curiosity of the world. Moreover, "travel provided an opportunity, especially for women, to escape the rigidity of Victorian society and, very often, to write exemplary travel accounts" (Blanton 2002, 20).

In addition, such democratization of travel also brought with itself the democratization of women's status in Victorian society and provided them a possibility to travel alone to remote places, a practice that had previously been restricted to travelling with a man or travelling in a larger group of several women with a male escort. Julia Pardoe also exercised the freedom of travelling alone to faraway lands, accompanied only by her mother. However, we learn

from her travelogues that she was always helped by noble gentlemen, and during her journey in Hungary she was received and assisted by the well-educated Hungarian elite. Her encounters with the civilized Hungarian upper social class and her appreciation of the nation not only generated a sympathetic reaction in the eyes of English readers but also made her journey as well as her travelogue socially and culturally acceptable.

Pardoe was amongst the first women writers who wrote travelogues on a par with men, by producing a more "factual" and a less "romantic" text. *The City of the Magyar*, however, successfully combines the previously stereotyped male and female narrative conventions: it is equally intellectual and scientific, while it is also entertaining, especially in those parts in which Pardoe describes landscapes in a quite lyrical tone, retells local myths and legends, or provides an account of cultural customs and manners. Thus, by providing detailed descriptions of the Hungarian political and social institutions, by discussing the commercial possibilities between Hungary and England, she is being objective and "useful," on the one hand, while through giving beautiful and lyrical descriptions of landscapes, people, and local legends she moves to the realm of fiction writing, on the other hand. This negotiation of various literary conventions (and social discourses) ultimately determines the three-volume book to reveal a typically masculine perspective as well as a conventionally feminine narrative voice on the page. Many travelogues written by women in the nineteenth century have this double-voiced quality. As Sara Mills argues, the writing of these women "seems more of a contest between masculine and feminine discourses, and other textual determinants" (1991, 44). Even if women's writing may differ from male travel writing, "they still uphold the basic metaphorical description of landscape" (Mills 1991, 44). Thus, it is safe to say that female travel writing shares a great number of narrative elements with male travel writing. As Mills claims, "the difference is not a simplistic textual distinction between men's writing on the one hand and women's writing on the other, but rather a series of discursive pressures on production and reception which female writers have to negotiate, in very different ways to males" (1991, 5–6).

One typical convention used by women travel writers in the nineteenth century was the pretence that their writing is, in fact, a private text made public, "so as to forestall the criticisms liable to be levelled at women who trespassed too conspicuously on a supposedly masculine domain" (Thompson 2011, 180). The implicit transgressiveness of Pardoe's extraordinary journey is also balanced by a certain display of a conventionally feminine attitude, such as modesty in her writing style and modesty in talking about her initial motivations, thus diminishing the value of the endeavour and even apologizing for undertaking such a risky travel. Such a disclaimer appears right in the preface to the first volume: "In putting forth the present work, I have not sought to deceive myself with regard to the difficulty of the undertaking; […] I cannot, as a woman, presume

to suppose that any weight can possibly be attached to my particular sentiments on that subject" (vol. 1. 1840, v–vi).

As Domotor argues, such "apologies and confessions were essential to preserve the genteel position of the woman author in British society" (2014, 93). It is evident that later Pardoe often uses certain phrases that would express her sentiments, her emotional attachment to the nation when writing about how much she has become interested in the country and its inhabitants, in this way reassuring her gentility.

> I confess that I have learnt to feel so sincere a sympathy with Hungary, such a respect for the phoenix-like spirit which dwells within her, and which is rapidly renewing a strong and smart existence from the ashes of the past (…) (vol. 1. 1840, 156)
> I am enabled through the kindness of competent persons, to give a fair and true account of their nature and extent, I become more anxious to place them in such a point of view as may attract the attention, and awaken the sympathies, of England. (vol. 3. 1840, 304–305)

Personal, sentimental observations are often followed by detailed descriptions of politics, industry, as well as other social institutions, in this way restoring the balance between masculine and feminine travel writing conventions. It is safe to say that the travelogue has a very balanced structure: unladylike chapters, that is, dealing with "masculine" topics, such as politics, economy, or various industries, are followed by "feminine" topics such as visiting cultural institutions, retelling local legends, describing beautiful landscapes, romanticizing certain places and people.

When writing about certain topics, such as the establishment of the Hungarian Academy, or when talking about important historical events, she strives to maintain the objectivity and the scientific accuracy of her account by providing sources in the footnotes (vol. 3. 1840, 82, 129–132). When giving a detailed enumeration of Hungarian literary journals and magazines, she provides a whole chart with several categories and titles, and the exact numbers of journals in each category (vol. 3. 1840, 92). She employs the same strategy when discussing more intellectual, that is, economic or political issues, such as Hungary's annual production, the amount of export, and the current value of each article (see charts and tables on pp. 308–309 in vol. 3.). After "serious" topics, she frequently switches to lighter subjects, and thus the tone of writing also becomes lighter. In volume 3, Chapter IX, for example, she provides a detailed description of the Turkish tomb at Buda, recounting the story of the Father of Roses, that of Gül Baba, and then she offers a detailed and beautiful description of the Königs-Bad, or King's Bath, a description that would fit any nowadays tourist guide book (vol. 3. 1840, 135).

In many chapters in which she approaches political and social issues, such as the condition of the Hungarian peasantry, the different political parties, various political developments and struggles of the nation to progress, she seems to be very careful when fashioning her on-page persona and, accordingly, plays down the extent of her expertise. In the chapter on the political and social situation of the Magyar peasantry, she claims that "I have only just been enabled, through the kindness of a friend, on whose testimony the most perfect reliance can be placed, from his long and practical knowledge of the subject, to understand and appreciate the actual position of the Magyar peasant" (vol. 3. 1840, 195).

In the third volume, she describes her visit to the hospital of St Roch, thus fulfilling a typical social role of a truly genteel woman (visiting healthcare institutions, being concerned about the well-being of sick and poor children, etc.), and later she also provides an extensive description of the Convent of the English Ladies, founded by Maria Theresa, which, in fact, was "a scholastic establishment that Maria Theresa patronized […] and the fact sufficed to fill their classes, and consequently to hurry on the denationalization of the Hungarian ladies" (vol. 3. 1840, 62).

On another occasion, her writing style mixes detailed descriptions of places and buildings with fictional elements such as retelling certain legends and fairy tales. While providing the description of the Fortress in Chapter X (vol. 3), she retells a famous Hungarian folk tale, that of the Vasfogú Bába, and, at this point, the travelogue turns into a work of fiction, making use of every narrative convention used in fairy tales: opening-closing patterns, dialogues, good and evil characters, and so on. Such inserted stories obviously served entertaining purposes while providing a glimpse into the couleur locale. "There was one old woman, however, known in the neighbourhood by the name of the Vas Fogú Baba, or the Iron-Toothed, whom neither gold nor threats could prevail upon to sell her little garden, for therein grew the iron-herb through whose strange virtue she possessed the power of opening all locks, and loosening alike bolts and fetters" (vol 3. 1840, 147).

She tells another local legend in a similar manner: on another occasion, she goes on a short trip near Buda, spending a day in the lovely mountains called the Fair Shepherdess, or Szép Juhászné, a name that evokes a story of King Mathias Corvinus, who fell in love with a beautiful shepherdess. The description of the trip makes use of the literary devices of the picturesque:

> Our route lay amid vine-covered hills, where the ripe fruit was blushing in gold and amethyst […] Their [the youth's] fancies are wandering among the roses of the present – their spirits dance on the zephyrs, and their glad voices answer to the melody of the forest-leaves. […] On the very crest of the height we found the fountain; a sparkling spring, looking like liquid

> diamonds in the hollow of the dark stone into which it flows. (vol. 3. 1840, 171, 175–176)

Such romantic descriptions dominate the entire chapter, leaving space for entertaining storytelling. In her careful balancing between "masculine" writing, that of offering political and economic information, and "feminine" storytelling, she oftentimes uses the narrative method of addressing the reader directly, apologizing for the supposedly less exciting or trivial parts of her narrative, while promising to offer an even more exciting story in the forthcoming chapters, as in the case of Chapter XX, vol. 3, where she visits Visegrád and retells the bloodiest story of Hungarian history, that of Klára Zách: "I have forborne to weary the reader with an account of our occasional excursions in the neighborhood of the capital, where there was no remarkable feature to render them matter of general interest; but it is impossible so to pass over our pilgrimage to Vissegrád, the ruined stronghold of Magyar luxury, and regal vengeance" (vol. 3. 1840, 318).

Another typical "feminine" tendency in travel writing would be a detailed description of plants, almost at the level of botanical science (a domain acceptable for both male and female travel writers in the nineteenth century). Pardoe, on her part, offers such typical description especially in those chapters in which she recounts her visits to the estates of the Hungarian elite, houses that were famous for their huge gardens, usually designed after the pattern of typical English gardens, or hosting rare, exotic plants, as in the case of Prince Eszterházy's estate in Eisenstadt. Sketches of such gardens and landscapes reminded the readers of sceneries in Great Britain that were always associated with genteel lifestyle. As Domotor argues, "Pardoe's eyes were trained to spot park-like environments, areas demarcating the social class in a position to occupy land for leisure and not simply for labor" (2014, 96).

The Image of the Magyars in the Eyes of an Englishwoman

According to Joep Leerssen, the "nineteenth century becomes the heyday of national thought, affecting not only political developments (the rise of nationalism and of national movements) but also the field of cultural production" (2007b, 73), and, as contrasted with the eighteenth century, "the nineteenth [century] will always define national identity on the basis of international difference" (2007b, 73). Manfred Beller argues that "when people from various countries and cultures meet each other, real experience and mental images compete. Earlier meetings with others shape our pre-expectations – which in turn predetermine further meetings with other Others" (2007, 7). He also states that "with collectives, which

we subsume into one concept as groups, peoples or races, these emerge in the formulaic form of stereotypes" (2007, 7). Leerssen adds that in the representation of nationalities subjectivity is at play, as the one represented is always discussed in the context of the representing text/discourse. Therefore, there is always a particular dynamic between "those images that characterize the Other (*hetero-images*) and those which characterize one's own, domestic identity (*self-images* or *auto-images*)" (2007a, 27).

In Pardoe's travel writing, the hetero-images of the people of Hungary can be close to, or far from, the traveller's auto-image based on many reasons: geographical, political, cultural, as well as economic factors. Whenever she encounters civilized, Western-oriented Hungarian middle-class people or members of the Hungarian nobility, hetero-images become very close to the traveller's self-image, that is, her own British national standards. When she visits the country's peripheries and encounters "less civilized" nationalities, the tone of the travelogue becomes judgmental and, sometimes, patronizing.

In her praising of Hungarians, Pardoe highlights the cultural as well as political similarities between the British and the Hungarian nations, appreciates the spirit of reform and progress that pervaded the contemporary Hungarian society, and writes extensively on the possible economic relations between the two countries. "There is no country in Europe with which the trading interests of England might be so closely and profitably united" (vol. 3. 1840, 313), she claims, adding that "the increase of traffic on the Danube is slowly but surely working out the prosperity of Hungary" (vol. 3. 1840, 313).

On many occasions, she praises the high level of literacy among the Hungarian elite and the great improvements in the fields of literature and journalism: "I have already given a sufficiently favourable idea of the periodical press of Hungary to convince my readers that there is no mental lethargy at present in the country" (vol. 3. 1840, 89), and about the practice of bookbinding she claims that it is of great quality, and "the whole put together in a style which would not disgrace a first-rate London bookseller" (vol. 3. 1840, 90). She is also extremely enthusiastic about the social and cultural life at Budapest. In vol. 3, Chapter XXI, she describes the ball organized by the medical students, and she claims that "there is not probably a more handsomely decorated room in Europe than the great saloon of the Redoute at Pesth" (1840, 341). Very often, she compares Hungarian buildings and institutions to English ones, thus measuring everything against her own cultural standards. About the architecture in Budapest she speaks with great enthusiasm: "I confess that I love the light and fairy-like effect produced by this long line of graceful buildings when the sunshine rests upon them, and their majestic shadows fall far across the river" (vol. 3. 1840, 1–2). She goes on and praises the Casino, which, in its interior design, is as perfect "as any club in Europe" (vol. 3. 1840, 2) thanks to Count István Széchenyi, and

in the Library "Englishmen will find the Quarterly, Edinburgh, and Westminster Reviews […] and all the best Continental journals" (vol. 3. 1840, 2). Moreover, she enthusiastically enumerates the similarities between the English and the Hungarian legislative systems. She is impressed by the Hungarian Diet, which has "endured for seven centuries, having been instituted only five years later than the Parliament of England. […] It is composed, as with us, of an Upper and Lower Chamber (or, as they are here designated, "Tables")" (vol. 1. 1840, 218). From the previously mentioned Hungarian–British comparisons, one can easily deduce Pardoe's political standpoint: she is sympathizing with the liberal politicians, urging reforms, especially in terms of freedom from the Austrian hegemony.

Pardoe praises the progressive spirit of the Hungarians and expresses her passionate concern for their well-being, yet, on many occasions, she engages in the description of the Magyar national character in ways that can be seen as stepping into a colonialist attitude. Her narrative is abundant in descriptions that contrast Hungarian buildings, ethnic groups, landscapes, and cultural habits with British standards. Pardoe's perspective on Hungary could be interpreted with the term coined by Andrew Hammond, that of "imagined colonialism" (2006, 89), that is, a certain imperial viewpoint on local inhabitants and landscapes that stems from the traveller's specifically British cultural background and national ideals. British travellers in the nineteenth century, according to Hammond, often look at the image of the "Other" in non-colonial territories, more specifically in the Balkans, with a sense of superiority, "signifying the possibility and propriety of national domination" (2006, 89). While in Pardoe's text one can find many instances of such sense of national and cultural superiority, especially when comparing British and Hungarian cultural standards, there are also many occasions when the perspective of the "imagined colonialism" is suspended, and instead of displaying a narrative position of power and dominance, Pardoe shows a genuine concern for the Hungarian nation worthy of improvement and integration.

According to Sara Mills, female travel writers were often caught between the demands of the discourse of femininity and of imperialism, and such demands brought about various distinctive narrative elements of their travelogues. "The discourses of colonialism demand action and intrepid, fearless behaviour from the narrator, yet the discourses of femininity demand passivity from the narrator and a concern with relationships" (Mills 1991, 21–22). Such demands are often challenged and negotiated in Pardoe's text: one can see the female narrator as an adventurer, a fearless traveller, sometimes being on par with "the bold adventuring hero of male travel texts" (Mills 1991, 22), suspending the discourse of femininity in various situations that might have been considered improper for a woman (examples here include the visits to the jail in Pest in vol. 2, 78–89 or to the mine in Schemnitz in vol. 1, 194).

Moreover, in Pardoe's narrative, one can find several passages that describe the Hungarian nation in a patronizing way. Interestingly, when formulating her opinion on the characteristics of national identity, Pardoe mentions the question of industry and economy, as well as adherence to English standards as a measure of civilization. Also, when discussing the backwardness of the nation and the less civilized conditions of the country, she comes to the conclusion that these are not only caused by the country's old-fashioned laws, that is, the remnants of the old feudal system, but also by the domineering Habsburg rule and the historical traumas the nation had to endure. She compares Hungary to a Phoenix bird, since Hungarians have a passionate spirit, which is "rapidly renewing a strong and stalwart existence from the ashes of the past" (vol. 1, 156).

About the estates of the Hungarian elite, she talks with great admiration, mentioning the "principles of English farming brought into profitable action, under the persevering and intelligent surveillance of the proprietor" (vol. 3. 1840, 235). But what characterizes Hungary, according to Pardoe, is a general condition of mediocrity, since it has almost no external commerce, the roads are bad, and the export taxes on the frontier are extremely high. "[T]he demand for home-consumption is that of a needy and a comparatively uncivilized nation, demanding necessities, rather than luxuries" (vol. 3. 1840, 234). Summing up the state of rural economy of the country, she claims that Hungary "requires only an increase of external commerce and encouragement to become one of the gardens of the world" (vol. 3. 1840, 232). Such observation demonstrates a certain imperial perspective, but also a patronizing, almost motherly attitude towards a nation that she considered to be at its infancy, both economically and culturally. Domotor claims that women travellers often embraced a certain motherly attitude, which in the case of Pardoe seems to be a "motherly concern for the moral development of a […] country" (2014, 93).

A cultural shock can be observed in the chapter, when Pardoe visits the hospital of St Roch, and the Director shows her a famous painting, an original Guido. Pardoe, a well-educated upper-class woman, who had already visited the most important art galleries of the world, cannot help but smile at the infantile enthusiasm of the Director.

> His excitement and agitation were beyond description – he seized us alternately by the shoulders to place us in the most advantageous positions for distinguishing the peculiar beauties of the painting; he threw himself into attitudes of admiration and delight more suited to seventeen than to seventy – he wiped the dew from his forehead – he vibrated in every nerve. (vol. 3. 1840, 21)

In this case, Pardoe's attitude of superiority led to a misreading of various social codes, because she did not register the fact that the Director was, in fact, demonstrating his social refinement as much as his culture by this gesture.

While discussing the national characteristics of the locals (against British national standards), Pardoe's travelogue often mentions the issue of being lazy or industrious as the defining feature of a certain ethnic group. Pardoe refers to Hungary as a multi-ethnic country and offers extensive analysis of various ethnic groups, for example, the Gypsies, the Slavonic and the German population, as well as the Wallachians. About the Wallachians, she says that they "are the least civilized of progressive inhabitants of Hungary […] all their clothes except their hats and sandals are made by their women, who are proverbially industrious" (vol. 3. 1840, 255).

About the Gypsies, she claims that they are so different from the other inhabitants of the country as if they were an entirely different race. "The Zigeuner of Hungary are a much darker race, being little removed from black" (vol. 1. 1840, 167). Apart from their physical appearance, what stuns Pardoe the most is their laziness at work and aimless wandering across the land. Moreover, their extremely poor living conditions shock her: "the extremity of the filth amid which they live, wither them very soon, and in old age they are hideous and disgusting. […] They exist in a sort of social commonwealth, not recognizing marriage either as a sacrament or as a ceremony […] the children wear no clothes until the age of ten or twelve years; and resemble imps rather than human beings" (vol. 1. 1840, 168).

It is precisely this barbaric, nomadic lifestyle, the lack of education and civilized way of living that shocks the English genteel woman. According to Domotor, the "absence of home-like building displeased respectable English women for whom the house represented an essential element of their identity" (2014, 95). Certainly, such stereotypical images stem from the social and cultural background of the traveller. According to Mills, women "may travel outside the home but they display all the conventional characteristics of women within the home" (1991, 34). And, as Zsuzsa Ajtony correctly points out, the development of stereotypes can be traced back to the so-called attitude, which appears in the form of one's value judgement against his/her own or other cultures (2011, 20).

Pardoe criticized the otherness of the Gypsies not only against her own national values but also against Hungarian standards, describing Hungarians as a respectable nation, ready for emancipation and moral progress. She notes that the Magyars, "instead of spreading themselves over many lands, are condensed and isolated as a people" (vol. 3. 1840, 34) and also mentions that there is a great conflict and contempt between Slavic nations and Hungarians, and even if some Slavs have learned a few Hungarian words, "no Hungarian will ever suffer himself to utter a sentence in Sclavaque" (vol. 3. 1840, 34). Judit Kádár claims that "one reason why Miss Pardoe understood the prejudices harbored by the

Magyars against the Slavs is that she herself shared their misgivings in that it could be basically attributed to fear of a possible Russian expansion" (1990, 15). Elsewhere, Pardoe mentions that Hungarians do not even consider Slovaks as humans, and they use a common proverb: "A tót nem ember! – the Sclave is not a Man!" (vol. 2. 1840, 273). With such descriptions, Pardoe is one of the first travellers who noted the emerging hostilities and mutual stereotyping among the nations of Hungary. Moreover, she also mentions how the Germans express their hatred towards the Magyars: "The German applies to the Hungarian the term betyár, or groom, to imply his inferiority in civilization" (vol. 2. 1840, 273).

As for Hungarians and their language, she expresses a deep appreciation and claims that it is "essential to a full development of the national character, its memories, and its resources" and that "the productions of the Hungarian writers are now beginning to be appreciated by the German public, and are consequently almost universally translated into that language" (vol. 3. 1840, 35).

All in all, Pardoe's approach to Hungary and the Hungarians is evident: apart from merely sympathizing with the nation, she provides the image of an independent state, a stronghold of liberty, as well as a nation who "dared, despite the intrigues of the cabinets, and the threats of power, to assert their rights" (vol. 1. 1840, 218). As for dealing with the growing contempt and conflict between the various nations of Hungary, Pardoe's solution would be the nationalization of non-Hungarians via extending the use of Hungarian language, this being one of the greatest efforts of the Diet of 1939–40, as Pardoe asserts: "to develop nationality and to diminish foreign influence" (vol. 2. 1840, 261–262). Kádár rightly concludes that Pardoe argued for Magyarization "by evoking Russia's expansionist policy not only in terms of Hungary, but also with a view to the Habsburg Empire. She was convinced that the stability of the empire could only be maintained by a unified Hungary of Magyars and Magyarized Slavs and Germans" (1990, 15).

Conclusions

All in all, *The City of the Magyar* was amongst the first travelogues that offered a positive image of Hungarians for the British public. Pardoe's travel account successfully combined the male and female conventions of the time, thus creating a text through which she negotiated the gender norms of her age by writing about issues that belonged to the public sphere and that might have seemed unladylike for a respectable genteel woman. Besides constantly formulating her observations on Hungarian cultural and social issues as contrasted with her British national background and ideals, she also adopted a certain colonialist perspective, a somewhat patronizing tone, yet stressing her good intentions, interest, and care for a nation she considered in a state of great progress and reform.

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