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**Civilizing the “Uncivilized.” Colonial
Approaches in John Paget's
Travelogue on Hungary and
Transylvania**

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1 Introduction: on Colonialism and Postcolonialism

2 Geographical and Historical Context

3 “A Colonial Gaze”: the Ethnicities in Hungary and Transylvania through John Paget’s Eyes

4 Political and Economic Aspects and Cultural Shocks

5 The Theory of Hybridity and Nineteenth Century “Anglomania” in Hungary

1. Introduction

Written during the rapid expansion of the Second British Empire, at the middle of the 19th Century, writer-traveler John Paget's account of his Hungarian journey reflects the attitude of the colonialist Englishman. The then-widespread view about the British being culturally and morally superior to others, and thus entitled to study other cultures with genuine curiosity, still regarding them with a certain disdain and condescension, is visible in his book *Hungary and Transylvania: with remarks on their condition, social, political, and economical*, making the travelogue an example of (post)colonialist literature written about a country which was never part of the British empire.

John Paget's travelogue can be regarded as postcolonial work in the sense that, according to Harald Fischer-Tiné, “the prefix 'post' in 'postcolonial' is explicitly not to be understood temporally in the sense of 'after colonialism'. Instead, it should be read as a postulate of the current engagement with and future overcoming of deep seated colonial assumptions and stereotypes” (n.p.). It is not hard to see why John Paget should have had the aforementioned “deep seated colonial assumptions and stereotypes” during his travels to Eastern Europe: the time of his journey, 1835, coincided with the beginnings of Britain's Imperial Century, a time of spectacular expansion of the Empire by the end of which “Great Britain added approximately 10 million square miles of territory and roughly 400 million people to its overseas empire” (Parsons 3). Hence, John Paget travelled with the eyes of the colonizer, without the intention of colonizing, but with a clear sense of superiority and the power and knowledge to enhance, into previously uncolonized lands.

“The study of colonial discourse is now well established in the western academy” (Hammond 1). Classically, the terms “colonial” and “post-colonial,” in a British context, refer to Oriental, African or American countries once under British rule. The concept of colonialism is not widespread in Eastern

Europe, although the Austro-Hungarian Empire did have some colonialist tendencies in the central and eastern part of the continent, but its extent never reached that of the British Empire, either in territorial or in temporal terms. Hammond calls the Balkans “the debated lands,” and while culturally Hungary and Transylvania can hardly be considered Balcanic regions, geographically they may just as well be referred to as “debated lands” from a British colonial point of view. The Balkans or the Balkan Peninsula, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is one of “Europe's three great southern peninsulas.” The encyclopaedia explains that the borders of this geographic region are widely debated, but a general consensus is that today's Romania is a part of it, along with nine to eleven other South-East European countries—entirely or partially—, but not Hungary. It is true that at the time of John Paget's travels to these lands, Transylvania was not yet part of Romania, however, the physical proximity of the regions to what is generally accepted as a broad definition of the Balkans make Paget's travelogue arguably an account of “the debated lands.” Moreover, according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, with reference to the Balkans, “ethnic diversity is one of the region’s most characteristic social and political features,” and this feature is exactly what John Paget encountered in Hungary and even more so in Transylvania; an aspect on which he made many remarks.

Andrew Hammond describes this attitude as “imagined colonialism,” existent in 19th century travel writing, explaining that “British travellers created an imaginative and geographical space in which to play out fantasies of personal control, gaining (...) what they saw as a natural right to explore, order, interpret, judge, depreciate, and control” (Hammond 77). In John Paget's attitude, besides being clearly colonialist, there is a certain dichotomy of appreciation and depreciation, of colonizer and reformer—ultimately, of an Englishman and a Hungarian.

2. Geographical and Historical Context

When English esquire John Paget came to Hungary and Transylvania in 1835, the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, and thus the birth of the dualist empire, was still decades away (1867). Except maybe for Hungary's capital Budapest, Paget found a vast land that was, from an Englishman’s point of view, largely uncivilized. Villages with hardly anything to see apart from the church, poverty, roads that were almost impracticable; besides noting the state of affairs in the country, Paget never failed to comment on what he thought was in need of betterment. In his travelogue and also throughout his life following his journey, Paget attempted to look at what he experienced from the perspective of potential improvement. “On the one hand, he appreciated Hungarian and Transylvanian otherness, as well as

expressed a great enthusiasm for these regions. On the other hand, whenever he talked about the landscape or the inhabitants, he associated these with English sceneries and character profiles” (Bökös n. p.).

From the historic and political point of view of the lands he visited, another important cultural and historical aspect of John Paget's travels is the fact that his Hungarian journey took place in 1835, more than a decade before the Hungarian Revolution and the Fight for Freedom in 1848. Transylvania was a principality, an Austrian and Hungarian crownland. Hungary was a member of the Habsburg Empire, with a certain degree of independence. This period is known in Hungarian history as the Reform Era in which the leading Hungarian politicians of the time were working to establish the foundations of a new, modern Hungary, and Paget was enthusiastic about helping these efforts by contributing with his knowledge about, for example, English agriculture or horse farming. In fact, Paget participated in the 1832 “diéta,” that is, the Hungarian national council of the period, and later married the daughter of one of the most prominent Transylvanian-Hungarian reformer politicians, baron József Wesselényi (Kovács 208).

“To her, for whose pleasure this work was undertaken, by whose smiles its progress has been encouraged, and at whose desire it is now published, I dedicate it, in testimony of my affection and esteem” (n. p.). The inscription with which John Paget opens his travelogue is a dedication to his wife Polixénia Wesselényi, an ethnic Hungarian, a Transylvanian noble lady whom he had met in Rome, a short while before visiting the Hungarian and Transylvanian regions. Polixénia was his inspiration not only for the travels and for the writing of the book, but also for the most important life decisions that followed, most particularly him “becoming a Hungarian,” and finally being buried as such in Házsongárd Cemetery in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), under the name Paget János. His book *Hungary and Transylvania: with remarks on their condition, social, political, and economical* greatly contributed to informing the English public about these regions, which was his original intention as well; nonetheless, in the introduction he states: “But, although I naturally wish that others should partake of the interest which I feel, I have not thought it either just or wise to conceal, or to gloss over, faults existing either in the country, its institutions, or its inhabitants” (Preface, n.p.).

3. “A Colonial Gaze”: the Ethnicities in Hungary and Transylvania through John Paget’s Eyes

Looking through the eyes of the colonizer, much of what he has seen in Hungary, but most of all in Transylvania, has visibly surprised Paget, particularly the existence of a level of civilization that he

had not expected to find here. “A strange little country is this Transylvania! Very likely the reader never heard its name before (...). Here is this country on the very limits of European civilization, yet possessing institutions and rights, for which the most civilized have not been thought sufficiently advanced” (259), he writes in the chapter regarding the region in general. He then goes on to detail one of the most striking features that he has experienced here, namely, the multitude of ethnicities and cultures of Transylvania:

The Magyar, the Szekler, the Saxon, and the Wallack, have all their rights, but differing most materially in nature and extent from each other. The whole population of the country does not amount to more than two millions, yet they have among them four established religions, — besides several others tolerated, — at least four languages, and I know not how many different national customs, prejudices, and modes of feeling. (259)

3.1 The Magyars

Despite praising this impressive diversity—apart from the slightly ironic remark at the end of the above quote—, Paget doesn't fail to make very specific, and most often piercingly judgmental ethnic profiles about each cultural group he encounters, always maintaining his superior perspective of the Englishman. Most of the inhabitants he meets are Hungarians (Magyars), thus, this ethnic group brings about the most diverse impressions on him. Ironically, what strikes him the most about the Magyars is their national pride, and their proneness to regard every other nation as inferior to them. “All foreigners are either Schwab (German), or Talyan (Italian); and it is difficult to imagine the supercilious air with which the Magyar peasant pronounces those two words”(20). Moreover, Paget remarks the particular superiority with which Hungarians regard their Romanian (Wallack) neighbours: “As for his more immediate neighbours, it is worse still: for the most miserable Paraszt-ember (poorman, peasant) of Debreczen would scorn alliance or intercourse with the richest Wallack in the country” (20). Besides national pride, he remarks that the Hungarian noblemen are very prone to envy, saying “there are few countries in which a great man makes more personal enemies, and has to combat more petty annoyances, than in Hungary. (38)”

Continuing to portray the Magyar character, Paget never forgets to make comparisons with the English, perhaps unsurprisingly, chiefly in favour of his own fellow-citizens. When analyzing the Hungarian work morale, he writes: “The Magyar is accused of being lazy; and if by that is meant that

he has not the Englishman's love of work for its own sake, I believe the charge is merited. (...) The Hungarian is easily disappointed and discouraged if an enterprise does not succeed at the first attempt" (21). He then continues to describe the Hungarian character in detail, pointing out a certain dichotomy of "habitual passiveness and melancholy, mixed up with great susceptibility to excitement" (21). Paget correlates this feature with the main aspect of Hungarian music ("national airs," as he calls them), which, according to him, also reflects these two extremes: it begins slowly, and evolves into very lively and dynamic, similarly to the dance that goes along with it.

It is perhaps interesting to note that Paget remarked a deep sense of nostalgia in the Magyar spirit, a feature which is not unknown to Hungarians even today. In the first half of the nineteenth^h century, a period which later went down in history as a time of great political and economic progress, Hungarians still longed for the past, namely, for the time of King Matthias (Mátyás), a renaissance king who is popularly considered to be the most righteous ruler of Hungary. Regarding this, Paget also remarks the "strong inclination to conservatism" of the Magyars, and their hatred of anything new, a feature he illustrates by quoting a popular figure of speech about any new or foreign notions: "he (the Magyar) always considers it a sufficient condemnation to say, 'Not even my grandfather ever heard of such a thing'" (38).

One of the most striking examples of Paget's colonial approach is evident in the chapter where he describes Transylvanian "money matters" (as he puts it), remarking a complete lack of banks and bankers, something very strange to the English eye, thus it certainly seemed as a backwardness that Paget chalks up to "imperfect laws" in the country. He notes that Hungarians are accustomed to keep all their money in golden objects, theorizing that this may be due to it being easier to take all the valuables with them in case of an attack. One of the results of this custom is the fact that to the English eye, Hungarian women wore shockingly large amounts of jewelry, especially when compared to their actual income, saying that Hungarian ladies of a certain estate possessed "more jewels than an Englishwoman of ten or twenty times that fortune would dream of" (478). Continuing this thought, he appears to be genuinely aghast at the jewelry worn by Magyar dames, and, comparing them to the natives of the Pacific colonies, wanders from the realm of the "imagined colonies" into the real ones: "The quantities of pearls and diamonds with which some of the Hungarian ladies load their national costume, is quite out of all proportion; to me they forcibly recalled the bead-decked dresses of the savages of the South Sea Islands,—Heaven defend me, though, should they hear that I have said so!" (478). The last remark, bearing the signs of his characteristic humour, shows that he is conscious of the somewhat offensive nature of this simile, however, he can not resist to draw the parallel between the Hungarian noble ladies

and the “savages” of the South Pacific.

When analyzing the culture of Hungary and Transylvania, he notes the literacy of Hungarian peasants. However, while he does appreciate the fact that “many of them can read and write in two or three languages, they are yet much more ignorant, than the English peasant who often cannot read or write his own” (539). This aspect is, in his opinion, due to the press being under Austrian censorship, but also the difficult living conditions of the peasantry; factors which contribute to this category being deprived of accurate information about the world outside their homes.

On a more positive note, though, he does remark the excellent reputation of Hungarian soldiers, with a special emphasis on the “hussar,” “a smart active fellow, a little vain of his own appearance, and passionately fond of his horse” (38). Among the most positive aspects he remarks about both Hungary and Transylvania is the people's hospitality and friendliness. Wherever he goes, he is accommodated in the best rooms of the houses, offered food and drink, taken to see the local “sights,” and, in general, appreciated if not for anything else, but for being a stranger, particularly an Englishman. “An Englishman, who is only accustomed to the stiff, though well-meant forms of English society, can have little idea how a stranger is received here,” (475) he confesses.

3.2 The Wallacks

The Wallacks, or the Romanians of today, were another ethnic group that John Paget had the chance to study more extensively when he interrupted his Transylvanian travels by sailing along the Danube River beyond the Carpathian Mountains, and into Wallachia. He studied the Wallacks with an anthropologist's curiosity, considering it his task to unravel the true origin of this nation. As somebody who had recently been to Rome, Paget vividly remembered Trajan's column and its illustrations, and when he first laid eyes on some Wallack peasants on the riverbank, working on a “modern” road, he was certain that he indeed found out the ancestry of the Wallacks, without any shadow of doubt. “The dress, the features, and the whole appearance of the Wallacks, were so Dacian, that a man fresh from Rome could scarcely fail to recognise it. They have the same arched nose, deeply sunken eye and long hair, the same sheepskin cap, the same shirt bound round the waist, and descending to the knee, and the same long loose trowsers” (124-125).

The Wallacks are also the ethnic group about which John Paget writes some of the most negative statements, although he is somewhat apologetic when he counts the character flaws of the nation. As he does in the case of Hungarians, one of the traits he emphasizes is the people's relationship

to work. His remarks on the Wallacks' work morale are among the harshest that appear in the book. "That the Wallack is idle and drunken it would be very difficult to deny. Even in the midst of harvest you will see him lying in the sun sleeping all the more comfortably because he knows he ought to be working" (215) he writes, after extensively detailing the Wallack's appearance and clothing habits, not without disdain. A fine example of Paget's post-colonial approach is the way he describes some of the nation's cultural traits, such as strong superstition, timidity and suspiciousness, or even their language: "though the German can often speak Wallachian, you may be quite sure that the Wallack can only speak his own barbarous tongue" (154). Besides "barbarous", Paget uses the word "bastard" to describe Wallack writing, implying that it is merely a low-quality replica of Greek letters (179). Also connected to the perceived laziness and "barbarism," especially when compared to English refinement, he notes that "though it is in the midst of harvest, you find a number of lazy fellows lying about their doors, while their half-robed wives amuse themselves with an occupation about their husbands' heads, for which the English language has no word fit for ears polite" (154).

Despite all the negative traits he remarks about the Wallacks, Paget, in a true colonizer fashion, also assesses their capability to develop into useful workforce. When visiting the iron-works of Ruskberg (Ruszkabánya / Rusca Montană) and observing the ethnically diverse community that works there, he notes: "By good management, regular payment, and constant employment, the lazy Wallack had become an industrious artisan, and the wandering, roguish, degraded gipsy, a clever steady workman" (175). On the topic of "regular payment, and constant employment," he had previously asserted that the Wallacks' laziness might stem from the dire work conditions and little payment offered to them by their Magyar employers, a factor which, according to Paget, understandably drove the Wallack to avoid work whenever possible. On the other hand, the observation made in the iron-works prompts Paget to venture on a relatively long and detailed excursus on the difficult but rewarding tasks and trials of a "reformer"; indeed a term that could be easily substituted with "colonizer" in this context. "The Reformer's is always an arduous task; but when his efforts are directed to the improvement of the manners and the character of men, it is a labour to which very few are equal" (175) he states, continuing with the assessment of all the hardships that follow this commitment, such as the difficulty of entering "the thoughts and feelings of others," appreciating "circumstances in which one has never been placed—to judge of the wants and necessities to which they give rise — to seize the points by which men may be influenced — to eradicate the bad and leave the good parts of their character untouched" (175—176). All these aspects echo the general British idea about the noble assignment of a colonizer whose only wish is to bring improvement to where it is needed—to civilize

the uncivilized, if you will.

3.3 Other Ethnicities

Depending on the length of time he spent in their company, John Paget made more or less detailed descriptions about the other ethnicities of Hungary and Transylvania, attempting at times to unravel the origins of the nations, with particular interest in colonial aspects with regard to the Romans or even to the Hungarians who occupied the land that was already inhabited by “primitive” nations. About the Szeklers, he states that they are considered to be the descendants of one of the hordes that the Romans have left in Europe when they retreated, and offered them a home in their former province Dacia, to guard the mountains. The horde would be the Huns of Attila, and, according to what Paget had heard in Transylvania, when the Magyars came to occupy the region, they had found them where they are today, noting the similarities between their languages and character. Thus, the Magyars offered the Szeklers more liberties than to any other ethnic group in Transylvania. Still, the Szeklers were not content, for prior to the arrival of the Magyars, they had been living in complete equality. This factor, according to Paget, is what caused the Szeklers to become “among the most discontented of any portion of the Transylvanians” (391), especially because each one of them claimed to be of noble origin.

When describing the Szekler character, Paget makes a bold comparison with the Scots in Britain: “The same pride and poverty, the same industry and enterprise, and if they are not belied, the same sharp regard to their own interests” (397). Also with reference to the Scotch, he notes that the Szeklers, being also mountain-dwellers, lack the refinement of manners. Moreover, he declares that even the Szekler nobles are “rude” in their behaviour when compared to any other ethnic group in the country. However, also compared to Britain's highlanders, he admits that “like the Scotch, they seem to have advanced in education to an extraordinary degree, so that there are few villages without their schools, few of the humblest Szeklers who cannot read and write” (398).

Travelling on towards the Southernmost parts of Transylvania, John Paget encounters an ethnic group that makes a surprisingly good impression on him: the Saxons. After passing through Háromszék where he noted the hard-working nature of the Szeklers, he is almost shocked to see that the Saxon lands were even better worked and cultivated than the previously travelled regions. “The Burzenland land as this part of the Saxon land is called, appeared like a garden in comparison even with that” (428), he remarks, especially admiring the fact that the Saxon women are working the land exactly as hard as the men—even sitting on a horse and driving a carriage pulled by four horses (“believe or not,

as you will, reader” (429)). “The Saxons are undoubtedly the most industrious, steady, and frugal of all the inhabitants of Transylvania, and they are consequently the best lodged, best clothed, and best instructed” (433), he praises the nation, still he denies the claim that the Saxon language should have any connection to English: “they have got a strange notion that the extraordinary dialect they commonly converse in has a strong resemblance to English. It might have been Hebrew for all I could understand of it” (471).

4. Political and Economic Aspects and Cultural Shocks

As an Englishman and an avid reformer of Hungary, John Paget dedicated long chapters in his book to the political and economic aspects that he considered important with regard to English—Hungarian relations. Although his descriptions are observably well-meaning—particularly in the last chapter of the book where he practically advertises Hungary and Transylvania as great potential economic partners and new markets for Britain—, he still doesn't fail to interweave his condescending attitude. About one of the largest and most quickly developing cities of Hungary, he notes: “Debreczen is celebrated in Hungary as well for its great fairs as for its manufactures, which, if rude, are adapted to the wants of the people” (39). One of the cultural differences he remarks on an agricultural level is the crops that are commonly cultivated in Hungary he considers “most strange to the Englishman's eye,” namely “sunflowers and pumpkins; the first cultivated for the oil they yield, the second used for fattening the pigs” (49). However, what is perhaps the greatest and most baffling cultural shock for Paget in Transylvania is the utter lack of in-house toilets. These facilities will later become known as English toilets (*angolvécé*) in Hungarian language, an element of the so-called anglomania ensues in Hungary. Note the disdain as well as the prudishness with which Paget complains about the inexistence of water closets in Transylvanian bedrooms: “During our sojourn at Varhely, we observed a deficiency of what is considered, in every other part of Europe, the most necessary article of bedroom furniture, and for which it was rather perplexing to find a substitute” (228). Paget thinks the probable cause of this might be the shame that is attached to having “such articles” within the buildings they live in, especially among “the old-fashioned and primitive of the Transylvanians,” an aspect he considers very odd. This sense of shame and decency related to such things is, in Paget's opinion, unparalleled over the rest of the continent, “and which, even we, should consider hyperdelicate” (228). To this peculiarity he adds a comparison between English and Hungarian servants, stating that “[c]ertain duties, which the delicate English housemaid does not consider below her, the Magyar girl cannot be brought to perform”

(229).

When describing the way a household is governed in Hungary and Transylvania, Paget often finds himself commenting on the national dishes, either praising them—the way it happens in the case of the famous Paprikás—, or expressing astonishment in the less positive sense of the word. He notes that when making provisions for winter, some Hungarian households prepare a large collection of snails with the intention of eating them. “The snails are drawn out of the shell, cut small with a kind of savoury stuffing, and served up replaced in the shell. As for their being disgusting, it is all fancy. I have seen delicate ladies relish snails exceedingly, who would have shuddered at the sight of a raw oyster. In some parts of Transylvania, instead of eggs and fowls, the peasants pay their tribute in snails and game” (321).

As an avid horseman himself, Paget dedicates long passages of his book to the horse-breeding industry of Hungary, strongly suggesting that English breeds should be brought here not only to improve the quality of Hungarian horses—mostly Arab full bloods—but also with the intention of consequently transporting them back to England as part of a larger scale horse-trading exchange. “As soon as English horses become a little more common in this part of the world, I have no doubt that the best of them will be re-exported to England, the price of breeding and rearing being so much less here, and the demand for first-rate horses so far beyond the supply with us” (295). It is perhaps worth noting that in the years following the publication of the book assessed in this paper, after marrying Polixéna and settling down in Transylvania, Paget did in fact bring in English breeds to his own estate. In the travelogue he states: “in these waltzing, steaming, matter-of fact days, nothing less than our full bloods can keep pace with modern restlessness, and they have accordingly been introduced into Transylvania, as well as into most other parts of Europe” (293). Moreover, echoing the economic efforts of colonial Britain, he also propagates the selling of Hungarian wines in England, even taking into account the difficulties of transportation, writing “the Schomlauer, is a white wine, full-bodied and strong. It would, I think, suit the English market well, and it would probably bear the carriage without injury” (576).

On a political level, John Paget is at times critical when it comes to the laws and administration of Hungary and Transylvania. As I have mentioned above, he was particularly interested in the Reform efforts in the country at the time, as well as everything in connection with political progress. However, besides considering himself a true Hungarian reformer, there are aspects of the country's political life that he does not support, especially when studying these from an Englishman's point of view. One example of this is the Cassa Domestica, one of the two taxation systems on force in Hungary in the first half of the nineteenth century, a system that he considers entirely unjust. “The administration of the

Cassa Domestica is entirely in the hands of the nobles, independent of the general government: it is entirely paid by the peasants. Here I know every English reader will be ready to join with me in execrating the selfishness—the flagrant and injurious selfishness—of the Hungarian nobles, which this fact discloses” (76).

5. The Theory of Hybridity and Nineteenth Century “Anglomania” in Hungary

Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity is a term of postcolonial theory that is most often used to describe “the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization (Mambrol n. p.). Although Hungary and Transylvania have never actually been colonized by Great Britain, there was a certain appreciation within Hungarian society, especially in the case of the aristocracy, for everything English. This is particularly interesting because the Reform Era in Hungary was the period of the so-called national awakening of Hungarians, a time when the nation attempted to define itself as closely as possible, all the while distancing itself from the Habsburg rule.

The term “anglomania” was coined in cultural history by László Országh who, in his paper “‘Anglomania’ in Hungary 1780—1900” claims that “under the influence of Széchenyi many Hungarians came to look at Great Britain as the perfect country” (27). Count Széchenyi himself was one of the leading figures of the Hungarian Reform, a great statesman known in Hungarian history as “the Greatest Hungarian,” and one of John Paget's best friends in Hungary. It was actually the great reformer's opposing party that called Széchenyi and his liberals—mostly young men—anglomaniacs, using the term in a derogatory sense. Thus, Országh proposes that the term we prefer to describe this ideological movement should be “anglophilia,” the love of everything English.

Many “anglophiliacs” of the Hungarian reform age were actually travellers themselves (Baron Wesselényi, Paget's future father-in-law was one of them), travelling through Europe and Great Britain, hoping to learn and bring home something that might be useful for the betterment of the quickly developing pre-1848 Hungarian society (Országh 28), a fact that led to a process that we might dare to call a cultural auto-colonization of Hungary by England. Széchenyi himself was accused by one of his political opponents to have copied his love of horses from England, but, according to Országh, neither him nor the other influential travellers manifested a “mania” in the sense of accepting everything without judgement. However, at home, in Hungary, in certain parts of society, there was a full-blown mania in the real sense of the word. Hungarian literati were attempting to draw comparisons between the Hungarian and the English constitutions, a fact even parodied in literature; while rich aristocrats

were redesigning their castles to match the English style (Országh 30). Moreover, anglomania has also left its handprint on the language. Long before the arrival of modern communication technology and long before English became the “lingua franca” (in fact, in that time in Hungary, this role was played by German language), Hungarians were already borrowing words from English. These are especially terms related to the modern society of the Reform era, chiefly in politics such as *coalition* / *koalíció*, *liberalism* / *liberalizmus*, *conservative* / *konzervatív*, in transport, such as *waggon* / *vagon*, *viaduct* / *viadukt*, in food and drink e. g. *lunch* / *löncs*, *gin* / *gin* and numerous others. Interestingly, this linguistic anglomania coincided with the Hungarian language reform led by Ferenc Kazinczy.

In conclusion, of all the English and American travellers who have visited Hungary and/or Transylvania, John Paget was the one who travelled with the eyes of the colonizer. Although naturally he did not have a real intention to actually colonize these regions, his attitudes when encountering the “otherness” of the nations that lived here were the approaches of a member of one of the greatest colonizing nations in the world.

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Appendix

Illustrations from
*Hungary and Transylvania: with Remarks on their Condition,
Social, Political, and Economical*
by John Paget.



TRANSYLVANIAN GROOM AND HOUSEMAID.

Drawings by Georg Edward Hering



Shepherds on the Pusta



Nagykanizsa women with their head-dress



HUNGARIAN LADY IN HER NATIONAL COSTUME



Wallacks – Dacians

Wallack men



A village

Gentleman with his horse