Doktori (PhD) értekezés

“We Are Clearly Deceived at Home:”

Inter-American Images and the Depiction of Mexico in Hungarian Travel Writing During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

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To the Memory of my Grandmother

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INTRODUCTION

Objectives of Research

For nineteenth-century Hungarian travelers the journey to the New World entailed a process of transformations. During the voyage to America, which often took several weeks, they became outsiders, foreigners, spectators, carrying not only clothes, letters of introduction, and travel books, but also a similarly heavy albeit invisible cultural luggage. They lost power by entering an unfamiliar terrain full of challenges, but they also assumed authority through introducing this world to Hungarian armchair travelers. Behind them was their home, their main reference point, while in the distance was a land that had preoccupied European imagination ever since its "discovery" as a place into which "Europeans projected their hopes and fears."[1] Their journey was a time of reckoning as well: the travelers considered reasons for leaving the mother country, the purposes of the journey, and expectations regarding the Americas. Their worldview was clearly influenced by their Hungarian and Central European identity, often being caught between East and West. This dissertation provides a discussion of such transformations and the characteristics of Hungarian travel writing; it analyses portrayals of the Other, while also focusing on the construction of the Self; it offers insights into nineteenth-century society, culture, and politics on both sides of the Atlantic, and documents the evolution of the Hungarian image of Mexico in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Before specifying the dissertation's objectives in more detail, it is necessary to briefly establish the context of my research. I have developed an interest in travel writing first when studying United States-Hungarian relations at the Institute of English and American Studies at the University of Debrecen. I became interested in how travel writing influenced Hungarian perceptions of the United States and how travel accounts reflected both the travelers' experience in the Americas and their Hungarian background. I began discussing possibilities

[1] Oscar Handlin, *This Was America* (New York: Harper, 1949), 1-2. Hereafter cited as Handlin, *This Was America.*

for extending research in the field of Hungarian travel writing studies with my supervisor, Tibor Glant, with a special focus on Latin America. I started doing research, searching for Hungarian travel accounts related to this region, and found Mexico to be an especially appealing country both due to the number of travel accounts written about the nation and the variety and complexity of textual representations.

During the research phase of my dissertation, I had to realize that although the significance of travel writing has been acknowledged in Hungary, studies rarely went beyond anthologizing and providing descriptive accounts of these texts. Only a few offered comprehensive analyses using the scholarly works available in the burgeoning field of international travel writing studies. Most of the Hungarian travelers included in this dissertation, if discussed at all, have been presented as noteworthy figures in Hungarian history but their texts have often been neglected or were considered to be of merely documentary value. At the same time, as most travel accounts of the time are available in Hungarian only, international scholars have been excluded from professional discourse. The study of Hungarian travelers to the United States might be an exception as some of their accounts have been translated to English; as we will see, scholars have paid more attention to this country, and attempts have been made to utilize novel analytical approaches. This, however, is not the case with regard to Mexico, where in-depth analysis is still lacking.

In the process of working with both the primary and secondary sources, I had to realize that the available analytical approaches (mostly coming from Anglophone scholars), although useful, were not always fully applicable to the Hungarian context and the accounts studied in this dissertation. Hungarians were not former colonizers and rarely had any direct business/financial interest in North America, they travelled differently both due to their geographical as well as social background, connections, language, etc. As a result of these, it was more difficult to actually reach the Americas, settle down there, find a job, travel within an area, etc. This influenced their experience in the country in question and thus their writing

as well that was therefore different from that of the authors studied more extensively in Anglophone scholarship. The assumed identification with a "Western European Self" further complicated this picture. Therefore, the Hungarians' own cultural luggage made them "resistant" to a study focusing on binaries of colonizer and colonized, west and the rest, center and periphery, etc. Besides being able to recognize how Hungarian travel accounts fit into the international context of travel writing (e.g., how they built on and interacted with Western European travelogues), I also perceived distinguishing features that provide new information on travel writing in general even if by now the model of binary oppositions has been superseded by more complex readings of travel writing in Anglophone or Western European scholarship as well.

At the same time, when studying Mexican travelogues written by Hungarians a scrutiny based solely on national boundaries would not be sufficient. Many of the travelers in Mexico visited the United States and wrote about their experience there as well (often within the same publication). Even when writing about Mexico specifically, there were so many references to the United States that I decided to make the region, rather than the nation, the basis of my research and set out to investigate Hungarian travel writing on Mexico in an inter-American context. The United States, besides Hungary, often served as a reference point for descriptions and Hungarian travel writers contrasted Mexico not only with the home culture but also with the Northern neighbor. I felt I could not neglect this aspect of Hungarian travel writing on Mexico and looked for ways to explain the implications of such triangulation.

My goal was not only to find the most compelling texts and provide a descriptive introduction, but also to position these Hungarian accounts on Mexico within a wider perspective and discuss them in the framework of major questions in travel writing studies and in comparison with foreign travel accounts. I set out to investigate what Hungarian travel accounts can tell us both about Mexico and Hungary (and by extension the United States). The time frame "second half of the nineteenth century" in this dissertation refers to a period

lasting from revolution to revolution (from 1849 to 1910); my period of investigation starts with the end of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1849 (as the first, detailed Hungarian travelogues were published by former revolutionaries leaving the country at this time and publishing from the end of the 1850s) and ends with the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution as it concludes the third phase of Hungarian travel writing on Mexico (the events (together with World War I) disrupting travel to Mexico).

In this period an increasing number of travelogues were published as travelling became more accessible and widespread due to technological development, commercialization of travel, and a changing view of nature and its beauties.[2] Various political and historical events in the era under scrutiny, including the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, Maximilian von Habsburg's involvement in Mexico's Second Empire, and New Immigration at the turn of the century also resulted in an increased number of travel accounts about the country. Such changes and events also resulted in the fact that Mexico was visited by Hungarians coming from diverse backgrounds, traveling with various purposes and assumed identities: the study includes travelogues from emigrants, a naturalist, a photographer, soldiers, and a (female) tourist as well. The various publications between the 1850s and the turn of the century demonstrate processes of historical, social, and political change on both sides of the Atlantic and provide special insights into contemporary life in both Mexico and Hungary.

With these considerations and challenges in mind, the major objectives of the dissertation can be formulated as follows:

(1) To study how Hungarian travel writers presented Mexico to Hungarian readers during the second half of the nineteenth century, focusing on representative authors from various social and cultural backgrounds, with different reasons for travel and publication.

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[2] Sándor Gyömrei, *Az utazási kedv története* [The history of the pleasure of travel] (Budapest: Gergely R., 1934).

(2) To examine how images of Mexico changed in this period, concentrating on the wider social, political, and historical context of the countries involved in the study, as well as possible personal reasons for certain types of depiction.

(3) To specify and examine overarching themes preoccupying Hungarian travel writers of the time and to identify tropes of travel writing recurring in the different texts.

(4) To establish how Hungarian travel accounts both built on and differed from Western-European (imperial) depictions of the Americas by providing an international comparative context.

(5) To identify unique achievements of Hungarian travelers.

(6) To see how the attitude of Hungarian travel writers changed towards the "home" (the Self) and Mexico (the Other) during their travels and in their publications, and how the "other Other" (the United States) refined such an attitude.

(7) To identify the tools and methods used by Hungarians to establish the reliability and "objectivity" of their texts (e.g. excerpts from diaries, statistics, photographs, etc.).

(8) And in this process to reveal those influences (cultural, social, and personal) that shaped the view and writings of these travelers.

Position and Significance within the Scholarship

Travel writing has been a popular genre for centuries. It has provided readers and armchair travelers a chance both to escape from everyday realities and become acquainted with far-away regions and people; for travelers, it offered an opportunity to share their experiences and comment on both the foreign land and the home country. Still, despite (or maybe due to) the popularity of the genre, its serious, academic study is a more current phenomenon. Tim Youngs claims that there is still a degree of (literary, political, and disciplinary) prejudice

against travel writing.[3] It is still not seen by many as a genre worthy of serious scholarly attention because of the inherent features and circumstances of the texts and their creation (questions of reliability, subjectivity, etc.), but we can also see that by now various disciplines (including geography, history, anthropology, and literature) have recognized the genre's significance and incorporated the study of travel accounts into their fields of research. Travel writing is not seen anymore as marginal or second-rate literature with a documentary function only but it is acknowledged that travel accounts provide unparalleled insights into life at the time of their creation (regarding customs, historical events, cultural tendencies, etc.) and such information that is not available from any other source. At the same time, they are recognized as invaluable resources not only regarding the places described but also the travel writer's home culture and the way his/her identity is constructed.

After the opportunities offered by the study of travel writing had been recognized, a new academic interest arose, a specialized vocabulary was developed for the field, and travel writing "won significant attention from scholars."[4] It has become a genre considered worthy of serious study since the 1970s "with a non-canonical or even anti-canonical interest in minor literatures, the margins of history, and the work of 'ex-centric' authors, all reflecting a shift towards more pluralistic social and cultural environments."[5] The work of Edward Said, especially his ideas expressed in *Orientalism* (1978), had a major effect not only on postcolonial studies but also on the development of the field of travel writing studies by identifying knowledge with domination and emphasizing the role of travel writing in European perceptions of the rest of the world. Ideas of Said have been used not only with regard to the Middle East but other areas as well, including Latin America. The quincentenary of Columbus' voyage and "discovery" of the Americas provided a boost to the increase of studies in the field and it is usually argued that "studies in travel writing emerged in the 1990s

[3]Tim Youngs, "The Importance of Travel Writing," *The European English Messenger* 13, no. 2 (2004): 55-62.
[4]Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 1. Hereafter cited as Bendixen and Hamera, *Cambridge Companion.*
[5] Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, eds., *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3. Hereafter cited as Kuehn and Smethurst, *Form and Empire.*

as a coherent and established area in its own right."[6] Postcolonial interest (besides feminism and gender studies) continued to serve as a driving force of travel writing studies. Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) became another foundational work with terms like "imperial view," "contact zone," and "capitalist vanguard" used extensively by scholars of the field even two decades after the publication of her work.[7]

Literary and cultural theorists, historians, anthropologists, and geographers have paid increased attention recently to travelogues studying such texts from their own particular vantage points. Numerous books have explored the genre of travel writing in recent years: *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002) edited by Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme and *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2004) edited by Youngs and Glenn Hooper serve as major reference works for anyone studying the genre, with Carl Thompson's *Travel Writing* (2011) and Youngs' *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013) showing continued interest and demand for such works. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to list all the important authors who contributed to the field and whose works proved to be indispensable while writing this dissertation. The most influential scholars, besides those mentioned above, are Paul Fussell (*Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (1980)), Kristi Siegel (*Issues in Travel Writing: Empire, Spectacle, and Displacement* (2002) and *Gender, Genre, & Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (2004)), Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (*Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (1999)), Sara Mills (*Discourses of Difference* (1991)), Casey Blanton (*Travel Writing: The Self and The World* (2002)), while numerous other noteworthy scholars will also be mentioned later on. Travel writing offers a resource for the study of gender, race, postcolonialism, perceptions of the self and the other, and depictions of the world (the Rest) by the West,[8] and innumerable publications have dealt with these issues in recent years. Travel writing on Latin America has been discussed in several

[6] Tim Youngs and Charles Forsdick, eds. *Travel Writing: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012), 3. Hereafter cited as Youngs and Forsdick, *Travel Writing.*

[7] The full bibiliographical information for all the books mentioned here and in the following paragraphs is included in the bibliogarphy and was not duplicated here.

[8] For a detailed study of the last aspect, see footnote 5 above.

works mentioned above and in such publications as Peter Beardsell's *Europe and Latin America: Returning the Gaze* (2000) and Claire Lindsay's *Contemporary Travel Writing of Latin America* (2010).[9] In terms of Mexico, Jürgen Buchenau published a useful annotated anthology of foreign observer accounts in 2005 and Thea Pitman studied perceptions of the country in detail in her book published in 2008.[10]

The growing interest in travel writing has resulted in the "reinvention" and publication of many forgotten or unpublished primary texts and together with scholarly works, these contributed to a lively discourse in the international community of travel writing studies. This is well reflected by the establishment of various organizations dealing with the genre, including the Center for Travel Writing Studies at Nottingham Trent University and the International Society for Travel Writing, the number of travel-related conferences organized, the publication of journals, such as *Studies in Travel Writing* and *Journeys*, and book series, such as Routledge's Research in Travel Writing.

Although an increasing number of scholars have acknowledged its importance and thus study travel writing in Hungary as well, the field still requires more attention in Hungarian academic discourse and there is a need to link findings of Hungarian travel writing studies with international scholarship. The life and achievements of Hungarian travelers in the Americas have been part of scholarly research earlier as well but such studies focused less on the travel accounts and more on the significance of these people in Hungarian history or bilateral relations (US-Hungarian or Mexican-Hungarian relations, for instance). In some cases the travelers were presented as exceptional figures serving as proof of Hungarian presence in the New World (for example, in the case of books by Tivadar Ács and László

[9] The full bibiliographical information for all the books mentioned is included in the bibliogarphy and was not duplicated here.

[10] This list provides an overview of English-language books concerning travel writing, which is partly a reflection of a greater attention in Anglophone scholarship to the genre but also that of the background and the objectives of the dissertation and its author. The list by no means indicates that there are no studies on travel writing on Mexico and Latin America in Spanish or by Latin American authors but only that these were not used extensively in this dissertation. As an example fo such texts we could mention the four-volume study of José Iturriaga de la Fuente, *Anecdotario de viajeros extranjeros en México, siglos XVI-XX* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988-92).

Szabó) and since the texts were used only as descriptive sources of information on contemporary life, their analysis offered little more than summaries. Information on the life of Hungarian travelers has been made available in several encyclopedias: for example, those published by Andor Kéz (1930) and Dénes Balázs (1993) and numerous anthologies included excerpts from important Hungarian travel accounts. "The endeavour to survey and summarize knowledge about travelers was characteristic of the 1930s, and this interest was expanded in the 1950s through the provision of substantial anthologies."[11] Travel accounts were published in works, such as László Miklósi's *Magyar hősök öt világrészen* [Hungarian heroes on five continents] (1936), *Régi Magyar Világjárók* [Hungarian globetrotters of the past] edited by Béla Borsody Bevilaqua and Ferenc Agárdi (1954), *Messzi népek magyar kutatói* [Hungarian researchers of far-away peoples] (1978) by Tibor Bodrogi, and István Lázár's *Világjárók-Világlátók: Régi magyar utazók antológiája* [An anthology of Hungarian travelers of the past] (1978), while a more recent collection was published by Mária Dornbach titled *Amerikától Óceániáig. XIX. századi magyar utazók* [From America to Oceania: 19th-century Hungarian travelers] in 2006.[12]

Sándor Márki did research on Hungarian travel writing as early as the 1880s. He wrote, for example, about female travel writers (see Chapter 7), but significant scholarly attention was devoted to the genre again only a hundred years later. "The 1970s and 1980s saw a renewed interest in Hungarian travels, more explicitly focusing upon historical periods, and more intensely aware of the written discourse of travel narratives."[13] The United States has gradually occupied a central position in this research. Anna Katona published a comprehensive analysis of Hungarian travel writing on the country already in the 1970s. Geographers, like János Kubassek, also studied and wrote about Hungarian travelers, while Miklós Mihály Nagy published several books on Hungarian military travel writers. Scholars

[11] Zsuzsanna Varga, "Hungarian Travel Writing" in *A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing on Europe*, ed. Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (Budapest: CEU Press, 2008), 244.
[12] The full bibiliographical information for all the books mentioned is included in the bibliogarphy and was not duplicated here.
[13] See footnote 11 above.

have all examined Hungarian travel accounts from their own perspectives thus providing novel insights into the background, influence, and significance of the texts under scrutiny. By now, more and more scholars have begun to see travel writing not only as a body of texts that can provide subsidiary or subordinate information about historical events or as "unimaginative hackwork,"[14] but also as a corpus that deserves critical attention on its own right.

Several people study travel writing at the University of Debrecen, including Tibor Glant, who, after several years of doing research in the field, recently published a comprehensive account of Hungarian travel writing on the United States during the long nineteenth century. Csaba Lévai, István Kornél Vida, and Éva Mathey have also studied different aspects of Hungarian travel writing, focusing on the United States of America. The recently established Center for International Migration Studies has a separate research group focusing on travel writing. György Novák, working at the University of Szeged, created a bibliography of Hungarian travel writing on the United States.[15] The Hispanic Studies research group at the University of Szeged has focused on Latin America in their research and several people studied those travelers and immigrants discussed here as well: Ádám Anderle examined the presence of Hungarians in Latin America in numerous publications, Péter Torbágyi wrote monographs on Hungarian immigration to Latin American countries, while Mónika Szente-Varga investigated Mexico specifically, doing research on Hungarian immigration to the country and the image of Mexico in Hungary.[16] A special issue of *Korall* was published in 2006 with numerous insightful studies related to travel writing, which also reflects a growing interest in the field, together with such recent publications as the volume

[14] Bendixen and Hamera, *Cambridge Companion,* 1.
[15] Available here: http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~gnovak/f99htlistbooks.htm. Date of Access: 15 July, 2013.
[16] Of course, other Hungarians also studied Mexican history and culture in numerous publications (most of them in Spanish): among many others, Gyula Horváth, Katalin Jancsó, Ágnes Tóth, Marcel Nagy have published extensively on Mexico. Andrea Kökény has studied issues connected especially to the questions of Texas independence and the US-Mexican border. Experts of the Museum of Ethnography, János Gyarmati and Vilma Főzy wrote about the American collection of the museum and Mexican related issues in particular, also touching upon at some points the collections of the travelers discussed in this dissertation.

edited by Mónika Fodor et al., titled *Mobile Narratives: Travel, Migration, and Tranculturation* (2013). Wendy Bracewell edited a three-volume book on East European travel writing concerning Europe: the bibliography and the anthology provide key data for researchers while the essays highlight the role of the East Central European identity in the formation of travel accounts. A similar work would be needed on East Central European perceptions of the Americas as well.

Although some of the authors discussed in this dissertation have also been dealt with in the studies by scholars, this is the first comprehensive analysis of their texts. The dissertation provides an inter-American approach that has not been attempted before as some scholars addressed only the US, while others the Mexican sections of publications analyzed in this dissertation. Also, this dissertation aims to discuss Hungarian travel accounts in an international context, introducing forces that influenced Hungarians and the way Hungarian texts interacted with Western travel accounts (sometimes borrowing from, sometimes rejecting imperial depictions of Mexico). Thus, it provides new insights, while making the discussion of texts and authors accessible for scholars not speaking Hungarian (and who thus could rarely read about these travelers and their accounts). The dissertation incorporates the findings of international travel writing studies into the analysis of Hungarian travel accounts. It provides new information on the life and writings of people involved, grants new insights into the study of travel writing by authors who were not members of imperial, colonial powers and thus were "not blinded by the assumption of common descent."[17] The dissertation shows that in certain cases such binary oppositions as those of superiority and inferiority, center and periphery, used to describe Western travel accounts, cannot be readily applied and need to be modified. Thus, with these considerations in mind, the dissertation aims to contribute to the evolution of travel writing studies in Hungary by offering a new approach to the analysis of texts that have rarely been studied in detail before.

[17] Handlin, *This Was America,* 2.

Methodology

Travel writing is quite heterogeneous, encompassing texts from numerous other genres (it is usually seen as a genre of genres) and including topics studied by different disciplines. This complexity and heterogeneity makes it necessary to conduct an interdisciplinary research at the borderline of the fields of history, literature, and cultural studies. My major goal has been to provide not only a descriptive but also an analytical study and, therefore, use a wide range of methodological approaches. I visited special collections and archival sources as well, making use of the traditional research methods of history. I included books, newspaper articles, published letters in my analysis, while also using unpublished diaries and autobiographies to reveal motivating forces of travelers both for leaving the home and for writing in a particular manner. As the social and cultural context influenced the preconceptions and perceptions of travelers, I had to investigate the historical background in detail in all cases; this involved various approaches and methods borrowed from immigration, social, and cultural history.

Postcolonialism has greatly influenced the development of travel writing studies and key texts in this disciplinary field proved to be useful to me as well. The works of Said and Pratt were especially helpful, although, as was mentioned above, certain modifications had to be made as Hungarians, although adopting many of the tools of Western travelers (and greatly influenced by their writing), were not representatives of imperial powers and wrote in a different manner. At the same time, specific methodological approaches had to be adopted in the different chapters, as required by the primary source and the writer. Thus, for example, visual studies and research in photography was important in the case of Chapter 4, while I had to venture into the realm of medical geography in Chapter 5 and gender studies in the last chapter.

Scholars have pointed out the interrelatedness of travel writing and translation: travel writers, just as translators, act as intermediaries between two cultures and both translation and travel writing cross language and cultural boundaries in the process of their creation.[18] Loredana Polezzi lists several similarities between the two fields: "the way in which travellers have always relied upon interpreters, as well as acting as intermediaries in their own right; the need experienced by both translators and travelers to relay the new through the known, the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar; the ultimate unreliability of those who travel and those who translate; their potential to deceive, confound and betray, as well as to act as reliable guides, mediators and witnesses."[19] With regard to Hungarians, the question of how well they could speak Spanish and/or English and how their language competence influenced their views of the country is an interesting one. One can see from the spelling of foreign words "imported into" the Hungarian travel accounts that not all Hungarians spoke these languages at a proficient level (Bánó, for example, consistently misspelled English words in his first book, while Rosti, who consciously prepared for his "study tour" and had a different social and educational background had better language skills). This complicates the issue of authenticity and reliability of the texts as linguistic constraints might result in limitations in understanding foreign cultures and thus could influence the projected images. This aspect of Hungarian travel writing on the Americas requires further study, possibly in cooperation with scholars of translation studies and linguists.

My work included another aspect of translation besides the one performed by the Hungarian travelers during their journeys. As most of the travelogues discussed here have not been translated into English, in all cases when a published translation of a travel account was not available, I made my own (when an English translation was published that version was quoted without any changes). However, the original Hungarian version is also included in a

[18] For more on this issue see for example: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997); Michael Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation* (Cork: Cork UP, 2000).
[19] Loredana Polezzi, "Translation, Travel, Migration," in *Translation, Travel, Migration,*ed. Loredana Polezzi. Special Issue of *The Translator* 12.2 (2006): 169-88;

footnote, keeping the spelling, and when an expression could be translated several ways (and where ambiguity might be present), footnotes are provided to call attention to the peculiarities of a particular version of a translation. One example for the problem of translation would be the name of the United States as it appears in 19th-century Hungarian travel accounts. Hungarians often referred to the country in their texts simply as *Észak-Amerika* or *Éjszakamerika* (see the book titles of Haraszthy or Xántus, for example), which are different spellings of the expression meaning North America. The Hungarian term for "states" was also emerging at this time, thus it appears in different variants (as *státusok* or *államok*). If translated as North America or North American States, it could have resulted in confusion when discussing both US and Mexican accounts in this dissertation. Therefore, whenever this would be the case, I use the name United States, which does not provide a verbatim translation of the Hungarian but avoids misunderstandings.

The original texts stand as witness to changing Hungarian language of the time; new words were entering the language and the travel accounts played an important role in familiarizing readers with them (*státus* for state, *tribus* for tribe or *indus* for Indian were gradually replaced with more "modern" versions of *állam*, *törzs,* and *indián*). We can see how certain expressions change through time during the 19th century (including the Hungarian name for the United States) and become standard usage.[20] Such changes unfortunately cannot be reflected in the English versions. When different spellings are used for certain terms (e.g., *mexicoi*, *mexikói* for Mexican) or when there are typos or grammatical mistakes in the original, these are indicated in the Hungarian text in the footnotes but not in the translations.

For referencing, I have adhered to the style guide of the 16th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*, using footnotes throughout the dissertation.

[20] A detailed study of the linguistic aspects of travel accounts discussed here would be needed, providing yet another field when scholars of different disciplines could cooperate in the future.

Thesis Outline and Structure of the Dissertation

Hungarian travel writing on Mexico went through fundamental changes in the second half of the nineteenth century: from the first, sporadic travel accounts of the 1850s to the turn of the century, the image of Mexico shifted from one extreme to another. While the first travel writers often adopted the Western, imperial view of Mexico and introduced a backward country with an inferior population, many travel accounts by the turn of the century, following an increased interest in the country and in line with Mexican political goals during the Porfiriato, reported only on progress and presented a "new Mexico" for Hungarian readers.

Mexico was rarely presented independently in any of these periods; it was mostly depicted in an inter-American context, using triangulation involving the Self (Hungary), the Other (Mexico), and the *other* Other (the United States), thus creating a special contact zone of three cultures. A more independent image of Mexico emerged only at times when Mexico was important and attractive for Hungarians in her own right: for example, during the 1860s when more than a thousand Hungarian soldiers participated in the military campaign supporting Maximilian von Habsburg's Empire in Mexico (Chapter 5) or when a Baedeker-like tourist account did not require (or allow) inter-American comparisons (Chapter 7). Mexico's image in Hungary depended not only on what the travelers experienced during their travels but also on their view of the United States, the perception of their home country's own status, and the attitude towards an imperial voice with which the West depicted the rest of the world as subordinate and inferior.

The triangulation often applied by Hungarian travel writers is similar to the method used by mariners.[21] "Navigators relate an unknown position to the known location of two

[21] I found the metaphor of such triangulation in David J. Vázquez's book on narrative strategies for Latino identity and use it here because it adeptly describes the process of Hungarian travel writing on Mexico. See: David J. Vázquez, *Triangulations: Narrative Startegies for Navigating Latino Identity* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011). Hereafter cited as: Vázquez, *Triangulations.*

others by mapping an imaginary triangle. The triangle then yields coordinates for the unknown position based on the distance from and angle of the other two."[22] Besides using Hungary, the home culture, as one of the known positions, Hungarians often included the United States as the other familiar point when providing accounts of Mexico. Thus, the country is not depicted only in terms of binary oppositions like familiar/unfamiliar, self/other, home/abroad. Mexico was judged based on its "distance and angle" from the two known positions on the map and the preconceptions and stereotypes related to them. On the one hand, such triangulation was due to the geographical proximity of the United States; on the other hand, Hungarians knew more about the United States than Mexico and thus the former could serve as a reference point (often indicating what can be achieved in the Americas, in terms of political and economic progress), as a possible model for the Southern neighbor. Many of the travel writers also visited the United States before their Mexican journey; thus, such an experience of travel in both countries also prompted inter-American comparisons. On occasion, however, instead of the United States, the other known position in the triangulation was occupied by Western Europe and both Mexico and Hungary were measured against that region.[23]

The East Central European background of Hungarian travelers clearly influenced such attitudes towards Mexico and its representation. Hungary has often been perceived as located between East and West and as Irina V. Popova Nowak claims, similarly to Glant, "in terms of travel abroad, Hungarian accounts outlined two geographically and symbolically polar destinations: travels to the West that were travels to the future, and travels to the East that were travels to the past."[24] Travel to Western Europe and the United States (the West),

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[22] Vázquez, *Triangulations,* 3.
[23] See the case of Rosti, for instance, in Chapter 4.
[24] Irina V. Popova-Nowak, "The Odyssey of National Discovery: Hungarians in Hungary and Abroad, 1750-1850," in *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe,* ed. Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (Budapest: CEU Press, 2008), 211. Hereafter cited as Popova-Nowak, "Odyssey of National Discovery;" Tibor Glant, *Amerika, a csodák és csalódások földje: Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok képe a hosszú XIX. század magyar utazási irodalmában* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2013.) Hereafter referred to as Glant, *Csodák és csalódások*.

especially during the Reform Era in Hungary (from 1825 to 1848), was seen as a form of education and the countries in these regions were often perceived as possible models for Hungary in terms of politics, technological development, and economic modernization. When visiting Mexico (part of the West only in terms of geography but not in a cultural/historical sense), the first wave of Hungarians acted as representatives of the West, assumed an imperial voice, and wrote about Mexico in a way similar to Western travelers.

In line with this, Mexico was often presented as backward, inferior, and having a lazy population not capable of properly making use of its resources. This happened despite the fact that Hungarians were often depicted the same way by Western European travelers who introduced Hungary "as a country overflowing with riches, 'which the Natives are too idle or too awkward to make themselves masters of.'"[25] Hungarians (mostly the travel writers discussed in Part I) identified themselves as representatives of the West (the modern, civilized part of the world) and criticized Mexico from this vantage point, disregarding (or rejecting) their own position as Hungarians. They considered the West to be a model and judged Mexico (and their own country as well) according to the standards of the West, this way complicating the self and other dichotomy. This attitude is described by Alexander Kiossev's term of "self-colonizing cultures." With this phrase he refers to cultures that "import alien values and civilizational models by themselves and […] lovingly colonize their own authenticity through these foreign models."[26] These adopt alien models willingly while they recognize and accept the superiority of these foreign cultures. Thus, Hungarians considered the civilizational model of the United States and Western Europe in their travel accounts to be the standard and looked at these countries as examples that should be followed both by their mother country and

[25] Popova-Nowak, "Odyssey of National Discovery," 215. It is also interesting to compare this attitude for example with that of an American traveler in Hungary in 1851, whose more posititve view of Hungarians seems to be influenced not only by his American background but also by his attitude towards the events of 1848-49 and his support of the "Hungarian cause." See: Charles Loring Brace, *Hungary in 1851: With an Experience of the Austrian Police* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1852). For the Hungarian translation and a study of Brace's account see: Charles Loring Brace, *Magyarország 1851-ben,* trans. Csaba Lévai and István Kornél Vida (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2005).

[26] Alexander Kiossev, "Notes on the Self-Colonising Cultures," Available at: http://www.kultura.bg/media/my_html/biblioteka/bgvntgrd/e_ak.htm. Access date: September 2013.

Mexico. Jenő Bánó (Chapter 6) was the first one to call attention to this "confused identity," raised his voice against the imperial view (by the West) which both Mexico and Hungary was subjected to, and called for a readjustment of the lense through which Mexico had been viewed.

In line with the historical events and changes in the image of Mexico outlined above, the dissertation is divided into three parts. After an introductory chapter on history and travel writing before the 1850s, the first wave of travelers (Károly László, János Xántus, and Pál Rosti) and their major texts are introduced. This is followed by the writers who participated in Maximilian's Mexican venture (Ede Szenger and Ede Pawlowszki) and the discussion of the changes this event brought in Hungarian travel writing in Part II. Part III includes the analysis of texts by travel writers at the turn of the century (Jenő Bánó and Béláné Mocsáry Fáy Mária, hereafter referred to as Mrs. Mocsáry). The thesis applies a linear chronological order based on the first major publication of the authors on Mexico. The general structure of the chapters is similar throughout the dissertation: after a few introductory remarks, the life and publications of the travel writers are presented briefly, laying emphasis only on issues that are relevant to the present work and thus can reveal why a certain narrative style or representation was used. This is followed by an analysis of their most important texts, focusing on the image of Mexico and Mexicans. In most cases, the analysis includes a discussion of the inter-American aspect of the writings (triangulation, if applicable) and the themes usually mentioned by Hungarians: the image of the Mexican population (with special regard to Natives, women, etc.), history, and politics. There are also introductory chapters at the beginning of each part, providing the historical and cultural background necessary for understanding the chapters included in that subsection.

The length of the chapters and the three parts of the dissertation (or sections devoted to a particular author) varies depending on the detail and extent of accounts published by the writers discussed, the available information on their lives, and the previous scholarship on their work. Thus, for example, less is written about Ede Szenger and Ede Pawlowszki, whose books feature travel

related accounts only in certain (shorter) sections concerned with medical and military issues primarily; meanwhile, the chapter on Pál Rosti is lengthier as he wrote extensively about his journey in Mexico and even took photos in the country that were transformed into illustrations in his published account. These images deserve critical attention and a more detailed and separate analysis in their own right, making the chapter longer as a result. Also, Part I is the longest section of the dissertation but certainly not because the writers discussed here are more important than others. As we will see, more accounts were available about Mexico in the period discussed during Part II but here only the two book-length accounts were selected for case studies and the shorter texts that were published in connection with the events in Mexico (not necessarily travel accounts as discussed here) are only briefly mentioned. This difference in the length of the three parts reflects the amount of material that can be analyzed within the framework of the dissertation and not any kind of preference regarding any historical period or author.

Before providing a more detailed overview of the structure of the dissertation and its main findings, it is also important to show not only what the dissertation is but also what it is not. The dissertation focuses on the period between the 1850s (when the first detailed and widely-available accounts were published in Hungary) and 1910 (when the Mexican Revolution began). I only briefly discuss travel accounts before this period (in Chapter 1) and do not deal with developments afterwards. While many more travel accounts are mentioned, only the major authors' works are analyzed in detail as case studies. These are the works that were available for most people at the time and they represent a great variety in terms of style, the background of the traveler, and the purpose of the journey. It is also important to note that I am studying the image of Mexico in Hungarian travel writing specifically. Even if travel accounts represented a major source of information for Hungarians, they were not the only sources for those who wanted to learn about Mexico: news reached Hungary more often by the end of the century, literary works, scientific texts, and personal letters also influenced the image of Mexico in Hungary. While these will also be

mentioned in certain cases (see, for example, the introduction of Part III), the focus is on travel accounts as defined below.

Name	Lifetime	Dates of Major Publications
Károly László	1815-1894	1859-68, 1887
János Xántus	1825-1894	1858, 1860
Pál Rosti	1830-1874	1861, 1867-70
Ede Pawlowszki	1834-[?]	1882
Ede Szenger	1833-1904	1877
Jenő Bánó	1855-1927	1890, 1896, 1906
Mrs. Béla Mocsáry	1845-1917[?]	1902, 1905

Fig. 1. Overview of travelers discussed in the dissertation

The first chapter provides a background to the dissertation and the discussion of travel accounts in later chapters. It has two major aims: to present the historical milieu of the time and introduce the most important travel accounts on Mexico (and the United States) available in Hungary before the 1850s. An inter-American historical overview explains the most important social and historical developments both in Mexico and the United States and the way the histories of the two countries were interwoven in several cases. This is important and necessary because contemporary events influenced the view of Hungarian travelers: the great expansion and progress of the United States was easily contrasted with the hectic political life and difficulties of Mexico, often resulting in the establishment of a superior/inferior relationship between the two countries.

The second section of the first chapter presents the most influential foreign travel accounts published about Mexico before the 1850s that could influence Hungarian perceptions of the country. Alexander von Humboldt's *Essai Politique* is discussed in detail, alongside several other writers, including, for example, Fanny Calderón de la Barca. The attitudes and images presented in these texts were often adopted by Hungarians in the second

half of the nineteenth century and were rarely refuted. Hungarian travel accounts on the US are also presented briefly as they had a major effect on how Hungarian travelers viewed not only the United States but also the potentials of the Americas, and Mexico in particular.

In the three chapters of Part I, travel accounts of three Hungarian revolutionaries are analyzed. They form one group as all of them were forced to leave Hungary after August 1849 and they all visited the United States before going to Mexico. Chapter 2 deals with Károly László, an engineer by profession and secretary of Lajos Kossuth, who after spending a few years in the United States moved to Mexico, worked and started numerous business ventures there, and sent reports home about his life and journeys in the country. His letters were published in *Vasárnapi Újság,* one of the most popular papers of the time, providing a series of captivating insights into life in the country and the thoughts of a Hungarian immigrant. He also kept a diary, discussed briefly in the chapter, that provides information not available from any other source and the Mexican part of which is still unpublished. László presented a negative view of the country, often writing in the style of the capitalist vanguard. He built heavily on former Western travelogues, providing remarkable accounts of Indians, and emphasizing the necessity of growing US influence in Mexico. The United States served as a continuous reference point, the country often taking a superior position over Mexico.

Chapter 3 presents the life and works of János Xántus, one of the best known but most contentious figures discussed in this dissertation. Xántus saw the role and position of the United States similarly to László and claimed that US influence was essential for Mexican progress. Xántus is a controversial figure as he plagiarized most of his texts (even if he visited and lived at the places included in the plagiarized travel accounts), which, however, was not recognized by Hungarians at the time, and thus his books influenced the image of the Americas in Hungary the same way as texts based on actual journeys. Xántus, with an account mixing romantic and scientific approaches to writing, also adopted an imperial view, often depicting Mexico as inferior and in need of US assistance.

The fourth chapter presents the unique works of Pál Rosti and concludes Part I of the dissertation. Rosti came from a higher-class background that clearly influenced both the purposes of his journey and the style of his writing. He followed in the footsteps of his role model, Humboldt, traveling extensively in the Americas. He was equipped with a photographic apparatus and made some of the first photographic representations of Mexico. Thus, his photographs and the illustrations based on them are discussed in detail in this chapter, focusing on their role in travel writing in general, and the perceptions of Mexico in particular. Rosti reinforced the image of "Mexico as nature" and focused his accounts on the presentation of the natural beauty of the country.

Authors discussed in Part I wrote about different parts of Mexico, arrived in the country with diverse intentions, and did not spend the same amount of time there; still, their accounts share numerous similarities. The stereotypical images recurring in travel accounts discussed in the first part include that of beautiful *señoritas*, seducing women, dangerous bandits roaming the country, exotic flora and fauna, and a hectic political life. While Rosti highlighted the beauty of Mexico in terms of nature, the general image of the country was unfavorable, the population was seen as lazy, backward, and in comparison with the United States and Western Europe, inferior as well. These authors did not present an independent image of Mexico and the dependence of the country's perception on that of the United States was obvious in all cases. This Part is the longest in the dissertation because it is here that some of the founding images, attitudes, and stereotypes are discussed and because there is plenty of material available for analysis.

Part II deals with the period of the Second Mexican Empire when, following French Intervention, Maximilian von Habsburg ascended to the throne of the country in 1864. The fact that a Habsburg became the Emperor and that more than a thousand Hungarians accompanied him "put Mexico on the map" in Hungary and the country became more interesting than ever before. Scores of articles were published about the events and many

Hungarian participants shared their experiences with readers in the mother country (as discussed in Chapter 5). These events influenced the evolution of Mexico's image in at least two important ways: they created a growing curiosity that had not been present and they contributed to a more independent image as the New World nation became worthy of attention in its own right and not only as the neighbor of the United States. Thus, triangulation was not as crucial in this period as before.

In Chapter 5, two travel writers are presented: Ede Pawlowszki, a soldier in Maximilian's army, and Ede Szenger, a doctor. These two authors were selected as the subjects of case studies because they wrote the only book-length accounts on Mexico, while the other publications (newspaper articles) were concerned more with the actual events of the intervention and not the topics discussed here. They were also selected for more detailed analysis because they provided special, hybrid forms of travel writing: Pawlowszki published a soldier's account of military events mixed with descriptions of Mexico during his journeys in the interior of the country, while Szenger provided a combination of medical descriptions and travel accounts of places visited, often linking medical findings to the depiction of the population. Szenger was also the first Hungarian travel writer to call for an alternative approach towards Mexico and the reevaluation of the country's image, attempting to provide, although unsuccessfully, a more understanding portrayal of its people. On the long run, the Emperor Maximilian's presence became an integral part of Mexico's image in Hungary, and partly as a result of these books, the sites connected to his life became tourist attractions for Hungarian travelers. Both books provide a positive evaluation of Maximilian's presence in the American country (justifying their own involvement as well) and blame the Mexican population for the venture's failure.

After the sporadic and rather negative descriptions of the first wave and the growing interest in the country, Part III presents the third stage in the development of Mexico's image in Hungarian travel writing. This phase is characterized by the rule of the Díaz government

and its attempts not only to modernize the country but also to advertise it in Europe as an attractive place for European settlement, in part by altering the former unfavorable image of the country. Hungarian travel writers also participated in these conscious attempts to revise the image of the nation. The last two chapters are preceded by an overview of the relationship between (new) immigration and travel writing and the way immigration influenced Hungarian perceptions of Mexico and the United States. It also discusses some other sources on Mexico available in Hungary at the time, including popular geography books and scientific accounts.

Treated in Chapter 6, Jenő Bánó set out in his publications on Mexico to revise the image of the formerly ill-treated country. He claimed that Hungarians had been misled at home by former travel writers and presented an entirely different image of the country than anyone before, expressing sympathy for Mexicans and a sense of brotherhood between Mexicans and Hungarians. He was the first person to do so. The reasons for such a depiction are discussed in the chapter (Bánó's disappointment in the US, career plans in Mexico, and later involvement with the Mexican government), together with the alteration of the triangular reference in which the United States still serves as a reference point but with a revised, negative overtone, posing a threat to Mexico. Bánó used his Mexican travel accounts not only to share his views on the country, but also to comment on the political situation in Hungary and criticize Western travelers for their hostile representations of both Mexico and his mother country.

The only female travel writer, Mrs. Mocsáry, is introduced in Chapter 7. The analysis of her short travel account on Mexico is preceded by a discussion of female travel accounts in Hungary and the relationship between gender and travel writing. The chapter shows how Mrs. Mocsáry adopted a touristic attitude in her texts, providing a novel type of travel account in Hungarian writing on Mexico. Similarly to Bánó, she depicted Mexico in positive terms, focusing on modernization, development, and the beauty of the country, avoiding any discussion of politics and problems of the nation. Thus, we can claim that Hungarian travel

writing on Mexico reached two extremes within fifty years. The first wave of travel writers adopted an imperial view and depicted Mexicans as inferior, calling for foreign (especially US) intervention to develop the country. They reported mostly what was appalling to them in terms of social and political issues and the status of the country in general. They projected their negative preconceptions and the stereotypes promoted by former (foreign) travel accounts onto the population and wrote accordingly. As opposed to this, by the turn of the century, only positive developments were reported by many, completely disregarding (or not reporting) problems of society. Travel accounts from the second half of the nineteenth century stand as witness to a growing interest in Mexico on the part of Hungarian travel writers. Yet, they could not provide unbiased accounts and descriptions, and perceptions of Mexico were shaped just as much by the preconceptions of Hungarians as by the actual journeys in Mexico.

Travel Writing: Terms and Definitions

Acknowledging that the term "travel writing" is applied to a large variety of texts and that definitions often overlap (or even contradict one another) I need to provide a definition of the genre for the purposes of this dissertation and answer some related questions:[27] Should an account of an imaginary (or plagiarized) journey be included in a study of this kind? Or only those texts should be considered that depict journeys that really took place? Does a tourist and an emigrant "travel" and write the same way? Does a photographic recollection of a journey constitute a type of travel writing? Should first person narratives be analyzed only?

First, let me add a few remarks regarding the choice of words in this dissertation. Jan Borm claims that even the abundance of terms used for the corpus under consideration here (travel book, travel narrative, travel journal, travelogue, travel literature—to name but a few)

[27] The presentation of Grzegorz Moroz "British (Literary) Travel Book: Definition(s) and Beginnings" at the conference *Forms and Evolution of Travel Literature in Different Literary Traditions* (Bialowezia, Poland, May 2009) also helped me in writing this section.

raises the question of what we actually mean by these terms.[28] Borm distinguishes between the travel book and travelogue, which he calls a predominantly non-fictional genre, and travel writing and travel literature, which he uses as an overall heading for texts whose main theme is travel.[29] My use of terminology will only partly reflect this distinction. Acknowledging that any choice of terminology might be arbitrary, I decided to use the terms travel writing, travel account, and travelogue interchangeably for the texts studied in this dissertation using the definition provided later in this subsection. I decided not to use the term 'travel literature' (which is suggested by Borm as a synonym for travel writing and which would be a translation of the Hungarian term *utazási irodalom*) as it may overemphasize the literary aspect, maybe even the fictional nature of some texts, which, although present in several accounts, will not be central to this analysis. I have also decided not to use the term 'travel book,' offered by Paul Fussell[30] among others, as it might seem to be a constraint on the form and medium of the accounts (also including published letters, articles, diaries, and photos in this dissertation).

As the term travel itself "does not capture the diversity of reasons" why people leave the mother country, "or the variety of motivations behind recording one's experiences […] or the length of stay and the possibility of change in the viewpoint of the observer," Jürgen Buchenau refuses to use the term travel writing as an all encompassing term to describe the texts in his anthology of travel accounts on Mexico.[31] Instead, he uses the phrase "foreign observer accounts" and recognizes three different categories within: travel accounts (based on a relatively brief trip, with the objective of exploration and observation), immigrant accounts (referring to long-term emotional and financial engagement), and sojourner accounts

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[28] Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology," in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 13. Hereafter cited as Borm, "Defining Travel."
[29] Borm, "Defining Travel," 19.
[30] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (New York: OUP, 1980). Hereafter cited as Fussell, *Abroad*.
[31] Jürgen Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise: Modern Mexico in the Eyes of Foreign Observers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 6. Hereafter cited as Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*.

(including "the rest," soldiers, journalists, etc.).[32] This useful differentiation considers the influence of motivation for leaving the mother country, time spent in a foreign land, and the objectives of the writer (i.e. different types of travel) on the level of terminology. While these factors are considered in this dissertation as well, I do not wish to add newer terms to the already existing arsenal of labels, and what is more, terms whose boundaries are just as flexible and hard to define as others. In Buchenau's usage, Bánó's texts would fall under the category of immigrant accounts, those of Rosti and Mrs. Mocsáry under travel accounts, Pawlowszki under sojourner accounts, but the positioning of Xántus, Szenger, and László would be more problematic, if not impossible using this division. Thus in this dissertation 'travel' will refer to the experience of travelers (later tourists) per se (Rosti and Mrs. Mocsáry), those of emigrants (László, Xántus, Bánó) describing their journeys in the country while working there, and people participating in a military campaign (Pawlowszki and Szenger) alike. The different motivations and various influences on the texts produced will be studied without the introduction of additional terminology.

Another distinction that has to be made is the difference between travel writing, the subject of the dissertation, and guidebooks, not studied here in detail (even if for example László wrote similar texts in connection with the USA). Fussell's definition can help us here: guidebooks "are not autobiographical and are not sustained by a narrative exploiting the devices of fiction. A guide book is addressed to those who plan to follow the traveler, doing what he has done, but more selectively."[33] The texts studied here were not written with the direct aim of offering guidelines for subsequent travelers. They were primarily written for armchair travelers following the path of the author from the comfort of home; they are subjective accounts where the personal experience and opinion of the traveler is just as important as the "objective" information (data, statistics, recommendations, etc.) documented.

[32] ibid.
[33] Fussell, *Abroad*, 203.

Despite growing interest in the field, there is still no uniform definition for the term "travel writing," and even the most recent publications start by discussing its different uses.[34] The difficulty arises from several factors. If we took the presence of the motif of a journey as the only criterion, all the works ranging from the *Odyssey* through Columbus' diaries to today's online travel blogs would constitute travel writing. It is clear that for any focused study a more targeted definition is needed, one, however, which is not too restrictive either. The thin borderline between fictional and non-fictional accounts, the question of style, the intention of the writer, the medium of the text, the fact that travel writing relies on and influences other genres all complicate the task of the researcher in precisely defining his/her subject.

Youngs emphasizes the importance of specifying what we mean by travel writing and where its boundaries actually lie but also calls attention to the difficulty of such an undertaking: "[t]ravel writing feeds from and back into other forms of literature. To try to identify boundaries between various forms would be impossible and I would be deeply suspicious of any attempt at the task."[35] Thompson also joins the discourse concerning the definition of the genre and quotes Jonathan Raban who claimed that "travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed. It accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note and polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality."[36] Such statements about the difficulty of definition, however, should not deter us from specifying what we mean by this term, mostly because without identifying certain boundaries we end up with a seemingly endless collection of texts whose primary theme involves travel.

Thompson provides a useful starting point for defining the scope of my research. He sets out claiming that travel itself is a "negotiation between self and other that is brought

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[34] See for example: Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011). Hereafter cited as Thompson, *Travel Writing*.
[35] Quoted in Borm, "Defining Travel," 17.
[36] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 11.

about by movement in space" and "all travel writing is at some level a record or product of this encounter, and of the negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed."[37] Such an approach still raises many other questions but offers a starting point with its emphasis on the encounter between the self and the other and on the fact that travel is an essential condition for travel writing (the latter serving as the record of the former).

Borm defines travel writing not as a genre but "a collective term for a variety of texts both fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel."[38] One of the central issues and problems with definition involves the question of the fictional and non-fictional nature of texts and the difficulty of establishing a clear-cut borderline between the two in the case of travel writing.[39] Either intentionally or not, most travel writing involves a certain fictional dimension as the recorder of the events also acts as a storyteller, sometimes adding to the events, in other cases remaining silent for various reasons. It is probably not by chance that in Ancient Greece Hermes was the god of both travelers and liars.[40]

One of the aims of travel writing studies, and this dissertation in particular, is to identify such additions and omissions and reveal the motivations behind them. Deciding what constitutes a faithful account and what is an imagined description can prove to be the most difficult task in such an endeavor. When providing basic guidelines for the study of travel writing, Peter Burke specifically mentions the need to scrutinize the authenticity of the texts and actually differentiates between several types of "false travel accounts."[41] The borderline between fact and fiction is quite thin, he claims, and even "'true' travel accounts are partly false in the sense that they are not always what they claim to be. […]

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[37] Thompson, *Travel Writing*¸ 9-10.
[38] Borm, "Defining Travel,"13.
[39] Such a relationship is also apparent in titles of books dealing with travel writing: Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars* (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1962); Zweder R. von Martels, *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994); Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
[40] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 29.
[41] Peter Burke, "Útmutatás az utazástörténet számára," *Korall* 7, no. 26 (2006): 5-24. Translation mine. Hereafter cited as Burke, "Útmutatás."

Perceptions are blurred by memory […] they could be modified by hearsay, for example the stereotypes created by the local culture of itself."[42] In this dissertation, I am dealing with texts that were presented by the authors as objective and true (i.e., non-fictional), claiming that they had personally undertaken the journeys, this way making the audience believe that they are presented with a faithful image of the countries and people described.[43] As we will see, however, there are various cases when exaggeration, omission, and even plagiarism occur. In this sense, I use the approach of Joan-Pau Rubiés, who claims that "the crucial point is that the writer, who could easily be an armchair writer, ultimately relied on the materials and authority of first-hand travellers."[44] Fictional works of imaginary journeys (like novels) also play a major role in constructing the image of a country and strongly contribute to the attitude of people towards a particular nation or group. However, this study does not include fictional texts in the literary sense, therefore, the definition should not include this aspect.[45]

In light of these considerations and using Borm's definition, the terms travel writing, travel account, and travelogue are used in this dissertation to refer to

> any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates […] in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical.[46]

With this definition, I would like to emphasize the importance of the *reader's perception* of texts and journeys as non-fictional and undertaken by the writer (see the example of Xántus). These accounts always address, even if unintentionally, differences between self and the other, as Thompson claimed, even if, as we will see, such binary opposition is

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[42]Burke, "Útmutatás." 14.
[43] The different methods used to present objectivity and authenticity will be discussed in the respective chapters.
[44] Joan Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions, and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe," *Journeys* 1, no. 1 (2000): 5-35.
[45] As regards the fictional or "made up" aspects of non-fictional travel accounts see later sections.
[46] Borm, "Defining Travel," 17. Emphasis added.

sometimes complicated by triangulation. It is also important that travel writing in this sense covers all forms of narratives, including letters, newspaper articles (as in the case of László, Xántus, and Mrs. Mocsáry), as well as books (Szenger, Pawlowszki, Bánó), and even collections of photographs and other illustrations (Rosti). Providing data that are usually deemed objective by readers (as statistics for example) is important but the personal aspect and subjective opinion of the writers are just as visible, and travel is used in the widest possible sense to include journeys of emigrants, travelers, and tourists alike.

CHAPTER ONE

Inter-American Background: History and Travel Writing

This chapter introduces the historical background to the dissertation and discusses relevant travel accounts published before 1850. The former is crucial as various contemporary events and underlying ideologies clearly influenced Hungarian perceptions of Mexico and without them travel accounts of the time cannot be appreciated properly. I have chosen an inter-American approach for this section, studying the interconnectedness of Mexican and US history (in reality and in the Hungarian mind) as Hungarian travel writers also approached and viewed Mexico in such a context. In the second part of the chapter, I offer an outline of foreign travel writing on Mexico, preceding and possibly influencing the first Hungarian travel accounts by providing available terms, images, and concepts for the representation of the country and its citizens. I also devote a short section to US images available in Hungary, since by providing a constant reference point they were just as influential as the actual journey in the Latin American country. In subsequent chapters, I use the definitions established here and utilize the sections on history and (Western) travel writing as reference points for my case studies.

Inter-American Historical Overview[47]

The nineteenth century was an era of turbulent changes both in the United States and Mexico, and events were interconnected at various points. Such a link was most obvious during the war between the two nations between 1846 and 1848, a confrontation with different outcomes and consequences for the countries involved. Transnational links call attention to the different

[47] The basic texts used for this overview were: Colin M. MacLachlan and William H. Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo: A History of Greater Mexico* (N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2004). Hereafter cited as MacLachlan and Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*; For other books used with regard to Mexican history see the relevant footnotes; Tibor Glant and Davis D. Joyce, *United States History: A Brief Introduction for Hungarian Students* (Debrecen: Kossuth University Press, 2010); Irwin Unger, *These United States: The Questions of Our Past* (N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1999). The classes of Prof. Kenneth Stevens (US history) and Don Coerver (Mexican history) at Texas Christian University also provided me with useful insights and ideas.

historical experience of the two American nations during this period: one growing in power and emerging as a leading player in world affairs, the other still struggling with unresolved issues from the pre-independence era, including inequality, power struggles, and the need for political, social, and economic reforms.

The two neighboring countries followed fundamentally different paths during the nineteenth century. "In effect, the United States went up from colonialism, while Mexico went down."[48] While the era brought growth, expansion, and power for the United States, Mexico (similarly to the rest of Latin America) was left behind. Even though Mexico could achieve its independence after a decade-long conflict in 1821, she could not resolve social and political problems, experiencing difficulties that kept haunting her for decades following the break from the Spanish Empire. An economic and productivity gap developed between the two countries, widening to a great extent between 1820 and 1870, that is, the time when the first wave of Hungarian travel writers visited North America:[49]

> In 1800 Mexico's per capita income was about half that of the United States. By 1877 Mexico's per capita income had dropped to a little over one-tenth that of the industrial United States. […] In 1821 the Mexican Republic was the largest in the hemisphere, nearly twice that of the newly independent United States of America. By 1853 at a little less than two million square kilometers, Mexico fell to one-fourth the size of the northern neighbor. At the same time, the landed area of the United States more than tripled.[50]

The exact reason for the emergence and widening of this gap is still subject to debate among historians, economists, and political scientists but its presence was already palpable when the first Hungarians arrived in the 1850s. Hungarian travelers (especially László and Xántus in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively) were more than willing to emphasize, and sometimes exaggerate, such differences in their accounts.

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[48] W. Dirk Raat and Michael M. Brescia, *Mexico and the United States: Ambivalent Vistas* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 46. Hereafter cited as Raat and Brescia, *Ambivalent Vistas.*

[49] For more details on the development gap see for example: Francis Fukuyama, ed., *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States* (Oxford: OUP, 2008) or Raat and Brescia above in the chapter titled "Up and Down from Colonialism."

[50] Raat and Brescia, *Ambivalent Vistas*, 63.

The first wave of Hungarian travel writers arrived in Mexico after a visit to the United States which was at the height of nation building and which reached new levels of development. The era following the War of 1812, the "second war of independence" of the United States, can be seen as the age of growing nationalism and economic and cultural expansion for the US. The era is often referred to as a period dominated by a transportation revolution: steamboats, canal and railroad building transformed American life. Daniel Walker Howe organized his overview of the period around the idea of a communication revolution: the invention and use of the telegraph, the creation of the postal service, the multiplication of newspapers altered the experience of distance and connection, contributed to mobility, and connected the nation.[51] Population growth (which also contrasted sharply with tendencies in Mexico[52]), urbanization, and the emergence of new cities were also visible signs of growth and development (improvement) that were addressed by Hungarians as well. Charles Sellers emphasized the idea of a market revolution taking place, a shift from an agrarian to a capitalist society, influencing all aspects of life in the nation (family life, religion, legal system, etc.)[53] These approaches differ in their focus but all agree that this was the age of change, growth, and progress for the United States. This was experienced by Hungarian travelers as well and the technological, economic, and social developments were emphasized by them, expressing a "reverent admiration" of the country as discussed below.

The first half of the nineteenth century in US history is also characterized by unparalleled territorial expansion, often at the expense of Mexico. The Louisiana Purchase (1803), the annexation of Texas (1845), and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican War (1848) represented major steps in Westward Expansion. During the century, the

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[51] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: OUP, 2007).

[52] According to Raat and Brescia: "In 1800 Mexico's population of six million, many of whom were citizens of cities, exceeded that of the mostly rural United States (just over five million). By 1854 Mexico had only eight million inhabitants; the colossus of the North had twenty-three million. In 1911 […] Mexico's population was fifteen million while the United States had grown to ninety-two million." Raat and Brescia, *Ambivalent Vistas*, 63.

[53] Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: OUP, 1991).

United States extended its territory over much of the continent and justified such expansion with the ideology of Manifest Destiny, emphasizing the superiority of Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, claiming that republicanism and democracy must be expanded, and the "mission" of the United States to overtake the continent had to be fulfilled. Such ideas of US superiority, amounting to a racist ideology, were adopted by Hungarians and the further expansion of the US in Mexico was discussed as an option. Some, including Xántus, claimed that Mexico could develop only with the help of US intervention and/or occupation.

Growth on the US side, however, resulted in tragic loss for Mexico, being the first country to experience the growing power of her neighbor. The saying attributed to Porfirio Díaz serves as a perfect description of the relationship between the two countries from a Mexican point of view: "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States!"[54] When moving to Mexico from this quickly-developing country, the southern neighbor appeared to travelers to be backward, inferior, and in need of foreign (especially US) assistance.

The first half of the century brought a different experience for Mexico than the United States. Independence was achieved in 1821 and although it was important in forging the national identity of Mexicans (by providing myths, heroes like Miguel Hidalgo and José Maria Morelos, and a national holiday on September 16), it also "required a traumatic civil war," had a devastating economic aftermath, and did not manage to resolve social and political problems of the pre-independence era.[55] Mexico became the largest Spanish-American country after independence and its territory grew further in 1822,[56] still, "the nation experienced episodic violence, regional conflicts, attempted and actual secession, war, the loss of fifty percent of its national territory" (and later in the century even foreign

[54] The statement is usually attributed to Díaz without providing any exact references.
[55] MacLachlan and Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*. For a study of the Mexican War of Independence see for example: Timothy J. Henderson, *The Mexican Wars for Independence* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009).
[56] Daniel Cosío Villegas et al. *Mexikó rövid története* (Budapest: Eötvös József Könyvkiadó, 2002): 71. Hereafter referred to as Villegas, *Mexikó rövid története.*

intervention).[57] Social inequality was one of the major problems of Mexican society: out of the approximately 6 million people, 60% were Indian, 22 % Mestizo, and 18 % white, while all the important administrative, religious, and military posts were controlled by the *gachupines* (Spanish-born Spaniards residing in Mexico) making up about 0.2% of the populace.[58] There was a huge gap not only between whites and Indians but also within the particular social groups.[59] The marginalization of and hostile attitude towards the Native population and poverty were issues that had been present for generations and still awaited solution. Issues like debt peonage, privileges of the elite, the military, and the Church, along with regional problems, which had their roots in the colonial era, were visible in the 1850s and remained unresolved for a long time. In Hungarian accounts these colonial "leftovers" were often seen and introduced as signs and evidence of backwardness and inferiority, Károly László, for example, presents debt peonage in detail,[60] while the (sometimes harmful) influence of priests is criticized by almost all Hungarians.

Political instability was also characteristic of this era in Mexico; after independence Mexico saw a series of bloody civil wars until 1876.[61] A perfect example for the volatility of the country is that between 1824 and 1854 there were 44 presidential administrations in Mexico, which is a remarkable number even if some of these served more than once (General José Antonio López de Santa Anna himself served on 11 different occasions.) The country also had 14 different constitutions between 1824 and 1857.[62] This period was characterized by power struggles between Liberals and Conservatives culminating in the War of Reform between 1858 and 1861.[63] László's diary and other writings offer compelling insights into life in Mexico at this time and the hectic political situation is addressed by both Xántus and Rosti.

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[57] MacLachlan and Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*, 1.
[58] Domingo Lilón, et al. *Latin-Amerika 1750-1840* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2013): 37. hereafter referred to as Lilón, *Latin-Amerika.* Translations mine.
[59] Lilón, *Latin-Amerika,* 147.
[60] "László Károly levelei Amerikából V" [Letters of Károly László from America V] *Vasárnapi Újság* June 19, 1859.
[61] Lilón, *Latin-Amerika,* 47.
[62] Lilón, *Latin-Amerika,* 158.
[63] Fort he description of the two groups see for example: Villegas, *Mexikó rövid története*, 79-80.

The common ground between Liberals and Conservatives existed only in terms of the recognition of problems of Mexico: there was a need for economic development, to upgrade transportation and communication, modernize agriculture, and make the government more efficient. They differed in their answers to these problems and could not provide a solution. As a result of constant struggle, Mexico's economy reached those indicators that characterized it during colonial times again only at the end of the 19th century.[64] Mexico's social and economic problems between 1821 and the 1860s were even more visible in comparison with the United States (even if a civil war was approaching there as well) and Hungarians used such a contrast in their depictions of the Latin American country; thus the image of a politically hectic nation became a recurring part of Hungarian travel accounts.

Of course, the historical overview would not be complete without references to the problems of the United States as well. Expansion, besides contributing to national pride and self-confidence, the emergence of American otherness (or a belief in such otherness), also had several negative consequences: it gave rise to regional differences and sectionalism, highlighted the issue of slavery, and contributed to the secession crisis and ultimately the Civil War. It was one of the most tragic periods of Native American history with the forced removal of Indian tribes, while calling attention to the racist ideology behind US expansion (including, for example, scientific explanations for the racial inferiority of Indians and Blacks discussed in the next chapter). Population growth and urbanization also caused problems in American cities, while immigration (such as the Irish) led to nativism and ethnic conflicts. Obviously, we do witness the democratization of politics in the era but one should not forget about the groups that were still excluded from politics, including women. All these issues existed and were clearly visible when Hungarians arrived in the New World. The question was how much of it they could and wanted to recognize (and include in their accounts) and

[64] Lilón, *Latin-Amerika,* 47.

how much of it they wanted to remember and acknowledge when visiting and writing about Mexico.

In this period foreign visitors to these two countries could also witness a sharp contrast in terms of political processes and participation. The Second Party System in the United States (between 1828 and 1854) with a Whig-Democrat political contest was characterized by high levels of voter interest and under Jacksonian democracy the democratization of politics, with elections and political participation assuming a more important role in people's lives (that time including white men only). This period also brought about the modern framework of political competition, political campaigns, parades, etc. In Mexico, as we have seen, the era was mostly characterized by political turbulence and problems and the continuous fights between different fracrtions and groups (monarchists, republicans, the military, the Church, etc.) resulted in the complete political indifference and disinterest of the population.[65] Although most Hungarians claimed that they would not write about politics in their accounts, such political contrasts (and the view of the two political systems) influenced their depictions of the country and the people in general.

The 1860s brought turbulent changes in the history of both North American countries, a Civil War in the United States (1861-65) and French Intervention and the Second Empire in Mexico (1862-67); these events (again connected at some points) influenced Hungarian travel writing as well and resulted in changes in the depiction of Mexico. Here, I will focus on the Mexican events. As has been mentioned, French intervention "put Mexico on the map" in Hungary and boosted an interest at home about the nation. This growing attention resulted in numerous writings about Mexico published in Hungary, two of which are analyzed in Chapter 5.

After years of struggle between Liberals and Conservatives, in 1861 Benito Juárez, leader of the former, took control of the country's government. The end of the Civil War, however, did not bring about a peaceful era, mostly due to the international obligations of the

[65] Villegas, *Mexikó rövid története*, 72.

country and her failure to meet them. In 1861, Juárez declared a moratorium on foreign debt and suspended interest payments to foreign countries, including France, Spain, and Britain who jointly decided to take steps against Mexico (also capitalizing on the US preoccupation with its own Civil War that started in April 1861).[66] "Under pressure from creditors, Britain, Spain, and France jointly seized the customhouse in Veracruz [the major port of the country] to ensure collection of outstanding debts. It soon became evident that France had a larger design in mind."[67] The French, under emperor Napoleon III, stayed in Mexico even after their allies left, reinforcing their troops and revealing their true intention of occupying the country (for economic gain as well as to control US expansion and power). Although first halted by a major Mexican victory at Puebla on May 5, 1862 (*Cinco de Mayo* is still celebrated in Mexico as a national holiday), later French troops could not be stopped. They occupied the capital and Juárez had to move to the north. Meanwhile, Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian agreed to become Emperor as Maximilian I of Mexico. Although he tried to win the support of the Mexican population, both Conservatives and Liberals, he was unsuccessful in achieving his aims and could not maintain the empire.[68]

In 1865, "with the Union victory diplomatic pressure on the French to withdraw their troops intensified, as did arms shipment."[69] Meanwhile, developments in Europe (such as the rise of Prussia) and huge costs forced Napoleon III to withdraw French troops, on which Maximilian relied heavily, and as a result "the empire collapsed, leaving an abandoned Maximilian to face a firing squad" in 1867 in Querétaro.[70] Although unsuccessful, the rule of a Habsburg in Mexico, together with the involvement of 1,047 Hungarian soldiers,[71] created a

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[66] Foreign loans were used by Mexican governments from the 1820s on, the problem was that most of the money was spent on arms, paying back former loans and interests, and nothing was spent on the revitalization of the economy. See Lilón, *Latin-Amerika*, 254-255.
[67] MacLachlan amd Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*, 62.
[68] For a study on the cultural legacy of the Second Empire, its "invention, contest, and appropriation" see: Kristine Ibsen, *Maximilian, Mexico, and the Invention of Empire* (Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2010).
[69] MacLachlan and Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*, 70.
[70]MacLachlan and Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo*, 71.
[71] Lajos Tardy, "Az 1864-67. évi mexikói 'önkéntes hadtest' magyarországi résztvevői," [Hungarian participants of the 1864-67 'volunteer corps' in Mexico] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 2 (1990): 145-171. Hereafter cited as Tardy, "Önkéntes hadtest."

genuine interest in Hungary in Mexican affairs. The shift to more positive accounts by Hungarians was the result of historical events again.

The turn of the century in Mexico was marked by the rule of Porfirio Díaz, in the period usually referred to as the Porfiriato (1876-1911). Díaz was a controversial figure, often regarded as a dictator who brought about a relatively peaceful and stable period characterized by modernization and economic growth. Díaz invited foreign investment, particularly to help the modernization of the country, especially to improve infrastructure:

> The construction of this infrastructure facilitated the further development of export economies in Mexico's agricultural and mining areas, the modernization of the cities […], the beginnings of a steel industry in the northern city of Monterrey, the creation of a sense of nationalism [...], and the assertion of government control over all the states of the republic.[72]

By the end of the Porfiriato, the railroad network of Mexico grew to 19,000 kilometers while in 1877 there was only a 460-kilometer section used.[73] The mail, telegraph, and telephone lines were also developed, and the economy of the country improved significantly.[74] Díaz also established a rural police force (the *rurales*) to enforce the rule of law in the countryside. Before this, accounts of bandits roaming the country were recurring elements in foreign travel accounts; László, Xántus, and Rosti shared stories of *ladrones* attacking foreigners and Mexico was criticized by almost all Hungarians discussed in this dissertation for its lack of public safety (see Chapter 4 for more details). Of course, modernization had its downsides as well as it did not bring major improvement for peasants and workers but helped foreign investors and wealthy landowners primarily. Progress was also noticed (and reported) by Hungarians of the time, whose view of Mexico was also influenced by the Díaz government's immigration policy aimed at luring (white) immigrants to the country and with them, foreign capital.

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[72] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*, 91.
[73] Villegas, *Mexikó rövid története,* 96-97.
[74] ibid.

Hungarian immigration to Mexico at the time was insignificant, especially when compared to the number of Hungarians settling in the neighboring United States. Díaz and his government attempted to change this pattern by promoting a more favorable image of the country abroad (see Part III). Overall, the immigration policy failed because even though Mexico was presented as a more attractive place, as we will see, other regions of the Americas were still seen as more advantageous and newly arriving immigrants did not receive the support they were hoping for. Still, the effects of the government's policies[75] manifested themselves in the changing image of Mexico in Hungary as well. Immigration in general, and New Immigration in particular (together with changes in the United States during the Gilded Age), influenced Hungarian travel writing on the Americas as discussed separately in Part III.

(Western) Travel Accounts on Mexico Before the 1850s[76]

Travel accounts always use, build upon, and interact with previous works. References to earlier travelogues may be made explicitly, listing the texts used for consultation, quoting from a "reliable" source (as it is the case with Rosti and Humboldt), or may take more subtle forms (in the case of Xántus). Irrespective of the nature of the utilization of earlier sources, however, one conclusion seems to be sure: "foreign visitors did not enter Mexico with a tabula rasa […] not only did they come with preconceived attitudes, prejudices, and opinions, but they were also influenced by the accounts of past observers."[77] This section provides an overview of texts from Western European and US observers that could influence the perceptions of Hungarian travel writers by providing them with a vocabulary and set of tools with which to relate their experience, together with the themes and opinions that are usually

[75] For the various strategies used (sending agents to Europe, recruiting foreign workers and professionals, giving foreigners the right to own land, etc.) see Jürgen Buchenau, "Small Numbers, Great Impact: Mexico and Its Immigrants, 1821-1973," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, Spring (2001): 23-49. Hereafter cited as Buchenau, "Small Numbers."

[76] A brief version of this overview has been published before: Balázs Venkovits, "Describing the Other, Struggling with the Self: Hungarian Travel Writers in Mexico and the Revision of Western Images," *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing* 12, no. 2 (2011): 28-47.

[77] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*, 4.

included. Many Hungarian travelers leaving for a North-American journey prepared consciously and read extensively about the countries to be visited, while those who did not plan a journey but were forced to leave the mother country were also familiar with the New World as a result of a general interest and partly due to the fascination aroused by popular Western travelogues published before they left Hungary.

Hungarian travelers did not simply copy Western travel accounts, since their Hungarian cultural and political background as well as the treatment of Hungary by Western Europe transformed this approach, as did the image of the United States available in Hungary.[78] During the last decades of the nineteenth century an increasingly independent, more specifically Hungarian-type of travel writing emerged as, after the first wave of travelers, former Western concepts were left behind more and more. One of the major tasks in this dissertation is to decide to what degree specific travel writers embraced Western concepts and presented Mexico through an imperial view using binary references and to what extent they wanted to break away from such concepts and offer a different view of Mexico and Mexicans.

The nineteenth century saw a "tremendous wave of foreign visitors in Mexico […] that inevitably promoted the increased production of traveler's accounts of the land and its people."[79] According to Harvey C. Gardiner, the largest number of travel writers by nationality were British, American, French, and German. The presence of Hungarians in Spanish colonies can be ascertained from the seventeenth and eighteenth century even though various myths have surfaced regarding the presence of Hungarians in South America even

[78] For more information on the emergence and development of the US image see for example: Géza Závodszky, and *American Effects on Hungarian Imagination and Political Thought, 1559-1849* (New York: Atlantic Research, 1995) and *Az Amerika-motívum és a polgárosodó Magyarország, a kezdetektől 1848-ig* (Budapest: Korona, 1997)

[79] Harvey C. Gardiner, "Foreign Travelers' Accounts of Mexico, 1810-1910," *The Americas* 8, no. 3 (1952): 321-351.

before that.[80] The first Hungarians in Mexico were Jesuit missionaries (Nándor Konság and János Rátkay) who recorded their experience and findings in various forms but information about their work was scarce and their writings were not available for the general reading public in Hungary.[81] A few newspaper articles were published about the Americas but they came mostly in the form of translations of foreign sources.[82] According to Ádám Anderle, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the turbulent world of Latin America aroused the interest of several Hungarian travelers but real attention was given to the countries of the region only after the arrival of soldiers participating in the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence.[83] This is certainly true in the case of Mexico.

We can claim that during the first half of the century, Mexico was introduced to the world (including Hungary) first and foremost through the eyes of Western European and United States travelers who had a major role and were highly influential in generating knowledge about the rest of the world.[84] Thus their depiction of the country influenced not only the attitude and view of their respective home audiences but that of other readers as well, for example, Hungarians, who consulted such texts either in the original or in translation. Mexico and Mexicans were seen with "an imperial eye," descriptions were based on binaries

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[80] See for example: Tivadar Ács, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában* [Hungarians in Latin America] (Budapest: n.p.,1944); László Szabó, *Magyar múlt Dél-Amerikában* [Hungarian past in Latin America] (Budapest: Európa, 1982)

[81] See for example: Tihamér Lacza, "Magyar jezsuiták Latin-Amerikában" [Hungarian Jesuits in Latin America] *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 2, no 1 (2000). Available at: http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00033/00003/lacza.htm Access date: July 2013. The article used an alternative spelling of the name: Koncság.

[82] If we consult the bibliography of writings published in Hungary about foreign countries as compiled by Dr. Rezső Havass and published in 1893, we can find only a few articles about Mexico, mostly translations from foreign accounts. At the same time, some of the topics and issues preoccupying later travelers are already apparent: Mexican Indians, women, and issues related to everyday life. See also: Balázs Venkovits, "'A Land Full of Gold and Happiness': Changing Interpretations of the Legend of El Dorado in Hungary," in *Mítoszok bűvöletében. Ünnepi kötet Virágos Zsolt Kálmán 70. születésnapjára,* ed. Lenke Németh et al. (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2012): 168-175.

[83] Ádám Anderle, "Magyarok Latin-Amerikában," *Rubicon* 19.1 (2008): 70-71 and "Magyarok Latin-Amerikában," *Külügyi Szemle* 7.3 (2008): 174-181.

[84] The following section is based on Venkovits, "Describing the Other."

of the West and the Rest, self and other, superiority and inferiority, center and periphery. The image of Mexico was "subject to the centre's gaze."[85]

There was little access to Mexico before 1821 but the most influential travel account before the 1850s was published by a non-Spanish traveler when Mexico (called New Spain at the time) was still a Spanish colony. Alexander von Humboldt's *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (1811) was arguably one of the most influential works on the country during the nineteenth century and its legacy remained visible for a long time.[86] Humboldt's authority as a scientist and travel writer is unquestionable; as Peter Beardsell writes, "such was his success that his books could justifiably be regarded as 'the lens through which much of the nineteenth century saw South America.'"[87] References to his works abound in Hungarian travel writing even in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although his works about Mexico were not translated into Hungarian,[88] book reviews and articles were available, and the French and German versions were consulted by many (Rosti, for example, makes clear references to them). The attitude towards Humboldt and his achievements in Hungary is well reflected by a 1858 newspaper article in *Vasárnapi Újság*:[89] the Prussian is presented in superlatives, "as the king of sciences" and his books as some of the greatest works since the invention of printing. As regards his journey in the Americas, he is introduced as a second Columbus rediscovering the Americas for science.

Political Essay awakened the interest of European and American entrepreneurs by creating the "myth of the wealth of Mexico."[90] Humboldt stresses the importance of mining claiming that "[t]he mines have undoubtedly been the principal sources of the great fortunes

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[85] Peter Beardsell, *Europe and Latin America: Returning the Gaze* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 20. Hereafter cited as Beardsell, *Europe and Latin America.*
[86] Alexander von Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris: Schoell, 1811). The English translation is used here: *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* was translated by John Black (London: Longman, 1811). Hereafter referred to as Humboldt, *Political Essay.*
[87] Peter Beardsell, *Europe and Latin America*, 31.
[88] The translation of the four-volume *Kosmos* was published in 1857 and collected works with a biography were published in 1889 only. Available at: http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00060/html/049/pc004962.html#3
[89] *Vasárnapi Újság*, May 30, 1858.
[90] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise,* 17.

of Mexico,"[91] while also stressing the significance of agriculture in terms of the riches of the country. Humboldt emphasizes that crop growing is "the true national wealth of Mexico; for the produce of the earth is, in fact, the sole basis of permanent opulence."[92] In Humboldt's *Essay* the country also appears as "civilized in a way South America was not."[93] We can read the following about his impressions of New Spain: "I arrived at Mexico by the South Sea in March, 1803, and resided a year in that vast Kingdom. […] I could not avoid being struck with the contrast between the civilization of New Spain, and the scanty cultivation of those parts of South America which had fallen under my notice."[94]

Besides its "praise for prosperity," Nigel Leask claims, the work "was deeply critical of the social and political arrangements that had prevailed since the conquest."[95] Humboldt clearly recognized the problems of society discussed in the historical overview above: "Mexico is the country of inequality. No where does there exist such a fearful difference in the distribution of fortune, civilization, cultivation of the soil, and population."[96] He writes extensively about the (problems of) the Indians and establishes some of the images and themes recurring in later travel accounts (including those of Hungarians) about this group: the notion of the copper-colored race, the issue of drunkenness (with the description of *pulque*), their "grave and melancholic nature" and "misery of life," as well as the present state of degradation of Natives (especially when compared to the great civilizations of the past that is a topic preoccupying many Hungarian travel writers as well). At the same time, he expresses his sympathy for the indigenous inhabitants and represents them as victims of European imperialism: "the better sort of Indians, among whom a certain degree of intellectual culture might be supposed, perished in great part at the commencement of the Spanish conquest, the

[91] Humboldt, *Political Essay*, 170.
[92] Taylor, John. *Selections from the Works of the Baron de Humboldt, Relating to the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, and Mines of Mexico* (London: Longman, 1824): 57.
[93] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 129.
[94] Humboldt, *Political Essay*, 1.
[95] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 264. Hereafter cited as Leask, *Curiosity*.
[96] Humboldt, *Political Essay*, 138.

victims of European ferocity."[97] Thus, Humboldt claims, the "low state of intellectual civilization among them [being the result of the] surviving legacy of the conquest, which had simply wiped out the educated classes of the Aztec Empire […]."[98]

According to Pratt, Humboldt's journey and writings "laid down the lines for the ideological reinvention of South America" and "established a model journey."[99] Such a model was followed by travel writers, Humboldt's charts, statistics, and tables were used as reference points by many, while his style and his organization of material were also taken as examples as we will see. Humboldt in *Political Essay* starts out with the detailed geographical introduction of New Spain, focusing on the "general considerations on the extent and physical aspect of the kingdom," the configuration of the coast, the introduction of geographical landmarks (rivers, lakes, etc.), etc. It is only after these studies that he introduces the population of the country and describes the different groups. Humboldt's greatest influence can be seen in his reinvention of the region "first and foremost as nature" (with all its hidden wealth and treasures) and in a way which resulted in the erasure of the human from the image.[100] It is only a fascinating, if not symbolic, coincidence that due to the available photographic technology of the time (a long exposure time was needed) people did not appear in Rosti's (probably Humboldt's greatest follower and admirer) photos, as if to call attention to interest in nature (and ancient civilization) over the inhabitants. The emphasis on nature (referred to later as the Humboldtian tradition here) will be even more visible in the present discussion when analyzing the triangulation involving both the United States and Mexico.[101]

Nigel Leask claims that "popular European interest in Mexico boomed during the post-independence decade"[102] as it was easier to get access to Mexico. "On the heels of

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[97] Humboldt, *Political Essay*, 117.
[98] Leask, *Curiosity*, 264-65.
[99] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 109.
[100] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 118; 122-23.
[101] For more information on Humboldt and travel writing see: Oliver Lubrich, "Alexander von Humboldt: Revolutionizing Travel Literature," *Monatshefte* 96, no. 3 (2004): 360-387.
[102] Leask, *Curiosity*, 299.

Alexander von Humboldt, European travelers descended on South America by the dozen"[103] and the growing number of travel accounts reflected the interest in the exotic country, its people, the opportunities offered, as well as the turbulent political scene:

> Whether revered or reviled, since the early modern period such travel books have established and perpetuated a range of enduring myths about the continent, especially in relation to its natural resources […] These myths invoked its vast and variegated land and riverscapes, an enigmatic and elusive indigenous people (who might be threatening, if not cannibalistic), as well as the lure of unearthing lost cities of gold or other natural wonders.[104]

The revolution in Mexico made travel possible while independence also opened commercial opportunities not available before (and to which Humboldt's works called attention to, for example, in terms of mining). The new wave of accounts, written by people who Pratt calls the capitalist vanguard, adopted a different stance towards Latin America, and Mexico in particular. "As one might expect, primal nature held considerably less interest for these economic adventurers than it did for Humboldt and his disciples" but

> [w]hile Spanish American society occupied the margins of Humboldt's travel writings, it was an integral part of the capitalist vanguard's account of América. The elites are frequently praised for their hospitality, their aristocratic way of life, and their appreciation of Europeans. Spanish American society in general, however, is relentlessly indicted for backwardness, indolence and, above all, the 'failure' to exploit the resources surrounding it.[105]

The poor appearance and habits of the people, for which they were frequently criticized, were often introduced by foreigners as evidence for such failure and backwardness. "Such a litany of criticism is anchored, of course, in the sheerest hypocrisy, for it is América's purported backwardness that legitimates the capitalist vanguard's interventions in the first place."[106]

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[103] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 146.
[104] Claire Lindsay, *Contemporary Travel Writing of Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 4.
[105] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 149-50.
[106] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 152.

Some of the British travel writing of the time, such as William Bullock's *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (1824) and H.G. Ward's *Mexico in 1827*, fits into the group described as the capitalist vanguard. "Like Humboldt, they were mainly concerned with the Mexican mining industry, which had been virtually taken over by foreign—mainly British—capital in the 1820s. Bullock the garrulous, Pickwickian entrepreneur represented Mexican independence as a commercial opportunity for his countrymen."[107] Thus we can see a shift from the interest in the exotic and natural towards an emphasis on commercial and business opportunities, a tendency that is also present in Hungarian travel writing to a certain extent.

Besides stressing business opportunities, to justify their involvement most foreign visitors writing after Mexican independence criticized the country, its social and political establishment as well as its inhabitants. In 1824 Joel Roberts Poinsett, the first US minister to Mexico, already presented a more negative view of Mexico's future than did Humboldt.[108] In Poinsett's view, "the racial mixture created the type of moral degradation that would keep Mexico far below the potential identified by von Humboldt."[109] The issue of "degradation" of ancient civilizations continued to be a preoccupying theme and Poinsett's attitude was taken over by various other travel writers later on. A similar attitude is visible in one of the most popular travel accounts besides Humboldt's *Political Essay*, Fanny Calderón de la Barca's *Life in Mexico* (1843).[110]

Calderón's work was received with critical acclaim in Europe and with hostile reviews in Mexico.[111] She published her impressions of Mexico in a series of fifty-four letters that she

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[107] Nigel Leask, "'The Ghost in Chapultepec: Fanny Calderón de la Barca, William Prescott and Nineteenth-Century Mexican Travel Accounts," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, eds. Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion, 1999), 185-86. Hereafter cited as Leask, "The Ghost in Chapultepec."

[108] Joel Robert Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico Made in the Autumn of 1822* (London: J. Miller, 1825).

[109] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*, 29.

[110] Fanny Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico during a Residence of Two Years in that Country* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1843). Hereafter referred to as Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico.* The author was the Scottish wife of the first Spanish ambassador to the Mexican republic.

[111] Michael P. Costeloe, "Prescott's History of the Conquest and Calderon de la Barca's Life in Mexico. Mexican Reaction, 1843-44," *The Americas* 47, no. 3 (1991): 337. Hereafter cited as Costeloe, "Prescott and Calderon."

claimed were not originally planned for publication.[112] She described political life and social traditions as well as individuals she met, calling attention to current problems in the country. "For all her fascination with the Mexican picturesque, Fanny Calderón's view of contemporary Mexican society was, on the surface at least, largely negative."[113] Calderón, as many other travelers following her, regarded herself superior and "was also not averse to express her distaste, if not contempt, for some of Mexican habits and behaviour at all social levels."[114] She had an especially negative view of Indians, using descriptions that would be repeated in later travelogues as well: "they are, probably, very little altered from the inferior Indians, as Cortes found them. […] Under an appearance of stupid apathy they veil a great depth of cunning. They are grave and gentle and rather sad in their appearance, when not under the influence of pulque."[115]

Calderón's "role as wife of the Spanish ambassador clearly influenced her negative picture of Spain's ex-colony, but this was built upon pre-existing foundations of a stadial Scottish theory of history as social progress and a Protestant, Capitalist work ethic."[116] Some of the images she presents of Mexico are recirculated almost exactly the same way in later publications and resurface in Hungarian travel accounts as well. Her depiction of Veracruz, for example, can be seen as a model for future travelers, several Hungarians describing the city almost exactly the same way:[117]

> Anything more melancholy, *délabré* and forlorn, than the whole appearance of things as we drew near, cannot well be imagined. On one side, the fort, with its black and red walls: on the other, the miserable, black-looking city, with hordes of large black birds, called *sopilotes*, hovering over some dead carcass, or flying heavily along in search of carrion.[118]

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[112] For the discussion of the choice concerning this type of publication and some quotes from her book, see the last chapter of this dissertation.
[113] Leask, "The Ghost in Chapultepec," 188-89.
[114] Costeloe, "Prescott and Calderon," 342.
[115] Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico,* 298-99.
[116] Leask, "The Ghost in Chapultepec," 189.
[117] See later chapters in this dissertation, especially pp. 176-77.
[118] Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico*, 20.

She also often referred to beggars, robbers, poverty, as well as the dangers of living (and traveling) in Mexico, all issues intermittently referred to by Hungarians too as will be shown. When Mexico comes to the center of attention in Hungary as a result of the French intervention, excerpts from Calderón de la Barca's book are translated for Hungarian readers (20 years after their original publication) so as to provide information on this far-away country.[119] The selected sections also include references to Mexico as the land of beggars, poverty, and danger (especially for a woman):

> Whilst I am writing a horrible lépero, with great leering eyes, is looking at me through the windows, and performing the most extraordinary series of groans, displaying at the same time a hand with two long fingers, probably the other three tied in. "Señorita! Señorita! For the love of the most Holy Virgin! For the sake of the most pure blood of Christ! By the miraculous Conception!–" The wretch! I dare not look up, but I feel that his eyes are fixed upon a gold watch and seals lying on the table. […] There come more of them! A paralytic woman mounted on the back of a man with a long beard. A sturdy-looking individual, who looks as if, were it not for the iron bars, he would resort to more effective measures, is holding up a *deformed foot*, which I verily believe is merely fastened back in some extraordinary way. What groans! what rags! what a chorus of whining![120]

Her text could be used as a resource by anyone interested (or traveling to) Mexico. A large variety of topics and themes were introduced by her: travels within the country, descriptions of towns and architecture, dresses, Mexican dishes, social traditions, and she also touches upon issues of politics.[121]

Western travel writers described the Natives as inferior, ignorant, and lazy and represented the country as one in need of foreign assistance and a foreign model for progress in both economic and cultural terms. Many travelers saw the "Anglo-American race" and the United States of America in particular as such a model. Calderón herself alluded to the inevitability of the incorporation of Mexico by the North and her "text announces the

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[119] Szeberényi L., "Mexikói élet," *Vasárnapi Újság,* October 25 and November 1, 1863.
[120] Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico*, 51.
[121] See the chapter on Mrs. Mocsáry for further discussion of the last aspect.

prophetic future of this 'dreamy nation's' dependency on its 'wide-awake' neighbour to the North."[122] William S. Henry[123] also connected the "potential of Mexican agriculture with the manifest destiny ideal of extending the borders of the United States [while being] wary of incorporating Mexicans into the Union."[124] The role and position of the United States became an issue in travel accounts about the country mostly after the US-Mexican war, during a period when the first Hungarian travel writers arrived in Mexico. They were aware of the discourse established by these and other texts and participated in it, identifying with the Western traveler and US perspective.

The issue of ancient civilizations (and their relationship to the contemporary population) is central in several cases. Besides the predominance of nature, Humboldt also focused on archeological relics and "archeologized America." However, "[w]hile obviously fascinated and moved by his archeological findings, Humboldt remained relentlessly disparaging of the achievements of pre-Colombian civilizations—in comparison, of course, with those of the classical Mediterranean."[125] An interest in ancient civilizations was maintained later on as well and became a crucial part of the image of Mexico. John Llloyd Stephens's name is inseparably linked with such issues and the discovery and excavation of Maya monuments of America.[126] Stephens published two books, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1841) and its sequel, *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan* (1843) based on his work (and illustrated by English artist Frederick Catherwood's engravings that were also used as an illustration for Károly László's letters in *Vasárnapi Újság*). The archeological findings and their publications are underpinned by the imperial discourse and are related to the role and position of the US in the Western Hemisphere.

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[122] Miguel A. Cabanas, "North of Eden: Romance and Conquest in Fanny Calderón de la Barca's Life in Mexico," *Studies in Travel Writing* 9, no. 1 (2005): 16.
[123] *Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico* (New York: Harper, 1847).
[124] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*, 51.
[125] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 134.
[126] Nigel Leask, "A Yankee in Yucatan: John Lloyd Stephens and the Lost Cities of America," In *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces,* ed., Tim Youngs (London: Anthem Press, 2006), 129-144. Hereafter cited as Leask, "A Yankee in Yucatan."

Besides being a pioneer of modern Mesoamerican archeology, "Stephens achieved celebrity in his lifetime as one of the most commercially successful travel writers of the nineteenth century."[127] According to Leask, his travel accounts belong to those of the capitalist vanguard:

> More specifically, Stephens' very presence in the region […] upholds the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, in which the Protestant Anglo-Saxon Republic assumed a special role as guardian of the politically immature Latin American intervention from the Old World. Stephens' travel books thus share the ideological project of the nineteenth-century US appropriation of Latin American history.[128]

Interest in ancient civilizations is a preoccupying theme in Hungarian travel accounts as well. However, as in the case of Western travel accounts, the backwardness of the contemporary population overshadows such interest.

European and US travelers to Mexico between the 1820s and 50s provided concepts, topics, and images that reemerge in Hungarian travel accounts after 1850. As we will see in subsequent chapters, the first wave of Hungarian travel writers adopted the "imperial" attitude of Western travelers towards Mexican society, and presented the future of the country in a similar way while stressing the predominance and uniqueness of the natural environment. They often discussed the same topics and presented a similar underlying ideology as their Western predecessors. Even though for example László's business venture was successful in Mexico and Hungarians could have felt sympathy for a small nation living in the shadow of a great power, the first Hungarian travel writers emphasized the necessity of US and British involvement, the arrival of US and British capital and workforce for the development of Mexico. This attitude changed only at the turn of the century, when Bánó purposefully tried to redefine such an approach.

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[127] Leask, "A Yankee in Yucatan," 130.
[128] Leask, "A Yankee in Yucatan," 132-33.

The other Other: Travelogues on the United States before 1850

The connection between the Hungarian images of Mexico and the United States has already been highlighted. Before introducing the first Hungarian travel accounts on Mexico, I must discuss the image of the United States available in Hungary before the 1850s as without it the references in subsequent travel accounts cannot be understood. As several studies have dealt with these travelogues, I will only provide a brief overview of the basic images of the United States available in Hungary at the time when the first Hungarians writing about Mexico left the country.[129] Differently from Mexico, this involves the study of travel accounts written by Hungarians as well. These accounts in many respects fit into the Western depictions (emphasizing great progress, improvement of the US) but in more than one way were even more positive than, for example, British accounts. Sándor Bölöni Farkas called attention to this when he claims that

> The English traveler comes to America full of prejudices and hatred. He cannot forget how this handful of people has triumphantly freed itself from England's huge, iron clutches, only to become its envied mighty competitor, surpassing it in many things.[130]

As we have seen, Mexico and the Mexican population were often seen as backward and inferior and were presented to European readers as such. As opposed to this, the US was discussed in superlatives, as a model of progress and development that should be followed (by Mexicans and Hungarians among others). First, similarly to Mexico, descriptions of the US reached Hungary as translations of foreign texts (see for example Alexis de Tocqueville's

[129] See Anna Katona, "Hungarian Travelogues on Pre-Civil War America," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* V (1971). Hereafter cited as Katona, "Pre. Civil War." And also: Tibor Glant, "Travel Writng as a Substitute for American Studies in Hungary," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 171-84.
[130] Sándor Bölöni Farkas, *Journey in North America, 1831,* Translated and edited by Arpad Kadarkay (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 1978), 128. Hereafter cited as Bölöni, *Journey.*

work[131]). Together with these, however, the first Hungarian travel accounts were also published, exerting a great influence on the emergence of a positive US image. The 1830s in Hungary brought a wave of change as regards the United States and its place in Hungarian thinking. Prior to this period "the Hungarian public received only scarce, indirect and belated information about the U.S. from random newspaper articles, encyclopedias, or translations of foreign travelogues, geographical or historical works."[132] During the 1830s this changed:

> Hungarian national awakening in the political, economic and cultural fields aroused an interest in the United States as a newly emerging young nation, which had gained independence from colonial status in the glorious War of Independence, a country that had established an equalitarian democratic regime and made a remarkably rapid progress.[133]

Some of the Hungarians began to look at the United States as a model to be followed in Hungary's struggle for independence and progress, partly due to published travelogues of the time. The first, and probably most influential, Hungarian travelogue on the United States published in 1834 had a great impact on political thinkers of the age and on the development of the favorable image of the US in Hungary. Sándor Farkas Bölöni's *Útazás Észak Amerikában* [A journey in North-America (i.e. the United States)] established the image of the United States in Hungary as that of a "promised land" and a land of unlimited opportunities.[134] Other Hungarians publishing after Bölöni wrote in a similar style and reinforced an image of the United States as the economic and political land of opportunities

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[131] The first Hungarian publication was translated by Gábor Fábián under the title *Tocqueville Elek: A democratia Amerikában* (Buda: M. Kir. Egyetem, 1841-43). Book reviews were already available in 1837 and parts of Tocqueville's works were published from 1838 in *Athenaeum.* For more information see: Csaba Lévai, "A French Aristocrat and a Hungarian Nobleman in Jacksonian America: a Comparison of the Views of Alexis de Tocqueville and Sándor Bölöni Farkas," in *Global Encounters European Identities,* eds. Mary N. Harris, Anna Agnarsóttir amd Csaba Lévai (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2010.) 247-258; Attila Barta, "Tocqueville az amerikai közigazgatásról," *Miskolci Jogi Szemle* 4, no. 1 (2009): 113-135; István Fenyő, "Eötvös és Tocqueville," *AETAS* 22, no. 1 (2007): 127-134.

[132] Katona, "Pre-Civil War," 52.

[133] Katona, Pre-Civil-War, 51.

[134] Bölöni, Farkas Sándor, *Utazás Észak-Amerikában* [A journey in North America) (Kolozsvár: Ifj. Tilsch János, 1834). For further reading see for example Anna Katona, "Sándor Farkas Bölöni and Ágoston Mokcsai Haraszthy," in *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation, 1776-1914,* ed. Mark Pachter (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 43-51. Hereafter cited as Pachter, *Abroad in America*; Árpád Kadarkay, "Introduction" in Bölöni, *Journey*, 5-79; Csaba Lévai, "Bölöni Farkas Sándor koncepciója a nemzetről és a nemzeti nyelvről," *Debreceni Szemle* 2 (1996): 195-201.

describing the country with "reverent admiration."[135] Bölöni's publication became one of the most popular books of its time in Hungary and was published twice within two years.

As opposed to Mexico, the United States was seen at the time as a rapidly developing and changing country. This was noticed by Bölöni as well:

> in America no statistical data, no matter how accurate, remain relevant after five years. The phenomenal population growth, economic and educational changes each year simply outstrip statistical information. Hence last year's facts about a place or thing are no longer useful the next year. Only the eternal truth of the Constitution and its progeny, civil society, and immutable.[136]

Compared to such descriptions, Mexico was seen as static, lagging behind the United States, and in need of guidance for its development. The United States was seen as a model for modernization and improvement and travel accounts became "textbooks of political and economic progress, a treasury of democratic ideas frequently quoted in political debates in Parliament and at county level."[137] Hungarians were impressed by the progress witnessed, internal improvement, the rapid growth of American cities, and the underlying hard work and resulting prosperity of the population.

The images established of the inhabitants are also directly opposed to those depicting Mexicans: US citizens were introduced as the restless, hard working Yankees, who are practical, creative, and who contribute to the development of the nation. This kind of depiction is well illustrated by the following excerpt from another influential travel account of the time published by Ágoston Haraszthy in 1844:

> The American lives twice as long as others and does a hundred times more; the American wakes up early, and as soon as he is up he starts doing his business whatever that might be. He has breakfast with haste, and not to lose precious time, meanwhile, he reads the papers, and finishing within a few minutes,

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[135] Other major books include the following for example: Ágoston Haraszthy, *Utazás Éjszakamerikában* (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1844); Károly Nendtvich, *Amerikai utazásom* (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1858); Francis Pulszky and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black. Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of their Guests* (New York: Redfield, 1853); Xántus János, *Levelei Éjszakamerikából* (Pest: Lauffer és Stolp, 1858).
[136] Bölöni, *Journey,* 128.
[137] Katona, "Pre-Civil War,"57.

> returns to his work. The time for lunch arrives; everyone appears on time at the sound of the bell, sits at the table without saying a word and the entire lunch ends within maximum twenty minutes; at restaurants, travelers might see three or four hundred men sitting down for lunch but after 15 minutes, only two or three of them can still be seen.[138]

Such a view becomes important when discussing the portrayal of Mexicans in Hungarian travel writing in the following chapters. The Mexicans' image is in sharp contrast with this one and such a disparity is often emphasized by Hungarians.

This overtly positive Hungarian attitude was partly in line with the general depiction of the United States: interest in the social and political "experiments," the physical beauty of the country, the rapid progress taking place in terms of the economy and technology, and the national character of Americans. Due to the different position of Hungarian travelers and Western writers, however, in certain respects there was a difference in travel accounts on the country. As Oscar Handlin claimed, comparisons between the US and the mother country involved different considerations in the case of travelers who were not English and "who were therefore not blinded by the assumption of common descent."[139] Some of the Western, mostly British, voices, besides acknowledging the great development and positive aspects of US life, were often more critical than Hungarians. A perfect example of this was Frances Trollope's popular *The Domestic Manners of Americans* (1832) which was critical of the US, the lack of manners of its citizens, and projected a different view. In her book Trollope "concluded: 'I do not like [the Americans]. I do not like their principles. I do not like their manners. I do not like their opinions.'"[140] A similar tendency for a more critical tone can be seen even in Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in*

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[138] *Utazás Éjszakamerikában.* [Journey in North America] 2 vols (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1844), 2: "Az amerikai kétszer tovább él, mint más ember, és százszor többet tesz, mint más, azaz, az amerikai korán kel, s mihelyt fen van, mindjárt dolgához fog, legyen az bármi; legnagyobb sietséggel reggeliz, s hogy azalatt hasztalan ne mulaszsza idejét, eves közben hirlapot olvas, s ezt néhány percz alatt végezvén, ismét foglalatosságához lát. Jő az ebéd ideje; ekkor mindenki pontosan megjelenik a harang-jelszóra, asztalhoz ül minden beszéd nélkül, és legfeljebb húsz perczig az egész ebédnek vége, s vendéglőben nem ritkán lát az utas magával három-négszáz férfit asztalhoz ülni, de 15 percz mulva alig lát közülük kettőt, hármat;"

[139] Handlin, *This Was America*, 2.

[140] Quoted in Leask, "The Ghost in Chapultepec," 188. For more information on Trollope see Chu-Chueh Cheng, "Frances Trollope's America and Anna Leonowens's Siam: Questionable Travel and Problematic Writing," in *Gender, Genre and Identity in Women's Travel Writing,* ed. Kristi Siegel, (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 123-66; Marcus Conliffe, "Frances Trollope," in Pachter, *Abroad in America*, 33-42.

America (1835 and 1840), where, while the author praises the United States and its political system, he is not only an admirer, but also introduces problems of US democracy and society. Still, "for every book by a condescending British visitor, there was another written in German or in Spanish, in Polish or in Norwegian, which spiritually embraced the New Man. […] From the vantage point of societies with uneven distribution of wealth and little freedom, a community created for the benefit of the many, not the few, had set the right priorities."[141] Hungarians were less critical of the US and this was certainly the case when a journey to Mexico was also involved and Hungarians decided to write about the Latin American country.

Based on previously available Western sources, the first wave of Hungarian travelers discussed in the next three chapters were familiarized with a backward (and inferior) Mexico, characterized by Western travelers as having a lazy population and emphasizing its lack of progress; at the same time, in the already published and influential Hungarian travel accounts on the United States, they were introduced to a superior northern neighbor in terms of culture, society, and technology. Thus, these travelers (all visiting the United States before reaching Mexico) reinforced the former Western images about the American country, when they adopted the attitude and terminology of Western travel accounts and emphasized the superiority of the United States in their comparisons, rather than creating an independent image of Mexico. The US was what many Hungarians wanted their country to become, while they were afraid that Hungary would "sink into" being another Mexico instead. The identification with the United States (and not Mexico) reflects this attitude. All three travelers were former revolutionaries, fighting for the independence of their home country against a great power. Still, when they wrote about Mexico they expressed no sympathy but adopted an imperial attitude and called for US intervention in Mexican affairs to improve the country's situation.

[141] Pachter, *Abroad in America*, xv.

PART I

The First Wave of Hungarian Travel Writers in Mexico

Following the defeat of the Hungarian War of Independence and the surrender at Világos in 1849, many soldiers had to flee the mother country to escape imprisonment and execution. Several of these emigrants recorded their experience while in exile and decided to share them with the general public in the form of newspaper articles, letters, and memoirs. Through these publications, they introduced Hungarians to regions of the world they had not been familiar with before. The United States served as a major destination, while several former revolutionaries (exact numbers are not available) moved to Mexico and started a new life there. The texts of Hungarian emigrants represented the initial wave of first-hand Hungarian accounts about the nation and its people(s) and thus they introduced many Hungarians to life in Mexico.

"There is no loss without gain," claimed Károly László, who believed that one of the advantageous outcomes of the Hungarian defeat was that "hundreds, if not thousands of young Hungarian men were scattered in all parts of the world, those who otherwise would or could have never crossed the borders of the mother country." They would study languages and gain experience abroad, claimed László, and would inform their compatriots about foreign events in private letters as well as in newspaper articles, this way providing a pleasant reading while also contributing to the betterment of the country.[142] Reflecting on his own role, László added: "I am also one of these travelers, already an American citizen, but will never be

[142] "László Károly levelei Amerikából I." *Vasárnapi Újság* January 2, 1859: "'Nincsen kár haszon nélkül,' mond a közmondás. Az 1849-ki kárnak is van a többek között az a haszna, hogy a magyar ifjaknak százai, ha nem ezrei, szórattak szét a világ minden részébe, kik különben soha sem mentek vagy mehettek volna honuk határán kívűl. Ezek a külföldön nyelveket tanulnak, tapasztalást, ismereteket szereznek s azokat honnmaradt honfitársaikkal s társnőikkel magánuton s hirlapok által közlik, azoknak kedves építő olvasmányt nyujtanak s a honnak használnak." All translations are mine.

a bad Hungarian patriot. It is my ardent wish and ambition to be of service to my country by using my little talent."[143]

Many emigrants thought similarly and believed that the only way for them to help the mother country was to send home reports and travel accounts to inform and "educate" Hungarians at home. Pál Rosti, who similarly to László had to leave Hungary, wrote the following in the Preface to his travelogue discussed in Chapter 4:

> During the tragic twelve years following the unfortunate events of 1849, all national aspirations, progress, development have been kept back and suppressed in our dear motherland: the shackled literature, science and arts were the only domains where one could prove his/her devotion to our beloved country, the only tool whose steady development we hoped would ensure the improvement, progress, what is more, the very existence of the Hungarian nation. Thus in this sad era it has become the solemn duty of all Hungarians to work for the benefit of the country with intense and untiring vigor in one of these domains, even if one was less gifted with talent—as a grain of sand does not weigh too much on its own, but a pile of them grows into a hill and later on into a mountain.[144]

Travel writing thus became a major source of information for Hungarians about foreign lands and cultures and it emerged as a possible way for emigrants to share their experience with their fellow countrymen. The writings of Hungarian emigrants and travelers were crucial in the development of the image of Mexico. These texts included published letters, newspaper articles, books, and even a collection of photographs. This part introduces the most influential travelers and texts focusing on three writers in subsequent chapters, in the chronological order

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[143] ibid. "Én is egy vagyok ezen utazók közől, más amerikai polgár vagyok, rosz [sic] Magyar hazafi soha sem leszek. Forró kívánságom, törekvése, csekély tehetségemmel, szülőföldemnek használni."

[144] Pál Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek Amerikából* (Budapest: Heckenast, 1861), Preface, n.p. Here I used the reprint facsimile edition: Pál Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek Amerikából* (Budapest: Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 1992). Hereafter cited as Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek.* "A gyászos tizenkét évi időszakban, mely a szerencsétlen kimenetelű 1849-diki eseményeket nyomon követé, kedves hazánkban minden nemzeti törekvés, haladás, fejlődés lenyűgöztetvén, elnyomatván: a bilincsbe vert irodalom, a tudomány s művészet volt azon egyedüli tér, melyen szeretett hazánkhoz való ragaszkodásunkat bizonyíthattuk, azon egyedüli eszköz, melynek rendületlen fejlesztésével remélhettük, hogy a magyar nemzet gyarapodását, a korszellemmel való haladását, de sőt lételét biztosítani fogjuk. E szomorú korszakban tehát minden magyarnak szent kötelességévé vált, megfeszített s ernyedetlen erővel e térek egyikén a haza javára működni habár csekélyebbek is voltak legyen tehetségei – mert a homokszem egymagában nem sokat nyom ugyan, de a homokszemek halmozatja dombbá és utób hegygyé emelkedik."

of their first publications on Mexico: Károly László, János Xántus, and Pál Rosti. By presenting the views and projected images of these writers focusing on one traveler at a time (and not choosing a thematic approach) I have more room to explore reasons for certain attitudes and preconceptions as well as highlight unique features and achievements. While there were differences in terms of their social background, writing style, and purposes of publication, these three people still share a specific group identity due to the experience of the revolution and its aftermath (even if they could write about the Revolution itself only later). The accounts discussed in the next three chapters provide fascinating insights into nineteenth-century political and cultural history on both sides of the Atlantic, reveal the relationship between Hungarian and Western travel accounts, and provide a starting point for the study of the changing depictions of Mexico in Hungary.

Chapter Two

Mapping Mexico: Károly László in North America

Károly László, engineer, revolutionary, emigrant, secretary to Lajos Kossuth, businessman, and the first Hungarian to write about Mexico in detail in a series of published articles, was instrumental in establishing the image of the Latin American country at home, one that in many respects mirrored Western, imperial depictions.[145] Similarly to Xántus and Rosti, who are discussed in the next two chapters, László's diary and published letters include invaluable information on Mexican history and culture, nineteenth-century views on the status of Natives, US-Mexican relations, and the US role and influence in the Western hemisphere. László's life has been studied before as part of the history of Hungarians in the Americas while most attention was given to his texts describing the Turkish exile and Kossuth's stay in the United States. His travel accounts about Mexico, however, have not been studied in detail using the methods and findings of recent scholarship in travel writing studies, which is the objective of the present chapter.

László's travel accounts reflect a genuine interest in Mexican culture, especially native traditions and lifestyle, although his general depiction of the country is critical and Mexico is not presented independently, rather in an inter-American context. After discussing the major events in the life of László briefly, to identify major influences on his perceptions and preconceptions concerning Mexico, his various writings are introduced followed by a detailed analysis of his views on the Mexican population and the influence of the United States on Mexico's image. I also highlight characteristics and attitudes borrowed from Western travel accounts, especially the capitalist vanguard. In line with the general objectives of the dissertation, I also discuss why László introduced Mexico in mostly negative terms, why he

[145] Sporadic articles, letters, and translations had been published before as well but László's were the first series of letters that described a particular region of Mexico in detail. For earlier accounts see: Dr. Rezső Havass, *Magyar földrajzi könyvtár: A magyar birodalomról bármely nyelven, valamint Magyar szerzőktől bármely földrajzi tárgyról és bármely nyelven megjelent irodalmi művek könyvészete idevágó irodalomtörténeti bevezetéssel* (Budapest: Franke Pál, 1893).

presented the United States (and its population) as superior to Mexico, and why he identified with an imperial approach not expressing more sympathy towards the Mexican population.

A Revolutionary in Mexico

Various events in László's life help us understand his attitude towards Mexico and Mexicans; therefore a brief overview of major events is crucial to the subsequent analysis.[146] László was born in Kecskemét in 1815. He went to school in his hometown, before continuing his education in Debrecen studying law and theology. The latter one was the wish of his father, a Calvinist pastor, "who wanted his son to become a minister, hoping that one day he would become his assistant, and later on his successor."[147] Although László turned away from this profession, a religious upbringing and education influenced his writings as well: he was always interested in religious matters, ceremonies, and holidays in Mexico (and shared them with his readers), while he also expressed his often negative views on Catholic (and specifically) Mexican religious traditions.[148]

After working as a school director in Szabolcs County, he went to Pest to become an engineer. This proved to be a beneficial choice later on in his life as his education and skills provided him with opportunities of work in the United States and Mexico, an issue many Hungarian emigrants of the Revolution struggled with as they had no other qualifications besides being professional soldiers.[149] It also implanted in him a lifelong fascination with

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[146] Unless otherwise noted the biographical introduction is based on: József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The life and works of Hungarian authors] 14 vols. (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891-1914), 7: 833-835. Hereafter cited as Szinnyei, *Magyar írók*. László's life served as the basis for a novel written by Péter Bogáti: *A mahagóni ember. László Károly regényes életrajza* [The Mahogany Man: a novelized biography of Károly László] (Budapest: Móra Ferenc Kiadó, 1986).

[147] János Xántus, "László Károly" *Vasárnapi Újság* January 12, 1868.

[148] He criticized the religious establishment in several letters. He emphasized that Protestants cannot practice their religion freely and often reflected on the "wealth" of priests (as opposed to the poverty of the population). In letter VII (August 28, 1859), for example, he wrote: "seeing that the masses are poverty-stricken while the priest makes 8-12 thousand dollars a year, I sighed and walked slowly to our dwelling-place hoping for the arrival of civilization and enlightenment to this place as soon as possible[…]"

[149] For more information on Hungarian revolutionaries in the United States see: István Vida, *Világostól Appomatoxig. Magyarok az amerikai polgárháborúban* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011) and *Hungarian Émigrés in the American Civil War: A History and Biographical Dictionary* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2011).

technology and machines that influenced his attitude towards Mexico, while the skills required by this profession (accuracy and precision) are mirrored by his texts, particularly his diary. When the Revolution broke out, László "quickly recognized that the country needed soldiers more than engineers and joined the Hunyady troop as a common soldier."[150] Later he joined the artillery and became a second lieutenant.[151] After the final battles and the defeat of the War of Independence, he joined József Bem on August 22, 1849 and escaped from Hungary to Turkey. After Vidin and Sumla (Shumen), he arrived in Kütahya with Lajos Kossuth and his followers in April 1850. In the subsequent years, he lived close to Kossuth as his friend and secretary.[152] In September 1851 several emigrants, including László, boarded the *USS Mississippi* and arrived in New York in November. This is where they waited for Kossuth, who had interrupted his voyage to go to England, and where they were hoping to raise support to revive the Hungarian fight for freedom.

László traveled with Kossuth everywhere during the Governor's famous tour in the United States but the former freedom fighters soon had to realize that although the Hungarian leader gained popular support, he was not able to change the official US policy of non-intervention in European affairs.[153] Kossuth left the country in July 1852 while László stayed in the United States and began a new life in the New World. He worked as an engineer in canal building and railway projects and applied for US citizenship in 1853. Four years later, "similarly to other Hungarian forty-eighters, [László] made use of his skills in the survey of the new Mexican-American border established by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848

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[150] "László Károly," *Vasárnapi Újság* January 12, 1868: "hamar átlátta, hogy a hazának inkább katonára, mint mérnökre van szüksége, s beállott közvitéznek a Hunyady csapatba."

[151] This is how he signed the publication of the collection of his diary entries but according to Szinnyei, in his biographies László was referred to as an artillery captain. In the *Vasárnapi Újság* article mentioned in the previous note he was also indicated as a captain.

[152] For a detailed study of the Turkish exile see for example: István Hajnal, *A Kossuth emigráció Törökországban* (Budapest: n.p., 1927).

[153] For more information on Kossuth's American tour see: István Deák, "Kossuth: the Vain Hopes of a Much Celebrated Exile" *Hungarian Quarterly* 43, no. 166 (2002). Available at: http://www.hungarianquarterly.com/no166/10.html; Donald S. Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America. A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848-1852* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977).

and the railway construction started in Tehuantepec [see the next subsection]."[154] He began his own business ventures (growing mahogany and dye-wood) with another Hungarian emigrant, Bódog Nemegyei.[155] This proved lucrative and helped establish Károly László as a well-to-do and respected citizen. Due to his business ventures, he was in contact with other (US and Western European) businessmen and the elite population of the region. This was probably one reason why he also adopted their views and attitudes and wrote, as we will see, in a way similar to the capitalist vanguard introduced in the first chapter.

After returning to the United States, he married a 16-year-old Creole woman, daughter of the English consul in Mexico, and in 1867, only a few days after the wedding, they moved back to Hungary, as amnesty was granted to Kossuth emigrants. We know less about his life after their return as his diary ends in 1870: first, the couple settled in Dunapataj, then László worked in Kecskemét and in Újkécske. He worked as an accountant and an engineer but "his return home was not a return to a safe port as he could not well invest his wealth acquired in Mexico and the United States, he sank into poverty, and his wife left him."[156] In 1892 László visited Kossuth in Turin but after his return to Hungary he became sick and passed away in 1894.

The texts written by László, documenting his life after the Revolution, represent different varieties of travel writing: a diary, newspaper articles based on letters, and tourist guides. His descriptions went through major transformations in these types of writing. The diary is detailed, analytical, and often scholarly in nature. It includes statistical information, financial accounts, and meticulous descriptions of machines, everyday life, as well as

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[154] Péter Torbágyi, *Magyar kivándorlás Latin-Amerikába az első világháború előtt* [Hungarian emigration to Latin America before World War I] (Szeged: SZTE, 2009): 255. Hereafter cited as Torbágyi, *Magyar kivándorlás*.

[155] He sent the mahogany used for the decoration of the Grand Hall of the Hungarian Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as the mahogany tables to the National Museum. See: *Vasárnapi Újság* July 10, 1864 and October 9, 1864.

[156] Ildikó Pordán, *László Károly, Katonai életemből: Napló 1848. szept.25-e és 1851. szept.10.-e között* [Károly László, my life as a soldier: diary from the period between Sept. 1848 and 10 Sept. 1850] (Budapest: Terebess, 2001), 169. Hereafter cited as Pordán, *László Károly*.

politics.[157] László's original resource, the diary, was transformed into fascinating stories for *Vasárnapi Újság*: he highlighted issues that Hungarian readers were unfamiliar with and wrote in a witty and entertaining style. His contributions to *Kecskemét* represent the third type of travel literature in his body of works. In 1876, he offered tourist guides in a series of articles with basic guidelines for those planning to visit the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. This type of writing is reminiscent of the genre of Baedekers, providing an itinerary (including the most important sights and useful suggestions) for tourists. Later he returned to the original source and published selections from his diary in *Kecskemét* while in 1887 he published fragments from his diary in book format.[158] In accordance with the definition of travel writing offered in the Introduction, I will focus on his articles in *Vasárnapi Újság* and the image of Mexico as depicted in them. The introduction of the diary, however, is essential as it was the basis for all subsequent publications.

According to Pordán, László's diary is significant for several reasons: it details the last phase of the War of Independence, provides information on Kossuth's personality and the Turkish exile, the charts, statistics make otherwise unavailable data accessible, and it faithfully represents the fate of a typical nineteenth-century Hungarian emigrant.[159] It also grants insights into life in Mexico that is not available from any other source and which has not been studied before. It also provides an opportunity to learn about the process of travel writing and the way a private text is turned into a publication.

László started his diary in 1848 and continued writing it until the beginning of 1870. The entries make up about 1,200 pages of different sizes and are divided into nine volumes.[160]

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[157] See Appendix II for sample pages.

[158] Károly László, *Napló-töredék az 1849-iki menekülteket, internáltakat, különösen Kossuthot és környezetét illetőleg* [Diary fragment concerning the 1849 emigrants and internees, especially Kossuth and his entourage] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1887). Hereafter cited as László, *Napló-töredék*.

[159] Pordán, *László Károly*, 172.

[160] The nine volumes are organized as follows: I. September 25 1848 – April 24 1849; II. April 24 1849 – December 4 1849; III. December 8, 1849 – July 3, 1850; IV. July 4, 1850 – May 8, 1851; V. May 9, 1851-December 31, 1851; VI. January 1, 1852 – July 14, 1852; VII. July 16, 1852 – August 30, 1853; VIII. September 1853 – December 1857; IX. January 1, 1853 – January 1, 1870; The diaries can be found at the National Széchenyi Library, together with several daguerreotypes and an ambrotype of the author (under reference number Oct. Hung 720). Hereafter cited the following way: Original diary, Vol. no, László's pagination.

The diary itself is a fascinating document: besides diary entries, it includes charts, statistics, financial reports, even a Hungarian-Maya glossary, while on the margins there are sketches and beautiful drawings, the copies of which were also used as illustrations in the published newspaper articles (see Appendix II for sample pages). As diaries are usually written for private use, we might assume that László's was not influenced by the need to meet the expectations of readers and thus is more subjective, while depictions are more accurate and realistic as they were recorded on the spot and were not modified later. However, the structure and certain elements of the diary raise questions in this regard. The different volumes include indices (sometimes even in alphabetical order) and tables of contents as well with which the reader can browse among the various topics and can find the corresponding page numbers. At certain points László addressed the reader and the diary was written in a novel-like style. Sometimes remarks are added in the margins indicating that he re-read and perhaps even revised what he had written. All this shows that László was probably planning publication and organized his diaries accordingly. This, however, brings up the question whether he remained totally objective and "honest" when describing his own adventures or role in various events, a consideration we have to keep in mind when discussing his publications based on the diary entries.

A collection of "diary-fragments" was published only in 1887 when such texts could already be printed and people were still interested in the events of the Revolution and its aftermath.[161] László's "fragments" included only certain sections from the nine volumes, focusing only on the Turkish exile and Kossuth's tour in the United States. By the 1880s there was a growing interest in Hungary about Mexico (see Chapter 1), still László decided not to include those sections in this book. We may attribute this to two main reasons: on the one hand, this decision reflected a still greater interest in Kossuth and the events following the War of Independence than Mexico and her national affairs. László was associated with

[161] László, *Napló-töredék*.

Kossuth and people probably expected him to write about these events. He also wanted to clarify his own and Kossuth's role in the Revolution and in the following months and years before writing about Mexico.[162] On the other hand, László was aware that his Mexican letters had already been published in *Vasárnapi Újság*, while these sections of the diary were still unknown.

At the same time, he planned to publish additional sections on Mexico. At the end of his book, he claimed:

> based on my diary there is much more I could write about what I have seen and experienced during those eight years I spent in the United States of America and Mexico (this country that is little known to the Hungarian audience); but the scope and objective of this book does not allow this. It is possible, however, that if this humble diary fragment is received well by the audience, I will publish those as well as a sequel to this book.[163]

Yet, a more comprehensive selection was published only in 1942 by Tivadar Ács who already included some of the Mexican entries,[164] and this version featured several omissions and was inaccurate at some points.[165] Another collection was published more recently by Ildikó Pordán (covering the period between 1848 and 1851), leaving the accurate and annotated publication of the Mexican section and the translation of his works the next task of scholars.

As has been explained, the diary served as the basis for several newspaper articles; László wrote reports on the United States for *Kecskemét* (1873, 1876) and presented fragments from his diary in the same newspaper between 1876 and 1881. From our perspective, however, the most important publication was a series of letters sent to *Vasárnapi*

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[162] He wanted to defend Kossuth from certain accusations, for example with regard to the former governor embezzling money.

[163] László, *Napló-töredék*, 238. "Sokat, igen sok érdekest írhatnék még naplómból azokról, miket az amerikai [sic] Egyesült-Államokban és Mexikóban (ezen a Magyar közönség által kevéssé ismert országban) 8-8 éven át láttam s tapasztaltam; de ezt a könyv kerete és czélja nem engedi meg. Lehet azonban, hogy ha ezen igénytelen naplótöredék a közönség által kedvesen fogadtatik, ennek folytatásául még azokat is közleni fogom."

[164] Tivadar Ács, *Magyar úttörők az újvilágban. László Károly 1850-67. évi naplójegyzetei a Kossuth emigráció amerikai életéből* [Hungarian pioneers in the New World. Károly László's diary notes between 1850 and 1867 regarding the Kossuth emigration and American life] (Budapest: Láthatár, 1942).

[165] Pordán, *László Károly*, 170.

Újság, starting ten years after László left the mother country (1859-62, 1866, 1868).[166] *Vasárnapi Újság* was one of the most popular weeklies of the era. It carried articles from all the arts and sciences with quality illustrations, travel accounts from different parts of the world, and literary translations.[167] László wrote letters from New York, the Niagara Falls, and, most importantly, from various locations in Mexico. As his letters were published in a newspaper that had one of the largest circulations, his writings reached many people from all walks of life. We may claim that many Hungarians got their first impressions of Mexico and some aspects of life in the United States from László's letters.

With his letters from Mexico László introduced an unknown region to Hungarians, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. As the editor of the newspaper claimed in the notes to László's first article:

> This is a remarkable region which has not been deemed worthy of a visit by travelers and about which European readers have little knowledge of except for seeing it as a fabulous country, an El Dorado, where everything is full of gold and happiness.

Mapping the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

László was "mapping" the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in a literal sense (by working as an engineer and land surveyor) and through his travel accounts for his Hungarian audience as well, making it available for "armchair travelers." The location and importance of the Isthmus needs to be understood as the area itself had a special position in inter-American events of the time and influenced László's perceptions of Mexico. László recognized the significance of this area and emphasized it to his readers:

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[166] One article in the sequence was published in *Politikai Újdonságok* (1860), a supplement to *Vasárnapi Újság*. For the list of writings in *Vasárnapi Újság* see Appendix I. These are the only texts that were available for Hungarians before László's repatriation, this is why they are listed separately.

[167] For more information on the paper see for example: Miklós Szabolcsi, ed., *A magyar sajtó története* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), 448-53; Géza Buzinkay, *Kis magyar sajtótörténet* (Budapest: Haza és Haladás, 1993) available at: http://vmek.oszk.hu/03100/03157/03157.htm. Date of Acess: November 2013.

> This territory has become popular nowadays because a US company is currently constructing a carriage road through this isthmus with the aim of carrying the letters, papers, etc. from the Eastern part of the United States to California from the following November […] if the company succeeds, and receives a fee, it will start immediately to build a railroad which can be constructed with few obstacles and cheaply.[168]

The significance of the area lay in the fact that it represented the shortest distance between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean and as such it was one of the principal lines (besides Panama and Nicaragua) recommended as a possible interoceanic route.[169] It is wider than the Isthmus of Panama but the distance between New York and San Francisco, for example, would have been significantly shorter using this route. Throughout the history of Mexico (supposedly the idea of a canal was already raised by Hernando Cortés[170]) various plans have been proposed to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific through the Isthmus: "[a]t different times a ship railway, a canal, and a railroad, or combinations thereof, were suggested."[171] The idea of building a canal was abandoned after a while and a trans-isthmian railway proved to be the most feasible project. Various surveys were conducted, there were numerous arguments for the Tehuantepec route against other options, concessions were granted; however, implementation proved difficult if not infeasible.[172] The road was opened in 1895

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[168] "László Károly levele Amerikából I" *Vasárnapi Újság* January 2, 1859: "Ezen tartomány nevezetességre kapott mostanában azért, mert egy amerikai Egyesület-statusi társulat ezen földszoroson keresztül épen most egy szekérutat csináltat, olly szándékkal, hogy jövő novembertől kezdve az Egyesült-statusok keleti részéből Kaliforniába menő levelek, röpiratok stb. itt vitessenek kersztül a társulat által, mellyért a társulat az Egyesült-statusok kormányától évenkint kapna mintegy 80,000 dollárt. Ha a társulat azt képes lesz tenni s a dijt fogja huzhatni, akkor mindjárt egy vasút épitésébe kezdenek, melly igen csekély akadálylyal s olcsón épithető."

[169] Robert Fity-Roy, "Considerations on the Great Isthmus of Central America," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London,* 20 (1850): 166. Hereafter cited as: Fity-Roy, "Considerations."

[170] See for example: Simon Stevens, et al., "The New Route of Commerce by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York,* 3 (1872): 300-342; W. Henry Hunter, "The American Isthmus and the Interoceanic Canal," *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection* (1899). Edmund Otis Hovey refuted this in his article (see footnote below).

[171] Edward B. Glick, "The Tehuantepec Railroad: Mexico's White Elephant," *Pacific Historical Review,* 22, no. 4 (1953): 373.

[172] For the results of the survey by Garay see *Survey of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Executed in the Years 1842 and 1843, with the Intent of Establishing a Communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans* (London: Ackermann, 1844.) Hereafter cited as Garay, *Survey*.

but it still proved to be unsuitable for interoceanic traffic; it was completed by an English company and was formally opened only in 1907.

At the time of László's stay in Mexico, the idea of connecting the two oceans was central "not only as a geographical investigation, and as a philosophical problem to be solved, but as a subject eminently commercial, philanthropic, and political."[173] The commercial and political significance of the interoceanic route became even more obvious and US interest increased mostly at the end of the 1840s: "The settlement of the Oregon boundary and the acquisition of California by the United States have made it the interest of the people and the government to effect this great enterprise."[174] A shorter and faster route between the East coast and the West coast would have had a direct commercial benefit for the United States and would have contributed to the better protection of territories on the Pacific coast.[175]

The Isthmus was a space onto which László's ideology, preconceptions, and beliefs about Mexico, its citizens, and the United States could be projected, and it occupied a geographical and cultural territory that provided an opportunity for contrasting László's previous experience in the United States with life in Mexico. It also served as a basis for the discussion of various issues addressed by the engineer: the nature of progress, the role of technology and its links to superiority, the sad state of the Mexican population, the influence and interests of the United States in Mexico, as well as the clash of US and Mexican culture, economy, and politics. The Isthmus was represented by László mostly in terms of nature, emphasizing the great wilderness, wild animals, and a lazy population. His accounts of and references to the United States emphasized improvement and technological development, as well as a hard-working population. The latter was in harmony with the portrayal of Americans

[173] Fity-Roy, "Considerations," 161.
[174] Cayetano Moro, *Observations in Relation to a Communication Between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec* (New York: R. Craighead, 1849), 1.
[175] US transportation needs were also one of the major motivations that led to the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. (See Carlos E. Ortega, "Gadsden Purchase" in: *Mexico and the United States.* Ed. by Stacy Lee). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did not secure US rights of transit across the Isthmus (the free movement of US citizens and goods), such a right was provided by the Gadsden Treaty. US citizens acquired interests in transit concessions, a US engineer, James B. Eads proposed to build a railway "fitted up for receiving a ship bodily from one ocean, carrying it across the Isthmus and setting it afloat again in the other." (See Hovey, Isthmus, 80). Seeing more success in Panama, however, US companies later abandoned their projects in the area.

in earlier Hungarian travel accounts as well, including the accounts of Haraszthy introduced in Chapter 1. With the presence of US companies and workers, the Isthmus seemed to be an intercultural meeting point of these two worlds. László sent home most of his letters for publication from this region and believed that Mexico needed the help of the United States (and other Western powers) if she wanted to develop. He saw this Mexican area as an empty space (without machines, technology, culture) into which US civilization and progress should be projected.

Road and railway construction was considered a major symbol of civilization and the United States bringing these to Mexico was seen by him as an obvious sign of guardianship and progress. László claimed that the US railroad would bring lots of US citizens into the region, from which Mexicans would also profit. In a *Vasárnapi Újság* article, dated January 30, 1859, he stated: "on the rivers, with banks full of sleeping crocodiles only, there will be swift steamships loaded with California gold, […] beautiful towns will be built […] and the treasures hidden in the fertile land will be produced, as if by magic, by the tireless North American farmers," as a result of which "the now wild country will become the home of civilization and abundance in our lifetime."[176] The significance of this location and the influence of the United States in the region influenced László's presentation of Mexico in an inter-American context.

Mexico in the Shadow of the United States

In his letters László intended to inform Hungarians about Mexico primarily, even though he had lived and worked in the United States and traveled between the two North American countries on several occasions. In fact, 22 out of the 29 articles concern Mexico. In one of his

[176] "László Károly levelei Amerikából II," *Vasárnapi Újság* January 30, 1859: "a folyókat, mellyeknek partjain ekkorig a lomha krokodilok háboritatlanul szunyókáltak, ezentul gyors, kaliforniai aranynyal terhelt gőzösök fogják szántani; az ős rengeteg erdők ki fognak irtatni; szép városok épülni; a kövér földben rejlő kincs a fáradhatlan észak-amerikai földmives által elővarázsoltatni, s a most vad ország, még a mi életünkben, miveltség s gazdagság honává fog alakulni.

letters, he expressly stated that he would write about Tehuantepec as readers "are already familiar enough with the United States from the descriptions of newspapers and travelers as well as from the stories of fellow countrymen who returned from here."[177] Still, when László wrote his letters about Mexico, the United States often served as a reference point and commentaries on Mexico included remarks on the United States as well. From diary entries and letters we know that László did not see the United States with unconditional admiration: in the diary he often expressed his "disgust with slavery and slave markets[178] as well as "US aristocracy," and claimed that "the longer I stay in America [i.e., the US] the more alienated I become."[179] Such a negative view is visible in his articles as well, mostly when he wrote about corruption in US politics and the enslavement and treatment of African-Americans.[180] Still, in an inter-American context the United States always occupied a superior position. This superiority manifested itself in the descriptions of the population, technological development, and László's view of the future of Mexico.

Once arriving in Mexico, László completely identified with the Western, particularly US and imperial attitude towards the country and its population. He did not leave his Hungarian identity behind, but he also often identified himself as an American (a US citizen). Travel accounts, as has been mentioned before, are often based on binaries: comparisons between self and other, familiar and unfamiliar. This usually involves contrasting the mother culture and the country being visited. In certain cases the purpose is to bring the familiar closer, to help the reader understand the unfamiliar. László used this method to describe clothes, dances, and Mexican food. For example he states: Mexicans eat "beef cooked with potatoes (known in Hungary as *gulyás*);"[181] or when describing a cave, he notes that it is "similar to that in *Aggtelek* with regard to its shape and parts but it is not that beautiful,

[177] "László Károly levelei Amerikából VIII," *Vasárnapi Újság* September 25, 1859: "következő levelekben Tehuantepekről fogok írni még, mert az USA-t már eléggé ismerik önök a hírlapok, utazók leírásai és az innen visszatért honfitársaink elbeszélése után."
[178] See for example: Original Diary, Vol. VI, 60-61.
[179] Original Diary, Vol. VIII, 70-71.
[180] See letter X in *Politikai Újdonságok* and letters IX and XI in *Vasárnapi Újság.*
[181] "László Károly levelei Amerikából VI," *Vasárnapi Újság* July 17, 1859.

grandiose, or interesting."[182] In other cases, contrasts are used not only to help the reader but to express the superiority of the mother country: "Indians usually live in such miserable sheds that a Hungarian stable is a palace compared to them" or "the furniture of the poorest Hungarian serf is luxurious compared to these." [183] What is noteworthy here, however, is that the United States enters these comparisons, taking a superior position and providing a model both for Mexico and Hungary; thus the image of Mexico is not painted only in terms of binaries between mother country and the unfamiliar land but emerges in a triangle where Hungary and the US both serve as reference points: "In North America [i.e., the US] people dress in the same manner, clothing does not differentiate and create classes, while at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, just like in Hungary, people of different ranks and classes dress differently."[184] Hungary seems to occupy a middle position between the US and Mexico and when talking about the future of Mexicans, Hungary is completely missing, while the US serves as the major reference point.

For László, the most obvious manifestation of the difference between the US and Mexico was in terms of technological development. While Mexico was identified with nature and wilderness (see his letters about the dense forests, waterfalls, and exotic animals)[185] when László wrote about the US, industry and technological development occupied the dominant position: he described ships and ferries (that he recommends to be used on the river Tisza)[186] and even when writing about the natural beauties of Niagara Falls (1866) he emphasized the diligence and wealth of the people, and described factories, the railroad, and quickly expanding cities.[187] He called attention to the lack of technological development in Mexico on

[182] "László Károly levelei Amerikából VII," *Vasárnapi Újság* August 28, 1859.
[183] "László Károly levelei Amerikából II," *Vasárnapi Újság* January 30, 1859: "Az indiánok rendesen olly nyomorult viskókban laknak, hogy egy magyar istálló ahhoz képest palota."
[184] "László Károly levelei Amerikából III," *Vasárnapi* Újság, February 27, 1859: "Észak-Amerikában a nép egyformán öltözködik; ott ruházat néposztályt nem különböztet, nem csinál, hanem a Tehuantepeki földszoroson, mint Magyarhonban, különféle rangú s osztályú lakosok különféleképen öltözködnek."
[185] "László Károly levelei Amerikából XIII," *Vasárnapi Újság* September 23 and 30, 1860.
[186] "László Károly levelei Amerikából XII," *Vasárnapi Újság* August 12, 1860.
[187] "Kirándulás a Niagara Zuhataghoz," *Vasárnapi Újság* October 14, 21, and 28, 1866.

several occasions ("there is not a single plow in this province nor a cart"[188]) and compared Mexico unfavorably to her northern neighbor in his letters: "when these rough and clumsy [Mexican] wheelbarrows passed the road building company's nicely painted North American carts it was interesting to notice the great difference between the two structures and I thought to myself: if the steam engine had not been in use by now, when would these folk invent it?"[189] It is the result of such a contrast, together with the view of the population, that entailed the necessity, in László's opinion, of foreign, especially US intervention and assistance in Mexico's development.

The future of Mexico depended on the United States in László's letters:

> the hard-working North Americans will flock into this area; they will dig up the treasures hidden in the 'fat' plains and rocky mountains, will bring them to the surface, and the wilderness of today that is not aware of its wealth will be turned into a rich, civilized, industrious country and may be annexed to the United States, which is the wish of the majority of those in the United States, in fact a plan that can hardly be concealed.[190]

In his attitude regarding the relationship of the United States and Mexico and the question of US expansion southwards (instead of westwards), László adopted the point of view of the Southern elite and projected it onto the general public of the United States. We have to bear in mind that after the US-Mexican war the United States could have annexed Mexico but chose not to. László ignores this historical fact.

As regards the role of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, László also identified with American myths and ideologies in general, such as a perceived uniqueness,

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[188] "László Károly levelei Amerikából II," *Vasárnapi Újság* January 30, 1859.

[189] "László Károly levelei Amerikából VI," *Vasárnapi Újság* July 24, 1859: "midőn ezen durva, otromba talyigák az utcsináló társulatnak Északamerikából hozott festett csinos kocsijaik mellett mentek el, érdekes volt nézni a nagy különbséget a két mű között, s gondoltam magamban: ha a gőzmozdony már használatban nem volna, mikor találná azt fel ezen nép?"

[190] "László Károly levelei Amerikából V," *Vasárnapi Újság* June 19, 1859: "akkor a szorgalmas északamerikaiak csődülni fognak ide. A kövér rónákban s a sziklás hegyekben rejlő kincseket fel fogják túrni, napfényre fogják hozni, s a most gazdagságát nem ismerő vadont gazdag, mívelt, szorgalmas országgá fogják változtatni, s talán az Egyesült Államokhoz csatolni, mi az Egyesült Státusiak nagy részének forró ohajtása, sőt alig titkolható terve."

expansion, and Manifest Destiny. Progress, the key notion of the time in US culture, often appeared in László's texts. The United States was represented as a nation bringing civilization into the Latin American region, in particular to Mexico, both in his diary and letters. This was perceived as a kind of obligation for the United States, a superior nation, and a process that would benefit Mexicans as well. As opposed to the lazy Mexicans, US citizens were introduced as rich, diligent people (cf. their "magically" growing cities) with a good taste; they were seen as representatives of real advancement.[191]

Technology and machines were used as symbols of progress in the nineteenth century and in László's diary and letters they were presented as a sign of superiority as well. According to Ricardo D. Salvatore, the machine emerged as the "dominant representation of U.S. superiority and supremacy in the Western Hemisphere" as US citizens (or a Hungarian who acted as a US citizen) through various technological achievements, "wanted to present to the Latin American neighbors US technological superiority as a mechanical, visible fact."[192] The description of people was often connected to their relation to machines and progress: in László's letters Mexicans were equipped with the simplest of tools only and were not interested in technology and in "exploiting" their resources. "Machine civilization" was not only the expression of supremacy in a cultural, social, and political sense but it also served as the demonstration of the US way of life to Mexicans. László stated that United States citizens (and the technology they would bring along) were necessary for the development of Mexico and that Mexicans should follow the example set by the United States. Similar ideas and attitudes were shared by other travelers of the time and this image prevailed for a relatively long time. Pál Sarlay, for example, who was László's contemporary working in Mexico as an engineer and interpreter,[193] voiced a similar opinion in 1868:

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[191] for *Vasárnapi Újság* articles see the notes above; in the diary: Original Diary, Vol. VI, 36; Vol. VII, 22-23; Vol. 9, 208.
[192] Ricardo D. Salvatore, "Imperial Mechanics: South America's Hemispheric Integration in the Machine Age," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (2006): 662-691. The quotes in order are from pages 663 and 664.
[193] Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, 12: 214-15.

> Instead of taking the gigantic progress of the neighboring United States as an example to be followed as regards industry, commerce, mining, and culture in general, instead of trying to keep pace with it to a certain degree, [Mexicans], their government, and representatives remain in their obstinate, stubborn state.[194]

US presence was necessary in the region to bring technological development. It can already be seen from László's comparisons with the United States that he had an unfavorable view of the Mexican population and he did not perceive them as capable of improving the country on their own. In order to understand this attitude we need to look at László's approach towards the population as a whole.

The People of Mexico

The inter-American triangulation was also present in László's letters concerning the Mexican population: while Mexicans, and Natives in particular, were represented as lazy, uncivilized, uneducated, and feminine, US citizens were seen as industrious, diligent, civilized, and representing masculine traits. László introduced the people of Mexico in his very first letter to *Vasárnapi Újság* and continued to write about the Natives in several subsequent letters. He divided the population into different groups and hierarchical classes that corresponded to the heritage of colonial society in Latin America where

> European-born Spaniards occupied the top of the social scale and held a monopoly on the greatest political and economic privilege. Below them stood the *criollos* (Creoles), that is, persons born in America and claiming European (or white) ancestry. Below them stood the vast majority of the American populations, grouped according to various non-European ancestries: *indios, negros* (free and slave), *Mestizos*, *mulatos*, *zambos*, and others—the categories multiplied, signaling degrees of Indian, European, and African ancestry.[195]

[194] "Eredeti levél Mexikóból," [Original letter from Mexico] *Vasárnapi Újság* December 27, 1868.
[195] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 112-13.

Racial prejudice is clearly visible in László's division (and hierarchy) and his comments are telling on his views of contemporary society. László clearly identified with the top, European section of the population of Mexico, feeling a degree of superiority, and claiming in his ethnographic introduction that "the very little civilization that can be found in the area is due to their presence." Europeans (and US citizens) occupied the top layer of the social hierarchy and other groups received a harsh treatment from László as the superiority of the former entailed the inferiority of the rest. Creoles were introduced as the "offspring of Spanish conquerors, representing the majority of the white population." Although the "little education" in the area was monopolized by them, they are lazy, sumptuous, hazardous card players, while they are also characterized by "feminine features and an immoral life." László's harsh conclusion regarding this group was that "such people should be removed from the surface of the Earth."[196]

Other groups were introduced in smaller detail but with similar comments added (Zambos, for example, were described as "neither intelligent, nor diligent, and they do not lead a sober life.") The native (Indian) population was presented in an analogous fashion but they were discussed by László at length and in several letters: detailing their clothes, customs, as well as their ancient heritage. László's attention to the native population reflects an ongoing, general interest in Hungary at the time regarding Indian culture, generated by newspaper articles as well as travel accounts featuring Indians living in North America (see the "romantic" descriptions of Ágoston Haraszthy for example[197]). Besides these sources, literature and Indian stories in general also played a major role in influencing the image of Indians in Hungary, including James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* published in Hungary in 1845.[198] László's letters reflect the author's genuine interest in native cultures; yet, even the most innocent descriptions mirror prejudice and provide a negative view of the

[196] "Az ily népnek a föld színéről el kellene töröltetni."
[197] Haraszthy, *Utazás*.
[198] For more information on Cooper's publications in Hungary see: Lehel Vadon, *Az amerikai irodalom és irodalomtudomány bibliográfiája Magyarországon 2000-ig*. Vol. 1 (Eger: EKF Líceum, 2007), 419-440.

aboriginal population. As he wrote: "to distract my attention from political events in Europe, I write about the foolish, sluggish Indians."[199]

László did not portray the native population as a homogenous group but often called attention to differences between various tribes living in different parts of the country. Still, this did not change his general perception of them: although there are differences between the tribes, he wrote, "what is similar in all cases is that they are lazy, indolent, sluggish, ignorant, uneducated, and are extremely bigoted and superstitious."[200] This was not due to their inherent nature in László's view: "they have natural intelligence, and they can be educated, but education is completely neglected." To illustrate his point, he referred to President Benito Juárez, of Zapotec origin, to show that with proper education Natives could also improve and reach higher levels in the social hierarchy. This means that in his view the Native population, although currently inferior, could improve.

To understand this attitude we have to be familiar with the ongoing debate in the nineteenth-century regarding the position of Indians in society, their origin, and capacity for improvement. Various theories were introduced to justify the superiority of the white (primarily Anglo-Saxon) people and the inferiority of the Other (primarily African-Americans and Indians). Two major justifications emerged for racial ranking at the time, before the theory of evolution triumphed.

These two opinions were monogenism (claiming the single origin of humanity) and polygenism (claiming that the human races are of different genetic lineage). Disparities between the native and white (Anglo-Saxon) populations were recognized in both approaches, the difference was in their perception of the cause for dissimilarities and the view regarding the capability of Indians for improvement. According to monogenism, "human races are a product of degeneration from Eden's perfection. Races have declined to different degrees,

[199] "László Károly levelei Amerikából IV," *Vasárnapi Újság* May 29, 1859: "egész erőm kivántatik arra, hogy figyelmem, csak egy időre is, az ottani érdekes mozgalmakról elvonassék, s az itteni buta, lomha indiánokról irjak."
[200] ibid.: "De abban mindnyájan megegyeznek, hogy mind henyék, dologkerülők, lomhák, tudatlanok, neveletlenek, s rendkívül bigotok és babonások."

whites least and blacks most."[201] The difference between these "races" was due to the environment, and according to some, degradation could be remedied in the appropriate setting.[202] Thus, the reason for inferiority and backwardness was not genetic by nature and improvement and civilization would be possible with education and contact with (white) civilization. Polygenists, on the other hand, believed that the "barbarous" or "semi-civilized" nature of the Indians had nothing to do with the environment but was the result of genetic inferiority.[203] To illustrate their points polygenists used various "scientific methods," including phrenology and craniometry.[204] Between 1830 and 1870 polygenism became increasingly influential but this was not necessarily reflected in Hungarian travel accounts. As we will see, Hungarians had different attitudes towards this question (see Rosti and Xántus in the next chapters and Szenger in Chapter 5). Glant concludes, "by the 1890s, the concept of evolution had triumphed over static descriptions of race, which argue that the environment does not influence human development. In the 1840s, the racial inferiority of the non-whites had to be established, in the 1890s, their removal (genocide) had to be justified. Scientific theories were adapted to political narratives."[205]

We can see from the above that László adopted a monogenist position and argued that the "unintelligent" behavior of Natives was not due to their inherent nature but to the fact that they were scarcely educated; thus they were capable of improvement if placed in the appropriate environment. In the case of László's writings (both public and private), just as in other depictions of the time, "[c]limate, food, living conditions, and state of social organization were held to be factors that determined man's physical characteristics and level

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[201] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Men* (New York: Norton, 1981), 71.
[202] While some monogenists believed that differences could not be reversed.
[203] Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880. The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986). Hereafter cited as Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian.*
[204] See Gould for a discussion of the bias inherent in these "scientific" methods.
[205] Tibor Glant, "The Representation of Native Americans in Nineteenth-century Hungarian Travel Writing," Unpublished manuscript presented at the conference of the American Hungarian Educators Association, June 5, 2010, Szeged.

of civilization."[206] Indians would progress slowly if left alone and László believed that the United States would have a central role in altering their environment, changing the conditions in which they lived, and providing them with an example to be followed.[207] László's view of native inferiority and Anglo-Saxon (racial and technological) superiority accounts for his belief in the necessity of US intervention in the region.

Natives in Mexico were contrasted with Indians living in the US and it seems that László projected his view of the white population in the US to the Natives as well when comparing the two countries. Natives living in the US were introduced as "noble savages" who were clever and brave, with references to their unique myths and stories that were more or less familiar to Hungarian readers.

> My dear readers know it from North-American travelers that the Indians are noted riders, passionate and good hunters; there is barely a newspaper published without an account of a bloody battle between one or the other Indian tribe and the regular troops of the United States. Indians there are hungry for fighting, they are brave, and fight desperately. The Indians here [in Mexico] are made from a different material. You can see them on horseback or on mules only if they are bringing products from their farms to their home or to the market.[208]

At one point, László notes that Cortéz had a quite simple task "because I have never seen a more cowardly people than the Indians living here." This puzzling statement may be attributed to a number of factors: as has been mentioned, László probably projected his view of the US and Mexico onto the entire population, including the Natives. He also had different preconceptions about Indians in general due to various sources he could consult: James Fenimore Cooper's stories, for example, were already available in Hungary, together with

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[206] Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian*, 9.

[207] For a similar argument see: Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981).

[208] "László Károly levelei Amerikából V,"*Vasárnapi Újság*, June 19, 1859: "Az északamerikai utazók után tudják kedves olvasóim, hogy az északamerikai indiánok hires lovaglók, szenvedélyes jó vadászok; s alig van hírlapszám, mellyben egyik vagy másik indián tribus véres csatájáról ne olvasnánk az egyesült státusok rendes katonai csapatai ellenében. Az ottani indiánok harcszomjasok, s harczban bátrak, kétségbeesetten harczolók. Az itteni indiánok más agyagból gyúrvák. Ezeket az ember lovon vagy öszvéren is csak akkor látja, midőn tanyájukról terméket hoznak haza vagy a piaczra."

other depictions of US Indians in travel accounts, which appear to have pre-determined László's view in this regard.[209] These provided him with a romanticized image of Natives in the territory of the United States and he could not match his reading experience with what he saw in Mexico. Noble savages thus turned into lazy Indians in László's accounts of Mexico. Also, as we will see, such an attitude towards the population, Natives in particular, served as a kind of justification for the presence of the capitalist vanguard as well as for Manifest Destiny, the US ideology he clearly identified with.

Similarly to many other travelers of the time, László also discussed the relationship between contemporary Mexican society (depicted as lazy and feminine) and ancient civilizations (brave population representing a higher form of development).[210] For László, the major question was whether the contemporary population had any relationship with the ancient inhabitants or the "degraded" population of the present had no connections with the great civilizations of the past. This is a recurring issue in László's letters; sometimes he expressed his "disbelief" and astonishment that such a "lazy and sluggish" population could descend from these ancient cultures. László's visit to Palenque (a pre-Hispanic Maya site) was recorded in his diary and the diary entries (slightly revised) were published in *Vasárnapi Újság* in 1868. László made references to the work of Stephens described in Chapter 1 and claimed that contemporary Indians had to be the descendants of the builders of ancient structures. This, again, supports his monogenist attitude, claiming that the apparent degeneration was the result of changes in the environment and, therefore, might be remedied. Even though he established the link between past and present, his descriptions served only as a basis for the criticism of contemporary society: these ruins and ancient buildings "are the living proof that centuries ago this province had more inhabitants who were more masculine, heroic, intelligent and diligent than those sixty five-seventy thousand lazy, degraded,

[209] He also contributed to this image by publishing an article in *Kecskemét* in 1873 about a battle with Indians in the United States of America (published in issues 21-24).
[210] This was an issue and problem polygenists also had to address: if Natives were inferior, how could they establish such high levels of ancient civilizations?

degenerate mixed people of today."[211] Although his letters prove that László was genuinely interested in Mexican traditions and customs, the image he conveyed to his Hungarian audience was by no means complimentary. This negative image of Mexicans reemerged in the writings of subsequent Hungarian travelers, and Bánó was the first one to challenge these notions and present a less generalized and more positive image of the populace.

A letter from 1862 provides the best summary of László's attitude towards the native population, and by extension that of the Mexican people in general:

> These people possess no industry, no desire to work, and no ingenious mind. They have never reached manhood, but from childhood they passed on to helpless old age. People do not move forward but do not step back either, and if no blood rushes into it from some lively nation it will never have a better future, it will disappear from the family of people without anyone shedding a tear for it. How unfortunate that this Canaan is possessed by such a sluggish, indolent, degenerated people who do not deserve to live.[212]

Such descriptions provide an explanation not only for László's depiction of Mexico as backward and inferior compared to the United States but also reveal why a revolutionary did not feel more sympathy or a certain degree of fellowship with Mexicans who were also struggling against a greater power threatening their independence. This is even more remarkable if we realize that such an attitude was present in the opposite direction as Mexicans felt sympathy towards the Hungarian cause. According to Torbágyi, in Mexico "after the lost Mexican-American War lasting until 1848 […] the press made a comparison between the American-Mexican and Austrian-Hungarian relationship, and was watching the

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[211] "László Károly Naplójából: A palenquei romok Mexikóban," [From the diary of Károly László: Palenque ruins in Mexico] *Vasárnapi Újság* August 9, 1868: "élő bizonyságai annak, hogy ezen tartománynak századokkal ezelőtt nagyobb számu, férfiasabb, hősiesebb, értelmesebb és szorgalmasabb lakosai voltak, mint mint a mostani 65-70 ezernyi dologtalan, elaljasodott, elkorcsosult keverék népség."

[212] "Népszokások Mexikóban (László Károly természet utáni rajzai szerint)," [Fold traditions in Mexico (based on the first-hand descriptions of Károly László)] *Vasárnapi Újság* June 26, 1862: "Ezen népben nincs ipar, nincs munka vágy, nincs találékony ész. Ez a nép férfikort sohasem élt, hanem a gyermekkorból egyenesen a tehetetlen aggkorba lépett át. Sem előre nem halad sem hátra nem lép, s ha valamely más élénk nem zet által uj vér nem ömlik bele, job jövője sohasem lesz, s a népek sorából ki fog veszni, anélkül, hogy valaki érette egy könyet ejtsen. Be kár, hogy ezen Kánaán ily, életre nem érdemes, tunya, lomha, elkorcsosult nép birtokában van."

successful fight of Hungarians against the foreign oppressor with strong sympathy."[213] No such interest or parallel was drawn by László; what is more, on one occasion he explicitly expressed his view of the question of Mexican independence when writing about Independence Day celebrations:

> Considering the fact that there is almost continuous civil war in this country that they are unable to end and which is instigated only by those desiring power, this way causing immense damage for the country, one comes to think that it would have been better for this nation that is not capable of governing itself not to become independent and therefore on Independence Day it would have more reason to cry than to laugh.[214]

László did not consider the population to be civilized and developed enough to deserve independence and to be able to maintain the sovereignty of the country. As expressed on several occasions, he believed that a superior nation's influence was needed for the development of the country. In this regard he shared the views of Xántus, as we will see in the next chapter, and completely identified with the Western, imperial attitude even if this viewed Hungary the same way.

László as a Representative of the Capitalist Vanguard

László's attitude and texts reflected and borrowed from accounts written by the capitalist vanguard, travelers visiting the country after its independence. The reason for identification was partly due to the fact that László became a businessman but also to the general identification with the West and representatives of the West in Mexico. László's writings shared several of the characteristics of the capitalist vanguard: "As one might expect, primal nature held considerably less interest for these economic adventurers than it did for Humboldt

[213] Torbágyi, *Magyar kivándorlás*, 32.
[214] "László Károly levelei Amerikából XIV," *Vasárnapi Újság,* January 27, 1861: "Tekintve az ezen köztársaságban majdnem mindig duló polgári háborút, melynek véget nem tudnak szakasztani, melyet csak hatalomra és ragadványra vágyók szítnak a hon roppant kárára: azon gondolatra jő az ember, hogy jobb volna ezen magát kormányozni nem tudó nemzetre nézve, ha magát függetlenné nem tette volna, s ezért a függetlenségi emléknapon több oka volna neki sírni mint örvendeni."

and his disciples."[215] László viewed the natural world as a lack of civilization and technology not a place of beauty and scientific interest as both his diary and letters reflect: nature appears in several stories, dangerous animals, insects are listed, hunting stories are told, emphasizing the primal characteristics of the wilderness, but no scientific interest is expressed in his case. Nature was also seen as dangerous partly due to bandits attacking people and the creatures living there and it was to be conquered by (US or Anglo-Saxon) civilization and technology.

The attitude towards society and the description of the population were also connected to his approach towards nature. Nature was both uncivilized and uncultivated and the population did nothing to improve it; thus providing justification for the presence of Western engineers, settlers, and businessmen. "While Spanish American society occupied the margins of Humboldt's travel writings, it was an integral part of the capitalist vanguard's account of América. […] Spanish American society in general, however, was relentlessly indicted for backwardness, indolence, and above all, the 'failure' to exploit the resources surrounding it."[216] Similarly to the capitalist vanguard, László was interested in society and presented it critically to his readers: "for it is América's purported backwardness that legitimates the capitalist vanguard's interventions in the first place."[217] According to László and other representatives of the capitalist vanguard, foreigners would bring civilization and development, exploit the natural resources, and improve the country.

Mexico was repeatedly presented as a viable option for settlement by foreigners and as a country that offered great business opportunities. One way to illustrate this was by listing products and flora and fauna of the country: "most narratives of travels in Spanish America similarly list flora, fauna, and foodstuffs, partly out of exoticism (the listing and describing of a nature alien to Europeans begins with Columbus) and partly out of a double pragmatism, that is, to imply the survival of future colonists and the potential for commerce: there is food

[215] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 149.
[216] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,*150.
[217] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*,152.

here to eat; there is food here to export."[218] One of László's letters included a list of products that could be grown in and exported profitably from Mexico. In this list (and the commentaries added to the products) he emphasizes that locals produced goods only for their own use and encourages investment as with a proper approach profit could be made easily. Tobacco, cocoa, coffee, hemp, as well as mahogany are listed as profitable produce and the Hungarian also states that "if in the place of useless forests sugarcane would be planted and sugar would be made from it with the right method, it would be a great source of income for this country, while currently it is not even producing enough for its own needs."[219] The land is not exploited adequately by the locals, so foreigners need to make use of such business opportunities.

There is one major difference, however, between the Western capitalist vanguard and László, who adopted their approach and attitude. The capitalist vanguard traveled and wrote as "advance scouts for European capital,"[220] looking for business opportunities for their own countries. This was not the case with László. While he also emphasized the need for foreign involvement and provided a justification for it, he stressed the necessity for the arrival of US and British citizens and capital and did not invite Hungarian settlers and did not emphasize business opportunities for Hungary (or Austria-Hungary).[221] This is a manifestation of Kiossev's idea of self-colonizing cultures: László considers the US and Britain as standards of civilization and "imports" these countries as civilizational models when writing about Mexico. He identifies with the West and not his mother country in this regard. Change came in such perceptions and identification only with Bánó, who expressly searched for and

[218] Michael Hanne, *Literature and Travel* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 26.
[219] "László Károly levelei Amerikából XV," *Vasárnapi Újság,* May 12, 1861: "ha a haszontalan erdők helye czukornáddal ültettetnék be, s abból a czukor helyes módon készíttetnék, ez egy roppant jövedelemforrás lenne ezen országnak, míg most a maga szükségére sem terem eleget."
[220] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 146.
[221] This attitude might have been influenced by his status as an exile as well, who did not want to get involved in economic issues of the home country that he was forced to leave or did not want to bring up topics (i.e. requiring steps to be taken by Austria-Hungary concerning international affairs) that could have been deemed political and could have influenced the publication of his letters.

emphasized opportunities specifically for Hungarians and critized voices calling for US and Western European intervention in Mexico.

László, with his letters published in one of the most popular weekly newspapers of the time, had a fundamental role in establishing the image of Mexico in Hungary. In Buchenau's classification, László's texts would fall under the category of immigrant accounts that reflect "a long term emotional and financial engagement with Mexico."[222] Because of a longer stay and involvement in Mexican life, one might expect changes in the accounts and attitude towards the inhabitants over time. Although we can claim that László gradually becomes more interested in Mexican culture and through his own example (of starting a lucrative business in the country) advertises the nation as attractive in terms of business opportunities, the overall image was not complimentary at all. Due to László's identification with the Western, imperial attitude (and the United States in particular), his letters presented an image similar to that of Western travel writers: emphasizing the superiority of the white population, and the inferiority of Mexicans, Natives in particular, providing a justification for US expansion and growing Western influence in the country. As we have seen before, this is the same kind of attitude Western Europeans showed towards Hungary in many cases. László did not recognize the parallel so assumed the identity of an imperial traveler expressing no sympathy with Mexico.

László provided unique and useful information for Hungarian readers but criticism of Mexico and its population was predominant, mostly when compared to the United States (which was a constant reference point). Mexico's image did not emerge independently, but appeared in an inter-American context, emphasizing the need for US involvement and assistance for Mexico's development. Contemporaries of László shared his views in many respects; Xántus and Rosti had a similar attitude towards the country and its population; but as they were working and traveling in other parts of Mexico and arrived in the country with different objectives and purposes their approaches also differed slightly.

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[222] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise,* 7.

CHAPTER THREE

János Xántus: Naturalist, Travel Writer, and Plagiarist

János Xántus is probably the most widely known travel writer studied in this dissertation; at the same time, he is one of the most controversial ones. His travel accounts on the United States have been studied extensively and he is one of those few Hungarian travel writers whose texts are available in English as well.[223] Scholars both in Hungary and abroad have examined his activities as an ornithologist, ethnographer, naturalist, and early explorer of the American West.[224] He is often included in popular albums on Hungarian travelers and explorers,[225] a school is named after him in the Hungarian capital, while the Zoo and a museum in Győr also bear his name. Studies written by Hungarians have mostly focused on Xántus' hardships and achievements in the New World, his experience as a Hungarian-American, his work as a collector for the Smithsonian, and his descriptions of the United States. So far, however, little critical attention has been devoted to his Mexican travel accounts and their analysis.

Xántus lived and traveled in Mexico around the same time as László and Rosti did, and all three shared the experience of the Hungarian Revolution and its aftermath. Xántus traveled to regions not visited by Hungarians before and emerged as an outstanding naturalist of the time, but in his travel accounts he included not only aggrandizing stories and major exaggerations, but also plagiarized much of his Mexican accounts. The objective of the

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[223] Xántus' two travel books were translated into English by Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman: *Letters from North America.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975) and *Travels in Southern California* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1976). I will use these translations for quotations, cited as Xántus, *Letters* and Xántus, *Travels in Southern California* respectively. Ann Zwinger published many of his private letters: *John Xántus: The Fort Tejon Letters, 1857-1859* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986) and *Xantus: Letters of John Xántus to Spencer Fullerton Baird from San Francisco and Cabo San Lucas, 1859-1861* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1986). Hereafter cited as Zwinger, *Cabo San Lucas*.

[224] Henry Miller Madden, *Xántus, Hungarian Naturalist in the Pioneer West* (Palo Alto: Books of the West, 1949). Hereafter cited as Madden, *Xántus*; Leslie Könnyű, *John Xantus, Hungarian Geographer in America (1851-64)* (Köln: American Hungarian Publisher, 1965); Anna Katona, "Hungarian Travelogues on Pre-Civil War America," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* V 1971: 51-94.

[225] See for example János Kubassek, *Útkeresők: Magyar utazók és földrajzi felfedezők* (Budapest: Kossuth, 2008). Hereafter cited as Kubassek, *Útkeresők.*

present chapter is to provide a balanced evaluation of Xántus' work (on Mexico in particular), acknowledging and highlighting defects in his character and writing, while analyzing his texts written (even if plagiarized) about Mexico in an inter-American context, and comparing them both with his contemporaries (László in the previous chapter and Rosti in the following section) and the travel writers of subsequent decades.

A Man of Different Identities

The difficulty of reconstructing his life lies in the fact that "verifiable biographical facts about Xántus are few"[226] and scholars have to rely on spectacular achievements and extravagant life stories popularized by Xántus himself, but often having little basis in fact. His fruitful and highly esteemed work as a collector[227] is overshadowed by the stories he made up both in his correspondence and in his Hungarian publications. In his travel accounts, he often wrote about places he never visited (or visited only at later points in time) or borrowed liberally from other travel writers. My aim here is not to provide a detailed biography of Xántus (this was done superbly by Henry Miller Madden) or to reexamine disputed issues in his life and writings, but to present major events that shaped Xántus' attitude towards the New World and thus influenced the image of Mexico (and the United States) that he presented to his Hungarian readers.

Few things are known of Xántus' early childhood; his father was employed by the Széchenyi family as solicitor, land agent, and steward for its estates at Csokonya (where János, one of three children, was also born in 1825).[228] Kubassek claims that this might have influenced Xántus' future interest in travel, as Count István Széchenyi visited Western Europe at that time[229] and Széchenyi "believed that travel was crucial for a country undergoing the

[226] Zwinger, *Cabo San Lucas*, 11.
[227] Baird claimed: "'It will be sufficient to say … that his collections are believed to have been much larger and more complete, than any ever made before in America, during the same period of time by anyone person.'" Quoted in Madden, *Xántus,* 49.
[228] Unless otherwise noted, the biographical overview is based on Madden's book.
[229] Kubassek, *Útkeresők*, 184.

process of reform and in need of developmental examples."[230] England and the United States could serve as such examples. Xántus studied at the Benedictine grammar school in Győr, later attended the academy of law, and passed the bar in Pest in 1847. Ann Zwinger emphasizes that Xántus studied the basic European curriculum, which was strong in natural history.[231] It provided a basis for his interest in natural sciences and his future work as a collector. When the Revolution broke out in Hungary, Xántus joined the national guard and fought in the artillery and later in the infantry. In 1849, he was captured by the Austrians and was imprisoned in Königgrätz. After Hungarian capitulation, Xántus was impressed into an Austrian regiment. His mother bought his release but instead of returning home, he joined émigrés in Dresden that led to his second arrest. He escaped, however, and sailed for America in 1851.[232]

The period between 1851 and 1857 is referred to by Madden as "Wanderjahre," an obscure period in Xántus' life: "Year after year Xántus consciously deceived his family by inventing situations gratifying his vanity and departing further from the truth."[233] Similarly to other Hungarian emigrants of the time, Xántus struggled in the first period of his stay in the United States assuming numerous different (sometimes menial) positions.[234] He became a naturalized citizen and in September 1855 enlisted in the US army in St. Louis, starting army service at Fort Riley under the assumed name of Louis Vésey (which he used until 1859). This decision to enlist marked the beginning of his rise to fame. It was at Fort Riley that Xántus met Assistant Surgeon William Alexander Hammond, one of the many medical officers who collected for Spencer F. Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Hammond urged Xántus to develop his skills and collect on his own and as a result the Hungarian sent specimens to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia

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[230] Popova-Nowak, "Odyssey of National Discovery," 199.
[231] Zwinger, *Cabo San Lucas*, 11.
[232] As can be seen in the books published by Zwinger, Xántus told a very different story in his letters.
[233] Madden, *Xántus,* 32.
[234] See Vida, *Hungarian Émigrés* and Vida, *Világostól Appomatoxig* for more details on the problems of this group of immigrants.

(where he was elected to life membership in 1856) and to Baird in the Smithsonian. His work as a collector was acknowledged quickly and he began correspondence with Baird, who Xántus hoped would help improve his fortunes.

Certain parts of California were among regions Baird hoped could be studied more extensively and from where specimens were yet scarce. Xántus, with the help of Hammond and Baird, received an assignment (hospital steward) in this region, at Fort Tejon. Xántus established a good reputation here despite the difficulties he encountered during his work.[235] He sent an immense collection to Baird from Ft. Tejon:

> During the year 1858 a natural history exploration, commended in 1857, has been nearly completed by Mr. Xantus, while connected with the military post of Fort Tejon, which, for extent and thoroughness, has perhaps scarcely a parallel on our continent, considering the fact that it was made in about 16 months by one person, almost constantly occupied in official duties, and under various discouragements. The collections of Mr. Xantus filled 24 large boxes, and included nearly 2,000 birds, 200 mammals, many hundreds of birds' nests and their eggs, [etc.].[236]

Even while at Fort Tejon, Xántus began arranging for collection at a new location (Lower California, in the territory of Mexico) and asked Baird for his help. As Baja California was largely unknown, Baird was also interested in such a venture and arranged for Xántus' appointment as tidal observer for the US Coast Survey.

Xántus arrived in Cape San Lucas in 1859 and remained there until 1861. Just like in Fort Tejon, he worked with great enthusiasm and provided unparalleled collections, winning the praise of Baird and other scientists. After two years in Baja California, Xántus felt more and more isolated: "The isolation was formidable. He had little to no companionship. He was homesick for Hungary, which he had not seen for eight years. He had no future assignment to

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[235] Specimens of Xántus were to be retained by the Smithsonian, while a generous gift was also made to the Hungarian National Museum.
[236] Quoted in Madden, *Xántus,* 95.

look forward to, no job prospects."[237] In August 1861 he received orders to close the station. He left for San Francisco, and later returned to Hungary where he remained for a year.

At home, he was already in the center of public attention as a result of his specimens sent to the National Museum and his publications that were already available in Hungary. Although he was "lionized in a number of ways"[238] in 1862 Xántus left Hungary and returned to the United States. With the help of Baird, Xántus was appointed US consul at Manzanillo (state of Colima, on the West coast of Mexico).[239] However, as Zwinger claims, "Xántus was a disaster as a consul. He assumed his duties January 1, 1863, recognized the rebel chief of a local tribe who kidnapped an American citizen, paid the demanded ransom, and promptly got sacked by the State Department, who closed the consulate that August."[240] Xántus remained in Mexico for a few months to collect but the fiasco (and the Civil War in the United States and French intervention in Mexico) put an end to his career in North America and he returned to Hungary permanently.

While still at Colima, Xántus was chosen to be the director of the Zoological Garden in Budapest (he was also one of the founders and had been the honorary president) and the offer was revived after his return. The garden opened in August 1866 with Xántus as director. In 1868 he joined the Austro-Hungarian East Asiatic Expedition (and parted from the expedition in 1869). In 1872 he became the keeper of the ethnographical section of the National Museum and in 1873 the director of the section. He married twice and continued to write and lecture on (often imaginary) travels. "In the middle eighteen-eighties Xántus lost his energy and courage and declined mentally."[241] He passed away in December 1894.

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[237] Zwinger, *Cabo San Lucas*, 29.
[238] Madden, *Xántus*, 156.
[239] The location was important as it was a little known area for science.
[240] Zwinger, *Cabo San Lucas*, 31.
[241] Madden, *Xántus,* 209.

Xántus became famous in his home country mostly as a result of his two books published in Hungary detailing his experience in the Americas.[242] The first of these was *Xantus János levelei Éjszakamerikából* [Letters of János Xantus from North America] published in 1858 (hereafter referred to as *Letters*), including letters sent to his family and not intended for publication originally. The book included many fabrications and falsities but was an important source on the United States of the time. The second book was published in 1860 under the title *Utazás Kalifornia déli részeiben* [Travels in Southern California] (hereafter referred to as *Travels*) and was written specifically for the public. This book, especially the section on the California peninsula and Baja California, is analyzed in detail here. The book provides an account of an alleged expedition, a voyage by sea from San Diego to San Bartolomé Bay (Turtle Bay) and a land journey to La Paz and back. This expedition proved to be an invention and most of it was plagiarized from various sources. The book itself appeared only a little after Károly László's first articles in *Vasárnapi Újság*, thus it was an early Hungarian work and an important source on Mexico.

Besides *Travels*, Xántus published accounts on Mexico in numerous newspapers. Some of these were based on imaginary journeys, others were sections borrowed from the book. Xántus published extensively in *Győri Közlöny* [Győr Gazette],[243] *Pesti Hírnök* [Pest Messenger], and *Magyar Sajtó* [Hungarian Press]. He also continued writing after his return to Hungary and his publications appeared in *Természetbarátok és Vadászok Évkönyve* [Yearbook of Hunters and Friends of Nature], *Hazánk s a Külföld* [Hungary and Abroad], and *Földrajzi Közlemények* [Geographical Review]. From the perspective of this dissertation, the most relevant article was published in 1889 in *Földrajzi Közlemények* under the title "Nyugati

[242] In an 1862 portrait in *Vasárnapi Újság* it was written that "before 1848 Xántus, as a hopeful and honest young men, was known by his friends and native county only; his name was recognized and became respected nationally when in the last decade his two excellent travelogues were published in Pest." *Vasárnapi Újság*, 9 February 1862: "Xántus mint reményteljes, derék ifju 1848. elött csak barátai és szülőmegyéje körében volt ismeretes; neve akkor lön országosan ismertté és tisztelté, midőn a mult évtizedben két jeles utazási munkája jelent meg Pesten."

[243] From 1859, with a series of contributions during 1861 and 1862, where he announced a volume on Western Mexico that was never published

Mexikóról" [on Western Mexico] (based on earlier *Győri Közlöny* articles); therefore, this text is discussed separately below.

Xántus and Plagiarism: A Few Remarks

When Theodore Schoenman wrote the introduction to the English translation of Xántus' book on Southern California in 1976, he referred to Xántus as an "extraordinary combination of rare scientific ability and quite unaffected exaggeration, even braggadocio."[244] Schoenman claims that Xántus sometimes invented circumstances and shaped events to make him appear in the most positive light possible. "In his overweening ambition to achieve status and eminence—a pardonable objective—he was virtually obsessed by the desire to impress his family and friends […]"[245] Schoenman does not refer directly to instances of plagiarism and decided to publish the English version of the text without any footnotes at questionable sections. Schoenman instead emphasizes Xántus' curiosity, enthusiasm, and "amiable spirit" that "more than counterbalanced his failings."[246] A similar attitude can be found in even more recent publications that emphasize the unique achievements of Xántus but remain silent on the shortcomings of his character.[247] Madden provided a detailed list of often verbatim correspondence between Xántus' work and publications of various European and American explorers and writers. In many cases Xántus simply changed names of people and places to fit his own texts.

[244] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, 18.
[245] ibid.
[246] ibid.
[247] This is true even if the authors refer to the work of Madden in their bibliographies. See for example Kubassek partly defending Xántus from accusations: "It is a fact that in the texts sent from America it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between observations based on personal experience and second-hand information. Thus the accusation of plagiarism emerged against him: he took sections and illustrations from other authors without references. Human malice and jealousy can exaggerate everything to appear colossal. Xántus experienced this sad truth on his own skin." Kubassek, *Útkeresők,* 186. A similar attitude can be perceived with regard to other Hungarians who played a role in American history, earlier scholarly studies often tended to (over)emphasize the achievements of Hungarian-Americans; see, for example, the case of Ágoston Haraszthy in Csaba Lévai, "Haraszthy Ágoston, mint a 'kaliforniai szőlőkultúra atyja': Vélemények és viták az újabb Egyesült Államokbeli szakirodalom tükrében," in *Szőlőtermelés és borkereskedelem,* ed. István Orosz and Klára Papp (Debrecen: Történelmi Intézet, 2009): 248-68.

As the details of his plagiarism and comparisons with original sources are included in the book of Madden, I do not wish to duplicate his findings here but it should be noted that in *Travels*, "three explorers fell before his plagiaristic assault, and their narratives were hacked to yield the utmost in sensation and incident."[248] Xántus used the works of Jonathan Lettermann, Major William H. Emory, and Lieutenant James W. Abert, and even sections from a report written by Baird. He adapted the original texts to his story and the perceived expectations of his Hungarian audience. The chapter on the Mexican sections of *Travels* also drew extensively on the above-mentioned sources: "The material for this chapter was drawn indiscriminately from Emory and Abert, whose narratives describe the Indians, cliff-dwellings, and ruins of New Mexico. It was not taken in the order given it by its authors, as was the case with the text plagiarized from Letterman, but was jumbled to suit Xántus's feuilletonistic purpose."[249] Of the eight lithographic plates at least six are plagiarisms and the map was also copied (and presented as his own).

I share the attitude of William Bright with regard to the criticism of Xántus: "the sad part of the story is this:" writes Bright, "Xantus *did* live for many months at Tejon and at Cabo San Lucas; he *could* have transcribed genuine data from tribes now long extinct—the Tataviam, perhaps the Pericti. The human sciences today are the poorer, not because of what Xantus did, but because of what he failed to do."[250] Xántus lived in an area that was *terra incognita* both for contemporary natural science and Hungarian readers. By providing his own accounts, not falsifying the texts of others, he would have contributed to the cultivation of geographical knowledge in Hungary even more than he did.

Such an author with often plagiarized texts is included here because travel writing in this dissertation refers to any text that relates "in the first person a journey or journeys that the *reader supposes* to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author,

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[248] Madden, *Xántus,* 224.
[249] Madden, *Xántus*, 228.
[250] William Bright, "Xántus: Travels in Southern California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 2, no.1 (1980), 145. Hereafter cited as Bright, "Xántus."

narrator and principal character are but one or identical." It is clear that contemporary readers (including esteemed scholars) did not realize that Xántus made up certain parts of his texts and copied others. Otherwise, he would not have become such a popular author, he could not have become the corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and could not have assumed numerous other positions. Readers supposed that Xántus' accounts were based on his own experience and were written by Xántus himself. Thus, his writings on Mexico contributed to the development of the country's image the same way as other texts of the time. My aim in the rest of this chapter is to analyze texts by acknowledging acts of invention and plagiarism (as they were crucial influencing forces on Xántus' writing) but always keeping in mind that such acts were not known at the time of publication.

Images of Mexico in Xántus' *Travels in Southern California*[251]

Xántus invokes many of the basic, recurring images and attitudes propagated by foreign travel writers of the era in his descriptions of Mexico and its population but he does more than just copying such authors. Due to the mixture of Xántus' Hungarian background and the influence of foreign sources used, his identification with positions he wished to have assumed, and his attempts to entertain the audience with boastful stories a unique text was published by the Hungarian. In a sense, Xántus follows the Humboldtian tradition in *Travels* that reflects an interest in nature predominantly and by including a detailed description of flora and fauna in a (quasi-) scientific manner. In his descriptions, he touches upon issues of society and culture, but these do not occupy such a central position as, for example, in the case of László. Nature is represented as beautiful, exotic, and interesting and thus Mexico is depicted mostly through the eyes of a naturalist and collector. Other typical themes include beautiful and sensual women, an unstable political situation, and a negative view of the local population. At the same time, similarly to *Letters,* an interest in Natives is also manifested. In this case study, I

[251] Unless otherwise noted, the Schoenman translation is used for quotations.

will focus on Part III of Xántus' *Travels* that describes an expedition in Baja California, in the territory of Mexico.

In most cases, Xántus poses as a traveling naturalist, scientist and produces a text that reflects this approach, for example with regard to his descriptions of nature. We should not forget, however, that Xántus was not a trained scientist: Zwinger calls him a "nonscientifically trained collector, who would, because of place and time and situation, contribute valuable series of specimens to the Smithsonian."[252] Still, he participated in the scientific discourse on Mexico and even criticized European naturalists for their ignorance, when they provided a false image of American animals. "I should like to see one of those white, cravatted, and bespectacled scientists from Jena, who trumpet about the cowardice of the American wild animals, come here into the thickets of Mexico and Central America, and attempt to shake hands with the first jaguar or panther he encounters, or give a brotherly hug to a gray bear or make roast pork of a peck of peccary."[253] He even criticizes Ágoston Haraszthy, a fellow Hungarian travel writer, for "his improbable claims" of a jaguar hunt described in his book on the USA.[254] To support his claims, he makes references to and quotes from various publications when for example describing Indian culture and lifestyle.[255] This kind of attitude is most fascinating in view of his own aggrandizing stories and the fact that he did not provide references for other sources used.

Besides the traveling scientist, Xántus also poses as a modern tourist in certain cases. At one point in *Letters* he presents an attitude that is reminiscent of future (mass) tourism:

> Following the kind and expert advice of our new friends, we decided to keep a strict schedule for the short period we were to be here. We examined every notable building and institution in town; we made excursions to the nearby islands to learn about pearl, coral, and sponge fishing; we visited a few gold,

[252] Zwinger, *Fort Tejon*, xxiii.
[253] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 108.
[254] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, 185.
[255] E.g. Murray, *Customs in the Spanish Colonies* (London, 1823); J.G. Solis, *Conquista de Mejico por Cortez* (Madrid, 1791, 3rd ed.); and includes a footnote to William H. Prescott's *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (London: Bentley, 1843).

> silver, and sulphur mines; nor did we neglect our collection of naturalia, yet we had time to go to the theatre in the evening, to dance a few boleros in the fandango, and to acquaint ourselves with the characteristics of family and domestic life in the region. We could do all this only by conscientiously sticking to plans.[256]

This attitude foreshadows an approach to travel writing that will be most characteristic in the works of Mrs. Mocsáry discussed in Chapter 7 (who, besides a clear itinerary, was also already equipped with a Kodak).

The image of nature was present in László's letters but it mostly appeared in contrast with civilization and nature was introduced as something that had to be subdued, sometimes even posing a threat, but offering business opportunities (mostly for American and English businessmen). Xántus displayed a different attitude towards nature. Mexico almost became equal with natural diversity and beauty. It seems that Xántus arrived in the region already with a preconceived image of California (and Baja California) in mind: "Reading adventure stories of Castelnau and Edgar Allan Poe created in my mind an aura of fantasy of this romantic area whenever my thoughts turned to pearl fishing and other varied adventures our friend Poe's fertile imagination conjured up."[257] This fantasy manifested itself in a romanticizing approach towards nature, adventure, and a native population in an unknown land. The story of the expedition related by Xántus is interrupted by detailed descriptions of flora and fauna, often reflecting a scientific approach to travel writing. This results in a special blend of the romantic and the scientific. Bollobás argues similarly: "His [Xántus'] heated nature passages fall into two categories: those written by the naturalist and those by the romantic explorer."[258]

This attitude is well illustrated by the following excerpt describing the arrival of Xántus' group at the village of Cristobal one evening:

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[256] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 130-131.
[257] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 89-91.
[258] Enikő Bollobás, "Hungarian in America, American in Hungary: János Xántus, the 19th-century Naturalist," *Hungarian Review* 3, no. 2 (2012). Available online: http://www.hungarianreview.com/article/hungarian_in_america. Access date: January 2013.

> [W]e were serenaded by an orchestra of a collection of wolves around our camp. They were barking and howling almost without stop, and when they did stop for a second, they started up again with renewed force, much to our astonishment. There were times in my life when such serenading by wolves was amusing, and in no way unpleasant, sometimes however—as at the present time—it chilled body and soul.[259]

This is clearly reminiscent of fictional adventure stories related by Xántus above. It is then followed by a minute (scientific) account of the species: "In America there are seven entirely different kinds of wolves (*Canis fulvus, frustor, albus, ater, griseus, nubilus,* and *latrans*)."[260] Xántus describes in detail their habitat, size, and color and compares them with other species. This writing style can rarely be found in other travel accounts of the time and it is displayed by Xántus repeatedly (e.g. in connection with the grizzly bear).

The flora of the region also occupies a central position in the text. As discussed in the previous chapter, László included detailed lists of characteristic vegetation similarly but he mostly focused on their practical use and the business opportunities they provided. While Xántus refers to the price and yield of various natural products on occasion, scientific interest prevails and he does not act as the representative of the capitalist vanguard in this sense. Instead, he focuses on detailed botanical reports[261] and the beauty of vegetation. It is worthwhile comparing the descriptions of the palm tree in the travel accounts of László and Xántus. László wrote: "from among the trees on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the following are the most *useful*: the numerous types of palm that provide for the population food, clothing, domestic tools, roof, etc."[262] Xántus has a completely different approach that focuses more on natural beauty than practicality: the palm tree "above all, however, it is the palm that fills the

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[259] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 97.
[260] ibid.
[261] Including for example such statements as: "The banana belongs to the genus *musa* and its botanical name is *Musa sapientum."* Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 119.
[262] "A Tehuantepek földszorosi fák között a leghasznosabbak ezek : A pálma számtalan fajai, melyek a lakosoknak eledelt, öltözetet, házieszközöket, épülettetőt stb. szolgáltatnak." *Vasárnapi Újság,* May 12, 1861. Emphasis mine.

traveler with wonder, for, with its graceful and majestic appearance, it is justifiably the pride of the tropical climes. Its straight, branchless trunk reaching to the sky, crowned with huge and graceful leaves, offers an exceptional and unparalleled sight."[263] Its practical and business use (e.g. mentioning yearly income from palm growing) is only secondary to its beauty. In this sense he returns to Humboldt's heritage rather than the style of the capitalist vanguard.

The United States served as a reference point in Xántus' texts as well, in most cases occupying a superior position. It was only in terms of nature that Mexico was presented as an equal match to the Northern neighbor:

> There is hardly a more favorable location in America than the vicinity of La Paz and Todos Santos to apply oneself to that most important task—the fundamental determination of the geographical classification of the birds of the American continent. The bird life of the peninsula truly surpasses anything that may be seen in the northern parts of America.[264]

The abundance of natural resources is also emphasized by Xántus, focusing on the great wealth of the peninsula. However, in this case he also notes that the resources are not used properly, and foreign intervention would be necessary for real progress. This attitude is clearly visible when, for example, he describes a visit to the mines.[265].

Triangulation: Mexico, the United States, and Hungary

The United States occupies a superior position in Xántus' text, similarly to László's and other travelers' accounts of the time. A triangular reference is also present here: Mexico is caught between the two reference points of Hungary and the United States. Hungary serves as an example in many cases, again, to bring the unfamiliar closer to the reading audience. Describing a small village, Xántus claimed: "The whole area reminded me of the marshy

[263] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,*120.
[264] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 150.
[265] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 136-37.

meadows of Hungary during October and April when the moles are active, except of course that the hills here are much taller."[266] A similar approach can be seen in relation to education: "On the peninsula, just as in Hungary in former times, instruction is thrust haphazardly at the pupils, without regard for age and capacity."[267] Hungary also serves as a reference point when presenting various data and statistics on Mexico. This practice, however, is made more ambiguous by the fact that Xántus in many cases simply replaced references to the United States in the publications he had consulted (written for an American audience) with Hungary or changed the text to hide his original sources.

The position of the United States is more straightforward and reflects the general view of the time. Although Xántus does not explicitly deal with US politics or US views on expansion, several sections of *Travels* reveal his attitude towards the role of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. The best example is presented when Xántus describes La Paz after his arrival:

> In the evening of May 7 we arrived at La Paz, the capital of the peninsula and the seat of the government and bishopric. Its population is not yet 10,000 but it is steadily growing for its harbor is the best and safest in the entire Purple Sea. With the exception of the harbors of Constantinople and New York, there is hardly another in the world that can accommodate as many ships as the one at La Paz. […] It requires no prophet to state with certainty that in a few years La Paz will be one of the most important cities on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.[268]

Xántus claims that changes are needed to exploit these opportunities and continues: "Such a change can only come about at a snail's pace, as long as the peninsula belongs to the Mexican Republic, for flourishing commerce in Mexico is unimaginable." Mexico is often depicted as a politically unstable country (which it really was at the time) and this volatility resulted in its inability to govern itself successfully according to Xántus.

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[266] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 139.
[267] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 149.
[268] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 128.

> If […] the peninsula should become the property of the North American Union, which is only a matter of time, for it will inevitably happen before long, then La Paz will become one of the main depositories of American industry; […] Furthermore, due to its geographical location, La Paz could become for the North American Union what, for example, St. Helena, Gibraltar, Malta, or Bermuda constitute in the hands of the British."[269]

In this respect, Xántus seems to identify with the Southern, expansionist approach and emphasizes the significance of "progress" above all. As a result of such identification, Xántus again mixed different styles in his account: while in terms of nature he returned to the Humboldtian tradition, here he projects the view of the capitalist vanguard in a sense, measuring Mexico in terms of its resources and the opportunities offered (for the United States).

These changes in style are also linked with Xántus' shifting identities, as it seems that he adopted different attitudes towards the US and US citizenship depending on the purpose of his texts. Sometimes he clearly identified with the United States. When he wrote about the US and wanted to emphasize the country's progress compared to Europe, he clearly expressed his "Americanness:" "by the time the Europeans reach *our* present state of progress, *we* shall be traveling at least in airships, or perhaps even in canon shells with telegraphic speed."[270] In other cases (in *Travels* for example) he emphasized his Hungarian background and identification with the motherland even while in the Americas: "believe me, my friends, the Hungarian can never become American, for his heart and soul can never become as hard as the metal from which the dollar is minted. There is only one place for us in this great wide world: 'Home,' which may not be great, magnificent or famous, and though poor, is still the most potent magnet for its wandering sons."[271] His letters to Baird tell yet another story: "I am not only by my naturalization deed an American, but with all my

[269] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 129.
[270] Quoted in Madden, *Xántus,* 160. Emphasis added.
[271] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 94.

heart and soul; and should be always happy to serve under the stars & stripes, *no matter where or in what capacity,* provided I was allowed a reasonable subsistence, a reasonable indepen(den)ce, and should be fairly dealt with always."[272] This appears to be an inconsistency in Xántus' accounts; yet, it fits into his style of changing his texts according to the effect he wanted to achieve. Identification with the US shifted depending on whom he wrote to, but identification with (or sympathy towards) Mexicans was never present in his text. This might be seen as a reflection of Hungarians' perception of being caught between East and West: Xántus also wanted to pose as the representative of the West (the US specifically) while rejecting any identification with the less developed part of the world. Mexico was regarded by him probably only as a springboard, as an opportunity for starting a successful career. His negative view of the country is best reflected by the portrayal of the populace.

"This is not life but mere vegetation:" Mexicans in Xántus' *Travels*

The description of various segments of society is not as central in the Mexican sections of *Travels* as in László's letters: for example, we do not find detailed taxonomic representations. The portrayal of different social groups and culture is more marginal. Still, from various sections we can identify Xántus' views of the population and his general attitude towards the people of Mexico. The backwardness of the country, as already mentioned, is partly a result of the nature of the population. Xántus expresses negative expectations and preconceptions from the very beginning: "Mexico is particularly strict in the examination of foreigners. Their customs and health inspectors always harass the travelers. […] To our great surprise, however, we came ashore without anyone inquiring about who we were, where we came from, or where we were going to." Xántus even provides an explanation for such a "change" in manners: "this, for us—pleasant—neglect, was undoubtedly due to the revolutionary

[272] Quoted in Madden, *Xántus,* 142.

upheaval in the country."[273] Whenever there is a reference to a positive example (e.g., not being harassed by Mexican officials), something that goes against his expectations, Xántus dismisses it as an exception.

Compare this attitude with the first contact of Bölöni with the United States when he praised the country for its treatment of travelers and lack of their harassment by the officers. In his case such attitude towards travelers was seen as an example for the differences between the US and Europe, with the US occupying a superior position in this regard.[274] A similar situation and favorable treatment, however, is only an exception for Xántus when it happens in Mexico. Several decades later Jenő Bánó raised his voice against such negative preconceptions about Mexicans. When Bánó's steamer had to wait to enter the port "the officers of the US ship began to insult the officers of Mexico, together with all the inhabitants of the country, in front of the passengers in a most putrid way and made such accusations against the people of Mexico that they made me—although a foreigner but an honest friend of the people—very angry."[275] Bánó defends the honor of Mexican officials, as opposed to Xántus, who simply echoes negative preconceptions.

Xántus sometimes refers to the people as "creatures," and the general image of the population is quite negative: "the large majority of the work force are Indians, half-breeds, and Mexicans who are apparently the most impractical people in the world and faithfully cling to the customs of their forefathers, firmly convinced that 'if I take care of today, Providence will take care of the morrow.'"[276] The characterization of the La Paz population is similar to the depiction of the port itself. The surrounding area and the city are beautiful, they offer a wide variety of products, a favorable climate, but "in consequence, the population of La Paz is just as lazy and lethargic as any other Spanish American people, for under such an hospitable climate few people have the incentive to acquire more than is absolutely

[273] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 94.
[274] Bölöni, *Journey,* 85-86.
[275] Jenő Bánó, *Mexikó és utazásom a trópusokon* (Budapest: Kosmos, 1896), 90. Hereafter cited as Bánó, *Mexikó és utazásom.*
[276] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 145.

necessary."[277] Echoing László's attitude, Xántus also claims that foreigners are the only ones who work hard and can improve the country, they are the ones, "who exert every effort to achieve their aim, which is to get rich."[278]

Similarly to other travelers of the time, Xántus despises the Creole population. When presenting a typical day in a sarcastic way ("to illustrate the smug self-indulgence of a *hidalgo* of La Paz"), he shows contempt for the local populace:

> Seeing all this, and personally experiencing the exceptional hospitality of the Creoles to strangers, it would seem that their life is the most attractive and happy in the world. It may be so for the natives, but the North American and European who has learned to live a productive and intellectually satisfying life, would soon be bored by this life style and quickly realize that tropical life is not for him. […] It is not life but merely vegetation."[279]

Xántus claims that education and literature are largely neglected, "scientific institutions are nonexistent on the peninsula," which explains the low status of the general population. The opposing point of the binary comparison is not Hungary but North America and Europe in general, calling attention again to Xántus' identification with the West.

Xántus, just like in his *Letters* and other parts of *Travels,* expressed an interest in the Native population. With regard to the California Peninsula, he documents meetings with various Indian groups, representing different tribes.[280] As Glant claims, descriptions of the Indians by Xántus have determined the image of Indians in Hungary for a century.[281] At the same time, we should not forget that when for example writing about the Tejon Indians in Part II of *Travels* he copied Letterman's "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians."[282] He replaced names, certain sections, and distorted facts. "Letterman's treatise of the Navajos, of

[277] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 146-47.
[278] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 147.
[279] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 149.
[280] For details on debates concerning Native Americans see the previous chapter.
[281] Glant, *Csodák és csalódások,* 87.
[282] Madden, *Xántus,* 226.

course, became entirely meaningless when Xántus passed it off as dealing with California Indians."[283]

Indians on the California Peninsula in Mexico are depicted as naïve, as people who do not know about their ancient history, while in certain cases the romantic image of Indians also surfaces, thus creating a dual image of Indians. It is worthwhile to consider the difference for example in the following cases:

> The men of the Papago band were all of very handsome stature. Many of them wore helmets covered with shiny fish scales and beautiful feathers. The rest of their clothing consisted of panther or lynx skins thrown over their shoulders and deerskin sandals on their feet. The sight involuntarily brought the ancient Greek warriors to mind. The easy grace with which they mounted or dismounted their horses (always on the right side), filled us all with admiration.[284]

As opposed to this, when meeting another group of Indians, Xántus provides the following account:

> I do not recall ever seeing more miserable looking creatures; their legs and thighs were shapeless, short and thick; their faces and other parts of their body were completely naked and covered with tiny segments of peeling skin like fish scales. […] One of them talked incessantly, but his speech sounded more like the bark of a sheep dog than a human voice. Both of them just stared, for they were incapable of expressing the joy they must have felt when we left them without harming them or their horses.[285]

Thus, two types of Indians appear in this section of the book. The noble savage, the brave warrior matches Xántus' preconceptions and the images drawn from his readings; thus these descriptions are positive and maintain the figure of a strong warrior. In the other example, a completely different view dominates. In this case, the Indians are seen as inferior, animal-like,

[283] Madden, *Xántus,* 227.
[284] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 104.
[285] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California,* 111.

and similarly to other cases in Xántus' texts, they serve as hindrance for development and progress, just as in the case of László.

Beautiful, Seductive Señoritas

Before concluding the section on the Mexican population, women need to be discussed in detail. Women often received quite different treatment from men in early Hungarian travel accounts. While travel writers were often critical of the male population of Mexico, they found local women exotic and fascinating. The relationship between women (both as objects and subjects of travel accounts) and travel writing will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7; here I only briefly introduce Xántus' (and László's) view of this group and discuss how gender influenced the image of the Mexican population.

The first Hungarian female travel writer visiting Mexico was Mrs. Mocsáry; until her publication, women served only as the objects of description and were subject to the "male gaze" in a male dominated field of travel writing. On the one hand, this resulted in an interest in women and their lifestyle but, on the other, it resulted in a one-sided approach, with little information on the domestic life and problems of the female population, focusing only on "surface information" including description of physical appearance, dresses, dances, and often reflecting the fantasies of these male travel writers. The accounts rarely distinguished between different groups of women and communicated a stereotype reaching across social and ethnic boundaries. As Silvia Marina Arrom argues, "in the rare instances when women are mentioned at all, they are usually portrayed as passive, powerless beings, absorbed in familial duties, confined to the home, and totally subordinated to men."[286]

In László's letters, women were judged by a certain double standard: on the one hand, they were presented as exotic and beautiful, the objects of desire for foreigners (see for example the description of the fandango) and fantasy:

[286] Silvia Maria Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1985), 1. Hereafter cited as Arrom, *Women of Mexico City.*

> There was only one thing I did not like about the eating habits of Mexicans: that none of the ladies of the house were sitting at the table of my host, because most probably I would have liked their meals even more that way. This is a general bad tradition here in Mexico. Thus here one cannot flick cherry seeds or bread crumb balls at girls at the table, cannot hope for the realization of nice thoughts after breaking the wish bone, one cannot clink glasses, and cannot send telegraph messages with the leg, and thus there is one less chance to make acquaintances.[287]

The interest in dresses and clothes (or the lack of them) reflected a curiosity in the exotic but László was not concerned with the discussion of more subtle issues.[288]

At the same time, Mexican women were often represented as overtly masculine (as opposed to the feminine population of Mexico in general). Once describing a Native girl, László recalled: she "plays billiards with amazing ease and in most cases beats men who play well otherwise. This is a young and beautiful looking girl, the most beautiful of those I saw during my several days of stay there. However, she is an especially masculine girl."[289] This masculinity did not refer to her physical appearance but to her behavior that was not in line with European expectations regarding women. Often, László noted in his letters that women drink, smoke cigars, and play cards and he could not reconcile this with his view of women's role and European conventions. Smoking itself (and smoking by women in particular) was mentioned in Hungarian travel accounts in almost all cases. The attitude towards the issue clearly reflects a Hungarian background as Hungarians considered smoking a masculine habit: "In the nineteenth century, smoking was a masculine habit, and Hungarian women, as a rule, abstained" and "women who attempted to join the national community of smoking

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[287] "László Károly levelei Amerikából XIII," *Vasárnapi Újság,* September 30, 1860: "A mexikóiak evésmódjában csak azt nem szeretem, hogy az asztalnál a házihölgyek közül egy sem ült vendégszerető házigazdámnál, mert valószínű, hogy azoknak jó főztje ugy nekem még jobban esett volna. Ez általános rossz szokás itt Mexikóban. Itt hát az asztalnál nem lehet a leányokat cseresznye maggal, vagy kenyérbél golyócskákkal lövöldözni, nem lehet azokkal sarkanytú-csonttöréssel kedves gondolatok valósulását találgatni, nem poharat koczczintani, se lábbal telegraphírozni, s így ennyivel kevesebb alkalom van az ismerkedésre."

[288] Images of women drawn first in his diary were reprinted in *Vasárnapi Újság* (June 26, 1862).

[289] *Vasárnapi Újság,* July 24, 1859: "ki bámulatos könnyűségel olly jól játszik a billiárdon, hogy a jól játszó férfiakat is többnyire megveri. Ez egy fiatal, szép termetű leány, s a legszebb azok között, kiket több napi ott tartózkodásom alatt láttam; de különösen elférfiasodott leány."

Hungarians similarly lost their desirability, and additionally their respectability."[290] This cultural perception was clearly projected onto the Mexicans.

Xántus also expressed an interest in women in his texts. He depicted them as exotic, beautiful, and always included references to attempts of meeting them. They also received a different treatment from men and interest was not limited only to his texts. As Steinbeck wrote in *Sea of Cortez*: "In the town there is a large family of Xanthuses [sic], and a few miles back in the hills you'll find a whole tribe of them."[291] When describing a meeting with the Pinorello tribe, Xántus focused on a middle-aged woman among them "whose eternal chatter and constant interference in the bargaining was a veritable nuisance." He provides a perfect example for the manifestation of the male gaze:

> She wore a red *tulle anglaise* dress, lavishly trimmed with fine quality and expensive Brussels lace […] She sat on a splendid, iron-gray horse, á la Duchess de Berry, and whenever the scarlet cape (alias blanket) slipped off her shoulders, the outline of her figure was clearly visible. […] Once she rode up the steep mountainside, the snaps of the back of the dress opened and exposed her entire backside, to the loud and unchivalrous laughter of the entire company.[292]

Xántus continues even further claiming that she took her blanket off and in "total nakedness, she rode around our camp for quite awhile." This seems to be a fulfillment of a fantasy about exotic, "seductive" Indian women.

Xántus often mentions the *señoritas* in his texts and calls the attention of the reader to their beauty: "Many pretty women participated in the fandango that evening. They were all dressed in the latest style, in full skirts. The dancing continued without any mishap, the ladies were friendly, beautiful, and enchanting."[293] In *Travels* he does not really express any interest

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[290]Alexander Maxwell, "Tobacco as Cultural Signifier: A Cultural History of Masculinity and Nationality in Habsburg Hungary," *AHEA: E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 5 (2012). Available at: http://ahea.net/e-journal/volume-5-2012/5. Date of access: July 2013.
Quotes are from page 12 and 14 respectively.
[291] Quoted in Madden, *Xántus,* 151.
[292] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, 112.
[293] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California*, 126.

in, nor does he provide any information on, their life, domestic matters, or occasional problems; they are presented one dimensionally with a focus on their physical beauty. When describing houses and vineyards during a journey Xántus writes:

> In one of them we saw many pretty *doncellas* singing while picking peaches and grapes, and a great many baskets were overflowing with luscious fruit, which greatly tempted our appetites, especially those carried on the heads of *doncellas* with their flashing black eyes. Naturally we could not just pass them by, so we rode over to the house and asked the young girls for some fruit. Some of them ran off, others just stared, but a few approached us with smiles, carrying clusters of grapes.[294]

Women served as attractive subjects both for László and Xántus (as well as later travelers) but they rarely went beyond the recirculation of stereotypes associated with Mexican women. At the same time, such images remained predominant in later times as well, and their depiction as beautiful, seductive, and exotic señoritas is visible in movies even today.[295]

Revisiting Mexico in *Földrajzi Közlemények*

Before concluding this chapter, let us examine Xántus' description of Western Mexico in an 1889 *Földrajzi Közlemények* article.[296] This publication provides an opportunity to look for possible changes in Xántus' representation of Mexico. By 1889 a new type of image of Mexico began to emerge that culminated in the work of Jenő Bánó, discussed in Chapter 6. By this time, people had more information about the country as the French intervention directed the attention of Hungarians to Mexico and publications from Hungarian participants were already available (two of them discussed in detail in Chapter 5).[297] By the turn of the

[294] Xántus, *Travels in Southern California, 170.*
[295] See for example: Venkovits, "Poor Mexico;" Gerald Michael Greenfield and Carlos E. Cortés, "Harmony and Conflict in Intercultural Images: The Treatment of Mexico in US Feature Films and K-12 Textbooks," *Mexican Studies* 7.3 (1991): 283-301; John King, Ana M. López, and Manuel Alvarado, eds., *Mediating Two Worlds: Cinematic Encounters in the Americas* (London: BFI, 1993).
[296] János Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról" *Földrajzi Közlemények* 17 (1889): 217-71. Hereafter cited as Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról."
[297] For more details on the historical background to these changes see Chapter 1.

century, more and more people began to take note of Mexican progress. Xántus published an account of Mexico at this time, incorporating what he experienced in the 1860s. A level of nostalgia is mixed with Xántus' attempts to bring his former views in line with novel types of depiction. As a result of this, there is a peculiar duality in this article.

Xántus claims that Colima had not changed since he left the country, thus providing a justification for the validity of his memories and experience several decades later: "Everything is the same there today as it was 25 years ago."[298] Meanwhile, he emphasizes that the rest of Mexico changed tremendously since he left the country:

> It is generally said, and I believe it too, that the world moves forward and progresses continuously even under the most awful despotism, not to talk about such a republic where there are no hindrances to the activities of men. Mexico also moved forward and developed in all directions since I was there, especially in the field of transportation and communication, where it made up for absences in such large steps and so rapidly that it really made miracles happen, and when I was there such progress would have been considered unbelievable even for the most ardent patriots.[299]

Xántus emphasizes the same indications of progress that Bánó also mentions, with railroad receiving the most attention. This seems to be a fulfillment of László's demand for technological advancement in Mexico.

Xántus' attitude towards the country seemingly changes and his memories are adjusted to the new kind of image: "I have spent almost two years of the most beautiful part of my life in this very interesting and fertile country that is so rich in natural beauty."[300] In this article more positive depictions appear, both regarding the population and the status of the country in general. At the same time, as he uses earlier texts as his reference point, negative

[298] Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról," 217: "Úgy van ott ma is minden, mint volt 25 év előtt."
[299] Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról," 218: "Azt mondják, s én maga, is azt hiszem, hogy a világ folyton halad és fejlődik, még a legrémségesebb despotismus alatt is, hát még egy olyan köztársaságban, hol az emberek tevékenysége előtt semmi korlát nem létezik. Mexikó szinte haladott és fejlődött minden irányban, mióta én ott jártam, különösen a közlekedés és összeköttetés tekintetében oly óriási lépésekkel s oly rohamosan pótolta a mulasztásokat, hogy valóban csodákat művelt, s ottlétemkor ilyesmi hihetetlennek tartatott volna még a legvérmesebb hazafiak közt is."
[300] "Én pedig életem legszebb korából közel két évet töltöttem ezen rendkívül érdekes, természeti szépségekben dúsgazdag és termékeny országban."

representations surface every now and then. For example, he emphasizes the danger posed by bandits[301] at a time when Bánó already begins to refute such depictions. This dichotomy in Xántus' text seems to be an attempt on his part to adapt earlier memories and texts to the new kind of approach to Mexico, without actually being familiar with contemporary conditions. This text is also important because in it we can find a more detailed description of the female population than before.[302] Xántus describes differences in church attendance between men and women, their everyday life and differences from Europeans, their (lack of) education, and discusses the view of Mexican men regarding women's traditional position within society.

Xántus occupies a peculiar position in Hungarian travel writing. He is a controversial figure as he plagiarized some of his accounts and made up stories to please his audience. Still, he was among the first Hungarians to write about Mexico (Western Mexico in particular) and thus his texts contributed to the development of Mexico's image in Hungary and influenced the perception of the country and its population. He propagated images that appeared in foreign travel accounts originally, but with a special twist due to his own character and interests. He depicted Mexico primarily as nature, where it is not something dangerous but beautiful and attractive from a scientific point of view as well, resulting in a style that is characterized by a special blend of romantic and scientific accounts. While nature was the predominant aspect of his section on the California peninsula, he dealt with Mexican society, presenting the population as lazy and incapable of progress on its own. Meanwhile, he presented the women of Mexico as exceptionally beautiful señoritas, an image that remained prominent later on as well. Xántus also maintained the triangular reference characteristic of Hungarian travel writing of the time, where both Hungary and the United States served as reference points when portraying Mexico. In these comparisons, especially when discussing the role of the United States, Xántus uses tropes characteristic of the capitalist vanguard as

[301] Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról," 224-25, 229.
[302] Xántus, "Nyugati Mexikóról," 252-255.

well (focusing on resources and their "adequate exploitation"), while in other cases (concerning the description of nature) he returns to the Humboldtian tradition.

To provide a balanced evaluation of Xántus' influence on Hungarian travel writing and the images of the Americas in particular, it has to be mentioned that although he borrowed liberally from others, his published texts were not based on lies and false representations only. His books served as major sources for Hungarians for at least a century and with his writing style he provided fascinating accounts that made his books and other publications popular at the time, this way contributing to the expansion of knowledge concerning the North American continent. Pál Rosti, discussed in the following chapter, entered the discourse on Mexico in Hungarian travel writing a few years later, but with his modern photographs and visual depictions he was just as influential in familiarizing Hungarians with this far-away land.

CHAPTER FOUR

Writing with Devotion, Drawing with Light: Pál Rosti's Travel Account on Mexico

Inspired by the remarkable achievements of Alexander von Humboldt, Pál Rosti embarked on a journey in the Americas that was unparalleled in contemporary Hungary and yielded outstanding results. Between 1856 and 1858 Rosti traveled in the United States and following in the footsteps of the great Prussian scientist in Latin American countries including Cuba, Venezuela, and Mexico. He produced one of the most detailed and attractive accounts of Mexico in Hungarian and also created some of the first photographs of the American country. Had Rosti written his travel book in a Western language and published his photographs and illustrations as a part of it, he would be an internationally acclaimed travel writer and early photographer. As will be presented, his work as a photographer has been studied outside Hungary as well, and his photographs have been exhibited at various locations; but due to the language gap, his written accounts have so far escaped due critical attention.[303]

Rosti shared László's attitude with regard to the purpose of travel accounts, both projecting an Age of Reform mentality. Rosti also considered traveling and travel writing as a duty, a way of helping and educating the Hungarian public and as a contribution to the development of the mother country. As he claimed, travel writing provided only a small opportunity for helping the nation after the failed War of Independence but it was still extremely valuable.

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[303] Rosti's name has appeared in several foreign works, mostly in studies related to photography. See for example: Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1865* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2005). Hereafter cited as Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers*; Olivier Debroise, *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001). Hereafter cited as Debroise, *Mexican Suite;* Fomento Cultural Banamex, *European Traveler Artists in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Colonia Centro: Fomento, 1996); May Castleberry, ed., *The New World's Old World: Photographic Views of Ancient America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003). Hereafter cited as Castleberry, *New World's Old World*; His photos were exhibited in Mexico and Venezuela as well and the relevant sections of the book have been published in Venezuela (for more information see for example Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri: Magyarország és Mexikó kapcsolatai a XIX. századtól napjainking* (Budapest: Áron kiadó, 2012)).

At the same time, Rosti differed both from László and Xántus: he came from a social class that provided a different background both to his journeys and writing and he prepared consciously for his American trip and work, unlike those writing before him. He visited Mexico as a traveler and a scientist with the objective of getting to know the country, taking photographs, and introducing the Americas to Hungarians; he thus had a completely different attitude towards the country than those who worked and settled there. Humboldt's influence is unmistakable in Rosti's Mexican accounts: it defined the Hungarian's itinerary, his interests (e.g., less interest in the US than in Latin America), and provided a basis for a return to the image of Mexico as beautiful, primordial nature. Rosti quoted Humboldt extensively in his book, presenting the Prussian as still the most authoritative source on Mexico.[304] At the same time, Rosti was not only a travel writer, he was also a traveler-artist, that is, a "foreign painter, draftsman or photographer, generally European, who executed his creative work using the world through which he traveled as his theme."[305] With his unique visual representations, he opened up a new layer of discourse on Mexico. Therefore, although Rosti wrote about the Americas, and Mexico in particular, at the same time as László and Xántus, his texts represent a different type of travel writing.

Understanding the travelers' biographical background is significant in Rosti's case as well, as it had a major influence on the way he traveled and saw the rest of the world. In line with this, the chapter starts with a biographical overview, providing details of the journey in the Americas and the resulting publications. Photography is such a central aspect to Rosti's work that a separate section is devoted to it below. I discuss the significance of photography in travel writing in general and in Rosti's texts in particular. At the same time, I pay special attention to presenting the process of transformation of photographs into lithographic

[304]After his return to Europe, and before coming back to Hungary, Rosti visited the great role-model, the then 90-year-old Baron Alexander von Humboldt. As a sign of his great regard to the achievements of the Prussian, Rosti gave him the fist copy of his collection of photographs that according to the accounts of Rosti had a great effect on Humboldt.

[305] Pablo Diener, "Profile of the Traveler-Artist in the Nineteenth Century," in *European Traveler Artists in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Colonia Centro: Fomento, 1996), 63. Hereafter cited as Diener, "Traveler-Artist."

illustrations. I provide an analysis of the image of Mexico in Rosti's travel account, focusing on the central theme of nature and the depiction of the populace.

Life and Writings

In 1992, celebrating the 500th anniversary of the "discovery" of America, a facsimile reprint of Rosti's *Úti emlékezetek Amerikából* [Recollections of a journey in the Americas] was published, accompanied by a detailed and insightful study written by Károly Kincses.[306] In this publication, Kincses provided a thorough biographical introduction, including the family tree of the Rosty[307] family, a complete chronology of the American journey, as well as an introduction to Rosti's photographs. While relying on his work,[308] I highlight only those aspects of Rosti's life that help us decode his Mexican travel account and shed light on issues in connection with the mediated image of Mexico.

Rosti was born into a family of lesser nobility (with numerous ancestors holding important positions in the country) on November 29, 1830. His father, Albert Rosty, was a landowner and sub-prefect in Békés county, and later judge at the County Court of Pest. The father was well known for his love of music, hospitality, and fine education, and he worked throughout his life to help the modernization of the nation (all traits were inherited by his son as well). The family home of the father had a great influence on Rosti's later life: "the palace of Albert Rosty was one of the centers of music in the capital. However, it was famous for other reasons as well; according to almost all reform-era memoirs, the young intellectuals (Eötvös, Szalay, Trefort)—called centralists—met regularly at the balls organized at the Rostys."[309] One of Rosti's sisters, Ágnes, was married to the baron József Eötvös, while the other became the wife of Ágoston Trefort, both ministers of religion and education later on. Both men had a great influence on Rosti. "The views of Trefort strengthened in him the desire

[306] Károly Kincses, *Rosti Pál, 1830-1874. Kincses Károly tanulmánya az Úti emlékezetek Amerikából hasonmás kiadásához* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó és a Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 1992). Hereafter cited as Kincses, *Rosti.*
[307] Pál Rosti was the only person in the family to change the spelling of the name from Rosty to Rosti.
[308] Unless otherwise noted, my overview is based on this work and translations are my own.
[309] Kincses, *Rosti,* 7.

for travel, exploration, and an interest in getting to know the world."[310] According to an 1874 *Vasárnapi Újság* article, Rosti "had access to the highest circles of society and he could learn about high culture not only from books but also by means of his contacts with excellent minds of the age."[311]

Another major influence in his early life was Academician Professor Antal Vállas, who tutored children in several noble families and produced one of the first known photographs in Hungary.[312] Rosti studied mathematics, natural sciences, botany, languages, and music with him. Vállas directed the interest of young Rosti to travel and photography, this way contributing to the American journey as well. Rosti most probably visited Vállas in the United States as well (as the professor lived in New Orleans later) and paid tribute to his former educator in *Úti emlékezetek*.[313]

Rosti dreamt of the American trip since his childhood, but similarly to Xántus and László, the actual journey was connected to the Revolution and Rosti's participation in it. In 1848 he joined the Károlyi hussar regiment and after the defeat of the War of Independence he was saved from prison or impressment by Eötvös and Trefort. Trefort took him to Salzburg and later to Munich, where Rosti studied chemistry at the university for four years. After his return to Pest, he continued his education in the fields of geography and ethnography, and joined the Hungarian Geographical Society (*Magyarhoni Földrajzi Társulat*). Throughout these years, Rosti took conscious steps towards the realization of his American plans in the form of a pseudo Grand Tour:

> Before I left Europe, so as to enrich even if to the humblest degree Hungarian literature by recording my experience while walking under the palms of the New World, and to realize my childhood dreams, I spent about two years in France and England, so as to acquire the necessary knowledge for my journey, and mostly, to learn the profession of light drawing in Paris.[314]

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[310] ibid.
[311] "Rosti Pál, 1830-1874," *Vasárnapi Újság*, December 20, 1874. Hereafter cited as "Rosti Pál, 1830-1874."
[312] Kincses, *Rosti,* 7.
[313] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 119.
[314] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, Preface, n.p.

Rosti differs greatly from travel writers discussed earlier in this dissertation on two accounts: he prepared consciously for his American journey for several years and he did not plan to settle in the Americas. This provided a different perspective than that of those who had to look at the New World as their new home, with the uncertainty regarding the time of returning to the motherland. Rosti's journey was driven by the objective of getting to know the Americas as much as possible, focusing on Latin America and not the United States.

> Several of our compatriots have settled in North America, in the classic land of freedom, dispelled by the storm of the Revolution. Rosti, however, was attracted to the New World only by scientific interest and the thirst for knowledge. Instead of the United States, he visited Mexico, Texas [sic.], Havana, and the islands of Central America; he wanted to study nature and people there, focusing on their most special features.[315]

After his return to Hungary, Rosti spent another two years organizing his notes, photographs, drawings, based on his experience and the descriptions of Humboldt. It was then that he wrote his major work, *Úti emlékezetek Amerikából.* "He published his experience and the majority of his images in a magnificent travel account, which is one of the most beautiful Hungarian decorative books to this day."[316] In the book, he provided detailed descriptions of Havana, Venezuela, and Mexico, illustrated by numerous unique images (almost half of the close to 200-pages-long book is concerned with Mexico). As discussed below, most of the illustrations to the book were created based on original photos he took in the Americas.

Interestingly, Rosti did not take any photos while in the United States and did not include the description of his journey in the US in the book. Still, later he decided to share his travel experience there with Hungarian readers in a series of articles published in *Hazánk s a*

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[315] "Rosti Pál, 1830-1874:" "Hazánkfiai közül többen, a forradalom viharától szétszórva, Eszakamerikában, a szabadság klasszikus földén települtek le. Rostit azonban kizárólag a tudomány érdeke s az ismeretszomj vonzotta az uj világba. Az Egyesült-Államok helyett Mexikót, Texást, Habanát s Közép-Amerika szigeteit kereste föl; a természetet és az embereket ott akarta tanulmányozni, legélesebb különlegességeiben."
[316] Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók.*

Külföld between 1867 and 1870. In entertaining stories, Rosti provided fascinating information about the transatlantic crossing, offered new data on contemporary life in New York and Chicago, wrote about the beauty of the Niagara Falls (similarly to most travel writers visiting the region), and related adventurous hunting stories. As we will see later, the US did not play such an important role in Rosti's travel accounts as in the case of Xántus, and especially László. Rosti focused on Latin America that he found of more interest (scientifically mostly) than the United States.[317] Mexico in *Úti emlékezetek* did not explicitly appear in continuous comparison with the Northern neighbor, although the shadow of the emerging giant was still present. Besides these accounts, various articles were published in several newspapers and magazines of the time including *Vadász- és Versenylap, Pesti Napló*, *Remény*, as well as publications of the Hungarian Geographical Society and the Academy of Sciences.[318]

In recognition of his achievements, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected Rosti corresponding member in December 1861 and he gave his inaugural address on American Indians.[319] As mentioned above, Rosti saw travel similarly to other travelers of the Reform Era, as a form of education and mission. He used comparisons in his travel accounts with foreign nations to call attention to possible ways of advancing the cause of his native country. After his return from the American and European trip, he worked to improve life in Hungary using some of the foreign examples he encountered during his journeys. For example, similarly to English rowing clubs, Rosti, together with the baron József Vécsey, count Béla Széchenyi, and count Gyula Károlyi, revived the sailing club.[320] His objective was to call attention to the significance of improving water transportation, commerce, and knowledge about the rivers and river branches of the country. In many other ways, Rosti worked to help the progress of the country and supported music and the arts in general. Rosti later moved

[317] See the detailed analysis below.
[318] For a full list, see Kincses, *Rosti,* 65-66.
[319] For a detailed analysis: see Glant, *Csodák és csalódások*¸89-94.
[320] Together with István Birly, Rosti rowed from Rotterdam to Pest and Birly even published a book about this major undertaking: István Birly, *Csolnak út Rotterdamtól Pestig* (Pest: Geibel, 1863).

from the capital to the family estate in Dunapentele, partly due to his illness, but maintained contacts with his friends (including Ferenc Liszt and Richard Wagner) and did not live in complete isolation. His mortal disease (hydropsy, decompensated heart failure), however, defeated the otherwise physically active and strong Rosti who died on December 7, 1874. He left behind a unique heritage in the form of his travel accounts and with his outstanding photographs provided Hungarians with new insights into life in Mexico.

Rosti, a Pioneering Photographer[321]

Photography played a crucial role in Rosti's plans of presenting Mexico in a new, unique, and more realistic way. "In my opinion," wrote Rosti in the Preface to *Úti emlékezetek*, "there is no more effective way for spreading knowledge of geography than providing clear images of certain regions, cities, buildings, plants, etc., of different climates by means of characteristic, faithful drawings. I considered it to be one of the main objectives of my travels to prepare such images by means of light drawing."[322] Photography provided a new way for recording and disseminating information and Rosti chose to use the new medium to document his journey.[323] These photos are more than merely documental, for they possess artistic value as well.

After his return to Europe, Rosti had several copies of his photographic albums prepared: he gave one to Humboldt, one to the Hungarian National Museum, and the others to

[321] In this dissertation, I focus only on Rosti's Mexican photos.
[322] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, Preface: "Nézetem szerint a földismeret terjesztésére alig van hathatósabb eszköz, mint ha jellemző, hű rajzok által a különböző éghajlatok egyes tájairól, városairól, építményekről. növényekről s a t. világos képeket nyújtunk. Vándorlásaim egyik főfeladatául tekintém eszerint az ily nemü képeknek a fényrajz útján való előállítását."
[323] Rosti's photos would deserve praise simply because of the difficult circumstances of their creation. Rosti had to use very heavy equipment carried by three mules (Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 187) on difficult terrain, and work under harsh circumstances, constantly making choices of what to take photos of. (Rosti claimed, for example, that it took him two weeks to take the photo of the two volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatépetl.) In another case, Rosti wrote: "Taking photographs among these ruins was very difficult; although the area is barren, there were still some mimosa bushes, euphorbia trees in the way that I had to avoid, I had to cut the bushes, clear maguey and succulent plants, clear away piles of rocks, and I was alone to do this work with my *arriero*." (Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*,190).

his sisters as gifts.[324] In the different versions available in Hungary, there are more than forty photographs, depicting various scenes in Havana, Venezuela, and Mexico. It is not easy to categorize Rosti's photographic undertaking: he was interested in archeology and images of ancient Mexico as some of his contemporaries. His photos and illustrations also reflect a great interest in nature and the picturesque, while also recording modern views of progress and early signs of industry. Subjects included buildings in large cities and small villages (churches, famous landmarks, parks, etc.), natural scenery (Popocatepetl, a waterfall), mines, as well as ancient ruins. When he was taking photographs he was looking for "generalizing images," something that best described a particular theme, region, or that was most characteristic of (his view of) Mexico. "The traveling artist […] tries to find generalizing images. For example, one landscape that summarizes a particular regional physiognomy, group of individuals representative of a certain society, emblematic manifestations of their history or their material culture. In short, anything that helps to build a typical picture of a country or region."[325]

Rosti is considered to be one of the first professional Hungarian photographers while "Venezuelan and Mexican historians regard his photographs as the first to depict the landscapes and distinctive features of their countries with the aim of producing a scientific record."[326] Iván Hevesy claims that "Pál Rosti was the first representative of plein-air photography" and his photos represent the highest quality of the time.[327] According to Kincses, the composition and technical implementation of his images—only seventeen years after the invention of photography—shows that in an artistic and technical sense he was one

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[324] Although Kincses wrote about four available copies, Júlia Papp found a fifth copy (given to Rosti's third sister Anna). See Júlia Papp, "Az ötödik album: Rosti Pál (1830-1874) Fényképi Gyűjteményének újabb példánya," *Fotóművészet* 51.2 (2008): 118-127.
[325] Diener, "Traveler-Artist," 13.
[326] Júlia Papp, "Pál Rosti (1830-1874): Traveller and Photographer," *Hungarian Quarterly* 48, no. 188 (2007): 85-90. Papp refers to the following authors and texts: Pál Rosti, *Memorias de un viaje por America* (Caracas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1968); Josune Dorronsoro, *Pál Rosti: Una Visión de America Latina. Cuba. Venezuela y México, 1857-1858* (Caracas : n.p., 1983); Pál Rosti, *Memorias de un viaje por América* (Caracas, n.p., 1988); María del Consuelo Andara, "La visión del otro: imágenes de la identidad nacional. Viajeros en el territorio venezolano durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX" *Tierra Firme* 22, no. 86 (2004): 229-240.
[327] Quoted in Kincses, *Rosti,* 20.

of the best at the time."[328] Rosti's work proved to be outstanding and not only in Hungary; we may claim that his achievements deserve the same international critical attention that has been devoted to his Western European or US counterparts.

Following its invention, photography gradually became a key tool in documenting travel and exploration in Mexico as well. Although photographs were taken soon after the invention of the daguerreotype, it was the end of the 1850s and the 1860s (especially the years of the French Intervention) that witnessed a proliferation of photography in Mexico. The French Désiré Charnay is usually referred to as the first major (European) photographer working in Mexico, who began his archaeological explorations in 1858 and who is seen as "the first of the archaeologist-explorers to break with the romanticized conception of ancient Mexico and use the camera as an instrument for scientific research."[329] Charnay published *Cités et ruines américaines* in 1863 and his "album of 49 photographs, with text by Viollet-le-Duc, was the French public's first introduction to ancient Mexico."[330] He actually worked at the same time as Rosti. In fact, the Hungarian took photos earlier, and his book was also published before that of Charnay. Similar themes appear in the case of both Charnay and Rosti (see for example the Aztec Calendar stone or major landmarks of Mexico City), on the one hand reflecting Humboldt's influence on both of them, and, on the other, the tendency for recording recurring themes. According to Diener, at this time the "repertoire of picturesque themes became consolidated" and traveling artists picked many of the same landmarks and themes: Hacienda de Regla, volcanoes (Orizaba, Colima), ports of Tampico, Veracruz, and

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[328] Kincses, *Rosti,* 20.

[329] Getty Research Institute, "A Nation Emerges: 65 Years of Photography in Mexico," Getty Research Institute Special Collections (2000). Available at: http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/guides_bibliographies/photography_mexico/ Access date: January 31, 2013. Hereafter cited as Getty, "Nation Emerges."

[330] Getty, "Nation Emerges." Charnay's book is available here in an electronic version: http://ia600404.us.archive.org/30/items/citesetruinesame00char/citesetruinesame00char.pdf and his photos can be accessed here: http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchresult.cfm?parent_id=265767. Date of Access: January 31, 2013.

Acapulco. They recorded the natural beauty of the country while also expressing an interest in man's modifications.[331]

Olivier Debroise's analysis reinforces the significance of Rosti's photos.[332] He claims in *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico*, although misspelling the Hungarian traveler's name, that "Rojti's [sic] images can be compared with those made by Désiré Charnay during the same years and in the same places. […] The two photographers chose different vantage points however, […] Charnay always placed himself at street level […] Rosti took a more daring and—in a sense—more modern approach."[333] Rosti, by taking photos from rooftops, gave a better view of the buildings and established a better context for them, providing images of the surroundings as well. "However, the major difference between these two photographers," Debroise writes, "lies in their choice of subjects. Rojti seems to have avoided the merely picturesque." For example, he also photographed the San Rafael sawmill: "the photograph of a manufacturing plant was rare for the time […] these are the earliest appearances of the industrial landscape in Mexican photography." Debroise further claims that Rosti's Mexican images provide a more modern point of view and a broader thematic range than those of Charnay. [334]

Photographs played an important role in the development of travel writing: they could be used by the authors to claim objectivity and reliability and provided a basis for a more accurate description (both are basic objectives that earlier travel writers also wanted to achieve[335]). As has been noted, Rosti considered "light drawing" an integral and essential tool for spreading knowledge about foreign lands and peoples. It was believed that the realism of

[331] Diener, "Traveler-Artist," 152.
[332] Debroise, *Mexican Suite.*
[333] Debroise, *Mexican Suite,* 75.
[334] ibid.
[335] In the case of László this was achieved by his references to his diary by which the readers could assume that the events accounted are based on real happenings and first impressions that were not modified later by the author. In Xántus' case this kind of (false) authenticity was achieved by making references to scientific works and expeditions that substantiated his claims as we have seen.

photographs provided a better understanding of the subject than any lengthy description.[336] The "camera affords the only means, with which I am acquainted, of pourtraying [sic] visible objects with scientific accuracy. Every photograph taken with an achromatised and corrected lens is a perfect reproduction to scale of the object photographed, as seen from the point of view of the lens."[337] Therefore, photography provided a way of presenting Rosti's experience in the New World that was perceived as objective and authoritative by the readers as the photographs could prove to the audience that what he was writing about really existed, that his journey certainly took place. In Rosti's book, the illustrations (based on the photographs) were introduced as "evidence" that the discussed places, people, and lifestyle existed in the way presented by Rosti.

At this early stage, photography was seen as more objective than writing or drawing;[338] therefore, its use well complemented Rosti's aims of presenting a scientific text. As Roland Barthes claimed in *La Chambre Claire*, the most important aspect of photography is that it shows that the object of the picture was certainly there, that it existed. It affects people not by reconstructing what time has destroyed but by proving that what we see really existed (although creating the false impression that the picture shows "what is" and not "what was").[339] This is a major difference between photography and previous forms of illustrating travel accounts. The aim of photography was to preserve what was exceptional, unique, strange, or different, and it provided a reliable basis for illustrations and authenticated the travel accounts themselves (a similar attitude and role can be seen in later times as well with tourists taking photographs). Of course, by now many scholars have emphasized that not even photographs are

[336] "Rosti Pál ur ajándéka, mellyet a Nemzeti Muzeumnak szánt," *Vasárnapi Újság,* January 9, 1859.
[337] John Thomson, "Photography and Exploration," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series* 13, no. 11 (1891): 669.
[338] This section is based partly on: BalázsVenkovits, "Writing with Devotion, Drawing with Light: Images of the Americas in Nineteenth Century Hungarian Travelogues." in *Metamorphoses of Travel Writing: Across Theories, Genres, Centuries and Literary Traditions,* ed. Grzegorz Moroz and Jolenta Sztachelska (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).
[339] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Paris: Éditions de l'Étoile, 1980.

completely objective.[340] Much depended on what the traveler wanted to see and how, what s/he recognized as being important, how the picture was framed, and what kind of commentary belonged to the pictures. Rosti himself had to make decisions on what to photograph and what to leave out in consideration of the terrain, the time available, etc. Thus the seemingly "objective" medium was indeed rather subjective and the technology of the time also put a serious limitation on such perceived objectivity. As the photographs were transformed into lithographic illustrations, they became even more dependent on the subjective perceptions of their creator.

Even if photography was seen by Rosti as a scientifically accurate way of recording a traveler's experience, it had a serious deficiency in Rosti's time. Due to the available technology, a long exposure time was required, one that could last for minutes, therefore moving subjects, including people, did not appear in these photos. "We can guess their presence only from indirect signs"[341] and if we take a closer look at the original photos. The absence of people in the photos goes against Rosti's very objectives and views of the time regarding the accuracy of photography, of presenting a faithful image of the object: not everything that can be seen in real life is reproduced in the photos. Another important issue arises out of contemporary printing technology: Rosti wanted to provide information to the general public, but his photos were available only in the albums and the photographs could not be reprinted in *Úti emlékezetek*. The illustrations of Gusztáv Klette and others provided a solution to both problems.

Lithographer Gusztáv Klette created the illustrations to the book based on the original photographs and Rosti's notes and instructions. In the illustrations, the original photos came to life. The lithographer added people, animals, and other details to the image, and emphasized various sections of the originals (adding to the degree of subjectivity). The published book included fifteen lithographs (two of them in color), two steel engravings, twenty-five wood engravings (that actually made the book rather expensive).

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[340] Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards, eds., *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).
[341] Kincses, *Rosti*, 24.

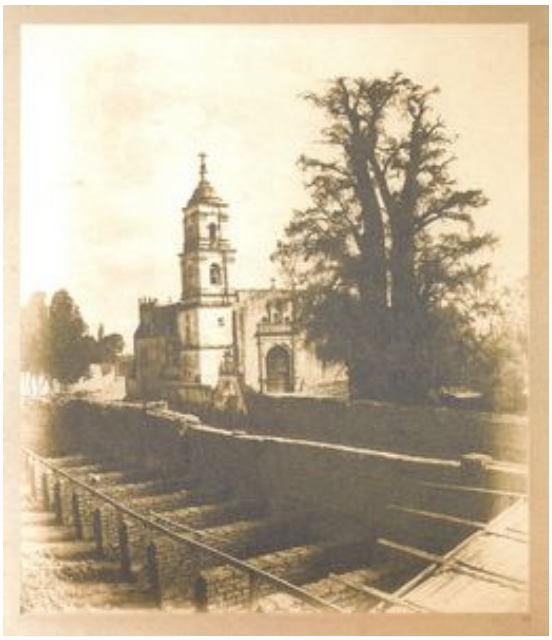

Fig. 2. “A szomorú éj fája Popotlában - El arbol de la noche triste” – Photograph by Rosti and the illustration based on it in *Úti emlékezetek* (p. 155)

Fig. 3. “Mexikói lovasok” [Mexican Riders] – colored lithograph in *Úti emlékezetek* (p. 133)

Besides Klette, Rosti also commissioned D. Freeman to prepare wood engravings and there were two of these that were created originally by Johann Moritz Rugendas and were taken over by Rosti.[342] It seems, however, that other sources were also used. In the case of the illustration prepared by Freeman (p. 117 in *Úti emlékezetek*) titled "Tortillát készítő Indus nők" (Indian women making tortillas), the German engineer and draughtsman Carl Nebel's original publication was used. Carl Nebel published *Voyage Pittoresque et Archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Méxique* in Paris in 1836, with an introduction by Humboldt himself.[343] The plate titled *Las Tortilleras* was used as the basis for the illustration in Rosti's book. Rosti was probably not alone using this image as it became a "classic image, to be repeated in myriad permutations by later illustrators."[344] It is likely that Rosti was familiar with Nebel's pictures as the German was also a disciple of Humboldt and most probably Rosti consulted his work.

Fig. 4. Carl Nebel's *Las Tortilleras* (1836)

Fig. 5. "Tortillát készítő nők" in *Úti emlékezetek* (p. 117)

[342] Kincses, *Rosti,* 25.
[343] Carl Nebel, *Voyage Pittoresque et Archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Méxique* (Paris: M. Moench, 1836).
[344] Dorothy Sloan Books, "The Alpha Nineteenth-Century Plate Book on Mexico," Available at: http://www.dsloan.com/Auctions/A22/item-nebel-voyage.html. Access Date: January 31, 2013.

Other images in the book used sections from Mexican lithographer Casimiro Castro's *México y sus alrededores* published in 1855.[345] "Rosti's use of Castro's imagery could be perceived as derivative. The artists relied upon Castro's iconic work, the best possible source of Mexican types and costumes, for inspiration and guidance."[346] In the case of the first colored lithograph in *Úti emlékezetek* (a view of a canal in Mexico), the section on the right is a copy from Castro's work, but the market scene of the original has been removed and relocated, reflecting the Hungarian's interest in nature. "Rosti arrived in Mexico when the Castro album was first published, and he astutely chose to use elements from the best images of Mexico of that time, particularly of people and their customs."[347] Rosti and the illustrators relied on these other sources to provide reliable representations of the people (who could not be captured by Rosti's camera), this way making up for the absence in the photographs.

Fig. 6. Castro's market scene

[345] Casimirio Castro, *México y sus alrededores* (Mexico: Establecimiento litográfico de Decaen, 1855).
[346] Dorothy Sloan Books, "Exceedingly Rare & Little-Known Plate Book by a Hungarian Aristocrat," Available at: "http://www.dsloan.com/Auctions/A23/item-rosti-uti_emlekezetek-1861.html. Access date: January 31, 2013. Hereafter cited as Dorothy Sloan, "Plate Book by a Hungarian Aristocrat."
[347] Dorothy Sloan, "Plate Book by a Hungarian Aristocrat."

Fig. 7. Rosti's colored lithograph
in *Úti emlékezetek*

Compared to the original photographs, the illustrations often changed the perspective, added people, and modified details. While in the photos we can examine the natural environment, the surroundings or the structures of various buildings, and ancient sights, in the illustrations ethnographic features come to the foreground and they serve as the basis for discussions of the populace. These images were used to illustrate clothing styles, cultural events, and social relationships and thus they well complemented the written text and certainly provided new insights for Hungarian readers into life in Mexico. The process of transformation from photograph to illustration well reflects the shift from interest in nature and architecture to interest in ethnography and shows how the newly prepared lithographs served the purposes of illustrating and complementing the written texts. One excellent example is the photo and drawing of the Salto del Agua (Belen aqueduct) in Mexico City.

Rosti took two photos of the Belen aqueduct: one of them shows the aqueduct from a rooftop and thus we can see the surrounding buildings as well, while the other offers a close-up providing great detail. Both photos seem as if they were showing a ghost-town: there are no people, there is no movement, only the deserted streets are visible. As opposed to this, the

illustration based on the image is full of life, presenting people of different social classes and ethnic groups (with some of the figures taken from Castro's drawing of the same place[348]). It also changes the perspective to a certain extent and adds dynamism to the image. Rosti notes that the Salto del Agua is the "[p]erfect place to study the Mexican population."[349] When looking at the illustration, the reader experiences a glimpse of everyday life and is provided with knowledge that would not be available otherwise. It well complements written descriptions of Rosti and at the same time it makes the entire writing more realistic and seemingly more reliable. The text and the illustration together provide insights into the clothing style of the era, the social position of various groups, and introduce readers into life in Mexico. We learn about the role of the *aquador* (water carrier) in society as an advisor and person responsible for carrying the letters of lovers or spreading gossip and can read about social interaction at a major cultural space within the city.

Fig. 8. Photo of Salto del Agua by Rosti
in *Fényképi Gyűjtemény*

[348] ibid.
[349] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 145.

Fig. 9. Illustration in *Úti emlékezetek*
(p. 145)

Photographs and the illustrations based on them provided a new way of representing the inhabitants of Mexico, and, as we have seen, Rosti decided to introduce them within their social and cultural contexts. In the nineteenth century there were "two forms of representation of Mexico's inhabitants[…]: that which isolated and described the subject and that which placed the subject within a landscape or a narrative description."[350] Rosti represented the second attitude as he placed his ethnographic descriptions and the introduction of the populace within a larger framework both in terms of his written accounts and illustrations. László represented the first approach: when he sent drawings to *Vasárnapi Újság* those

[350] Juana Gutiérrez Haces, "Ethnography and Genre in the Images of the Travelers," in Fomento Cultural Banamex, *European Traveler Artists in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Colonia Centro: Fomento, 1996), 170.

included only drawings of individuals (focusing on appearance, clothing, etc.) but did not provide any context.

Rosti, of course, was not the first to take photographs in Mexico but he certainly was among the first pioneering photographers, traveling artists to depict Mexico by means of the new medium and doing so not only with documental value but artistic quality as well. The illustrations of *Úti emlékezetek* are also exceptional and they will be discussed also in what follows, within the framework of the book.

The Image of Mexico in *Úti emlékezetek*

During his approximately nine-month-stay in Mexico between 1857 and 1858 Rosti visited Veracruz, Córdoba, Orizaba, Puebla, Mexico City and many archeological sites. He wrote in detail about the natural environment, the major cities visited, as well as the people of Mexico (with special interest in the Native population), recounted adventurous stories of expeditions (including climbing the Popocatépetl), and provided vivid descriptions of social and cultural events in the country (introducing, for example, the holidays and celebrations in Mexico).

Humboldt's influence is unmistakable on Rosti's text: the Prussian's journey clearly influenced his itinerary and the selection of sites to be visited and photographed in Mexico. Rosti used Humboldt's measurements and statistics as reference points and criticized the role-model only once, concerning his estimations of the population of Mexico.[351] Rosti's writing style was also influenced by the Prussian, as the Hungarian traveler follows a similar approach in the description of the country. Humboldt determined the "precise topographical location of each point and then turned his attention to the geological characteristics of the soil, the relief, the *climatological* circumstances and, finally, to the flora and fauna."[352] Additionally, he introduced the inhabitants in an economic and historical context. Rosti

[351] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 129.
[352] Frank Holl, "Alexander Von Humboldt's Expedition through Mexico," in Fomento Cultural Banamex, *European Traveler Artists in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Colonia Centro: Fomento, 1996), 51. Hereafter cited as Holl, "Humboldt's Expedition through Mexico."

followed an analogous approach. Similarly to what Pratt claimed about Humboldt and South America, we can state that Rosti also rediscovered the country first and foremost as nature. The natural environment and its emphasis as the central feature of the country is prevalent throughout *Úti emlékezetek*.

Rosti differs from László and Xántus in the way he depicted Mexico in relation to the United States. In his Mexican travel accounts, the US did not play as important a role as in the case of the other two travel writers. There are comparisons for example in terms of politics when Rosti writes that Mexicans adopted a constitution similar to that of the Northern neighbor without understanding its true spirit;[353] such statements involve a degree of triangulation, but contrasts with the United States are not as vital in Rosti's case as in the publications of the other two Hungarian writers. This, on the one hand can be seen as an influence of Humboldt, who also focused on Latin American countries in his publications, while, on the other, it reflects Rosti's differing attitude towards the Northern neighbor and the objectives of his journey. At the same time, he seems to apologize for the lack of reports on the US trip and offers a disclaimer for not referring to the Northern neighbor while describing Mexico, as if this type of triangulation was expected by readers:

> I have started my American journey in the United States, where I spent only seven months. But as there we are captivated not so much by the beauty of nature but the social conditions, political institutions and developments so different from those in Europe, and I have not considered my relatively brief stay there to be enough for pondering on the latter: I have considered it more expedient to remain silent, instead of becoming the advocate of faulty, slanted notions or incomplete reports built on hurried judgments, a one-sided approach or views of others.[354]

[353] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 165.
[354] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, Preface: "amerikai utazásomat az éjszak-amerikai államokkal kezdém meg, hol mindössze hét hónapot töltöttem. De miután ott nem annyira a természet szépsége köti le figyelmünket, mint inkább az európaiaktól egészen elütő társadalmi viszonyok, politikai intézmények s fejlemények gerjesztik érdekünket, ez utóbbiak találgatására pedig aránylag rövid ott-mulatásomat elégségesnek nem tartottam: czélszerűbbnek véltem hallgatni inkább, semmint hogy elhamarkodott itéletekre, egyoldalu felfogásra, vagy másoktól elsajátított nézetekre építve, tán hibás, ferde fogalmak, hiányos tudósítások szószólója legyek."

This quotation also reflects Rosti's primary interest in nature and although he found places like Niagara Falls fascinating (see his articles in *Hazánk s a Külföld*), he deemed Latin America more attractive in this respect. It is also remarkable that while he claimed that seven months in the United States were not enough to write reliable accounts, a bit longer time spent in Mexico, and much shorter periods in Cuba and Venezuela, seem to have provided enough time to draw conclusions about the countries and their populations. This in itself is a statement on the relationship between the United States and Latin America.

Rosti's unusual treatment, by Hungarian standards, of the US in the book had its roots in his social background. There are references and comparisons with the United States in *Úti emlékezetek* but it is from the *Hazánk s a Külföld* articles that the reader can learn about Rosti's attitude towards the US. Besides recognizing the important achievements of the country, he also criticized it harshly. The United States served as a reference point for Rosti as well, but in his case there is an even stronger identification with an aristocratic, European point of view that often despised Americans for their conduct and bad manners. He admired progress in the United States but had a negative opinion of the US population, expressing his dislike for American social habits and behavior. In this respect, his account was more similar to those written by British travelers earlier. Rosti wanted to be perceived as a Western European aristocrat and thus wrote accordingly. He criticized the US for the treatment of African-Americans and emphasized how the love of the "almighty dollar" could corrupt the valuable political achievements and institutions of the country.[355]

The triangular frame of reference was still present, but here the identification with the views of higher levels of society in Western Europe was more crucial than identification with the US. This is different from László and Xántus who also lived there, were naturalized citizens of that country and who thus had a different position when writing about Mexico. The

[355] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 24-26 and 63. The latter feature (i.e. the love of money) was a recurring element in Hungarian travel accounts on the United States and was part of the general image of the country at this time.

Hungarian references (the third part of the triangle) were included in his case also to bring the familiar closer to the reading audience. Although Mexico appeared more independently of the United States than in other contemporary accounts discussed in the previous two chapters, she still did not emerge in her own right in Hungarian travel writing, it was only a chapter within a book on several Latin American countries. As we will see, books written specifically and exclusively about Mexico were only published after the French Intervention (discussed in the next chapter).

As has been stated, the relationship with nature was a central concern in Rosti's texts and due to the available technology of the time people did not appear in Rosti's photos, as if to call attention to the environment and not the inhabitants. The first illustrations in the book already signal this preoccupation with the natural scenery: on the book cover there is a giant cedar, next to which people look insignificant. Klette's picture on the pictorial title depicts a scene in a rain forest with snow-topped mountains in the background and fighting animals in the front. The only sign of human presence is a small, hard-to-notice stagecoach (see below). The first colored lithograph, partly based on Castro's work as seen above, already featured people (reflecting Rosti's interest in ethnography as well). However, they are also positioned in a natural environment, next to a canal, with exotic fruits and vegetables. Castro's original image of a city market scene was repositioned into nature in Rosti's book.

Fig. 10. The pictorial title of *Úti emlékezetek*

The first written account of Mexico by Rosti also reinforced this attitude highlighted by the illustrations. At the beginning of the Mexican section in *Úti emlékezetek*, the introduction of the country begins with the presentation of the beauty and diversity of nature:

> This is how Mexico emerged in front of me […] The geographer marvels at the gigantic transformations to which this part of our globe has been subject to even in more recent times; the miner gapes in astonishment when seeing the thickness of noble metallic veins; the botanist can find almost all plants of our Earth, the produce of the hot, temperate and cold zones, limited to a relatively small area and fills with admiration on the wealth of nature in newer and newer forms.[356]

The country is also of great interest for linguists, historians, and archeologists according to Rosti, "while the brush of the painter can barely make the magnificent, charming, merry landscapes, mountains, waterfalls, and groups of trees appear."[357] It is only after this fascination with nature has been expressed that Rosti provides data and statistics on the area and population of Mexico. Rosti, before sharing details on the social and economic circumstances of the country, claims that he wants to say a few words about "what especially characterizes the land of Mexico: i.e. the peculiar formation, structure of its mountain that scarcely has a match on the globe"[358] (Cordillera de la Sierra Madre). Rosti quotes Humboldt at length and his style of describing the country is also reminiscent of the Prussian's approach mentioned above.

Rosti disembarked in Veracruz and started his Mexican travel account with the portrayal of this town, similarly to all travel writers arriving from the East. "I have never seen such a sad city," states Rosti, but instead of presenting the town and its population, he focuses

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[356] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 107: "Igy tűnt fel előttem Mexico […] A földbúvár bámulva vizsgálja a hatalmas átalakulásokat, melyeknek földtekénk e része még az ujabb időben is alá volt vetve; a bányász elámul a nemes ércz-erek vastagságán; a füvész földünk majd minden növényét, a forró, mérsékelt s hideg-öv terményeit fölleli, aránylag kis térre szorítva s csodálattal telik el a természetnek új meg új alakokbani gazdagságán;"

[357] ibid.: "a festész ecsetje alig képes elötüntetni majd a nagyszerű, majd a kies, kedélyes tájakat, hegyalakzatokat, zuhatagokat, facsoportokat."

[358] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 108: "mi Mexico földjét különösen jellemzi: hegylánczának t.i. sajátságos alakzatát, szerkezetét, melyhez hasonló földtekénken alig található."

on the environment of the port and describes the flora and fauna. As opposed to the negative depiction of the settlement as "sad," Rosti expresses his admiration for nature, bordering on a religious experience: "nice forests have touched my spirit in our mother country as well, but I cannot put into words that kind of affection, religious devotion that the solitude of American primeval forests always had on me."[359] The primeval forest, however lonely it seems, is lively and loud, according to Rosti, and he presents an image of beautiful nature with dynamic descriptions, well supplemented by the illustrations. Rosti had a similar approach to the introduction of other cities as well. Even when writing about Mexico City, he is mostly preoccupied with the surrounding environment and describes the city and its history only afterwards: he approaches from the larger view, the surrounding environment, and only then does he provide a close-up of the city itself, presenting first its past then its present.[360]

The portrayal of nature occupies a key position in the narratives of all of Rosti's journeys within Mexico, and the change of flora and fauna indicates his movement within the landscape. While in the case of László nature is seen as dangerous and something that has to be subdued by civilization, for Rosti nature is beautiful and idyllic: "On a clear spring morning I could walk as I wished in a flowery field, all alone, in complete freedom; above me small birds sang along, around me bees, butterflies, lizards, crickets abounded and jangled: an unspeakable satisfaction took possession of me."[361] Often, Rosti claims that he cannot resist but has to walk out and enjoy nature. This is a different attitude from his Hungarian contemporaries, representing a romantic approach towards picturesque, sublime nature. There are no explicit references in *Úti emlékezetek* to business opportunities offered by the natural environment, by flora and fauna (as in the case of the capitalist vanguard).

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[359] ibid: "Szép erdő már hazánkban is meghatotta kedélyemet, de az áhitatnak, vallásos elfogódásnak azon nemét, melyet az amerikai őserdők magánya mindig keltett bennem, nem bírom szavakba foglalni."
[360] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 127.
[361] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 120: "Derült tavaszi reggel virágos réten járkálhattam kedvem szerint, egyes – egyedül, teljes szabadságban; fölöttem kis madárkák zengedeztek, köröttem méhek, lepkék, gyíkok, tücskök hemzsegtek, zajongtak: a kimondhatlan elégültség szállott meg."

Volcanoes, in part due to Humboldt's influence again, were important destinations of Rosti during his visit to Mexico. One of the longest descriptions of a single topic involve Rosti's adventure and exploration of Popocatepetl, the climbing of which was certainly a great accomplishment by the Hungarian. He describes the expedition over several pages, and illustrates it with a number of images. He introduces himself not as a tourist but as a brave and exceptional traveler who is motivated by his scientific curiosity and drive for knowledge: "at this time of the year (in winter) the journey is particularly dangerous, indeed impossible, and even if I do not go blind due to the reflection of the sun on the snow, I will certainly suffer from the inflammation of the eye."[362] Rosti emphasizes the difficulties of the expedition and presents what Pratt calls the monarch-of-all-I-survey trope.[363] The descriptions highlighted the privileged point of view of Rosti and a kind of authority over the landscape: "I started out all alone as the crow flies, for good fortune; I have reached the quite steep cone at sunset from where I have enjoyed an indescribably beautiful view."[364]

According to Pratt, in such expeditions as this one

> the verbal painter must render momentously significant what is, especially from a narrative point of view, practically a non-event. […] As a rule the 'discovery' of sites […] involved making one's way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any big lakes, etc. in the area, then hiring them to take you there, whereupon with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew.[365]

This certainly fits Rosti as well, as we know from the book that he was accompanied by a guide (who actually cut the steps into the ice so that he could climb up[366]) and he also met locals who worked up in the mountain. Still, it was a great accomplishment and his monarch-of-all-I-survey attitude changes only at the end of the description and the climax of the "story"

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[362] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 172: "ezen időszakban (télen) az út fölötte veszélyes, sőt lehetetlen, s hogy a sok hó visszafényétől, ha meg nem vakulok, legalábbis szemgyulladást kapok."
[363] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 201.
[364] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 175: "Egyes egyedül indultam torony-iránt, jó szerencsére; épen napnyugtakor értem föl a meglehetős meredek kúpra, melyről leírhatatlanul szép látvány kilátást élveztem."
[365] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 202.
[366] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 176.

is never reached. He climbs up to the highest point and states: "The view that can be seen from there is indescribably magnificent; still, when I looked at the valleys extending around and below me, the lines of mountains that appeared as hillocks, and the towns and villages that looked like white dots, it seemed to me that from lower heights, for example from the Cerro Gordo, the view is more enchanting and jovial."[367]

When reading *Úti emlékezetek,* one is under the impression that Rosti considered reports on the populace as "deviations" from the main purpose of the text, the description of nature. At one point, after describing Native Americans, he states: "Now, after this rather tiring deviation, let us walk back to the beautiful valley of Orizaba"[368] and thus to nature from society. At the same time, it would not be fair to claim that Rosti did not pay attention to the people of Mexico as he included thorough accounts of different social and ethnic groups even if these did not occupy such a prominent position. Rosti was interested in ethnography, the lifestyle of the locals, their customs and holidays, and he was especially fascinated by the Indian's way of life. However, as opposed to the liveliness of nature, social life is described by Rosti as desolate: "However pleasant Mexico [City]'s climate is, however enchanting its environs and interesting its people are, the European traveler, who requires a more enthusiastic social life in the larger towns, will not enjoy himself in this city after a longer stay. There is no sign of social life there, unless in the group of Europeans."[369] Again, such descriptions might provide just as much information on the writer than the country and people being written about, to return to one of the basic tenets of travel writing studies.

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[367] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 180: "A kilátás, mely onnan nyílik, leírhatatlanul nagyszerű; mégis, a mint eltekintettem a köröttem s alattam terülő völgyeken, a halmok gyanánt mutatkozó hegysorokon, s a fehér pettyeknek látszó városokon s falvakon, ugy tetszett nekem, hogy kisebb magasságokról, például a Cerro gordoról a kilátás igézőbb, kedélyesebb."

[368] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 120: "Most, e tán kissé fárasztó kitérés után sétáljunk vissza Orizaba gyönyörű völgyébe."

[369] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 153: "De bármi kellemes is Mexikó égalja, bármi bájoló a környéke és érdekes a népe, az európai utas, ki a nagyobb városokban lelkesebb társadalmi életet igényel, hosszabb tartózkodás után e városban nem fogja magát jól érezni. A társaséletnek ott nyoma sincs, hacsak nem az ott mulató európaiak körében."

The Mexican Populace: Curiosity and Return to Stereotypes?

Rosti introduces his readers to Mexican society and culture and discusses various groups, those he was especially interested in, in separate chapters. He documents the lifestyle of Indians in Chapter III (while also dealing with the Aztecs when discussing the history of Mexico City in Chapter VIII) and the Creole (Criollo) and Mestizo populations in Chapter VII; he also offers a critical view of the Mexican clergy and reinstates the image of Mexico as a dangerous land of bandits for travelers. Some of the stereotypes discussed before are still present in Rosti's accounts (for example about the cowardice of the population in general[370]), but at the same time he provides one of the most detailed and reliable descriptions of the local populace. With the help of his illustrations, Hungarians could not only read about Mexicans but could see their typical clothes (sometimes even in color), tools, appearance, and all of these positioned within the context of the surrounding environment.[371] As we have seen, Rosti considered social life in Mexico to be dull and boring; however, he often found the population itself interesting and worthy of scrupulous attention.

Similarly to László and Xántus, Rosti had a rather negative opinion of the Creole population. "The Criollos form the aristocracy of Mexico, not in terms of birth, because all differences in rank have been eliminated in the republic—at least on paper—but in terms of money and intellect."[372] Rosti claims that Criollos resemble the Spanish with regard to their outside appearance, customs and lifestyle, but he also emphasizes that they have their own, special characteristics. He writes about their physical appearance, religious views, and language (including the special blend of Spanish and Indian words).

First, Rosti is not as judgmental as Xántus or László: "The Criollo," he writes, "has a lively intellect, right taste, fine feeling, and has a great inclination to all branches of the arts.

[370] See for example, Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 112.
[371] See for example the description of the clothing of Indians: Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 116 and the image on page 117, or the clothing of Criollo men on page 132 and the colored lithograph on the page facing it.
[372] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 130: "A kreolok Mexico aristokratiáját képezik, nem a születésbelit, mert a köztársaságban miden rangkülönbség – papíron legalább – el van tarülve, de a pénz- és értelembelit."

[…]" but later he also reinforced the typical image, contrasting the local population with European standards: "the Criollo could become an excellent painter, sculptor or musician, if at the same time his personality would also demonstrate industry, endurance, determination, and mature deliberation."[373] They cannot become men of science or artists because "serious study and thinking is lacking, and he can hardly conclude from two ideas a third one." Similarly to other travel accounts, *Úti emlékezetek* also emphasizes that the Criollos are vehement, hot-tempered, good dancers and passionate card-players, gamblers who insist only on the appearances of religion while also being sumptuous. Rosti criticizes this group for "not living for the country," for not fighting for the progress of the nation. Such a description is clearly in line with Rosti's general judgment of Mexicans: "Oh Mexico! when will you realize that only those people can be happy and powerful who devote the most precious treasure, freedom, to the betterment of the dear motherland and can love it more than their own interests."[374] This seems to be a comment not only on Mexico but also on Rosti's heritage as a revolutionary (a participant of a failed War of Independence) and his character as someone always working for the improvement of the mother country.

Rosti introduces the Mestizo population separately and compares them mostly to the Criollos. He writes that the conquistadors already started relationships with Indian women and this process continued for 300 years, giving way to a new "mixture of races:" "the descendants of Criollos or Europeans who also have Indian blood in their veins."[375] He projects a rather positive view of this group of the population. In terms of character and appearance, these people have features of both the father and mother while at the same time manifesting genuineness and distinct national characteristics: "while the Criollo imitates the Spanish and the Indian sticks to the customs of the ancestors, the Mestizo is a characteristic,

[373] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 130: "A kreolnak ugyanis felfogása gyors, izlése helyes, tapintata finom, kivált pedig a művészet minden ágához hajlama nagy. […] A kreolból kitünő festész, képfaragó vagy zenész válhatnék, ha jellemében egyuttal meg volna a tevékenység, a kitartás, az erély s az érett megfontolás."
[374] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 192: "Óh Mexicó! mikor látod át, hogy csak oly nép lehet boldog, nagy, hatalmas, mely legbecsesb kincsét, a szabadságot kedves hona gyarapítására fordítja s ezt jobban tudja szeretni, mint a magán érdeket."
[375] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 133.

autochthonous Mexican."[376] As regards appearance and clothing style (for both men and women), together with eating habits, and the description of housing, Rosti writes: "The lifestyle of the Mestizo is simpler than that of the Criollo but not as poorish as that of the Indian. […] with regards to his personal character, the Mestizo is even more thoughtless and hot-tempered than the Criollo and even more passionate a card-player and lover, whose vehemence often forces him to kill, especially as a result of disputes and jealousy;"[377] At the same time, they are more determined, more masculine, more active, and they get used to work and tiredness easier than the Criollos. Juarez, just as in the case of László, served for Rosti as an example that non-white people could rise to powerful and respectable positions.

Rosti always pays special attention to Indians: "In the population of Orizaba and that of the entire Republic of Mexico the main elements are the Indians, these genuine, full-blooded Americans."[378] He devotes separate chapters to the description of this group, and his interest is also highlighted by the fact that he held his inauguration speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences about Indians. Glant describes his talk as a work of scholarly character that is "built on the trope of the noble savage, an essentially monogenist view, that is complemented by a sympathy towards Indians mixed with pity."[379] Such a view characterizes his accounts of Indians in Mexico as well.

At the beginning of the Mexican section of his book, Rosti refutes some of the European stereotypes and misconceptions about Indians: not all Indians are half naked people painted and decorated with feathers (as described in romantic literary works); the Indian people of Peru and Mexico were agricultural societies already at the time of the Incas and Aztecs, and they kept much of their ancient customs, clothes, and language; Indians were not

[376] ibid: "míg a kreol a spanyolt utánozza, az Indus pedig ősapái szokásaihoz ragaszkodik: a mestizza sajátságos, tős-gyökeres mexicoi."
[377] ibid: "A mestizzák életmódja egyszerűbb mint a kreoloké, de nem oly szegényes mint az indusoké. […] Jelleménél nézve a meztizza még könnyelmüebb és hevesebb mint a kreol s ennél még szenvedélyesebb kártyás és szerelmes, hevessége gyakran gyilkolásra ragadja, kivált viták és szerelemféltés következtében."
[378] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 115: "Orizaba vidékének sőt az egész mexicoi köztársaságnak népességében a főalkatrészt az indusok, ezen valóságos, telivér amerikaiak képezik."
[379] Glant, *Csodák és Csalódások,* 93.

slaves and never had been. While introducing the Indians of Mexico Rosti touches upon several topics: the role and position of women (see below), physical appearance, clothing, eating and drinking habits (similarly to others, he described tortilla and pulque making in detail), and their religious views with special attention to the mixture of Christian and Native beliefs (transculturation). Rosti also calls attention to diversity within the Indian population in the Americas in general and in Mexico in particular: he emphasizes differences between the Indian tribes in terms of their language, customs, and character, claiming that in Mexico only "there are 20 (according to some 35) different Indian languages."[380] His portrayal is not simplistic, he quotes extensively from various studies and does not merely repeat earlier stereotypes.

He also shared the attitude of László and Xántus, claiming that "the Indians stand at a low level of intellectual development and they grew completely stupid."[381] Meanwhile, he emphasizes that they are not incapable of improvement as evidenced by their history. They achieved high, advanced levels in the fields of arts and sciences (e.g. in astronomy), "but with the complete lack of education, superstitions and misguided zeal utterly captivate their minds, and due to their limitless stubbornness they suffer from misery, oppression, and their depraved social status, instead of pushing on even to the slightest degree to get out of their present situation or to make it easier."[382] Similarly to Humboldt, Rosti believed that white civilization ruined this people (they were not inherently inferior) and as they are the only workers in Mexico, they could have a much better life: "It is impossible for our heart not to be filled with pain when looking at this unfortunate people, who fell into stupidity and

[380] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 138.
[381] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*: "indusok az értelmi fejlettség igen-igen alant fokán állanak, teljesen elbútultak."
[382] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 115-16: "hanem mivel a nevelésnek teljes hiányában, a babonaság, a vakbuzgóság teljesen lenyűgözi elméjüket, s mivel határtalan csökönyösségüknél fogva inkább elszenvedik a nyomort, az elnyomatást, társadalmi aljas helyzetüket, semhogy legkevesebbet is lendítenének, hogy ezen állásukból kivergődjenek vagy azon könnyítsenek."

degradation living in rags, in miserable huts, vegetating on maize, a bit of vegetables and roots without any noble goal in life, finding their sole happiness in drinking."[383]

To illustrate his point, Rosti devotes a chapter to the discussion of the ancestors of the Indians and the history of the Aztecs. This is a valuable overview and shows that Rosti did research in this field and wanted to provide a thorough historical background. He quotes from the letters of Cortez, the writings of Humboldt, and others. He describes the rise of the Aztec Empire and writes admiringly about the achievements of the ancient inhabitants, focusing on arts and sciences as well. According to Rosti, the old Mexicans had noble sentiments, loved their country, and were brave and real heroes.[384] However, he repeats what he has concluded in other cases as well: after the collapse of the Aztec Empire, "the Indians in Mexico sank deeper and deeper. Their old problem, the lack of unity, contributes greatly to their deterioration."[385]

Ancient ruins represented a common theme in travel accounts; however, in the case of Rosti it was also connected to his interest in the history of the Indians and Humboldt's influence. Xochicalco was included in his publication as "Humboldt's description and illustrations inspired Carl Nebel and Pal Rosti to visit and graphically document this archeological site."[386] An excursion to ancient ruins also offered an opportunity to take unique photos: "That photography and archeology were joined from the first official proclamation of a photographic process has been noted so frequently that it has become a cliché."[387] As a benefit of photography travelers could "record the remnants of antiquity" providing an exact and rapid means of reproduction. "It is no exaggeration that in the last half of the nineteenth

[383] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 116: "Lehetetlen, hogy szivünk ne teljék el fájdalom és szánalommal e szerencsétlen nép láttára, mely elbutúlva, elaljasodva, rongyokba burkolózva, nyomorul kunyhókban, tengerin, egy kis zöldségen s gumó-növényeken tengődik minden nemesebb életczél nélkül, egyedüli örömét az iszákosságban találva."
[384] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 137.
[385] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 138: "az indusok Mexicoban mind alább-alább süllyedtek. Régi bajuk, az egység hiánya, tetemesen elősegíti romlásukat."
[386] Holl, "Humboldt's Expedition through Mexico," 53.
[387] Castleberry, *New World's Old World,* 37.

century anything with a claim to antiquity was recorded photographically."[388] This was the case in Mexico as well, and Rosti contributed to the documentation of ancient ruins and the dissemination of information about them.

Rosti visited the ancient sites with the clear intention of taking photographs. "I came to this valley [Cautla and Cuerna-Vacca] on the one hand to see one of the most fertile, most cultivated, and most fascinating regions of Mexico, and on the other hand, to witness the Aztec antiquities."[389] He starts the description with nature in this case as well, the beautiful vegetation, the presentation of the lively, exotic natural scenery. Then he provides a detailed report of the ruins themselves, expressing marvel at the ancient structures: "It is also amazing, almost inexplicable, how they brought all these monstrous stones, when there is neither porphyry nor trachyte by far and the Indians, as we all know, had no animals to carry them."[390] He quotes several times from Humboldt in his descriptions, presenting him again as his most reliable source. A short section within this chapter mentions a special disease (pinto) among the Indians, which resulted in the coloring of the skin. Rosti discusses social and cultural implications and consequences of the illness among the Native population, which seems to be an early description of the relationship between medical issues and culture discussed in the next chapter.

Similarly to the travel writers discussed in the previous two chapters, Rosti wrote about Mexican women, and, what is more important, we get more insights into their life than from the other travelogues discussed earlier. He seems to be more sensitive to the problems of this group than László or Xántus: it is Indian women who work all day (cooking, washing, carrying water, etc.) and

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[388] Castleberry, *New World's Old World*, 38.
[389] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 187: "E völgybe [Cautla s Cuerna-Vacca] egyrészt az okból rándultam, hogy Mexico legtermékenyebb, legműveltebb s legbájosabb vidékeinek egyikét meglátogassam, másrészt pedig Aztec régiségek miatt, melyek Cuerna-vakka környékén találkoznak."
[390] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 190: "Bámulatra méltó, szinte megmagyarázhatatlan az is, honnan s mikép hozták ezen sok iszonyu követ, holott a környéken messzi földön nincs porfir sem trakit, s az indusoknak, mint tudjuk, nem voltak teherhordó állatjaik."

> women have the most pitiable fate: they work the most and they get basically nothing from what is earned. […] Poor women cannot rest on Sundays either: then they have to take the goods to the market, often seating their children on the heavy load, and carrying their babies on their breasts. On the way home, she has to lead her drunken husband, or if he cannot continue, she has to sit next to him and wait until he recovers.[391]

At the same time, he repeats some of the recurring images, including that of the beautiful señorita with seducing eyes: "The Criollo women with their always beautiful and coquettish eyes kindle love in the hearts of the Criollo, who are especially susceptible to this."[392] He also emphasizes their neglected education (mostly in comparison with European women): "writing, reading, and maybe a bit of catechism, […] if we add piano, guitar or singing lessons, we are ready with the education of Mexican women."[393] He seems to be most interested in courting traditions and actually devotes a separate section to its introduction in Mexico City.[394] Rosti also touches upon the issue of gender and smoking as discussed in the previous section and writes: "It is said that a few years ago people smoked cigars even in the boxes [in the theatre], just as the gentle sex also smoked at that time. At present, women abandoned smoking, at least in public; however, women of the lower classes still smoke the cigarro as men."[395]

As has been noted, the image of the Mexican bandit and dangers of traveling were integral parts of travel accounts on Mexico. The noting of the existence and attacks of bandits reflected a real social problem[396] but the extensive and often recurring references to travelers being robbed seems to be an exaggeration and the recirculation of earlier stories and hearsay.

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[391] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 116: "legszánandóbb sorsuk van az asszonyoknak: legtöbbet dolgoznak s a keresményből ugyszolvan semmitsem kapnak. […] A szegény asszonynak vasárnap sincs pihenése: ekkor piacra kell vinni az árukat, s s nehéz terhére gyakran még gyermekét ülteti, csecsemőjét pedig mellén hordozza. Hazamenet részeg férjét kell vezetnie, vagy ha ez már nem bír, melléje ulnie s bevárnia, mig felocsúdik."
[392] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 132: "A kreol nők mindig szép, mindig kacér szemükkel könnyen gyujtanak szerelmet az erre nagyon is fogékony kreolok keblében."
[393] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 132.
[394] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 149.
[395] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 147: "Mondják, hogy néhány évvel ezelőtt a páholyokban is szivaroztak, minthogy akkoriban a szépnem is rágyujtott. Jelenleg az 'asszonysagok' a füstöléssel, nyilvános helyeken legalább, felhagytak, az also osztálybeli nők azonban csak ugy élnek a cigarro-val mint a férfiak."
[396] Lynn, *Mexikó története,* 114.

This is especially true in the case of Hungarians: they report on stories of bandit attacks but they rarely, if at all, get involved in such incidents personally. Xántus, for example, writes the following as an introduction to his journey within the country: "The consul also told us that the area between San Bartolome and Santa Magdalena is overrun by *ladrones* or bandits and that we should not count on completing our venture without any trouble."[397] Based on this information the group requested protection but nothing happened during the journey and they arrived at their destination safely. László also shared with his readers stories he had read about bandits attacking Americans in Mexico and he emphasizes that they travel within Mexico with guns, ready to fight.[398] In his letters, however, no personal incidents are included.

Such accounts serve to illustrate the lack of safety in the country and its backwardness. In this respect as well, Hungarian travelers used narrative strategies and elements borrowed from Western travel writers: "In the nineteenth century, Anglo-Saxon travelers were fixated on Mexican bandits. In writing about Mexico, these travelers used images of the bandit as a metaphor for Mexican society and to measure the country's progress, or lack thereof."[399] With the image of bandits, Mexico was presented as dangerous and semi-civilized. "Notwithstanding their anxieties, most foreigners suffered nothing more than the discomforts of traveling a miserably maintained highway."[400] As we will see, Bánó in Chapter 6 raises his voice against such depictions by travelers who over exaggerated the threat posed by banditry (as we will see below, this already reflected internal changes in the country as well).

The image of the Mexican bandit became an integral part of the Hungarian portrayal of Mexico in the travelogues of the first wave of writers discussed here in Part I. Rosti, when describing his journey from Veracruz to Mexico City, also uses this element: "the lonely

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[397] Xántus, *Utazás,* 172.
[398] See: "László Károly levelei Amerikából VI (Vége)," *Vasárnapi Újság,* July 24, 1859 and "László Károly levelei Amerikából VII," *Vasárnapi Újság,* August 21, 1859.
[399] Chris Frazer, *Bandit Nation: A History of Outlaws and Cultural Struggle in Mexico, 1810-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 58. Hereafter cited as Frazer, *Bandit Nation.*
[400] Frazer, *Bandit Nation,* 82.

travelers, the *ariero*, the *diligencia* are all equally afraid of the *ladrones* or outlaws. Especially in the last months of my stay there when due to the Civil War confusion was at its peak, the *diligencias* were robbed three or four times a week and it happened more than once that I saw the travelers of these robbed *diligencias* returning only wearing one shirt and barefooted."[401] The described scenario is similar in Rosti's case to other travel accounts of the time; he mentions that while traveling everyone had a story of an attack by bandits,[402] Rosti himself, however, was never attacked (we should note that he would have been a "worthy target" as he was traveling with expensive equipment all the time).

It is also important to note that while these bandits and outlaws make Mexico a dangerous place, their depiction also reflects Rosti's view of the general population. They are cowards, attacking only if there are several of them and from behind bushes, hillocks; sometimes it is even possible to scare the "compadres" away with one or two shots as the "Mexican outlaw, just as the local population in general, is cowardly."[403] He also indicates their uncivilized nature by claiming that they also rob women and "as it is said, sometimes they long not only for their jewelry." Meanwhile, his own (masculine) superiority is reinforced by Rosti. When climbing the Popocatépetl, the Hungarian even accuses his guide of intentionally losing the way so that he can attack and kill Rosti: the Mexican had no chance, however, "because I slept only with one eye closed, I did not put down my revolver for a second, and kept putting wood on the fire while he became so tired and was so lazy that he did not move until the morning and he did not dare to attack me."[404]

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that Humboldt's greatest influence can be seen in his reinvention of the region (and Mexico in particular) "first and foremost as nature," with all its

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[401] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 112: "a magános utas, az ariero, a diligentia mind egyaránt tartanak a "ladrones" vagyis zsiványoktól. Ottlétemnek kivált utolsó hónapjaiban, midőn a polgár-háború folytán a fejetlenség tetőfokára hágott, a diligentiákat hetenkint 3-4-szer is kirabolták s s nem egyszer láttam ily kifosztott diligentia utasait egy ingben, gyakran mezitláb is visszatérni."
[402] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 113.
[403] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 112.
[404] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 175: "mert csak félszemmel aludtam, revolveremtől pillanatnyira sem váltam el s egyre raktam fát a tűzre, mig ő annyira elfáradt s oly lusta volt, hogy reggelig meg sem mozdult, s nem is merészlet megtámadni."

hidden wealth and treasures, and in a way which resulted in the erasure of the human from the image.[405] We can see the reinforcement of the same approach in the case of Rosti both in terms of his writing, and symbolically, in terms of his photos. With his travel account using illustrations based on his photographs, Rosti provided a novel perspective in Hungarian travel writing on Mexico. Besides the written accounts, Hungarians were now familiarized with this distant land by means of "light drawing" as well. Rosti's *Úti emlékezetek* became a reference work on Mexico, excerpts from his work were used extensively in later publications. Viktor Szokoly, in his book introduced in the next chapter, praises Rosti as the only Hungarian providing travel accounts on Mexico. Popular geography books discussed in Chapter 6 also built on Rosti's publications and quoted from *Úti emlékezetek* at length.

Rosti planned to stay in Mexico for a longer time and wanted to travel to Peru so as to continue writing and taking photographs there. Unfortunately, this could not be realized and he had to return to Europe. There is no doubt that had his plans been realized, Rosti would have produced a similarly unique and invaluable publication on regions not discussed in *Úti emlékezetek*. Rosti provided a more independent image of Mexico (from the United States) than his contemporaries and through his vivid descriptions and special illustrations he offered new insights into life in the country. A few months after the publication of his book, when French intervention put Mexico into the limelight in Hungary as well, those interested could turn to *Úti emlékezetek* as the source in Hungarian considered to be the most reliable and best of its kind.

The three travel writers discussed in Part I of the present dissertation provided the first detailed accounts of Mexico written by Hungarians in Hungarian. László traveled and wrote primarily as an emigrant, Xántus an adventurer (among other roles), and Rosti posed as a scientific traveler. They all provided authentic information on Mexico even if it is hard to identify their own voice in the texts, especially in the case of Xántus and Rosti. The image transmitted by these three Hungarians was not complimentary. The Mexican population was shown as lazy, uneducated, and

[405] Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek*, 118 and 122-23.

backward. The country was viewed as undeveloped and in need of foreign assistance. The perception of the country was influenced to a great extent by the purposes of the journeys and the background of the travel writer: Xántus and László both wanted to act and be perceived as Americans (US citizens), while Rosti's writing style was greatly influenced by his aristocratic background. However, despite their identification with foreign norms and models, they all wanted to serve their mother country both by means of their activities in the Americas and their publications.

Mexico did not appear independently in the writings of the first wave of travelers: László and Xántus used triangulation, where the United States served as a third reference point besides Hungary, and Mexico was constantly measured against the Northern neighbor. For Rosti, Mexico represented only one stage in his Latin-American journey and accounts of the country were not published independently. It was in this sense that the travel accounts comprising the case studies of Part II brought changes. From the middle of the 1860s, there was an increased interest in the American country in Hungary due to historical events (and Hungarian links) and thus a more autonomous image of Mexico could emerge, even if, the generally negative view of the country prevailed for the time being.

Part II

Growing Interest:
A Habsburg in Mexico and Hungarian Travel Accounts

French intervention in 1861 and the subsequent ascent of Maximilian von Habsburg, younger brother of Emperor Franz Joseph, to the Mexican throne in 1864 affected the development of Hungarian perceptions of Mexico in several ways. Due to Habsburg involvement and the fact that 1,047 Hungarian participants also accompanied the new Emperor to Mexico as part of the *Österreichisches Freiwilligenkorps* (Austrian Volunteer Corps), there was a growing interest both in contemporary events in Mexico and the country in general. This was the first time when there was a direct connection between the American country and Hungary and thus there was a clear demand for information. More attention was devoted to this American nation than ever before: Mexico was "put on the map" in Hungary, and as many of the Hungarian participants shared their experiences during the adventure or after their return home, more accounts were published than in the previous period. In these texts, a more independent image of Mexico evolved as it became attractive in its own right. The first voices calling for the reevaluation of the attitude towards Mexico also emerged although they failed to leave behind the former racist writing style and view of Mexico as an inferior nation. This was due to the fact that they entered the country as members of an imperial army and used travel accounts partly to justify their presence.[406]

Hungarians who wanted to learn more about this far-away country as a result of the events could turn to the travel accounts discussed in the previous chapters and later to the various publications written by Hungarian participants. The growing demand for information on Mexico in the wake of a Habsburg-led empire was recognized:

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[406] This was an important period in travel writing in other countries as well, see for example: Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise*. For pioneering studies on Hungarian military travel accounts see: Miklós Mihály Nagy, *Magyar hadiutazók* (Budapest: Kornétás, 2001). Hereafter cited as Nagy, *Magyar Hadiutazók,* and *Világjáró magyar katonák* (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2007), hereafter cited as Nagy, *Világjáró magyar katonák.*

> Now that it is not only military reports that arrive frequently concerning the progress of French troops fighting on the battlegrounds in Mexico but the throne of the country was also offered to one of the archdukes of the Austrian ruling family, I am sure that readers of this paper will not mind if we also take a glimpse at life in that country.[407]

This was the introduction to an 1863 article presenting Mexico, based on the translation of excerpts from Fanny Calderón de la Barca's 1843 travel account *Life in Mexico*. More up-to-date information was also required, and the attention devoted to the country resulted in the publication of all types of works. Viktor Szokoly, for example, published *Mexikó története Miksa császárig* [The history of Mexico to Emperor Maximilian] in 1866 claiming "that there are only a few countries in the world whose history would offer a more attractive reading."[408] Szokoly wrote his book based on William H. Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843) and Rosti's *Úti emlékezetek*, among others, and claimed that besides the latter only a handful of Hungarians had written about Mexico before. He also insisted that Rosti's book was too expensive and he wanted to publish a cheaper and thus more widely available work to make the country's history and description available for as many Hungarians as possible. When presenting Szokoly's book, *Hazánk s a Külföld* (with Szokoly as its editor) wrote: "Ever since the throne of Mexico was occupied by an Austrian archduke, who was also accompanied on the transatlantic journey by many of our compatriots, the understanding of this empire has become twice as interesting for us Hungarians."[409]

Many participants of the events also decided to share their experience with Hungarian readers. Soldiers and their accounts of faraway places always played a special role in travel writing as this group represented one of the most mobile sections of society and their accounts often provided introductions to regions not visited by others.[410] "Our soldiers—emigrants,

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[407] Szeberényi L., "Mexikói élet," *Vasárnapi Újság,* October 25 and November 1, 1863.
[408] Preface, Viktor Szokoly, *Mexikó története Miksa császárig, különösen ős- és ujabbkori története, államszervezete, azték műveltségi története s különböző népfajaira vonatkozólag* (Pest: Emich Gusztáv, 1966), n.p.
[409] *Hazánk s a Külföld,* March 18, 1866. See also Nagy, *Magyar hadiutazók,* 49.
[410] For more information, see footnote 406 above.

members of the armies of the Austrian Empire and later that of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—were present at almost all theaters of war in the world and there were many among them who enriched our knowledge of geography significantly by publishing their experience of the wars and journeys."[411] Usually, these travelogues provide more than accounts of military events: descriptions of life, culture, and society. In Hungarian travel writing studies most critical attention has been devoted to former Hungarian revolutionaries and their reports (although not necessarily from the perspectives discussed in Part I) and less has been written about later writers, including those discussed in this chapter. This is unfortunate because they were crucial in the history of travel writing in Hungary. According to Miklós Mihály Nagy, no organized Hungarian troops traveled so far from the mother country since the Crusades and most people in Hungary got to know Mexico as a result of this war.[412]

During Maximilian's adventure, numerous letters were published in popular newspapers by Hungarian soldiers that provided information on the Mexican events for Hungarian readers. Emil Nikolics wrote letters from the battleground published as early as 1866 in *Hazánk s a Külföld*.[413] The letters and articles of Pál Sarlay, engineer and interpreter at the court of Maximilian, were published in *Vasárnapi Újság* from 1867 onward, with reports on both Mexico and the United States.[414] These were not simply military accounts but provided readers with insights into Mexican life as well. István Burián's accounts were published in *Jász-Kunság* in 1868 under the title "Egy mexikói önkéntes naplójából" [from

[411] Miklós Mihály Nagy, "Mexikó magyar katonautazója: Pawlowszki Ede," *A Földrajz Tanítása* 7, no. 5 (1999): 11-17. Translation mine. Hereafter cited as Nagy, "Pawlowszki."
[412] Miklós Mihály Nagy, "Háry János utódai: A magyar katonai utazási irodalom," *Kortárs* 12 (2004): 91-104. Hereafter referred to as Nagy, "Háry János utódai."
[413] Nagy Miklós Mihály, "Újkori magyar katonautazók," *Magyar Tudomány* 8 (1999). Available online at: http://epa.oszk.hu/00700/00775/00008/1999_08_06.html. Access date: February 11, 2013.
[414] Pál Sarlay, "Eredeti levél Mexikóból," *Vasárnapi Újság,* December 27, 1868: 638-39. "Mexikóból," November 24 and December 1, 1867. See the Bibliography for his letters and articles on the United States.

the diary of a volunteer in Mexico].[415] These and other accounts, both published and unpublished,[416] warrant additional scholarly attention.

Maximilian's rule was short-lived and the Habsburg was executed in 1867. In the short-run, this put an end to the growing interest in the country, while, according to Szente-Varga, the execution itself did not play a prominent role in Hungarian news of the time because the country was primarily preoccupied with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. At the same time, even if there were no major reactions to the Mexican events, many people knew about the execution and the Mexican venture became an integral part of the Hungarian image of Mexico.[417] Later travelers and travel writers, including, for example, Bánó and Mrs. Mocsáry, discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, wrote about Querétaro (the location of the execution) and other places related to Maximilian as tourist attractions and memory sites. Further development of the image of Mexico was hindered by the fact that after 1867 diplomatic relations between Mexico and the Monarchy were terminated until 1901. However, accounts of Hungarian participants were published several years after the military campaign as well and they helped shape the image of Mexico in Hungary.

Some of the early accounts of the events reiterated former stereotypes and attitudes, including triangulation and the image of bandits and beautiful señoritas. Pál Sarlay, for example, used the same type of comparison with the US as László and Xántus did: "These people [Mexicans], their government and representatives, instead of taking the great progress of the United States as a model and trying to keep pace with it in terms of industry, commerce, mining, and education in general, remain in their stubbornness and press the stamp of inability on the forehead of their institutions and their work results in the isolation of the

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[415] Issues 10 to 46. He is not to be confused with the Hungarian politician of the same name, who served as the Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy during World War I.

[416] For an unpublished source, see the diary of Gyula Lukáts: "Egy önkéntes naplója Miksa császár mexikói kalandjáról (forrásközlés)," Available at: http://socialhistories.blog.hu/2008/11/29/egy_onkentes_naploja_miksa_csaszar_mexikoi_kalandjarol Access date: February 11, 2013.

[417] Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri,* 25.

country."[418] As a result of this, according to Sarlay, the country is lagging behind the Northern neighbor: there is no law and order, people steal, and bandits roam the country, making it a dangerous place. Other travel accounts of participants published several years after Maximilian's execution brought changes in this triangulation.

In two case studies in Chapter 5, I analyze two hybrid forms of travel writing, a doctor's account of Mexico and a soldier's recollections of the military events and Mexican life. Ede Szenger published his book in 1877 under the title *Mexiko felvidéke élet- és kórtani tekintetben* [A physiological and pathological description of the Mexican plateau] and provided a special mixture of a medical text and a travel account, while Ede Pawlowszki in his 1882 book *Miksa császár mexikói szerencsétlen expeditiójának leírása, kiválló tekintettel Queretaro 70 napig tartó ostromára. Mexikói élet—utazási élmények* [The description of the unfortunate expedition of Emperor Maximilian, with special attention to the 70-day siege of Queretaro. Mexican life—Impressions of a journey] presented both the details of military events and the experiences of traveling in the country. These two were probably the best known and most widely available publications about Mexico from participants in the venture and they are unique both in terms of travel writing in general and the development of the image of Mexico in particular. The books are especially noteworthy because the writers entered the country as members of an invading army; thus, they had a different purpose for travel and writing than those publishing before. At the same time, they both published their recollections several years after the events, so they had the time to distance themselves from their direct involvement and reevaluate the adventure itself. Mihály Miklós Nagy wrote about Pawlowszki in several articles and Dr. Árpád Szállási published two short studies on Szenger. Both writers are mentioned briefly (but as important figures) in the works of Szente-Varga and Torbágyi. However, similarly to many other travel writers discussed here, no detailed analysis of their texts has been offered yet.

[418] "Eredeti levél Mexikóból," *Vasárnapi Újság,* December 27, 1868.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ede Szenger and Ede Pawlowszki: Hungarians in Mexico's Second Empire

In 1864 the Austro-Hungarian Volunteer Corps was established with recruitment taking place in Ljubljana. Between November 1864 and March 1865, approximately 6,800 people embarked on the voyage to Veracruz, with more than a 1,000 Hungarians among them.[419] The legion participated in 15 battles of varying significance, with 177 Hungarians dying in Mexico.[420] Most of the Hungarians returned home at the beginning of 1866 when the legion was dissolved and only 180 volunteers remained in the country to continue service. Hungarian participants included not only soldiers but several doctors as well and some of the Hungarians settled in Mexico after the fall of the empire, many pursuing successful careers in the country later on.[421]

Dr. Ede Szenger was one of the physicians participating in the venture. We know little about him but even the sporadic information available reveals a remarkable and compelling life. He was born in 1833 in Pest and this is where he earned his medical diploma. After graduation, he worked at Rókus Hospital, at the department of surgery.[422] As a member of the Volunteer Corps, he worked in Teotitlán del Camino, Oaxaca, Mexico City, and after getting his medical diploma recognized,[423] he became the head of the Austrian military hospital in Puebla. The obituary in *Vasárnapi Újság* emphasizes that he witnessed the execution of Maximilian, showing that he was working close to the Emperor.[424] Szenger did not return to Hungary after 1867 but settled in Mexico and had a successful career. He started a private practice in San Luis Potosí and between 1872 and 1874 treated more than 3,000 patients. He

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[419] Katalin Jancsó, "Magyarok Habsburg Miksa, Mexikó császárának szolgálatában," *Tiszatáj* 65, no. 1 (2011): 72-79.
[420] Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 258, footnote 42.
[421] For more information see: Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 261-62.
[422] Balázs, *Magyar utazók lexikona,* 370.
[423] As it was necessary for everyone except for those graduating in Paris. See: Árpád Szállási, "Egy Manet-kép magyar orvosi vonatkozása," available at: http://mek.oszk.hu/05400/05439/pdf/Szallasi_Manet_SzengerEde.pdf. Access date: February 11, 2013.
[424] *Vasárnapi Újság,* August 14, 1904.

was one of the founders of the Sociedad Médica Potosina and he published in the paper of the Society several times.[425]

Szenger returned to Hungary after a decade's stay in Mexico and decided to publish a book based on his experience and medical findings. Many of his notes and documents were destroyed during his return voyage to Europe; thus, he had to base his publication only on a fragment of his original records. Even so, Szállási claims that this account was "not only an exciting travel book but also an early example of Hungarian medical geography."[426] Szenger traveled in Mexico extensively and became familiar with different regions of the country. In the publication, he provided not only medical information (in Chapters II and III) but began with the introduction of the country and its people, using tropes of travel writing. At the same time, and most importantly for us, at the end of the book he linked his medical findings with the depiction of Mexico and Mexicans, offering criticism of earlier travel writers for their hasty conclusions about the population.

After his return home, he continued his medical practice and wrote a longer article for *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* on the ninth anniversary of Maximilian's execution.[427] Besides his book and other writings, Szenger left behind several Mexican objects in the American Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography, including clay sculptures, pots, pipes, etc.[428] In 1876 Szenger requested admission to the Budapest Royal Medical Society (*Budapesti Királyi Orvosegyesület*) and became a member based on the decision of the general meeting at the end of the same year.[429] Unfortunately, there is no biographical data available about Szenger in the Medical History Archives in Budapest either, but there is

[425] Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri,* 24.
[426] Árpád Szállási, "Report by a Hungarian Physician on Mexico in the Nineteenth Century," *Hungarian Medical Journal* 2, no. 4 (2008): 687-689.
[427] June 18, 1876. The original has been translated to Spanish and is available at http://www.cmmayo.com/maximilian-la-muerte-del-emperador.html. Access date: February 11, 2013.
[428] Available at http://public.neprajz.hu/neprajz.01.06.php?bm=1&af=&kf=Szenger. Access date: February 11, 2013.
[429] Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Levéltár, Budapesti Királyi Orvosegyesület iratai, 1876.

correspondence regarding the inheritance of Szenger among the papers.[430] As the doctor had no close relatives, he left money to numerous associations, including the Medical Society. Using the money left by Szenger for the Society, the Ede Szenger Publication Award Fund (with 20,000 Korona capital) and the Ede Szenger Relief Fund (with 30,000 Korona capital) were established, the former rewarding outstanding publications, the latter helping practicing doctors in need and the families of deceased physicians.[431] Szenger passed away on August 6, 1904 in Budapest.

Besides Szenger, Ede Pawlowszki was the most important Hungarian travel writer in Maximilian's army. Fifteen years after the Austrian Monarch's execution, he provided one of the most thorough descriptions of the last days of Maximilian's reign as well as detailed descriptions of Mexico's geography and population. Unfortunately, however, we know little about his life, too.[432] Pawlowszki (written as Pawlowsky by Szinnyei) was born in 1834 in Pest into a Polish-Hungarian family. He studied in the Piarist school and at a young age (in 1850) joined the Imperial Army and served for 11 years. In 1859 he participated in the Italian campaign and was decorated for his merits shown in the Battle of Solferino. Due to family reasons, he left the army at the beginning of 1860 and worked as a drafter at the municipality of the capital. In 1864, he returned to armed service when he joined Maximilian's Mexican legion as a volunteer. He did so without receiving his earlier officer's rank due to the large number of applicants.

He arrived in Veracruz in 1865 and during his stay he visited Córdoba, Orizaba, Puebla, Tehuacán, Querétaro, Mexico City, Cuernavaca, Celaya, and Guanajuato. He participated in military campaigns and events throughout the conflict, rising to higher and higher positions within the army and receiving military awards for his service and courage in

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[430] Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Levéltár, Budapesti Királyi Orvosegyesület iratai, 1904 (47.1), 1905 (48.1). For the final version of the Deed of Foundation and Regulations see: 1906 (49).

[431] Katalin Kapronczay mentioned the Szenger award briefly in her article "A tudományos társaságok szerepe a magyar orvosi szakirodalom fejlődésében 1867 és 1914 között," *Orvostörténeti Közlemények*, 174-177 (2001): 5-44.

[432] The main source for this section is Szinnyei, *Magyar írók.* Other pieces of information come from Pawlowszki's own book and the works of Mihály Miklós Nagy as indicated.

several battles (including the Knight's Cross of the Order of Our Beloved Madonna of Guadalupe and the Mexican Golden Military Merit Medal[433]). His book is the only source about the details of his life and service. He fell into captivity at the same time as Maximilian did and was released after half a year (receiving amnesty with the help of Porfirio Díaz so he did not have to remain in prison for two years[434]). He returned to Europe, arriving in Vienna in 1868 where he witnessed the burial of Maximilian. After returning to Hungary, he went back to the army attaining the rank of major and from 1895 worked in military administration. We are still not familiar with the exact date of his death; according to Nagy, he must have died between 1923 and 1928 as he can be found in the address register of Budapest in 1923 but in 1928 only his widow was indicated.[435]

The books of both Szenger and Pawlowszki were published more than a decade after the actual events in Mexico. This was partly due to the decline of interest in Mexican affairs after the Compromise of 1867 (as noted by Szente-Varga above) and it also reflected the fact that diplomatic (and thus cultural) relations were terminated between the two countries after the execution.

A Doctor's Travel Account of Mexico

After spending more than ten years in Mexico, Szenger returned to Hungary and decided to publish memories of his journey and medical findings in the form of a book. He wanted to provide a useful publication for Hungarian medical geography and doctors. However, he created much more than that, and published a captivating travel account for the general public as well. Although doing so from a medical perspective, Szenger described Mexico in terms of binaries: he contrasted the Self and the Other, the familiar and the unfamiliar, and highlighted similarities and differences between Hungary (the Austro-Hungarian Empire) and Mexico. He

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[433] "The French Commemorative Medal for Mexico," available at: http://www.austro-hungarian-army.co.uk/mexican/mxfrench.htm. Access date: July 6, 2013.
[434] Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 260.
[435] Nagy, "Pawlowszki," 16.

was also preoccupied with presenting the peculiarities of the country and with discussing the possible causes of differences between the mother culture and the foreign land. Unlike in former travel accounts, triangulation did not play a central role in his book; thus, he provided a more independent image of Mexico than those writing before him. He was also one of the first travelers to call for a different, more "realistic" attitude towards Mexicans and to criticize former travel writers for jumping too quickly to hostile conclusions.

Due to lack of space, the strictly medical aspect of the book is ignored here and only issues that Szenger connected to the general description of the country and its citizens are considered (approximately 40 out of the 218 total pages). However, we have to note that Szenger's book is significant in medical history as well. According to Szállási, Szenger provided an early example of Hungarian medical geography and he created the first morbidity and mortality statistics of San Luis Potosi.[436] Szenger was also aware of the most recent medical and scientific findings and debates: he referred to Charles Darwin and several contemporary medical practitioners and writers. He called attention to the importance of clean air and clear water, discussed various issues including tuberculosis, pneumonia, yellow fever, sexual diseases, etc. Before the physiological and pathological sections of his book, however, he decided to introduce the country and its population, and in the closing section of the book, he not only provided a summary of his findings but also linked the character of Mexicans to medical issues.[437]

The Mexican Population

In the introductory section Szenger describes the geographical and meteorological conditions of the country. Throughout the book, his main goal is to explain the effects of such conditions on the population and their influence on the development of the body. He documents illnesses

[436] Szállási, "Report by a Hungarian Physician," 687-88.
[437] Health related descriptions were rare in former Hungarian travel accounts. Rosti referred to certain illnesses and even their social consequences (see Rosti, *Úti emlékezetek,* 152-53) but no detailed medical information had been included in travel accounts by Hungarians before.

that both locals and immigrants could be subject to. Similarly to László, he includes statistics on meteorology as well. For László, the meteorological charts provided a simple way of calling attention to differences between home and abroad, familiar and unfamiliar. Readers could easily contrast their own country's temperatures with those of the unknown, exotic land. For Szenger, the more detailed meteorological account supports the thesis of his book, namely that the environment and climate affect the behavior and characteristics of people. The height of the country above sea level, the scarcity and smaller oxygen content of the air, and lower air pressure all contributed to the development of the Mexican character according to Szenger, and the medical consequences related to these features played a key part in the depiction of the population.

Mexico's populace, in Szenger's taxonomy, consists of the American, Caucasian, and Ethiopian races, which have also created various mixed races during the history of the country.[438] Similarly to other travel writers, Szenger emphasizes that it is difficult to tell the exact number of people belonging to one particular group, partly because many of those of mixed ancestry try to pose as "pure" Caucasians so as to gain entry into higher classes of society. Although legally the "castes" have disappeared from society, their legacy lives on. Being called Indian is pejorative, according to Szenger, while saying that a woman is white is the same as calling her beautiful.[439] In consideration of this, Szenger claims that the actual number of white people is closer to 600,000 in Mexico than to the official number of 2,000,000. Mixed races provide the majority of the population and they are the strongest and most fit for life.

Similarly to Rosti, Szenger refers to Indians as the autochthonous American race. He begins the description of this group by writing about their physical and biological features, as expected from a book of medical concern (skin color, height, facial features, teeth, etc.). However, he also elaborates on social and cultural issues, in certain cases offering a different

[438] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 12.
[439] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 13.

attitude than previous travel writers. They are tough, if they have to work, they can exert great force and can travel long distances, and they are also very patient—writes Szenger. They seem to be living in stoicism without any interest in the world but "should the opportunity present itself, the half-sleeping fire flares up and they rebel like in the Yucatan, taking revenge on their oppressors, and whites or Mestizos who come under their hands die a miserable death."[440] Natives are portrayed as brave, unlike in the case of those writing before him, as well as cunning and having good mental abilities. Indians remember their past, writes Szenger, and they never forget that white people had taken away the land of their ancestors.

Szenger also points out that Indians have been at a much higher level of civilization before, however, their demise is not only due to their oppression by the Spanish. The Indians could also be blamed, according to Szenger, as due to their distrust of whites, Indians do not accept anything, they are always suspicious, therefore left on their own they cannot and do not "want to keep up in today's competition."[441] As a result of contact with Europeans (and the introduction of alcohol, guns, and wars), their number decreases day by day. "As a result of this, the pure American races have no future, and irrespective whether the yoke of the white men sits upon them with great load or not, they will disappear just as their high culture of the past has also disappeared."[442] According to Szenger, the Indians have isolated themselves from the white population and thus do not accept from them even what would have been beneficial "and thus there is nothing else left but perdition:"[443]

> The American race is declining, it is not fit for life. It has been in contact now for more than three hundred years with the advancing Caucasian race, sticking to ancient customs; however, they isolate themselves from the latter, they do not accept anything, civilization cannot exert its influence on them, and thus there is no other way but the extinction of this race. […] these people have

[440] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*, 14: "csak legyen alkalom és fellobban a félig alvó tűz, fellázadnak mint pld. Yucatanban, elégtételt vesznek elnyomóikon, s fehér vagy meszticz ki kezökbe kerül, kínos halállal múl ki."
[441] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 15: "így magára hagyatva a mai versenyben nem képes és nem is akar sort tartani."
[442] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 15: "Ennek következtében az amerikai tiszta fajoknak nincs jövőjük, s akár nehezedjék reájuk a fehér ember igája súlyosan vagy nem, ezentúl már mindegy, el fognak tűnni, miként eltűnt régen meglehetős magos culturájuk."
[443] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 58: "s így nem marad más hátra, mint az elpusztulás."

> declared their own death sentence with their defiant nature and refusal of progress, and by not wanting to adapt to new circumstances, they will disappear in front of the Caucasian race destined for world domination, the North American Indians will be exterminated and the Mexicans will slowly die out or will merge into mixed races with the Caucasian.[444]

This is an expression of a clearly racist ideology, emphasizing the superiority of the Caucasian race. While Humboldt (and his followers like Rosti) claimed that the degradation of the Native population was due to contact with and oppression by the Spanish, Szenger blames Indians and makes them responsible for their "low level of existence." Indians stand in the way of the advancement of the white race. Szenger, identifying with the imperial view, sees the extinction of Mexican Indians as a natural and necessary step. Such an "attitude of the colonizer" also provides a justification for European intervention (that Szenger participated in) in the affairs of Mexico even if the events of the 1860s (and Szenger's role in them) are not mentioned explicitly. Such an attitude is especially noteworthy in a medical text as "in the closing years of the nineteenth century medicine became a demonstration of the superior political, technical, and military power of the West, and hence a celebration of imperialism itself."[445]

Szenger claims that he does not want to enter the debate on the origin of American Indians as "it is not the task of this book to decide on the origin of the American people; it does not belong here to decide whether the blood of our father Adam flows in their veins or not."[446] However, throughout his descriptions he expresses clearly that differences between the various races are not inherent but to a great extent were due to the environment. This way

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[444] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke,* 60: "Az amerikai faj hanyatlik, nem életképes. Több mint háromszáz esztendeje, hogy az előrenyomuló kaukáz fajjal érintkezik, ragaszkodva azonban ősi szokásaihoz, ettől ezárkózik, tőle nem vesz föl semmit, a czivilisatio rá hatni nem bír, s így nem marad egyéb e faj kihalásánál. […] e népek kimondták maguk fölött a halálos itéletet saját daczosságuk, haladni nem akarásuk által, és nem akarván beleszokni az uj viszonyokba, a világuralomra hivatott kaukáz faj előtt el fognak tünni, az éjszakamerikai indusok ki fognak irtatni, a mexikoiak pedig lassan kihalni vagy a kaukázzal elegyedve a vegyes fajokba beolvadni."

[445] David Arnold quoted in Tim Youngs, "The Medical Officer's Diary: Travel and Travail with the Self in Africa," in *Representing Others: White Views of Indigeneous Peoples,* ed. Mick Gidley (Exeter: University of Exeter P, 1992), 25.

[446] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke¸* 52: "az amerikai ember honnan eredetének eldöntése nem e könyv feladata; eldönteni valjon foly-e ereiben Ádám apánk vére vagy sem, nem ide tartozik."

he positions himself in the debate as a monogenist and basically refutes polygenist reasoning. He discusses the history of Native Americans, claiming that the early period is obscure, and studies what could lead to the dramatic decrease of the population.

In the case of Creoles, the description of physical features (muscles, body structure, etc.) is mixed with social commentary. They do not really differ from the Spanish and due to their skin color and origins they believe to have equal status with the nobility of other countries. They are polite and gallant, hospitable, however, they are also frivolous and wasteful. Together with the foreigners living in Mexico, they form the intelligentsia of the country: some with great achievements in science, literature, and the arts. No such antipathy is expressed towards this group as in the case of previous travelers, probably partly because he also lived among these people for several years.

The most negative depiction seemingly concerns the Mestizo population. This is already visible from the description of physical characteristics (e.g. ugly face) that show right away that these people are capable of anything according to Szenger.[447] They appear as polite and considerate, but they are known as cunning and treacherous. The Mestizo is hated by the Indians and despised by the whites. At the same time, the pride of the Creole and the melancholy of the Indian does not characterize this group and Szenger claims that the Mestizo is the most active and fit for life in society, but also the most susceptible to immorality. According to Szenger, the Mestizo will "modify" in later generations and will resemble the Caucasian race more and more. "Mexico's future belongs to the Mestizo […] in today's Mestizo several features of the European can be found; there are certain traits that are rooted in Indian origin and thus today it is neither of them but a new people […]."[448]

Szenger also mentions women, although similarly to others discussed before, he does not devote too much attention to the discussion of their status within society but focuses on

[447] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 16.
[448] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 61: "a mai meszticzben az európainak több sajátságai találnak kifejezést, de jelenkeznek rajta bizonyos vonalok, melyek az indus eredetre visszevezethetők, s azért mai alakjában sem az egyik, sem a másik, hanem egy uj nép […]"

their physical description and beauty. He claims that the physique of Indian women shows relative strength and they are more hard-working than men, while they are also described as "very reproductive."[449] Szenger mentions that Mexicans are less prudish than Europeans and they also have a higher birthrate. The appearance of Creole women is described as pleasant (although real beauties are rare) and a similar image is recorded as in the case of former Hungarian travel writers, focusing on the seducing eyes of the beautiful señoritas, this time behind a scientific veil: "Their eyes are beautiful, sparkling, their hair is plentiful and long, they have developed, round breasts, their waists are slim, their way of walking and movement is graceful."[450] The mixture of medical interest and images expressed in travel accounts is clearly discernible here.

Travel and Medical Accounts[451]

The last section of Szenger's first chapter, titled "The land of Mexico," offers a peculiar type of travel account showing how the interests and background of the traveler can influence the way the country is seen and presented. In this section, Szenger reports on his arrival in Mexico and his journey into the interior of the country. It is noteworthy that there are no references to the original purpose of Szenger's visit to Mexico and to Maximilian's adventure. Most probably, Szenger did not want to involve politics in his account and intended it to remain scientific. At a time when official relations between Mexico and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were suspended, this could also reflect the attitude towards and fear of censorship. At this time, "printed works had to be submitted and approved before circulation (post-publication censorship), but post-circulation banning was also a possibility. In such cases,

[449] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke,*14: "Az asszonyok testalkata meglehetős erőre mutat, dolgosabbak mint a férfiak és igen szaporák."
[450] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke¸* 15: "Szemeik szépek, ragyogók, hajzatuk gazdag és hosszu, mellök jól kifejlődött, dombor, derekuk karcsu, járás és testmozgásaik kecsteliek."
[451] An earlier and much shorter version of this section can be found in Venkovits, "Describing the Other."

both the author and the publisher were held responsible."[452] This can be a reason why Szenger remains silent on the original purpose of his voyage to Mexico.

Szenger starts the account of the journey by describing the transatlantic crossing, presenting both the hardships and joys of the voyage. He poses as an immigrant and one could not tell from the text only that he arrived as a member of an invading army.[453] When seeing Mexico, Szenger stated: "a new country, which might offer some people nothing else but an early grave, for others a life full of difficulties, maybe well-being for a third group, but a home for none! However, the dice is cast and by tomorrow dawn *I bonis avibus*."[454] This kind of account, together with the subsequent pages, appear more to be that of an emigrant forced to leave the mother country than that of a volunteer with a clear purpose of the journey. Although Szenger does not mention his role in Maximilian's venture specifically, his text still reveals his identification with the imperial project and relates to the country as a superior "colonizer." Although, as we will see, he criticizes former travel writers for their treatment of Mexico, he does not show more sympathy towards the populace, which would be expected from someone who spent years living among them.

Veracruz was always important in European travel accounts of Mexico because this was the port where most Europeans arrived and thus it was featured in the majority of travelogues. The first impressions of Veracruz (and thus Mexico), were more than unfavorable in Szenger's case: "The image that we come across is repulsive, the yellow color of the barren desert causes an unpleasant impression and only the smell of sulfur is missing to make us believe that we see a land afflicted by the curse of God."[455] After disembarking in the city in April 1865, Szenger describes Veracruz through the eyes of a physician: he focuses on

[452] Tibor Glant, "A Hungarian Aristocrat in Civil War America: Count Béla Széchenyi's 1862 Study Trip to the United States of America," *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no. 3 (2012), 298.
[453] This is one reason why the use of Buchenau's classification discussed in Chapter 1 would be problematic in this dissertation. See the discussion on p. 31 for more details.
[454] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 18: "egy új ország, mely talán az egyiknek nem nyujt egyebet kora sirnál, a másiknak talán viszontagságos életet, a harmadiknak meglehet jólétet, de – hazát egynek sem! Azonban a koczka el van vetve s holnap virradóra <<I bonis avibus >>!"
[455] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 18: "Visszataszító a kép, mely elénkbe tárul, kellemetlen benyomást okoz a kietlen pusztaság sárga színe, s csak a kénszag hiányzik, hogy oly vidéket higyjünk szemeink előtt, melyet Isten átka sújtott."

issues related to clean drinking water and the cleanliness of the city, and then the negative, harmful effects of the surrounding environment. The inauspicious environmental conditions cause disease and Szenger lists data and statistics on mortality, the most frequent illnesses, and their causes. Veracruz was often introduced unenthusiastically (in László's diary as well) but this is certainly one of the most negative portrayals.

When Szenger left Veracruz, he returned to Rosti's (and others') representation of Mexico as beautiful nature. He describes his journey in the interior of the country in poetic style praising the natural environment and presenting it as superior to that of Central/Eastern Europe. Similarly to Rosti, Szenger struggles with the description of nature as no words can adeptly illustrate the beauty of flora and fauna. The scenery appears to be void of human presence. However, Szenger also provides the first accounts of technical modernization in Mexico. He claims that although Mexico could not spend too much on developing infrastructure, it already has roads enabling travel across the country and the railway would also continue to develop. This way he moves further away from earlier depictions criticizing Mexico for the complete lack of infrastructure, taking note of development in the country, and begins a discourse that is reinforced and carried further by Jenő Bánó and Mrs. Mocsáry praising the progress of the country.

Szenger's book was one of the first Hungarian travel accounts that dealt specifically and only with Mexico. Szenger did not visit the United States before or after his stay in Mexico and the northern neighbor did not serve as a point of comparison in his texts. Of course, the United States appeared in certain contexts (e.g. in meteorological charts or when discussing its possible expansion) but it did not serve as a model for Mexico as in the case of László and Xántus. Szenger identified with the imperial view of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, thus he did not use the US and/or Western Europe as a constant reference point. When he offered comparisons he used Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and/or Europe in general as a point of contrast. Comparisons between self and the other are positioned within

a biological and medical context: distinctions between Mexicans and Europeans in terms of height, weight, the size of the chest, etc. As he did not feel the need to invoke a third reference point and use triangulation, his approach is closer to the binary descriptions of Western European travel writers.

We have seen that in various cases Szenger had a negative view of the population and the country, still he criticized former travelers for their harsh treatment of the people and called for a more balanced representation. In the Conclusion, Szenger summarizes his findings and provides an alternative approach towards the Mexican population. In the book, he agrees that a certain lack of energy can be witnessed in the local populace, which is in sharp contrast with European and US lifestyle and expectations (diligence, hard-work, etc.). Thus, Szenger writes, this feature of the population is noted frequently by foreigners, is contrasted with their expectations, and thus they present an image of Mexicans that is "everything but flattering."[456] Although he does not mention any Hungarians specifically, this description clearly fits the images recorded in the travel accounts of László and Xántus. Szenger's main argument is that a certain degree of weakness and lack of energy can be witnessed in the population and as travelers could not find any physical explanation for this "special condition," they quickly concluded that laziness—and connected negative features of the populace—were the consequence of the social and political status of the inhabitants. Szenger, on the contrary, claims that these "negative" characteristics were simply the result of environmental circumstances, i.e. lower air pressure and oxygen content of the air. Although he reiterates many of the negative features of the populace, he emphasizes that such characteristics are not necessarily signs of social inferiority and criticizes former travelers for jumping to this conclusion. In Szenger's opinion, the "silly and disdainful" views expressed before in some of the earlier travel accounts only serve as proof for the narrow-mindedness of European travelers:

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[456] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 211: "e népről való ítélete minden csak hízelgő nem."

> A lot of time is needed for foreigners to first of all leave behind their arrogance and bumptiousness and, moreover, to be able to recognize certain flaws in themselves as well, and thus to be qualified to judge the position and activities of neighbors in a sober and impartial way.[457]

Szenger attempted to provide a fairer (and in a sense more modern) evaluation of the Mexican population by claiming that the differences in the lifestyle of Mexicans and Europeans were not due to their inherently inferior status but simply the result of a necessary adaptation to the environment. If Europeans moved into this region, they would "suffer" from the same environmental conditions and would thus display similar characteristics to that of Mexicans after a while. At the same time, Szenger fails to step out entirely of the previously established discourse and he does not provide a more positive view of Mexico, only an alternative approach for explaining the reasons for the "backwardness" and "un-Europeanness" of the populace. He still considers the Natives to be inferior and asserts that "pure American races have no future," as opposed to the superior white race destined for world domination. Szenger presents an interesting argument, but does not abandon racial superiority theories of the time. As a result, it is difficult to evaluate Szenger's travel account: he calls for a reevaluation of the attitude towards Mexico and criticizes former travel writers (and thus he appears to be a pioneering figure in Hungarian travel writing on Mexico) but, at the same time, he reiterates images of inferiority, disguised in a scientific veil. A similar call for reevaluation and changing depiction is central in Jenő Bánó's books as well, where former travel writers are severely criticized and former images are turned upside down. But before we turn our attention to that, first we must take a look at another participant of Maximilian's Mexican venture.

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[457] Szenger, *Mexico felvidéke*¸ 211: "Sok idő kell ahhoz, hogy az idegen először is kibontakozzék önhittségéből és felfuvalkodottságából; továbbá hogy önmagán is észrevehessen egyes fogyatkozást, s ez által a szomszédok helyzetének és cselekvési módjának higgadt és részrehajlatlan megítélésére képesíttessék."

Mexico in Ede Pawlowszki's Report of Maximilian's Empire

In 1882 a book review in *Vasárnapi Újság* claimed that Pawlowszki's account was the first extensive work published in Hungarian about Maximilian's Empire even though many other Hungarians had also participated in the events.[458] It certainly provided unparalleled insights into the last days of the empire, while it also featured descriptions of the country, providing a special mixture of a military and a travel account.[459] While in Ede Szenger's book references to Maximilian and Szenger's participation in the events are non-existent or only indirect, in Pawlowszki's account involvement in the European intervention in Mexico was clear from the very beginning and throughout the work. Pawlowszki arrived in Mexico as a member of an invading army and displayed an imperial attitude towards Mexico and the Mexicans, discussing military events and with his text attempting to justify both Maximilian's and his own presence in the foreign country. His major contribution to the development of Mexico's image in Hungary was that he maintained Hungarian interest and he also consolidated the presence of Maximilian and his "unfortunate adventure" as part of the Hungarian image of Mexico.

Pawlowszki's book is described by Nagy as one starting a new chapter in the history of military travel writing in Hungary.[460] According to Nagy, by the end of the century the officers of the armed forces of the Monarchy had already received a good education in geography and viewed "their military experience differently, let us say, through the lens of geography as well."[461] Unlike most of the emigrants of the War of Independence, these soldiers attempted to describe the natural environment, to depict the "mood of the landscape and the people." The description of military events was still present but often the portrayal of the land and the people came to the foreground.

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[458] "Miksa mexikói császárról," *Vasárnapi Újság,* September 3, 1882.
[459] According to Nagy, this is the first time that such a subtitle (Mexican Life, Memories of a Journey) appeared in a Hungarian military travel account.
[460] Nagy, "Háry János utódai."
[461] ibid.

By expressing an interest in geography, the environment, and the population, Pawlowszki can be regarded as a pioneer military travel writer. Before, according to Nagy, there were two groups of works written by soldier travelers: the first one included accounts that were primarily interested in the presentation of military events, where geographical information was secondary, the other group comprised works where the introduction of foreign lands was predominant and the military aspect might as well have disappeared from the account.[462] Mexican events discussed in this chapter (and Pawlowszki's book in particular) resulted in changes in this simplistic division and brought about works that considered geographical and military circumstances with equal measure. "Pawlowszki is the first Hungarian soldier who consciously sees and presents bloody battles, Mexican landscapes, and small details of everyday life simultaneously. For him military matters and geography are present at the same time and this attitude pervades Hungarian military travel literature."[463] At the same time, we have to add that his military involvement clearly influences Pawlowszki's writing, the view of Mexico, and especially the topics discussed.

The United States appears occasionally in Pawlowszki's text[464] but it does not serve as a constant reference point anymore, similarly to Szenger (and Rosti). Mexico is presented in its own right, simply because the events taking place on its soil were in themselves attractive enough for Hungarians. Borrowing freely from Szokoly's Preface word-by-word, Pawlowszki states that

> it is not only the recent history of this state during the Empire, with the shocking events in Queretaro, but also its past, ancient inhabitants, revolutions, varied climate, and its diverse treasures representing the natural life of a separate continent that catch our imagination and provide useful information and thus there are only a few countries whose introduction would provide a more attractive reading.[465]

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[462] Nagy, *Magyar hadiutazók,* 18-19.
[463] Nagy, *Magyar hadiutazók,* 19.
[464] See for example p. 8. in Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár.*
[465] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* Preface, n.p.: "ezen csodás államnak nem csak a császárság ideje alatti ujabbkori története, a Queretaroban előfordult kebelrázó eseményeivel, hanem annak hajdana, régi lakói, forradalmai, változatos éghajlata s egy külön földrész természeti életét egyesítő változatos kincsei, annyira megragadják a

Also similarly to Szokoly, Pawlowszki emphasizes the need for a cheap work about Mexico (as opposed to that of Rosti) that is available for the masses. In this section, the image of Mexico and Mexicans is examined in Pawlowszki's travelogue together with the way it differed from former travel accounts. Military aspects of the book will be studied and mentioned only if relevant to this dissertation (the descriptions considered here make up about 70 pages out of the total 200 pages).

An Imperial View of Mexico

Pawlowszki articulated the reason for his publication in the Preface to his book: only a few people had written about the events in Hungarian before and there was still interest in the Mexican adventure of Maximilian. His main aim was to give an adequate and reliable account of the events (unlike many foreign works), while also offering a pleasant and entertaining reading. Thus, while constantly focusing on legitimizing the events and telling the story of Maximilian's rule, Pawlowszki also provides fascinating insights into Mexican life. The Emperor's influence on Pawlowszki's account of the events is unmistakable in the travelogue: Maximilian is often mentioned and is always presented in a positive light as the much needed but misunderstood ruler of Mexico. Pawlowszki describes the military events as unfortunate, yet, he is proud of his own participation, considering himself lucky to have met Maximilian in person. Such an attitude characterizes the entire travelogue.

In the book Pawlowszki presents a dual image of Mexico (which is similar to the one projected by Xántus and László two decades before): he often emphasizes the beauty of nature and the abundance of the country in terms of flora and fauna, while this image is contrasted with the unfavorable perception of people who cannot live in peace, who are not

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képzelmet, s annyi tanulságost nyújtanak, hogy alig van ország, melynek ismertetése ennél vonzóbb olvasmányt képezhetne."

ready and capable of living a civilized and modern way of life. It is unlikely, writes Pawlowszki, that people of this "state abundant in all gifts of nature" could enjoy the blessings of peace for a long time.[466] The imperial view is clearly discernible: Pawlowszki repeatedly emphasizes the superiority of the invading army,[467] claiming that Maximilian went to Mexico to help, but the population was simply *not capable* of recognizing how he could improve the status of the country.

> If we are looking for the real cause of reemerging turbulence since the independence of Mexico, we can find it first and foremost in the ancient crudity and ignorance of its diverse population, and especially in the lack of discipline in the military, which has brought so much misfortune to one of the most beautiful countries of this world. [468]

Travel writing is often used in an imperial context to show that "certain territories and people *require* and beseech domination," using vocabulary depicting concepts like "'inferior' or 'subject races,' 'subordinate peoples,' 'dependency,' 'expansion,' and 'authority.'"[469] As Said claimed, imperialism was not only a territorial battle but also a narrative conflict over who gets to control representation:

> The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative.[470]

This is reflected by Pawlowszki's book as well. He presents the Mexican venture as a civilizing mission and sets out to justify the presence of the imperial army in Mexico.

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[466] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 4.
[467] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 63.
[468] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 10. "Ha az újra meg újra előfordult zavargásoknak, melyek Mexikót önállósága óta feldúlták, valódi okát keressük, azt mindenekelőtt sokszínű lakosságának ősi nyerseségében és tudatlanságában találjuk fel, különösen pedig a szoldateska fegyelmezetlenségében, mely a világ ezen egyik leggyönyörűbb országára annyi szerencsétlenséget árasztott."
[469] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise,* 9.
[470] For more information see: Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), xii-xiii.

Intervention was not only necessary from a European perspective but was supposed to be beneficial for the locals as well, even if they did not/could not realize this.

Maximilian is presented as a heroic figure and victim,[471] who sacrificed his life for the betterment of Mexico, for peace and well-being, to unify the different sections and parties of the country. The obvious reason for his failure was the low status and ignorance of the population, "good imperial institutions" fell and were ineffective not because they were not suitable for Mexico but because people were not capable of understanding them:

> The Emperor has attempted several times to inform Mexicans about the wealth of the country, to get them used to work, and to create rules and laws fitting for a civilized country; however, Mexicans prefer a lazy and easy life and this is exactly the main reason why the Empire was destined to fall as the good institutions did not find enough patronage and persistent support in the country.[472]

The country could have become a paradise, according to Pawlowszki, were it not for the people living in it.[473] Such a writing style reveals a full identification with the colonizer's imperial view and racist ideas rooted in feelings of superiority.

The image of a politically hectic Mexico was present in former travel accounts as well. László, Rosti, and Xántus all wrote about Mexico as a land of constant fights and revolutions. For László and Xántus it was the United States that could create order in the country, exploit resources, and modernize it, for Pawlowszki it was Maximilian and an enlightened, European-style monarchy that could have brought consolidation for Mexico. With the execution of Maximilian, however, Mexicans were left on their own again: "Juárez only achieved one thing, as a result of the Emperor's execution, Europeans will not rush to interfere in their

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[471] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 28 and 32.
[472] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 14: "A császár sok próbát megkisérlett, hogy a mexikóiaknak az ország gazdagságáról felvilágosítást adjon, hogy őket a munkásságra szoktassa, és hogy civilizált országhoz illő rendszabályokat és törvényeket teremtsen; de a mexikóiak inkább szeretik a henye és könnyű életet és éppen ebben rejlik annak főoka, hogy a császárságnak buknia kellett, mert a jó intézmények nem találtak az országban elegendő pártfogásra és kitartó támogatásra."
[473] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 142.

matters to put them to the right course and to bring them to their senses."[474] The failure of the imperial project left a clear mark on Pawlowszki's perceptions and travel account on Mexico.

Mexico through a Soldier's Eyes

Two chapters in Pawlowszki's book (Part IV titled "Mexico capital" and Part V "My journey in Mexico") are the sections that first seem to be preoccupied primarily with introducing the country but even these provide a mixture of the travel trope and military accounts. While in Szenger's case Mexico was seen through a doctor's eye, here military perceptions influence the view of Mexico constantly. For example, when introducing Queretaro, the scenery, buildings, geographical data are mentioned passingly but all from a military point of view. Santa Cruz monastery is introduced as "a castle having the disadvantage that its protection requires quite a lot of force,"[475] the mountain facing the building is at a distance of a "cannon shot," and the most important sights are connected to military events. Pawlowszki's movement within the country entails descriptions of buildings and people but these are reminders of major battles and events; thus, they become entangled with the story of Maximilian's adventure also.

Part V tells the story of Pawlowszki's involvement in Maximilian's adventure and the entire journey from Hungary to Mexico and back. The text provides unique insights into how the volunteer corps was organized, how the troops were transported to the other side of the Atlantic, etc. When arriving in Mexico the first image presented by Pawlowszki was the quintessential European view of the country: the snow-covered Orizaba, followed by the portrayal of Veracruz. The most often ill-treated city received a more positive description, but it clearly kept the mark of a soldier's account in all respects. Veracruz is seen as a city with a pleasant effect on the visitor, having a vibrant life, with a population wearing unique clothes

[474] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 143: "Csak egyet ért el vele Juarez, hogy a császár elítélése következtében nem egy hamar fog az ő dolgukba valamely európai ember avatkozni, hogy a jó útra térítse és észre hozza őket."
[475]Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 37.

and featuring beautiful señoritas on the balconies looking at the passers-by with their beautiful eyes while smoking *cigarros;* a summary including all previous stereotypes of Mexican women. The text however, often transforms into a military report. While Szenger emphasized medical consequences of the city's location, in Veracruz Pawlowszki details how the city could be protected, where the political prisoners are held, and introduces the structure of the military garrison. Even when traveling from Veracruz to Mexico City and through small villages, the travel descriptions are intermingled with heroic encounters with the enemy[476] and justifications for the presence of imperial forces.

In the book, Mexico is introduced as a fascinating country, with Pawlowszki constantly emphasizing the differences between the home culture and the American nation. Pawlowszki was interested in architecture, everyday events, and Rosti's influence is also obvious as he often mentions similar topics as the Hungarian photographer. The by now iconic and recurring images of Mexico also appear, including the Aztec calendar stone and the Cathedral in Mexico City, but Pawlowszki shows interest in the furnishing and interior of houses as well.

Pawlowszki is less concerned about people, and the population is discussed only marginally and in a strikingly simplistic manner. As stated above, while the country itself is seen as interesting and beautiful, the population is considered to be inferior, sometimes voicing the opinion that a civilized class does not even exist in the country.[477] Pawlowszki mentions three groups within the populace, Indians, Negros (who come from South America), and Creoles. The latter is divided into three further subgroups: Mulattos, Mestizos, and Zambos. The Hungarian, however, does not go into details about any of these groups but talks about the population in general instead, claiming that education is neglected and repeating earlier stereotypes including those of Mexicans being passionate and careless. At the same time, probably as a result of Szenger's book that was published several years before that of

[476] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 187-191.
[477] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 109.

Pawlowszki, the Hungarian soldier uses a different approach towards laziness. "City folk in Mexico usually do not wake up early but they cannot be called sluggards because of this […] Mexicans lead a rather moderate life, which, however, is the result of the climate."[478]

Although in his introduction Pawlowszki claims that the country's ancient past and inhabitants are of great interest, he is one of the few people who wrote nothing about Indians. Except for a few references to Indian villages and soldiers, there is no discussion of their lifestyle, past, or future. Women, however, are mentioned several times in the book and they are always treated differently from the rest of the society, having a positive image. "Of course, the carriages are of the older style but the ladies sitting in them could compete with any women in large cities of Europe, both in terms of beauty and dressing; they always appear on the promenade dressed with good taste."[479] The theater is seen as a special place where women dress up in the most beautiful way, bedazzling the men. While their behavior is deemed "elegant to a certain extent," Pawlowszki claims that they are ignorant and rarely read anything but the Bible. The issue of smoking appeared in Pawlowszki's book as well and he also calls attention to the fact that women also smoke.[480] Although his descriptions lack the details usually expected from a travel account, Pawlowszki's book was important as it contributed to maintaining the interest of Hungarians in this far-away country in the period preceding the major transformation of Mexico's image in Hungary.

The travel writers discussed in the first part of the dissertation often assumed the imperial voice of Western travel writers and depicted Mexico as backward, inferior, and peripheral as seen from the center. In Mexico, Hungarians identified with the West and did not recognize any similarities between the status of Hungary and Mexico. They posed as Western travelers, reflecting a desire to be seen as belonging to the West. Such an

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[478] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 148: "A városi nép Mexikóban általában nem szokott nagyon korán felkelni, de azért nem mondhatni őket restnek. […] A mexikói igen mérsékelt életű, -- mit különben az éghajlat hoz magával […]"

[479] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 145: "A hintók persze még régi alakuak, de a benne ülő hölgyek akármely európai nagy városbelivel bátran versenyezhetnek, úgy szépségben, mint öltözék tekintetében is; mindig csinnal öltözködve szoktak megjelenni e sétatéren."

[480] Pawlowszki, *Miksa császár,* 149.

identification, however, often required a third reference point in their travel accounts on Mexico as they could not contrast Mexico and Hungary in terms of center and periphery or inferiority and superiority. With Hungarian involvement in Mexico's Second Empire this voice and attitude was strengthened even further but this time Hungarians actually took part in an imperial project. The descriptions of Mexico did not require constant triangulation in this case: Mexico is more interesting in its own right, independently, and Hungarians can pose as imperial subjects, without assuming a foreign identity.

Thus, these travelogues provide a more independent image of the country than former travel accounts and Mexico is "put on the map" in Hungary, while the Empire of Maximilian von Habsburg becomes an integral part of Mexico's image (see the next section). While Szenger calls for the reevaluation of the attitude towards Mexico's population both he and Pawlowszki reiterate the unfavorable image of the population. This is the result of the nature of their presence in the country and serves as a justification for intervention in Mexico's affairs. Pawlowszki especially uses travel writing to justify imperial endeavors. In the third period of the evolution of the Hungarian image of Mexico discussed in this dissertation the first voices appear that consciously challenge the former imperial depictions of Mexico. Jenő Bánó, discussed in the next chapter, criticizes the imperial view with which the West depicts both Mexico and Hungary and sets out to put the image of Mexico on a new foundation.

PART III

"The Country is Being Born:" Images of a "New Mexico"

The turn of the century brought about the third phase in the early history of Hungarian perceptions of Mexico. After the initial, sporadic travelogues of Hungarian revolutionaries and the growing interest in Mexico because of Maximilian's Second Empire, modernization in the country and the attempts of the Díaz government to improve the image of the nation abroad resulted in more favorable accounts by Hungarian travel writers as well. Even if these changes could not fully reverse the predominantly negative image of Mexico in the long run, publications attempted to provide a fairer and more realistic representation that reflected genuine interest in the country and called for a reevaluation of the attitude towards Mexicans and the country's relationship with the Northern neighbor. At the same time, similarly to earlier travel accounts, the publications of the period tell just as much about the Hungarian authors and their home culture as Mexico itself.

The United States came to play an important role again in the travel accounts on the country, triangulation was used as a tool this time as well, but the former dichotomy between the United States and Mexico expressed by the writers of Part I was repositioned or even reversed in texts of the time. While Mexico's image turned more favorable, the attitude towards the United States became more critical in the period under review in this part. The admiration of the country was mixed with a degree of disillusionment that emphasized the negative aspects of immigrant life in the country while some travelogues also attempted to present Mexico as a possible new destination for emigrants. This tendency of changes was accompanied and influenced by several factors: New Immigration to the United States and changes in the attitude towards the emerging great power of the New World as a result of a mass exodus from Hungary; modernization in Mexico under Porfírio Díaz (1876-1911) that found supportive and endorsing voices in travel writing; and Mexican immigration policies

that were aimed at attracting European settlers in part by altering the formerly gloomy view of the country. At the same time, the Porfiriato contributed to improving commercial, political, and cultural relations between Mexico and Austria-Hungary that made the exchange of information and traveling by Hungarians easier.[481]

In the next two chapters, case studies are offered of two outstanding travel writers of the time: Jenő Bánó and Mrs. Mocsáry, showing how they contributed to the revised image of Mexico in Hungary. Bánó provides a crucial case study in this dissertation as he openly criticized the former travel accounts on Mexico for their exaggerations and hostile attitude. An obvious supporter of the Porfiriato, Bánó hailed progress and modernization of the country while constantly commenting on the political situation at home. Mrs. Mocsáry, although writing only a short travelogue on Mexico, is included here to provide an analysis of a travel account written by a woman and also because she was the first Hungarian in Mexico to travel and write as a tourist per se, this way offering a new glimpse at the country. To fully understand the changes in the published accounts, first, however, we need to look at questions of transatlantic migration at the turn of the century. The unprecedented wave of emigration clearly influenced the development of the perceptions of both the US and Mexico and resulted in changes in Hungarian travel accounts on North America. This introductory section is followed by an analysis of Bánó's three published travel accounts and Mrs. Mocsáry's travelogue.

Transatlantic Migration and Questions of Travel Writing

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Hungarian emigration reached unprecedented heights and transatlantic migration was seen "as the newest, most modern movement, most significant with regard to its character, and most dangerous concerning its effects."[482] Mass

[481] Szente-Varga, A gólya és a kolibri, 28-44.
[482] Gusztáv Thirring, *A magyarországi kivándorlás és a külföldi magyarság* (Budapest: Fritz Armin, 1904), 12. Hereafter cited as Thirring, *Magyarországi kivándorlás*.

emigration started from the 1880s, with the United States taking a leading role as a destination; between 1899 and 1913, 85 percent of people leaving Hungary immigrated to that country.[483] It is difficult to calculate the exact number of Hungarians who left the mother country during this modern wave of immigration. According to Thirring, the actual number of people who left Hungary (not necessarily all of them of Hungarian ethnicity) between 1881 and 1900 only was close to five hundred thousand. By the first decade of the 20th century this number reached almost one and a half million. When discussing emigration from Hungary to the United States between 1871 and 1913, Julianna Puskás claimed that "the actual number of immigrants to the United States for the examined period can be estimated to be 1,200,000."[484]

Compared to the tremendous number of immigrants to the United States, the scale of immigration to Latin America and especially Mexico seems to be insignificant.[485] According to Buchenau, "[w]hereas Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States received millions of newcomers during the heyday of transatlantic migration in the late nineteenth century, only 0.6 percent of all European immigrants settled in Mexico."[486] This general statement seems to be valid for Hungary as well. According to Thirring, "our fellow countrymen have emigrated to Central America [including Mexico here] only is small numbers and occasionally; according to the statistics of German ports, only 39 Hungarians left for that region in thirty years [..] and the number of Hungarians living there is insignificant."[487] It is difficult to estimate the number of Hungarians in Mexico at the time as the registration of immigrants was required only from 1909 and it is made even more difficult by the fact that many Hungarians indicated themselves as Austrian or German (to avoid the term *húngaro* that by

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[483] Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States (1880-1914)*, 21. Hereafter cited as Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States.*See also: Julianna Puskás, *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide: 100 Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States*. New York: Homes and Meir, 2000

[484] Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States,* 18-19.

[485] According to Thirring, between 1871 and 1901 only 39 Hungarians left for Central America from German ports. The largest number went to Brazil (1,235) and Argentina (274), which is a small number even if we know that the majority traveled to Central and South America from ports of other countries. Thirring, *Magyarországi kivándorlás*, 77.

[486] Buchenau, "Small Numbers," 23.

[487] Thirring, *Magyarországi kivándorlás*, 88.

this time was used also as a synonym for gypsies[488]). According to Torbágyi, the Austro-Hungarian colony consisted of 263 members in 1895, while based on census data, Szente-Varga writes that 460 "Austro-Hungarians" (and not Hungarians) lived in the country in 1910. Although more Hungarians arrived in Mexico during this time than before, "no signs of significant Hungarian immigration were found."[489]

Julianna Puskás, while emphasizing the economic background of this mass movement, also claimed that "[n]umerous other factors also played their part in the mechanism of emigration, factors not so much economic but rather social and psychological in nature, and these by and large elude quantification."[490] One such factor could be the image Hungarians had of the United States as opposed to Mexico at the time. As we have seen, the US was often viewed with "reverent admiration" in Hungarian travel writing. [491] Travel accounts projected an overtly favorable image of the country as a land of opportunities that attracted many Hungarians. The pull factors of the country were also intensified both by travel writers and the news arriving from the US (by this time much more frequently because of the transatlantic cables). There was more access to information on American progress, the second industrial revolution, railroads, world fairs, politics and "[n]ewspapers in Hungary also wrote about the favorable job opportunities in America."[492] Pieces of information from Hungarians already living in the US (in the form of *Amerikás levelek*, i.e. letters from America) also exhibited an attractive view by often reporting only on success and equality. This went contrary to the government publications that tried to highlight and emphasize the hardships of life in the United States, calling attention to "the abuse of immigrants, and reported on mining and industrial accidents."[493] However, people tended "to disbelieve their government, although it

[488] Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri*, 45.
[489] Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri*, 44.
[490] Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States,* 56.
[491] Katona, "Pre-Civil War."
[492] Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States*, 53.
[493] Tibor Glant, "Travel Writing as a Substitute for American Studies in Hungary," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 16.1-2 (2010): 176. Hereafter cited as Glant, "Travel Writing as a Substitute."

was telling the truth, and accepted at face value what their relatives and fellow villagers told them about the New World, although these accounts were blatantly one-sided."[494]

As we have seen in previous chapters, a similarly positive image, reinforced from different sources, was not available in the case of Mexico. It was seen as dangerous, politically unstable, and unpredictable, with only sporadic Hungarian presence and no real opportunities. This was certainly not an attractive image for would-be immigrants. This was recognized by Porfirio Díaz as well and thus in the period between 1876 and 1910, the government encouraged the settlement of foreigners (Europeans in particular) and tried to advertise Mexico as a land of unlimited opportunities.

> Díaz and his supporters organized an international public relations campaign to reinforce the regime's apparent durability with a veneer of cultural credibility. For this they recruited foreigners and Mexicans to lobby opinion makers and policy makers abroad and to write foreign-language 'books, pamphlets, and articles that were directly or indirectly subsidized by Porfirian authorities.' They wanted to show the world that Mexico was becoming more European and less 'Indian,' more civilized and less dangerous.[495]

The main aim of the administration was to lure foreign investment to the country together with European settlers partly by improving the image of the nation abroad. This attracted several foreigners who in turn could witness and propagate modernization and improvement. The policies contributed to more friendly attitudes and positive images in travel accounts but similarly to earlier attempts, the overall immigration policy failed because even though Mexico was presented as a more attractive place, other regions of the Americas were still perceived as more advantageous, and newly arrived immigrants did not get the support they were hoping for.

> As a receiving country, Mexico has played a marginal role in the great migrations of the last two centuries. Although rich in natural resources and

[494] ibid.
[495] Frazer, *Bandit Nation*, 90.

> economic opportunities, it was poor in available land and jobs for lower-class immigrants. Not even the Porfirian propaganda— persuasive as it was in luring foreign investment—could convince more than a tiny fraction of all Europeans who embarked for the Americas to try their luck in Mexico.[496]

Travel writers took note of modernization in the county. Infrastructure was improved, the Pacific Ocean was connected with the Gulf of Mexico and major cities were linked with Mexico City. This made traveling faster, safer, and more reliable and various parts of Mexico more accessible for travel writers as well. Similarly to the US, the railroad unified the country and improved commerce and the economy. Telegraph lines were laid, law and order was enforced in the countryside (with the *rurales*), the budget was balanced, and Mexico provided a welcoming atmosphere for investors in various fields.[497] According to Buchenau, "Porfirian modernization led to a greater influx of foreigners. Entrepreneurs and professionals flocked to Mexico from Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and the United States, forming sizeable foreign-born communities in the larger cities."[498] These investors (and travel writers) arriving into the country contributed to the modernization of Mexico while also promoting the Díaz regime.

Similarly to earlier travel accounts, foreign commentators on Mexico saw what they wanted to see and often turned a blind eye to what was not in harmony with their preconceptions or what they did not want to report for various reasons (for example because it was against the government's intentions). Besides the obvious modernization of the country, they often ignored the negative aspects of the policies of the Díaz government: while noting the improvement in terms of commerce and trade, we also have to remember that almost everything was in foreign hands at the time,[499] Díaz crushed opponents cruelly, and his rule did not bring prosperity for the majority of Mexicans; peasants and workers lived under difficult circumstances and Indians were often starving. Therefore, while the Díaz government

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[496] Buchenau, "Small Numbers," 44.
[497] Lynn V. Foster, *Mexikó története* (Budapest: Pannonica, 1999). Hereafter cited as Foster, *Mexikó története*.
[498] Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise,* 92.
[499] Lynn, *Mexikó története,* 134.

brought modernization for the higher classes, the masses often suffered and had major problems. It also has to be noted here that Mexico could not compete with the United States in luring immigrants to the country: the US was on the way of becoming the leading economic power in the world and was also inviting European workforce to the country.

Changing Images of Mexico and the United States in Hungarian Travel Writing

The inter-American approach of the present dissertation makes it necessary to examine changes in the images of the two North American countries together, especially because people like Bánó also compared them in their travel accounts (returning to triangulation). The images of both countries began to change during this unprecedented wave of migration. In the case of the US, as Katona claims, "the eleven travelogues published in Hungary between 1877 and 1900 bear little or no resemblance to the ten travel books written between 1834 and 1863."[500] András Vári goes as far as to claim that "the model country of the Reform Era became the land of threats by 1890."[501] Tibor Glant writes that travel writing of the period was more complex than what such statements would reflect and there were many more accounts written than examined before. Hungarian travel writing on the United States experienced its heyday between 1893 and 1908 and Glant concludes that although critical voices became more emphatic, the myth of the land of opportunities still survived in both a political and, especially, economic sense.[502] At the same time, with regard to Mexico more complimentary views were published. These noted modernization and even called Hungarians' attention to business opportunities, in line with the Mexican government's intentions. Bánó even emphasized lack of success in the United States among Hungarians and propagated opportunities in Mexico instead.

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[500] Katona, "Post-Civil War," 35.
[501] András Vári, "Fenyegetések földje. Amerika a 19. század második felében – magyar szemmel," *Korall* 7, no. 26 (2006), 153.
[502] Tibor Glant, "Dualizmuskori Amerika-kép, utazási irodalom és paródia," in *Essays in Honor of György Novák*, ed. Zoltán Varga (Szeged: JATE Press, 2012), 79-99. Hereafter cited as Glant, "Dualizmuskori Amerika-kép".

Many Hungarian travelogues became more critical of the US in this period and called attention to the downsides of the Gilded Age:

> Bölöni and his fellow travelers in pre-Civil War America hailed in the U.S. a land of freedom, equality and plenty. To their counterparts in the second half of the last century America was far from being an Eldorado anymore and they tried hard to dispel the myth of America in Europe and Hungary as a fairy-land of plenty where 'fried pigeons would fly into your mouth' whenever you open it."[503]

According to Glant, the anti-American sentiment of the era as expressed in some of these writings was due to three main factors: "a major shift in the way Hungarians came to view the future of their own country, an imperial approach to the New World, and large-scale trans-Atlantic migration."[504] Several writers embarked (or were sent) on study tours in the United States to learn from the country but they were more willing to share negative experiences as well. People called attention to poverty more often, some claiming that in New York, "in the immense metropolis there are several hundred thousands of people who have neither lodging nor bread … nor work."[505] More emphasis was put on the hardships of the trans-Atlantic voyage and the harsh treatment and low ranks of recent immigrants, among other issues. This changing image in Hungarian travel writing was augmented by the various Hungarian government publications mentioned above.[506]

At the same time, with regard to Mexico, more and more texts were published in which Hungarians called for a (what they called) "more realistic" and "fair" representation of the country and its people, trying to refute earlier negative impressions and also calling attention to good prospects in the country. In earlier travel accounts, even if business and agricultural investment opportunities were mentioned in Mexico, they were usually not presented as viable options for Hungarian immigrants. They mostly emphasized the role of

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[503] Katona, "Post Civil-War," 37.
[504] Glant, "Travel Writing as a Substitute," 175.
[505] Quoted in Katona, "Post Civil-War," 43.
[506] Glant, "Travel Writing as a Substitute," 176.

the United States (or Western Europe) in "civilizing" the nation and making use of the country's resources.[507] This attitude changed to a certain extent by the turn of the century.

Vilmos Sennor, for example, wrote in a different tone as early as 1889. According to *Vasárnapi Újság,* Sennor moved to Mexico in 1880 "where his business ventures came off well, and he gained a good reputation and general esteem among his new fellow-citizens." What is more, it is even claimed that "he was a true guardian and father of those few Hungarians who found themselves there and he always tried to advance their cause in all possible ways."[508] He presented a more positive image of Mexico than those writing before him but he called attention to the fact that "not everything is gold in America" and "many people who came in search of gold have become disappointed."[509] He weaves in a certain degree of criticism of the United States as well and tries to destroy the image of a perfect society.[510] Sennor paints a different picture of Mexican progress than those writing before him: he claims that the last ten years witnessed unprecedented growth and development and "Mexico is being born now." The country is presented as one of the richest parts of the world, with fertile land and unmatched resources. Immigrants, workers and those having capital are needed, however, to continue progress.

Sennor states that it is unavoidable that Europeans will come to the Americas in large numbers and he actually encourages Hungarians to emigrate to Mexico. According to Sennor, there were but a handful of Hungarians living in Mexico at the time and he even planned the establishment of a Hungarian village with a wealthy friend (and with governmental help) but their project was never realized. He invites Hungarians but also warns them: "so come if you wish, but not with the dream of finding treasure right away; those emigrating should keep in

[507] See for example László and Xántus but also: Molitor Ágost, "Alsó Kaliforniáról," *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1874): 137-152.
[508] "Egy magyar ember sírja Mexikóban," *Vasárnapi Újság,* June 12, 1898.
[509] "Levél Mexikóból," *Vasárnapi Újság*, November 17, 1889.
[510] Ibid.

mind that they have to work to advance anywhere they decide to go, otherwise they had better stay home."[511]

It should also be noted that while travel accounts remained important sources on Mexico in Hungary, other types of publications became increasingly available by the turn of the century. News could reach Hungary more easily and more often than before. Especially after diplomatic relations were reestablished, scientific and cultural exchanges improved as well. Béla Inkey, for example, participated in the 10th International Geology Congress held in Mexico in 1906 and wrote about the country (and its volcanoes) after his return home.[512] Numerous popular geography books were also published. These aimed to provide information for readers in an entertaining and easily accessible way. Such books were of course not only concerned with Mexico but people could gain important information about the country in the "America" volumes of such publications. While the United States was described in much more detail in all these books, compared to other Latin American countries, Mexico received considerable attention.

The first such book was based on Friedrich von Hellwald's *Die Erde und Völker* translated and edited by László Toldy and published in Hungary in 1879.[513] Other such publications included Aladár György's book written in response to a growing demand for geographical information and revising Hellwald's work, while Benedek Barátosi Balogh published *Séták a világ körül* [Strolls around the world] in 1907.[514] Travel accounts, including those written by Hungarians, were used as sources in these books extensively. Rosti is often quoted at length in the book by Hellwald and Toldy, while Xántus and Bánó serve as references in György's text. As former travelogues were used, many of the previous stereotypes are recirculated: the image of the bandit, a lazy and poor population, and beautiful

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[511] Ibid.
[512] Vilma Székyné Fux, "Inkely Béla Mexikóban a X. Nemzetközi Geológiai Kongresszuson," *Foldrajzi Múzeumi Tanulmányok* 5, no. 7 (1989): 49-52.
[513] Frigyes Hellwald, *A föld és népei. Föld és népismei kézikönyv. Első kötet: Amerika*. Translated and edited by László Toldy. Budapest: Méhner Vilmos, 1879. Hereafter cited as Hellwald, *Föld és népei.*
[514] Aladár György, *Amerika földrajzi és népismei leírása* (Budapest: Méhner Vilmos, 1894); Benedek Barátosi Balogh, *Séta a világ körül* (Budapest: Magyar Kereskedelmi Közlöny, 1907).

nature. Interestingly, while Hellwald is criticized by the editors for providing a misleading and hostile image of Hungary (and thus this section is revised), no such accusations are made with regard to the unfavorable depiction of Mexico.[515] Maximilian's role in the country was noted in these books as well, the Mexican venture clearly became an integral part of Mexico's image in Hungary by this time. People could learn about the country's climate, geographical features, political system, ethnography, flora and fauna, and major sights, while the numerous photos and illustrations provided new information on Mexico and contributed to a better understanding of the nation.

The best example for illustrating the changing depictions of Mexico and the presentation of the Porfiriato is a pioneering figure in Hungarian travel writing, Jenő Bánó, whose work is being analyzed in the next section. He presented a novel attitude towards his adopted home, redefined the image of the relationship between the US and Mexico, and set out to mend the image of the country in Hungary. As a review of his first book in *Vasárnapi Újság* claimed on October 19, 1890, "the book has current value as well, at a time when so many people emigrate in search of a new homeland." At the same time, while Bánó supported Porfirian policies and projects, he criticized the imperial attitude of both Western Europe and the United States and his discussion of Mexico's position seems to provide him with a ground to comment on the status of his mother country as well.

[515] Hellwald, *Föld és népei,* iv.

CHAPTER SIX

"We Are Clearly Deceived at Home": Jenő Bánó and the Image of a New Mexico

Similarly to many other Hungarians of the time, Jenő Bánó left the mother country with the aim of working in the United States. He wanted to earn and save money to be able to return to his family and start a new life later on. After a few months in the United States, however, he moved to Mexico, established various business ventures there, and wrote about his experience in both countries for a home audience. From the first publications onward, it was his clear aim to improve the image of Mexico, offer a more favorable account, and call attention both to the beauties of and opportunities in the country. He also criticized former travel writers for their hostile mistreatment of the nation:

> It is obvious that we are deceived at home as the small number of books written about Mexico, and in common use in Austria and Hungary, contain more malevolence towards Mexicans than honesty […] We Hungarians, while reading Austrian books on Mexico, might well remember when a few years ago our good friends wrote about us in a very similar fashion, moreover, the dear German Schulverein still likes to present us to foreigners as outlaws and semi-barbarians.[516]

He used travel accounts to comment not only on Mexico but also to voice his opinion about the imperial view which both Mexico and Hungary was subjected to and his thoughts on Hungary's position within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It seems that he also consciously used travel writing to advance his own career in his new home: he made sure, as we will see, that Díaz himself would also be informed about the positive treatment of Mexico in his

[516] Jenő Bánó, *Úti képek Amerikából* (Budapest: Franklin, 1890), 77-78: "tudniillik mi othon félre vagyunk vezetve s hogy a Mexikóról írt csekély mennyiségű könyv, mely Ausztria és Magyarországon közkézen forog, a mexikóiak iránt több rosszakaratot, mint őszinteséget tartalmaz. Nekünk magyaroknak különben, ha elolvassuk a Mexikóra vonatkozó osztrák könyveket, eszünkbe juthat azon pár év előtti időszak, midőn rólunk jó barátaink szintén gasonló módon írtak, sőt a kedves német Schulverein még mai napon is betyároknak és félbarbároknak szeret bennünket a külföld előtt előtüntetni." Hereafter cited as Bánó, *Úti képek*. The Hungarian term "félrevezetni" could be translated in different ways: to deceive, to mislead, to misinform, etc. I have decided to use the word "deceive" here as it refers not only to a process of making somebody believe what is not true but also implies a degree of deliberate action that I believe is also suggested by Bánó.

books.[517] In one of his letters to his father, Bánó wrote: "The publication of my work and its translation to Spanish later on can bring me a bright future in Mexico as it is probably the first work to introduce the local conditions benevolently and fairly."[518] He viewed Mexico as a modern and civilized country with a friendly and welcoming population. Due to the overtly complimentary voice assumed and the praise received by Díaz, Szente-Varga refers to Bánó simply as a "publicist of the Porfiriato."[519]

In his books and other publications Bánó provides accounts of the country, its famous sights, the population, flora and fauna, similarly to former travel accounts. At the same time, he offers more insights into an immigrant's life in America, also including tips and guidelines for future migrants. Besides the themes present before as well in Hungarian travel writing, Bánó brings new topics into the Hungarian discourse on Mexico: he notes signs of modernization, demands a more positive representation of the population, and while the US still serves as a reference point in his Mexican accounts, it is often presented as a threat to Mexico and not a necessity for its development. Bánó in many ways turns the former approach inside out, but while his predecessors emphasized negative features only, Bánó also turned a blind eye to what he did not want to see and reported mostly what presented Mexico in a favorable light, in harmony with the objectives of his publication. Bánó's travel accounts serve as an exciting case study for the links between travel writing, migration, and propaganda and on why and how travel accounts can change according to the background, preconceptions, and objectives of the writer.

Travels of an Immigrant

An overview of Bánó's biography, career plans, and personal letters is important because it can help us decode some of the reasons why he wrote in a distinctively different style from

[517] Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 264.
[518] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 198.
[519] Szente-Varga, *A gólya és a kolibri,* 47.

former Hungarian writers.[520] Bánó was born in 1855 in Roskovány, in present day Slovakia. His father, József Bánó, was a Member and also Deputy Speaker of the Parliament for 9 years. While Jenő Bánó is usually categorized as a "Central American traveler" in most publications, he traveled extensively elsewhere as well. He graduated at the Marine Academy in Fiume but later worked as an employee at the Hungarian Royal Railways where he retired from at an early age. He claimed that it was the death of his wife, Kamilla Münnich, in 1888 that prompted him to retire, to embark on a journey around the world, and eventually to emigrate to the United States, leaving behind his family in search of a new life.

Having said that, it is clear from his accounts that he left the country for economic reasons, looking for employment and a new and better life in the New World at the high tide of New Immigration. In his letters presented below the real reason for leaving the country is highlighted several times and this is important because it influenced the way he saw the Americas and the manner in which he wrote. As he claimed, he was looking for a better future,[521] and just like other New Immigrants, he wanted to return home after saving enough money in the New World: "if I am lucky, I can return to my homeland where we will enjoy the fruits of my work together [with my family]."[522]

After visiting various cities in Europe, Bánó left the Old Continent and arrived in New York in May 1889 traveling extensively in the United States (as recorded in his first book). He went to Niagara Falls, Chicago, and San Francisco, among other places, providing short, postcard-like snapshots of cities and places visited. Bánó planned to settle in the United States but after spending a month and a half in San Francisco he moved "to the empire of the famous Aztecs, the present Republic of Mexico, to personally see whether all those news about this beautiful country and its people are true."[523] Bánó was actually referring to work and

[520] The biographical overview is based on Bánó's autobiography and list of publications available in the manuscripts division of OSZK and Balázs, *Magyar utazók lexikona,* 34-35.
[521] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 115.
[522] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 116.
[523] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 7.

investment opportunities in Mexico, establishing coffee plantations in particular, that he had heard about.

After traveling from San Francisco to the Mexican border and then in various parts of Mexico, Bánó bought land and founded a coffee plantation in Oaxaca and named it Camilla after his late wife. Bánó later married a Mexican woman of Zapotec origin with whom he traveled extensively in Central and South America, including Venezuela, where he stayed and worked for a year, Cuba, Columbia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, San-Salvador, and Guatemala. Bánó wrote that the *Camilla* plantation was taken from him by his partner during this time by tricking Bánó into signing a paper while he was sick. Later, he established other plantations, called *Hungária*, *Hunnia*, and *Pannonia*, and also started to grow vanilla, sugarcane, and rubber trees. These plantations, however, were destroyed by a tornado before they could bring any profit.[524]

Looking for new opportunities after this financial disaster, Bánó moved to Mexico City. It was here that he met the President of the Republic and he was offered (unexpectedly as Bánó himself wrote) the position of Consul General in the newly established Mexican Consulate in Budapest, a position he held between 1903 and 1912.[525] The job itself can be seen as an indication of his connections and may be attributed to his favorable publications about Mexico and a tendency on his part to emphasize the importance of commercial links and contacts between Mexico and Hungary. Thus, Bánó returned to Hungary after spending several years in the Americas. Later he worked as the Mexican consul in Egypt. During the First World War, he moved to Spain with his wife and settled in Barcelona. His second wife died in 1919 and Bánó himself passed away in 1927 in Malaga. He was the corresponding

[524] Jenő Bánó, *Bolyongásaim Amerikában* [My wanderings in America] (Budapest: Athaneum, 1906), 337ff. Herafter cited as Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*.
[525] For details see Torbágyi, *Magyar kivándorlás*. For changes in diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations see: Szente-Varga, A *gólya és a kolibri*, 28-44.

member of the Hungarian Geographical Society and honorary member of numerous foreign institutions and associations.[526]

Bánó wrote extensively about his journeys and life in the Americas including three books analyzed in the next subchapter. His first book, *Úti képek Amerikából*[527] [Images of a journey in America] documents his journey from Hungary to Mexico, from leaving his home through the transatlantic voyage to travels in the US and Mexico (until his arrival to Mexico City, before leaving for Oaxaca). In this book, we have a great opportunity to compare the images of the United States and Mexico and to see how the perceptions of Bánó shifted as his plans and life also changed. It is also important that the book has an appendix that includes letters sent by Bánó to his father between 1889 and 1890 that provide some insights into the background of the journey and the development of Bánó's plans in the New World. These include explanations, motives for leaving Hungary, background information for Bánó's decisions, including the one to move to Mexico and start a coffee plantation. The letters include information usually not found in travelogues. Bánó also added a study on Mexican coffee and its cultivation, a former publication of his, which is an early work in a long line of articles aimed at presenting various produces and goods of Mexico.

Bánó's second book, *Mexico és utazásom a trópusokon* [Mexico and my travels in the tropics],[528] details his life and travels in Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, and Central America. "It is a simple travelogue," Bánó notes, written in response to the success of the first publication. He claims in the introduction that *Úti képek* was criticized by a few people only and not because of its content but because of its political views (discussed below). *Mexico és utazásom* also includes former articles published in various journals and magazines as well as a translated Mexican review of his first book. The first part of the third major publication (*Bolyongásaim Amerikában* [My wanderings in America]) is basically a combination and

[526] See Bánó's autobiography in OSZK.
[527] Jenő Bánó, *Úti képek.*
[528] Jenő Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom a trópusokon* (Budapest: Kosmos, 1896). Hereafter cited as Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*.

reprint of the first two accounts and other publications with some revisions (grammatical as well as spelling), with photos of Díaz and other government officials added. The second part includes numerous exciting chapters on Mexican flora and fauna, Indians, life on the plantation, similarities between Mexicans and Hungarians, etc. All books include unique photographs as well that complement the text. Bánó also mentions a fourth volume in his autobiography, titled "Epizódok amerikai életemből" [Episodes from my American life], which, however, was never published.

Bánó authored numerous shorter publications in various languages including Hungarian, Spanish, and German. The Hungarian articles were published in *Pesti Napló*, *Szepesi Lapok*, *Magyarország*, *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Magyar Kereskedők Lapja*, and other newspapers and magazines, while they were also included, often verbatim, in the books as well. They mostly concerned Mexican life, descriptions of Mexico and Mexicans, Indians, and introduced numerous Mexican goods. In these articles Bánó called attention to possible commercial opportunities for Hungarians. In this dissertation only the three book-length accounts are studied and analyzed in detail.

Bánó's writing style is enjoyable, entertaining, often humorous, and the texts read well. The reader is familiarized with the transatlantic voyage, issues of the New Immigration, life in the US and Mexico, and fascinating stories of everyday challenges faced by immigrants. Bánó not only introduces the readers to what it was like to live on the other side of the Atlantic but also provides a glimpse into the psyche of the immigrant and the questions always haunting him: did I make the right choice when leaving my family? Was it worth coming to America? Did I choose the right place for settlement? These questions made Bánó continuously ponder on his relationship with the home country and the new land, on questions related to travel, migration, and his future.

Criticism of the Imperial View – Inter-American Images Revised

Bánó's novel approach towards Mexico was influenced by numerous factors. First and foremost, his status as an immigrant in Mexico during the Porfiriato affected his attitude towards the representation of the country in a crucial way. He knew that the publication of a favorable account could help the realization of his plans in the county (gaining government support), thus he was planning publication of his experience from an early stage of his stay in the New World[529] and he consciously worked on demolishing former negative images. Even if in certain aspects Mexico is mentioned as less civilized than Europe, there are no references to any kind of inferiority, and there is a strong emphasis on the future rise and development of the nation. His experience in the United States shaped his view of Inter-American relations: having found no work, he was disappointed in the US; thus, he willingly emphasized the downsides of immigrant life there and contrasted them with opportunities in Mexico. While the United States still serves as third reference point when using triangulation, it is not seen as a masculine savior of feminine Mexico or a model to be followed without reservations any more, but as a threat to Mexico's unique culture and national identity. Such an attitude is also shaped by the similarities perceived by Bánó between Mexican and Hungarian history in terms of continuous struggles with great powers.

Bánó believed that both Mexico and Hungary were misrepresented by Western, imperial powers before. "It is obvious that we are deceived at home," writes Bánó, calling attention to the malevolence of Europeans towards both his home country and adopted new home. While former Hungarian travel writers often identified with the imperial view of Western travelers and depicted Mexico as the periphery (introducing the West as the center and the standard in terms of civilization, culture, and progress), Bánó rebels against such an approach.

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[529] Bánó, *Úti képek,* 131, 198.

The European imperial view is criticized and ridiculed throughout the accounts: "This is what we are like here in Mexico, wild and heartless, and also, as they like to think in Europe, completely uncivilized."[530] Bánó expresses his frustration with the attitude of imperial powers, their lack of knowledge and interest in Hungary. During one of the dinners on the transatlantic voyage, a language gap emerged between Bánó and his English fellow traveler.[531] His comments clearly reflect Bánó's hurt feelings:

> […] but no problem, you are lucky now that he is English and thus he spares you from further requests for information, […] as he believes that this is normal for Hungarians, living there in Asia; he knows that you are Hungarian from the passenger list and he only suspects that Hungary is in Asia because he remembers to have studied this at school, and this is pretty likely too. […] to suppose that you do not speak English would hurt his pride because he would never believe that a civilized man, let him be a Mezzofanti otherwise, does not speak English; he, however, knows no other language of course.[532]

This leaves its mark on Bánó's thinking and once he sees Mexico being treated the same way as Hungary, he feels sympathy and defends Mexico and Mexicans. Such a relationship and sense of common fate was not expressed in Hungarian travel writing before.

Bánó even draws questionable parallels between Hungarian and Mexican history: while Mexicans were oppressed by the Spanish and have lived under the influence of the United States, Hungary lived under foreign rule for centuries and now also suffers in the shadow of the Habsburg Empire. "Similarly to us, Hungarians, who suffered under foreign influence for centuries, they also felt the Spanish yoke on their necks for hundreds of years;" Bánó then adds: "just like we, after getting rid of our handcuffs, would like to enjoy the hardly-won freedom and we are looking for the love and respect of foreign nations, the

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[530]Bánó, *Úti képek*, 186: "Ilyenek vagyunk mi itt Mexikóban, vadak és szívtelenek, és azután meg, mint Európában gondolni szeretik, teljesen műveletlenek."

[531] It is clear from this incident as well as from Bánó's spelling of English words that he did not speak English or at least not very well.

[532] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 19: "no de se baj, szerencséd most, hogy angol és azért megkímél a bővebb felvilágosítás kéréstől, belenyugszik, mert azt hiszi, hogy ez a magyaroknál, nálad ott Ázsiában így szokás; hogy magyar vagy, azt tudja a felfektetett utasok névjegyzékéből, s hogy Magyarország Ázsiában van, azt csak sejti, mert úgy emlékszik, hogy ő ezt úgy tanulta otthon az oskolában, és ez valószínű is. –azt feltenni pedig rólad, hogy angolul nem beszélsz, saját büszkeségét sértené, mert ő azt soha sem fogja elhinni, hogy művelt ember, legyen bár máskülönben Mezzofanti, angolúl ne beszéljen; ő neki persze más nyelvismeretről fogalma sincsen."

Mexican is also content with freedom and strives to win the esteem of foreign countries."[533] Bánó raises his voice to defend Mexico, while also commenting on his home country's status within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He objects, for example, when seeing US maps where Hungary appears with the same color as Austria and is indicated only as a "province."[534] The letters published in the first book and various sections of other publications reveal Bánó's opposition to coexistence with the Austrians as a result of the Compromise of 1867: "I like the King, as the Apostolic majesty of Hungary, I consider his being holy and invulnerable, however, I do not like the union."[535]

Bánó believes that Hungary loses her national character and identity as a result of the Compromise; she cannot enjoy national celebrations or express a sense of national belonging as the imperial symbol of the double-headed eagle always lures over the country. Hungary should not give in to foreign powers and Bánó clearly expresses his opinion: "Long live the homeland! Long live independent Hungary!"[536] This attitude clearly influences Bánó's perceptions of Mexico as well. He demands fair treatment for Mexico and emphasizes the significance of preserving the unique identity (and independence) of the country. The former rulers, the Spanish, are not presented as heroes, their reign was characterized by destruction and genocide.[537] At the same time, US influence is also seen as harmful, unlike in the case of László and Xántus. It is not a model to be followed any more, but becomes dangerous for the Mexican national character, just like Austria's rule over Hungary does:

> [Mexicans] do not like the North Americans and still the neighbor's influence expands day by day; but in my humble opinion this with time can pose a threat for this young state that has just started to flourish and which as an

[533] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 79-80: "Éppen úgy, mint mi magyarok századokon át görnyedtünk idegen befolyás, idegen iga alatt, ők is századokon át érezték a spanyol jármot nyakukon, s mint mi magyarok megszabadúlva a bilincsektől, élvezni kívánjuk a nehezen kivívott szabadságot s keressük az idegen nemzetek szeretetét és becsülését: a mexikói is teljes mértékben örül szabadságának s igyekszik az idegen nemzetek szeretetét s becsülését elnyerni."
[534] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 20.
[535] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 192. Such statements seem to be unique in Hungarian travel writing on the Americas and show that Bánó clearly broke away from Hungary.
[536] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 114: "Éljen a haza! Éljen a független Magyarország!"
[537] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom,* 58.

> independent republic is destined to a great role, if, however, they would unite with North America, the country would lose its originality, special characteristics, and nationality among the Anglo-Saxons—as it happened in California, New Mexico, and Texas—and it would be degraded to a secondary position within this enormous body.[538]

While László and Xántus perceived US influence and occupation as desirable for Mexico and Pawlowszki justified European intervention, Bánó considers foreign, especially US influence to be dangerous, just as he believes in the same with regard to Austria and Hungary. In line with this, the Mexican-American War is not presented as a natural step benefiting the "manifest" expansion of the US and the progress of the newly acquired region but it is seen as a huge loss for Mexico. American soldiers are depicted as murderers, while Mexicans as heroes fighting for their country: "Happy is the nation that has such children."[539] Bánó even defends Mexico from US expressions of superiority.[540] One cannot but think that this is also a defense of Hungary against similar attitudes.

His changing view of the United States, American citizens, and the inter-American relationship between Mexico and the United States was due not only to his critical attitude towards great powers but also to his former experience in the United States. His original plan was to find employment and settle down in the United States;[541] however, he did not find a suitable job and thus decided to move on to Mexico and try his luck there. This could result in a degree of disappointment in the United States as it did not fulfill his expectations (as a land of opportunities). At the same time, Mexico could give him what the US did not: good prospects for an immigrant. In the relatively short accounts on the US, many of Bánó's images revoke characteristic, former depictions of the country: fast development, growing industry and lively commerce, good transportation system, together with the surprisingly

[538]Bánó, *Úti képek*, 96: "az észak-amerikaiakat nem szeretik és mégis ezek befolyása napról-napra terjed, pedig ez szerény véleményem szerint, idővel veszélyt hozhat ezen most szép virágzásnak induló fiatal államra, mely mint önálló köztársaság nagy szerepre van hivatva, de ha egyesülne Észak-Amerikával, az angol-szászok között elvesztené eredetiségét, jellegét s nemzetiségét, – mint a hogy elvesztette California, Új-Mexikó s Texas – s ezen nagy testben nagyon is másodrendű tényezővé sülyedne."
[539] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 98: "Boldog az a nemzet melynek ily gyermekei vannak!"
[540] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom,* 90.
[541] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 121.

beautiful natural scenery. The population is presented as industrious, busy, and cultural and racial diversity is emphasized in major cities like New York and San Francisco.[542] While he is astonished by what he experienced in the United States, the former image depicted with reverent admiration is not present any more. Already at arrival he criticizes the customs (that Bölöni praised for being so different from the European experience), he is judgmental with Mormons,[543] while New York is described as interesting but not beautiful.[544] This more critical voice is in harmony with the changing image of the US at the time, as discussed above.

As Bánó could not find a suitable job in the United States, the country is not presented as the land of opportunities anymore. He actually calls attention to threats on immigrants[545] and no success stories are discussed regarding Hungarian-Americans: "There are several other Hungarians in San Francisco but as I heard they all live under the most modest circumstances; California, the promised land—as we can see—does not really waste its blessings on our poor compatriots who wandered here wishing to get rich."[546] He presents a completely different image with regard to Mexico: Mexican accounts emphasize Hungarian success, a welcoming environment and people, and good opportunities for immigrants.

Bánó is eager to share with his readers the examples of modernization and improvement in Mexico. He travels on and describes the various new railroads that he points out as new projects bringing progress for the cities and the country in general. He presents technology available in the country, together with signs of industrialization, mining, and great developments in agriculture. Mexico was depicted as a country offering business opportunities earlier as well (see the capitalist vanguard) but it was seen as an attractive place for American or English settlers and businessmen. This is also changed by Bánó, who

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[542] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 28, 59.
[543] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 43-44.
[544] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 30.
[545] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 25.
[546] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 68: "Több magyar is van még San-Franciscóban, de mint hallám, mindannyi a legszerényebb körülmények között él; California az igéret földje, – mint látszik, – nem pazarlá áldását szegény idetévedt s meggazdagodni kívánó honfitársainkra."

introduces Mexico as an alternative destination for Hungarians, an even better one than the US. This was in line with the intentions of the Díaz government (even if probably they did not think of Hungarians in the first place). As we have seen, Bánó knew that such a publication could be beneficial for him and he actually sent his writings to Díaz. The review of his first book was republished in *Mexico és utazásom*, and it praises Bánó for the fair and positive treatment of Mexico. According to Díaz's letter, the Mexican President promised support for Bánó's endeavors.[547]

Bánó encourages Hungarian immigration to Mexico both indirectly by the complimentary depiction of the country and also more explicitly: "This is Mexico, dear father, a really blessed country, and anyone who has a practical mind is destined to become rich here."[548] Bánó goes even further and writes: "It would be wiser for our Tóts [people of Slovak ethnicity living in the territory of Hungary], if they want to emigrate from the upper parts of our county, to come here and not to the unfortunate North America where they are looked upon as draft animals."[549] While in the US he presents the difficult circumstances of Hungarian immigrants, in Mexico he emphasizes success. He writes about six Hungarians in Mexico City and claims that "all my Hungarian compatriots have a successful life both in social and financial terms, and what is even more important, they are all loved and respected both by Mexicans and others."[550] Hungarians have a much better status in Mexico than in the US and Bánó mentions the example of Samu Lederer, his influential friend and patron in Mexico City, who could not cope in the US but became successful in Mexico after moving there. Bánó also provides practical advice for Hungarian readers, offering growing tips for coffee, vanilla, rubber tree, etc., describing workers and their wages, the difficulties of

[547] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*, 25.
[548] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 139: "Ez a Mexikó, kedves atyám, egy valóban áldott ország s a ki csak egy kissé practicus ésszel bír, kell, hogy itt meggazdagodjon."
[549] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 195: "A tótjaink sokkal okosabban tennék, ha már egyáltalában ki akarnak vándorolni hazánk felső vidékeiről, ha ide jönnének és nem a szerencsétlen Északamerikába, a hol őket igavonó állatoknak tekintik."
[550] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 108: "honfitársaim társadalmilag és anyagilag is előnyös helyzetben vannak, s mi legfőbb, egytől-egyig úgy a mexikóiak által mint a többi nemzetiségek által is szeretetben és becsülésben részesülnek."

immigrant life, and he also calls attention to the support granted by the government and realizable profits. It is in this sense that Bánó's books provide a mixture of a typical travelogue, a migrant narrative, and propaganda.

Bánó identifies with the policies of the Díaz government. He also notes that the demand for labor force cannot be satisfied by Indians only in the future, so emigration will be needed that can come either from Asia or Europe. "I believe both me and the government would give the advantage to European emigration and will not bring in—only in greatest need—the Chinese, who have flooded California and the West coast of North America so much that Americans are trying to get rid of them by all means."[551] Hungarians would be welcomed as immigrants in Mexico but Bánó also admits at one point that "one should not forget that although people are nice in Mexico and life is also pleasant, the conditions are not yet as established as in the civilized states of the Old Continent."[552]

Bánó claims in his book that after reading his publications several Hungarians contacted him about opportunities in the country.[553] "I am not surprised that many people want to emigrate from Hungary" […] "It seems that soon a Hungarian colony will be born under the Mexican sky for which [Hungarian Prime Minister] Mr. Kálmán Tisza will pass the death penalty on me and all my coffee *in contumaciam*."[554] Bánó claims that he is not interested in the reactions of the government to his accounts: "I do not care too much about them. Why don't they worry about how their sons could get by at home?"[555] Bánó's discussion of the issue of migration serves as a possibility for commenting on problems of the home culture just as the defense of Mexico against malevolent Western voices is used to make remarks on Hungary's similar treatment.

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[551]Bánó, *Úti képek*, 195: "azt hiszem, úgy a kormány mint én is az európai emigratiónak adjuk az előnyt s nem hozzuk be – csakis a legnagyobb szükség esetében – a kínaiakat kik Californiát s Északamerika nyugati partjait már anyira elárasztották, hogy az amarikaiak már mindenáron menekülni kívánnak tőlük." Bánó's statement is a clear reference to the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in the United States in 1882 and renewed in 1892.

[552] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 189: "Nem szabad felednünk, hogy bár Mexikóban kedvesek az emberek s az élet is kellemes, az állapotok azonban nincsenek annyira rendezve, mint vén Európánk czivilizált államaiban."

[553] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*, 183.

[554] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 191: ""Úgy látszik Mexikó ege alatt nemsokára egy magyar colonia fog keletkezni, melyért majd Tisza Kálmán úr in contumaciam halálos itéletet mond ream s összes kávémra."

[555] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 195.

Mexico: Old Themes Adjusted, Novel Issues Introduced

On the way from San Francisco to Mexico City, Bánó crossed the US-Mexican border at El-Paso and continued his "snapshots" of the landscape and various stops along the way. Throughout his Mexican accounts many of the usual images and topics reappear, but new elements are also added and a more positive attitude is presented in the texts. While he criticized the customs process in the United States, the very first impressions in Mexico are sympathetic. The officers are compared to their German colleagues, this time, however, the Mexicans are seen as superior in terms of their work and behavior:

> I have never seen more polite customs officers in my life than here in Passo del Norte (and the foreigners living here told me they were like this everywhere) and yet they strictly perform their duties; […] This kind of behavior with which they treat everyone provides such a sharp contrast with the Austrian, but even Hungarian, and especially German officers […] that I cannot help but ask myself the question: 'is it possible that the officers of Mexico who we—and especially the Austrians—like to think of as semi-barbarous, at home among the half-civilized, could acquire such polite and nice manners?[556]

This short passage illustrates the fundamental change in the reputation of Mexico and Mexicans in Bánó's portrayal. As we have seen in Chapter 3, Xántus dismissed the good behavior and work of Mexican customs officers as an exception and maintained that Europeans and Americans were superior to them. For Bánó, Mexicans are both reliable and kind, and the European (especially the Austrian) depictions are false and hostile.

An important new element of Hungarian travel writing on Mexico by the turn of the century, as has been noted briefly in the introduction to Part III, was that Maximilian's presence and the legacy of his empire became integral parts of the image of the country in

[556] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 77: "Még soha életemben nem találtam előzékenyebb vámhivatalnokokat, mint Passo-del-Norteban (itt élő idegenek biztosítottak róla, hogy mindenütt olyanok és mégis legszigorúbban teljesítik kötelességöket); […] Aztán az a kedves modor, melylyel mindenkivel szemben viseltetnek, oly feltünő ellentétet képez az osztrák, sőt magyar is, de különösen Németország – bár rettentő díszesen felöltözött – szegletes, udvariatlan, pöffeszkedő pénzügyőreivel szemben, hogy akaratlanúl is azon kérdést tettem fel magamban: << lehetséges-e az, hogy az általunk, de különösen Ausztria által oly szívesen félvadaknak tartott Mexikó hivatalnoki kara, otthon a félvadak között, ily udvarias, ily kedves modorra szert tehetett? >>"

Hungary. This is well illustrated by Bánó's travelogues. The Habsburg is mentioned several times both in letters of the first book and later accounts of journeys in Mexico. Bánó visits and describes places connected to Maximilian (archeological sites established by him, historical places) that had become tourist and memory sites. References to these places bring Hungarian armchair travelers closer to Mexico by offering a direct connection between the two countries. Maximilian is seen by Bánó as a pitiable victim, who was otherwise chivalric, generous and working for the betterment of Mexico; however, due to the sympathy for Mexicans and his view of imperial powers, Bánó also notes that even if Maximilian was a good man, he took the throne by force and not based on tradition or inheritance. At the same time, he defends Mexico again (and Juarez in particular) from harsh attacks for the execution of Maximilian: "this country did not deserve those strict judgments which Europe expressed and is still expressing. Are there no dark spots in the history of other nations? Oh yes, there are! But those have to be forgotten! So let us be fair with Mexico as well and let us forget what cannot be changed."[557] Unlike those participating in the Mexican venture, Bánó does not try to provide a justification for French and Austrian involvement and, in harmony with his general depiction of the Mexican population, does not blame Mexicans for the failure of a "European system" in the country.

Bánó emphasized progress in Mexico as his predecessors did in relation to the United States before: "In the last few years—mostly after the influence of the clergy was broken—the country has made such significant progress in the field of industry, commerce, arts, and science that it has earned the respect of Europe a long time ago and especially deserves to be taken out of the line of *terra incognita* and to receive more attention from us as well than before."[558] Industrialization and developing infrastructure, together with business

[557] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*, 13: "azért ez ország még sem érdemelte meg azon szigorú itéleteket, melyekkel Európa legnagyobb része sujtotta és sujtja még mai napon is. Hát más országok történelmében nincsenek-e sötét pontok? oh igen is vannak! csakhogy azokat feledni kell! Legyünk tehát igazságosak Mexicóval szemben is s feledjük azt – amin többé változtatni nem lehet."

[558] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 79: "s néhány év óta – különösen a papok befolyásának megszüntetésétől kezdve – oly haladást tesz az ipar, kereskedelem, művészet s tudományosság terén, hogy bizony már régen kiérdemelte

opportunities, provide an attractive destination for immigrants in Bánó's texts. Mexico is described as a country "moving forward by enormous steps." Such accounts, however, do more than just take note of development that certainly took place in Mexico at the time. Bánó identifies with the policies of the Díaz government and projects his positive view of progress in the country to all aspects of life, remaining blind to problems of the nation.

Bánó emphasizes the role of Porfirio Díaz in Mexican modernization and praises him for his achievements and his strict rule of the country. The Mexican leader is acclaimed and supported throughout the books and even photos and stories are included of him, together with a letter from the President thanking Bánó for his attitude and the positive image of Mexico depicted in the Hungarian's first book.[559] Bánó offers no criticism of the Porfiriato and does not note problems of the Mexican population. This is not the only contradiction in his works. While Bánó criticizes the imperial powers for their treatment of Mexico (and Hungary), he also hails progress that the Díaz regime wanted to achieve with the involvement of US and Western European capital, workforce, and expertise (as, for example, in the case of the construction of railroads by the English).

While progress is represented for Bánó by industrialization and expanding commerce, nature and the natural environment still stand as central images of Mexico, with Humboldt still serving as a reference point. Although it becomes less emphatic, Bánó writes about natural beauty and the abundance of nature and presents flora and fauna so different from Europe.[560] Bánó introduces dangerous animals, insects, snakes, together with beautiful and exotic creatures. However, descriptions of nature do not occupy such a central position as in the case of Rosti. For example, Bánó presents more of a catalogue of plants and animals

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Európa becsülését, s különösen megérdemelte azt, hogy már egyszer kiemelve e nemzetet a terra incogniták soraiból, mi is több figyelemben részesítsük mint eddig."

[559] Such praising remarks of Díaz were not unique for Hungarian travel writing. Marie Robinsion Wright, for example, dedicated her work *Picturesque Mexico* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1897) to the Mexican President with the following words: "To Senor General Don Porfirio Diaz, the illustrious President of Mexico, whose intrepid moral character, distinguished statesmanship, and devoted patriotism make him the pride and glory of this country is dedicated this volume, describing a beautiful and prosperous land, whose free flag never waved over a slave, and whose importance as a nation is due to the patriot under whose administration Mexico now flourishes and holds its proud position among the republics of the world."

[560] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 153.

intermingled with heroic stories of fighting with rattlesnakes and jaguars. The most dominant aspect of his descriptions focuses on Mexican modernization and business opportunities and the supporting political environment for prospective immigrants. His attitude towards modernization, opportunities in the country, and his aim to provide an alternative depiction of the country, also shaped his view of the population.

Changing Images of Mexicans

The former stereotypical image of a lazy and uncivilized population and that of Mexico as a land of bandits is also revised in Bánó's texts. The Hungarian intended to make the country more attractive, express his sympathy towards the nation, as well as call attention to former misrepresentations. Bánó systematically refutes former negative depictions and constructs an image of a safe country with a hospitable population. This is clearly visible in his attitude towards the figure of the Mexican bandit that was, as we have seen, a central part of the image of the country in Hungarian travel writing before. Mexico was always presented as hectic and dangerous, partly due to the bandits roaming the country. László, Xántus, and Rosti all wrote about stories of bandits attacking travelers (see Chapter 4) and Maximilian's soldiers also projected a similar image. The Porfiriato set out to change this. To combat banditry in Mexico a new police force (the *rurales*) was established by Díaz and this certainly made the situation better and created order in the countryside, while also improving the image of the country abroad: "under Díaz the rurales achieved international acclaim as one of the most effective mounted police forces in the world. This was more often a matter of effective publicity than of actual fact, and a good part of this reputation resided in the glamour associated with the official rural police uniform, modeled after the charro outfit worn by the *Plateados*."[561] Just as former travel writers exaggerated the presence of *ladrones* in Mexico, Bánó's treatment of the image of bandits is also more than simply taking note of changes and improvement in the

[561] Fazer, *Bandit Nation,* 85.

country. He uses the commentary on improving safety to criticize former (imperial) travel accounts and tries to bring Mexico up to par with Europe:

> I have read and heard so many people talk against the Mexican conditions that after my arrival to the capital I hid one lethal weapon in all my pockets as I thought that I would have to protect my life from sneak attacks at least once a day. After staying here for a week or two, however, and after I got acquainted with the local conditions personally, the protective weapons were gradually left out from my pockets and by now I walk around bravely at any late night without any weapon and alone […]. as I can be sure that neither a thug nor a scoundrel is looking to take my life or belongings.[562]

Mexico City in Bánó's view is one of the safest places in the world and is directly compared with Europe: "When will there be such conditions regarding safety in that terribly civilized Europe?"[563] He extends his descriptions to the entire countryside and claims that even if he takes weapons with him it is to protect him from wild animals and not people.[564] The Hungarian expressly criticizes former travel accounts for their "absurd" treatment of the issue of bandits and even makes fun of them.[565] Bánó mentions that the stories of attacks are only born from fantasy or a lack of knowledge of Mexico and he offers to defend Mexicans again: of course there are bad people everywhere in the world but to claim that there are bandits wherever you travel in Mexico is unfounded and such claims should "make anyone at least a bit familiar with Mexican conditions smile."[566]

Bánó's travel account introduces a novel attitude towards the entire populace. Most groups within society receive a favorable treatment, people are presented as kind, hospitable, as well as good workers. When he writes negatively about certain people or groups of people,

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[562] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 101: "Oly sokat olvastam és hallottam is mexikói állapotok ellen beszélni, hogy midőn a fővárosba érkeztem, minden zsebembe egy-egy gyilkos fegyvert rejték, mert azt hívém, hogy naponta legalább is egyszer kell majd az orvtámadások ellen életemet megvédelmeznem. Egy-két heti itt tartózkodásom után azonban meggyőződve személyesen az itteni viszonyokról, a védő fegyverek lassanként elvándorlotak zsebeimből, s én ma bárminő késő éjszakán is, minden […] fegyver nélkül s egyedül a legbátrabban járok Mexikónak bár legelhagyatottabb utcáin is végig, mert biztos lehetek a felől, hogy sem orgyilkos, sem csirkefogó nem leskelődik életem avagy vagyonom ellen."

[563] ibid.: "Mikor lesznek ott, túl abban a rettentően czivilizált Európában a biztonságot illetően hasonló állapotok?"

[564] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 141.

[565] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*, 108.

[566] Bánó, *Mexico és utazásom*, 92: "a mexicói viszonyokkal csak némileg ösmerős egyénnek, kell, hogy ajakára vonja a mosolyt."

these examples are treated as exceptions to the general rule. For example, he posits a certainly racist view with regard to the representation of the black and mulatto population. He claims that they are also good workers if treated strictly but they can easily turn into wild animals. "In my opinion, the mulatto is the most dangerous type of person in the world; he is sneaky, greedy, drunkard and revengeful, with a great inclination to stealing and he does not have a guilty conscience even if he has to take the life of another human being […]"[567] Bánó in racist remarks mentions that the "Negro blood" is treacherous, but he also emphasizes that these kind of people *are not real Mexicans*, they can be found in Veracruz only, and there are just a few of them.

When Bánó encounters social tendencies or circumstances that go against his expectations or the objectives of his texts, similarly to other travelers, he blames it on the Spanish. This is the case for example with bull fights. It is a barbaric form of entertainment, but not originally Mexican: it was taken over from the Spanish. As it was seen above as well, Bánó strongly criticizes Spanish presence in Mexico: "Everything that is reprehensible in Mexico, as I have already mentioned, comes from the old Spanish; the bull fights were also imported by them and this is why it has become one of the national pastimes of this otherwise very sober people."[568] Bánó believes that Mexicans without foreign interference will get rid of this form of entertainment unlike their former conquerors who still love this game.

A novel approach is used by Bánó with regard to the comparison of the US and Mexican population as well. While in the case of the former travel writers US citizens were presented as superior (hard working, industrious, and civilized), Bánó's accounts are more sympathetic towards Mexicans and critical of US Americans:

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[567] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 17: "Nézetem szerint a mulatt – a világ népeinek legveszedelmesebb faja; mert alattomos, kapzsi, részeges, bosszúálló – s a lopásra nagy hajlammal bír, sőt embertársainak életét elvenni, […] sem okoz neki nagy lelkiismereti furdalást."

[568] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 112-13: "Mint minden, a mi Mexikóban elitélendő, mint már említém is, a régi spanyoloktól származik, úgy a bikaviadalok is azok által hozattak be s lettek ezen különben annyira józan nép nemzeti mulatságai közé felvéve."

> While the North American does everything with cold calculation and creates obstacles for the prosperity of the new settlers and laughs at their possible failures and applies the principle of 'help yourself' as extensively as possible, the Mexican receives the European with kind and obliging politeness and looks forward to his friendship as somebody from whom they can learn taste and many other good qualities.[569]

Unlike Americans, they also offer a helping hand if you are in trouble while they are not as cold as US citizens and they are also more inclined towards beauty and the arts. "The Mexican is honest and open and as hospitable as probably only the Hungarian among Europeans."[570] He criticizes former depictions again several times, claiming that Mexicans are judged wrongly in Europe and they are mistakenly looked upon as semi-barbarous.[571]

The Native population of Mexico is presented by Bánó as the most fascinating group and he writes about them in various sections of his books. There is a genuine interest expressed by Bánó in Native tribes, their customs, myths, linguistic differences, and the process of transculturation.[572] A novel type of treatment is clearly discernible in their case as well: they are not lazy any more but offer a cheap and reliable labor force mentioned several times (Bánó is actually working with them on his plantations); they are also open, kind, sensitive, and capable of studying and improvement as the example of Juarez and Díaz also indicates.[573] Even if sometimes they are presented as childish[574] Bánó is sympathetic towards them, mostly compared to former depictions: "Our life among the Indians is safer than in the homes of Europe's best police chiefs."[575]

Similarly to László, Bánó also distinguishes between Mexican and North American Indians, however, László's association is turned inside out. In the United States Bánó

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[569] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 178: "Míg az észak-amerikai hideg kiszámítással tesz mindent, s nehézségeket gördít egy új idegen telepítő prosperálása elé, s kaczag annak esetleges bukásán s a 'segíts magadon' elvét a legvégtelenebb határig viszi, addig a mexikói szives, lekötelező előzékenységgel fogadja az európait, s keresi annak barátságát, mint kitől ízlést és más sok jó tulajdont tanulni lehet;"
[570] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 95: "A mexikói őszinte s nyílt jellemű s a mellett oly vendégszerető, mint az európai népek között talán egyedül a magyar."
[571] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 138.
[572] See for example Bánó, *Bolyongásaim,* 305ff.
[573] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 106 and 79.
[574] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim,* 316 and 182.
[575] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 159.

encounters Apaches and presents them in his first book as dangerous and wild, claiming that luckily such people will soon disappear: "it is fortunate that this group that cannot be tamed despite all the attempts of the United States decreases in number day by day maybe exactly due to its wildness."[576] If you travel in both countries, Bánó claims, you can easily recognize the significant ethnographic differences between the two groups. While in the case of László the North American Indians were seen as heroic, brave, and to a certain extent superior, in Bánó's case the exact opposite is presented: "numerous civilized and uncivilized Indians also visit San Francisco; the former are represented by those from the Republic of Mexico, while the latter by those from Utah, Arizona, and South California."[577]

In terms of his sympathy, Bánó goes as far as to contemplate the common Asian roots of Hungarians and Mexican Indians: "I do not intend to prove the Asian heritage of the ancestors of Mexicans, nor to look for the nest of their ancestors, but there is one thing I cannot keep away from my compatriots, and that is to mention that striking similarity that existed in the ancient traditions of both Hungarians and Mexicans."[578] Bánó offers several examples to illustrate his point: the Toltecs, just like the Hungarians, recognized seven chiefs as their leaders, had a principality where continuity was ascertained by inheritance, the blood oath is present in the history of both nations, etc.[579] Bánó notes that the national colors are red, white, and green, the turul bird (or eagle) is present as a main symbol, there are also linguistic similarities, and both people like paprika, goulash, chicken paprikash and stew.[580] While these are interesting, although rather doubtful and unsupported, thoughts and parallels and the depiction of Indians is favorable in all publications, Bánó's treatment of the Natives is just as one-sided (even if exactly the opposite way) as that of former travel accounts

[576] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 70: "Szerencse, hogy e népfaj, mely az Egyesült-Államok minden törekvése mellett sem szelidíthető meg, talán éppen vadságánál fogva fogy napról-napra."
[577] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 59: "tömérdek művelt és műveletlen indián is felkeresi San-Franciscót, az előbbieket a mexikói köztársaságiak, az utóbbiakat az utah-arizona s dél-californiabeliek képviselik."
[578] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*, 310: " Nem szándékozom sem bizonygatni a mexikóiak őseinek ázsiai voltát, sem kutatni azok őseinek fészkét, de egyet még sem hallgathatok el honfitársaim előtt, és pedig felemlíteni azt a feltünő hasonlóságot, amely úgy a magyarok, mint a mexikóiak ősi szokásaiban létezett."
[579] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*, 310-12.
[580] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*, 328.

addressed in this dissertation. He did not take notice of (or did not share with his readers) the major problems of the Indian population during the Porfiriato and provided a falsely "perfect image."

Bánó found women, and Indian women for that matter, especially appealing. Yet, in this case former typical images and attitudes are recycled without comments. Women are still seen as exotic, beautiful señoritas, with seducing large, black eyes, and long eyelashes: "when exiting the hut I saw a few very nice Indian girls peeking in my direction mischievously with beautiful fire in their black eyes and had I been less fearful of the revenge of Indians, I probably would have devoted more attention to these really beautiful exotic flowers who did not feel the need to hide their natural beauty from strangers."[581] He returns to the description of women several times, introducing their clothes, looks, and lamenting on their natural beauty that he claims to be matching if not superior to European women.

A separate section is devoted to women of Tehuantepec. They are described as rare beauties: "among the flowers the most beautiful is the Zapotec girl."[582] The comparison with American women is also present: the Mexican woman is superior, not only in terms of beauty and good taste but also with regard to manners and kindness.[583] However, Bánó does not provide any detailed description of the domestic lives of women, nor does he discuss their status in society. Those social groups that were criticized harshly by most former travel writers (including the Creoles from example), are simply left out of Bánó's descriptions.

As we have seen, Bánó's special approach to Mexico and his much more favorable treatment of the country was influenced by several factors: his career plans (knowing that these publications could benefit him), a degree of disappointment in the United States (in

[581] Bánó, *Úti képek*, 77: "kijöve a kunyhóból, néhány igen csinos indián leánykát láttam, gyönyörű tüzű, fekete szemeivel hamiskásan felém pillantani, s ha nem féltem volna az indiánok bosszújától, valószínűleg több figyelemmel kisérem ezen igazán szép exoticus növényeket, melyek természetadta bájaikat nem igen tarták szükségesnek az idegen előtt […] rejtegetni." Bánó uses the term *növény*, which means plant, to refer to Indian women. The English translation here is "flower" to reflect the exotic nature and beauty that Bánó is expressing and that is also in line with expressions used by Bánó elsewhere (see the next footnote, for example).
[582] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*, 330: "A virágok között legszebb mindenesetre a fiatal zapoték leány."
[583] Bánó, *Bolyongásaim*, 285.

terms of immigration and opportunities), as well as a hatred of Austria and criticism of the imperial view. Later in his life in Mexico, as an employee of the Mexican government, it also became "his duty" to present such an image of the country and to emphasize opportunities for cooperation. His publications fit the policies of the Diaz government as Bánó supported and propagated the Porfiriato and advertised it at home. The Hungarian expressed more sympathy with and openness towards Mexicans than those writing before him and this resulted in a revised image of the nation.

Bánó emphasized in his publications that Hungarians had been deceived at home due to the hostile accounts available. At the same time, Bánó's accounts are just as problematic as former travelogues: while László, Xántus, or Pawlowszki mostly criticized the country and thus noted only what was unfavorable compared to the United States or Europe, providing an unbalanced and unfavorable image of Mexico, Bánó disregarded the problems of contemporary Mexico and shared a one-sided account with Hungarian readers that supported the objectives of the Porfiriato. He often used the Mexican accounts and the description of the relationship between Mexico and the United States to criticize his home country and comment on the situation of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Mrs. Mocsáry also traveled to Mexico during the Porfiriato, at the beginning of the century, and in many ways built on and sustained Bánó's approach. Her presence as a female tourist traveling alone in itself supports the image of Mexico as a safe country. She also notes progress and the "well-being of the population" while sharing one of the first touristic views of Mexico with Hungarians. Mrs. Mocsáry's brief travel account of her journey in Mexico serves as an attractive case study due to this new point of view while she is also the only female travel writer discussed in this dissertation, thus her text also provides an opportunity to discuss gender-related issues with regard to travel writing.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Proof of What a Hungarian Woman is Capable of:" Mrs. Mocsáry in Mexico and the United States

Are female travel accounts fundamentally different from those written by men? Do women travel and experience the world differently? These questions, among many others, have been central to travel writing studies in recent years and numerous publications have dealt with the scholarly study of female travel writing internationally. Although with the commercialization of travel an increasing number of women embarked on journeys, during the second half of the nineteenth century such an act still posed several challenges for them: traveling abroad (outside Europe in particular) required not only courage but also a willingness to go against social expectations and prejudice. Organizing the particularities of the journey (arranging transportation, finding accommodation, obtaining proper clothing), the act of traveling itself, and then the decision to publish the accounts all contributed to these women being perceived as different and exceptional. Meanwhile, travel accounts written by women were often seen as marginal and less valuable than those published by men. The 1970s brought about a change with regard to such perceptions; since then many travelogues and writers have been rediscovered and such publications are acknowledged by scholars as valuable contributions to the field of travel writing.[584]

While numerous insightful studies have been published on women's travel writing abroad, female travelers from Hungary have rarely, if at all, been studied seriously. There is

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[584] See for example: Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991). Hereafter cited as Mills, *Discourses of Difference*; Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender" in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme (Cambridge, CUP, 2002): 225-242. Hereafter cited as Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender"; Kristi Siegel, ed., *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004). Hereafter cited as Siegel, *Gender, Genre, and Identity*; John Theakstone, *Victorian and Edwardian Women Travellers: A Bibliography of Books Published in English* (Mansfield Center, CT: Martino, 2006); Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women. A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: OUP, 1990); Catherine Barnes Stevenson, *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford: OUP, 1998); June Edith Hahner, *Women Through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in 19th-century Travel Accounts* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1998);

even less attention paid to female travel writers than to travel writing in general, which could give us the false impression that travel writing in the nineteenth century was not only a male-dominated genre but there were no female representatives at all. This is far from reality; Hungarian women at the time traveled in and wrote about Europe, India, the Middle East, Africa, as well as the United States and Mexico. They not only traveled when accompanying their husbands but several of them left the mother country on their own, often providing a novel point of view and approach towards countries and cultures visited. Their works provide a wealth of material for scholars and women travelers' lives and texts should be studied more extensively in Hungary as well. The case study presented in this chapter aims to contribute to this process.[585]

Sándor Márki called attention to the significance of travel accounts written by Hungarian women as early as 1889, claiming that they provide new perspectives on the countries visited and well complement even the best travelogues written by men.[586] In his study Márki listed almost forty female travelers, twenty of whom also published travel accounts at a time when "in our country the prejudice that a woman should stand out with her beauty alone was still widely accepted."[587]

> Gradually, Hungarian women also abandoned their aversion to travel and more and more of them visited beautiful sights both in Hungary and abroad not only out of necessity but also with the aim of studying. Moreover, in the last hundred years several of them published their experience in book form as well. Although they did not prepare their books with scientific claim, the travelogues

[585] Of course, this case study would also be capable of extension. Unfortunately, there is no other Hungarian female traveler visiting Mexico at the time but Mrs. Mocsáry's US accounts could be compared with two other texts, those of Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of their Guests* (co-authored with his husband Francis) (New York: Redfield, 1853) and Jakabffy Istvánné, *A nagy számok honában: Amerikai utazások* [In the country of large numbers: journeys in America] (Budapest: Országgyűlési Értesítő, 1893). It would also be an important extension of this work to offer more international comparisons (that is partly done in this dissertation). I am planning to explore both directions of research in future papers and not within the scope of this dissertation.

[586] Sándor Márki, "Magyar nők utazásai," [Travels of Hungarian women] *Földrajzi Közlemények* III (1889): 89-157. Hereafter cited as Márki, "Magyar nők utazásai."

[587] Polixéna Wesselényi, *Olaszhoni és Svájczi Utazás* [Travels in Italy and Switzerland] (Kolozsvár: np, 1842). Available online here: http://mek.oszk.hu/01000/01017/01017.htm

> are attractive because they mirror what a woman pays attention to and what she is interested in while traveling.[588]

Several Hungarian women visited European countries like Italy, France, Germany, and Greece as part of a quasi Grand Tour.[589] These places were increasingly accessible for Hungarian women as well and they served as worthy destinations due to their history and culture. At the same time, more and more women embarked on voyages outside Europe, too. Etelka Győrffy sent letters from India published in *Magyar Háziasszony* [Hungarian housewife] as early as 1886. Mrs. Samuel Baker (of supposed Hungarian origin) accompanied her husband to Africa, while Hermina Gillmingné Fischer traveled around the world visiting and writing about the United States, Cuba, South America, Japan, China, and India. Her work was published in German.[590] The accounts of these pioneering female travelers were significant also because, as Jill Steward notes, "for the female reader, the experience of reading accounts of foreign places written by women was an important element in encouraging them to think of themselves as tourists and to want to travel abroad."[591]

There were several female travelers left out by Márki who published accounts of journeys in various newspapers, whose works were incorporated into joint publications with their husbands (see Theresa Pulszky for example[592]), and probably there were cases when women wrote under pseudonyms. At the same time, the number of female travelers continued

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[588] Márki, "Magyar nők utazásai," 92.
[589] See for example the following: Lilla, Bulyovszky, *Úti naplóm* [My travel diary] (Pest: Boldini, 1858); Lilla, Bulyovszky,*Norvégiából: Úti emlékek* [From Norway: memories of a journey] (Pest: Emich G., 1866); Ádámné Wass, *Úti képek: szeptember – november 1859* [Images of a journey: September-Novermber 1859] (Kolozsvár: np, 1860); De Gerando Ágostonné Teleki Emma, *Hedvig és Andor utazása Rómában: írta Anyjok* [The journey of Hedvig and Andor in Rome: written by their mother] (Párizs: Jouaust, 1866) and *De Gerando Ágostné gróf Teleki Emma Görögországi levelei és a régi Attikának hiteles kútfők utáni leírása* [The Greek letters of De Gerando Ágostné gróf Teleki Emma and the description of old Ithaca based on reliable sources] (Pest: Heckenast, 1873); Józsa Uhrl, *Emlékek római útamból* **[**Memories of my trip to Rome**]**(Pozsony: np, 1888); Hermina Tauscherné Geduly, "Utazásom a Mont-Blancra" [My trip to Mont Blanc] *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1882): 218-232; Polyxéna Hampelné Pulszky, "Kirándulásunk a régi Trója vidékére" [Our excursion to the region of old Troy] *Egyetértés* 128 and 130 (1884);
[590] Hermina Gillmingné Fischer, *Notizen unserer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1875-1877* (Budapest: np, 1877).
[591] Jill Steward, "The 'Travel Romance' and the Emergence of the Female Tourist," *Studies in Travel Writing* 2, no.1 (1998): 88.
[592] Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of their Guests* (New York: Redfield, 1853).

to grow after Márki's publication as well. With regard to North America, Istvánné Jakabffy published her travel account of the United States in 1893,[593] while Mrs. Mocsáry, the subject of the case study below, wrote about her experience in the United States and Mexico in numerous publications at the turn of the century.

Several factors contributed to the growing number of female travelers from Hungary by the end of the nineteenth century. First of all, the development of infrastructure and the commercialization of travel together with the spreading of tourism made traveling easier and locations that were harder to reach before became more accessible for everyone. As Márki wrote, "the railroad, steam ships, from which the toilette tables and mirrors were not absent either, made traveling rather simple for women."[594] Besides this, changes in the social status and perceptions of women, mostly those from privileged classes, made travel and travel writing more acceptable to society. Perceptions of the traditional female roles (as mothers, good wives, and housewives) still persisted but various social tendencies pointed towards changes and emancipation and thus a possibility for stepping out of the stereotypical roles assigned to women.

Progress in terms of emancipation and equality was most prevalent in the field of education.[595] Several educational institutions were established for women, where they studied languages, music, history, literature, needlework, miniature portrait painting, and religion.[596] From 1868 education became compulsory for girls between 6 and 12. In 1895 university education became partly available when women could study in the fields of humanities, medicine, and pharmacy. Key changes in this regard, however, came only after World War I, similarly to voting rights (with full suffrage granted to women only in 1945). Numerous

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[593] Jakabffy Istvánné, *A nagy számok honában: Amerikai utazások* [In the country of large numbers: journeys in America] (Budapest: Országgyűlési Értesítő, 1893).
[594] Márki, "Magyar nők utazásai," 95-96.
[595] This paragraph is based on: Andrea Pető, *A nők és férfiak története Magyarországon a hosszú 20. században* [The history of women and men in Hungary during the long 20th century](Budapest: SZMM, 2008). Hereafter cited as Pető, *Nők és férfiak*.
[596] Pető, *Nők és férfiak*, 59.

women's organizations were founded and participation in the work of women's associations became "a socially expected prestige activity."[597]

Scholars studying female travel accounts have often tried to identify aspects that are uniquely characteristic of women travelers. There is a clear assumption in most critical texts that female travel writing is inherently different. 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."[598] Scholars assert that female travel accounts are more personal and emotional and thus focus less on public discourse, including politics or economy, than male travel accounts; it is also mentioned that they provide more detailed accounts of domestic issues, women being more attentive to details; women's texts are claimed to be more literary than scientific, the latter style usually associated with men; the topics discussed and reasons for writing are also often delineated along gender lines as we will see.

Having said that, we also have to acknowledge that such texts resist simple categorization based on gender categories only: "In terms of stylistic features, there is no way that women's travel writing can be differentiated from that of male writers, though a case could perhaps be made for difference in emphasis, in selection of material, in the relationship between the traveller and the putative reader."[599] In many cases we might as well assume that differences in style or content are the result of personal characteristics rather than gender differences alone. The cultural and national background of a female travel writer may have a stronger influence on a particular textual representation than her gender. Thus one of the aims of this chapter, besides continuing the discussion of the image of Mexico in Hungarian travel writing, is to discuss how a Hungarian woman's travel account differed (if at all) from the

[597] Pető, *Nők és férfiak*, 98.
[598] Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 5-6.
[599] Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," 240.

travelogues discussed before. Therefore, in this chapter, a case study of a pioneering female traveler is provided and the image of Mexico is examined in relation to the findings of the previous chapters and the general evolution of the image of Mexico.

"Traveling Transformed My Whole Being:" Mrs. Mocsáry in North America

Susan Bassnett describes female travel writers as doubly different: "they differ from other, more orthodox, socially conformist women, and from male travellers who use the journey as a means of discovering more about their own masculinity."[600] In the case of Mrs. Mocsáry, her exceptional status was highlighted in comparison with Western European travelers as well in contemporary reports:

> Widow Mrs. Béla Mocsáry, née Mária Fáy, is […] probably one of the most noteworthy women. If the English woman travels, she comes to the continent and that is it. If the American woman travels, she comes over to Europe—usually Paris is the destination—she goes to Italy and then settles peacefully because she traveled! However, this Hungarian woman, not to mention her journeys in Europe, visited Africa, India, and America twice—all alone […] serving as proof of what a Hungarian woman is capable of.[601]

Mrs. Mocsáry is often regarded as the first female travel writer from Hungary,[602] which, as we have seen above, is certainly not the case. She is not even the first one in North America; still, she is a unique author whose travel accounts concerned areas not visited by women travelers before. She traveled alone over the age of fifty, took numerous photographs, and her works

[600] Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," 226.
[601] "Havannában" *Új idők* January 8, 1905: "Özvegy Mocsáry Béláné született Fáy Mária egyike most Magyarország asszonyainak. Sőt általában a legérdekesebb asszonyok egyike. Ha az angol nő utazik, átjön a kontinensre és ezzel vége. Ha az amerikai nő utazik, átjön Európába - legtöbbnyire Páris a célpont - elmegy Olaszországba és megnyugszik babérain, mert ő - utazott! De ez a magyar asszony Európában tett utazásairól nem is szólva, járt Afrikában, járt Indiában, járt kétszer is Amerikában – egymaga […] tanubizonyság, hogy mire képes a magyar asszony!"
[602] See for example: Balázs, *Magyar utazók lexikona*, 275.

lend themselves to the study of changes in Mexico's Hungarian image and questions of gender and travel writing.[603]

Mária Fáy was born in Pomáz in 1845 into a land-owning family.[604] After the early death of her mother, she was educated by her father and a guardian. She was sent to Pest to girls' school at the age of 8 and she spent 4 years there. After returning to her father's house, she studied the piano, languages, as well as needlework. In the available biographies her love of traveling is usually depicted in relation to two male figures, her father and her husband. Mária's father (Ignác Fáy) often traveled and took her daughter with him, for example to Venice and Vienna when his daughter was 14. After marrying Béla Mocsáry (at the age of 16), the couple spent their time not only in their house in Nógrád county but they also traveled extensively: to Switzerland, Italy, Paris, London, and Berlin. As she wrote: "We loved wandering in the world *casually*."[605] Her social background and early life fits into Siegel's description of female travelers of the time, claiming that most of these women were relatively privileged and constitute a select group who traveled voluntarily.[606]

The couple had no children and after the husband died in 1890, the widow decided to continue traveling on her own: "But where should I go? I did not long to go anywhere in Europe; but how should I travel across the far sea? Me, who is so sensitive to heat!"[607] She usually referred to the death of her husband as the main reason for traveling, just as Bánó mentioned the death of his wife as a cause, presenting travel as a form of escape: "Me, who did not know what the sweet hug of a mother was like, whose married life was not blessed by

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[603] Although her publication is relatively short (37 pages, most of them photographs), I still considered it important to include her in the dissertation to examine if there are any differences between her view of Mexico and the depictions by male travel writers.

[604] This section is based on Szinnyei, *Magyar írók* and Balázs, *Magyar utazók lexikona*, 274-75. See also: "Mocsáry Béláné," *Magyar Szalon* July 1901.

[605] "Mocsáry Béláné" *Magyar Szalon* July 1901, 354: "Szerettünk *fesztelenül* a világban bolyongani."

[606] Siegel, *Gender, Genre, and Identity*, 2.

[607] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon*, 4: "De hová menjek?! Nem vágytam én sehová sem Európába; a messze tengeren túl pedig hogyan utazzam? ki a hőséggel szemben oly érzékeny vagyok!"

fate with a child whom I could overwhelm with my love, in my solitude I searched for consolation and found peace in the beauties of nature and the dangers of traveling."[608]

Travel by women writers has often been presented as a means of escape, a time "free of constraints of contemporary society, realising their potential once outside the boundaries of a restrictive social order."[609] The travel experience is also often depicted as a search for a new identity and new definition of the self. Mary Kingsley (and her travels through West Africa) is often studied as a key example[610] but such a statement is is certainly true for Mrs. Mocsáry as well. She embarked on journeys with the purpose of leaving behind her former self after the death of her husband, and travelling certainly granted her a new identity and a possibility for transformation: "I want to exchange the unbearable uniformity of life without goals to a more interesting, more pleasant, and better pastime."[611] Based on the introduction to her first book, such a transformation was successfully achieved: "since then, if I think of my sad past, I feel that my experience during my journeys, the numerous majestic sights have transformed my whole being."[612] Later she added, "the memories of my journey made my life more beautiful, human society more pleasant, and gave me strength to keep on struggling."[613] At the same time, we should not forget that Bánó also left the country with similar intentions and plans for starting a new life after the death of his wife and traveling itself requires transformations and the assumption of a new identity in all cases, irrespective of gender.

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[608] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon*, 4: "Én, a ki nem ösmertem az édes anya ölelését, kinek házaséletét a sors gyermekkel — a kire szeretetemet áraszthattam volna — nem áldotta meg: magányosságomban a természet szépségeiben és az utazás veszélyeiben kerestem vigasztalást s találtam megnyugvást."

[609] Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender, " 234

[610] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa: Congo Francais, Corisco and Cameroons* (London: Macmillan, 1897). Hereafter referred to as Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa.* For studies concerning Kingsley see, for example: Karen Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1994): 124-153.

[611] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon,* 7: "Barátaim sajnálkoztak felettem; én pedig csodálkozva mondottam, hogy mire való az, midőn az elviselhetetlen, czél nélküli egyformaságot egy érdekesebb, kellemesebb, jobb időtöltéssel akarom felcserélni!"

[612] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon,* 5: "Azóta, ha régi, szomorú multamra gondolok — érzem, hogy utazásom alatt szerzett tapasztalataim, a sok fenséges szép látvány — átalakították egész lényemet."

[613] Mocsáryné, *Keleti Utazás*, 398: "de egyszersmind utazásom emlékei szebbé tették az életet,kedvesebbé az emberi társadalom-alkotta világot és erőt kölcsönöztek a továbbküzdéshez."

The money she earned from the family estate and the fact that she spoke foreign languages made the realization of her travel plans possible, already indicating the changing social perceptions of women discussed above. First, she traveled to the Tatra Mountains and then to Transylvania. However, "the feeling of abandonment without a family became terrifying and I wanted to travel further in the world." [614] Thus, together with her sister, she traveled to the Balkans and the Middle East (1893), visiting Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Turkey, even reaching Nubia. In later journeys, she traveled alone in Asia, including extensive trips in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). After spending some time home, she embarked on transatlantic voyages and traveled to North America twice: to the United States and Mexico. She was also planning a journey around the world, which was made impossible by the Russo-Japanese War. Thus, she had to return to her home in Hungary where she died in 1917.[615] These journeys were certainly outstanding at the time and the resulting publications were welcomed and appreciated by Hungarian readers.

Mrs. Mocsáry decided to publish her experience of the first journey after returning home from India. Similarly to many other female travelers of the time, she assumed an apologetic voice, emphasizing that hers was only a tourist description not aimed at competing with male travel accounts:

> Now I give in to persuasion and based on my letters sent home and my memories, I record my journey for the purposes of charity, not from a scholarly perspective, as *being a simple village lady* I did not embark on journeys for that purpose, but as a way of entertainment for fellow women. Therefore, I recommend my work to Hungarian ladies. At the same time, I offer all income from my work, in the proportion agreed upon already, to the Nagypénteki Society, Lórántfy Association, the Orphanage of Hungarian Farmer's Wives, the Home of Educated Women, and the Losoncz Asylum Fund as well as to the education of poor children chosen by me.[616]

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[614] "Mocsáry Béláné," *Magyar Szalon* July 1901, 35-55: "az elhagyatottság érzete család nélkül öldöklővé vált és messzebbre vágytam a világba."

[615] The date of her death is usually not indicated, it is provided as 1917 by the library database of the University of Debrecen.

[616] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon*, 3: "De most engedek a rábeszélésnek, haza írt leveleim és emlékeim alapján, jótékony czélra leírom utamat, — nem tudományos szempontból, hiszen egyszerű falusi asszony létemre, úgy sem azért keltem útra, hanem szórakozásul hölgytársnőim számára. Ezért a magyar hölgyeknek ajánlom

Such an attitude was in line with that of other female travelers and was a reflection of women's position in public life. Siegel notes that female travel writers often included an "apology" at the beginning of their work, claiming that they write "only" as women and they are not trying to compete with men in the public sphere; thus not breaking the conventions of femininity. Such apologies often included references to the fact that the travelogue was originaly written in the form of letters (to friends and family) and the decision to publish came only later on. William H. Prescott in his introduction to Fanny Calderón de la Barca's book also highlights this: "The present work is the result of observations made during a two years' residence in Mexico, by a lady […] It consists of letters written to the members of her own family, and, *really,* not intended originally—however incredible the assertion—for publication."[617] A similar example comes from Kingsley, who writes: "What this book wants is not a simple Preface but an apology, and a very brilliant and convincing one at that. Recognising this fully and feeling quite incompetent to write such a masterpiece, I have asked several literary friends to write one for me, but hey have kindly but firmly declined."[618] With such assertations (both regarding the language and content of travel accounts) publication by women could be brought more in line with the expectations of contemporary society.

Mrs. Mocsáry claims that more competent people (men) have already written about the places visited, she emphasizes that she is only a simple village lady, and that she is publishing not with scientific goals in mind but only for the purposes of entertainment. While her journeys and publications indicate the ongoing changes in the status of women in Hungary, Mrs. Mocsáry is always careful to emphasize the significance of the family and the

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munkámat. Munkám után befolyt összes jövedelmet pedig az illetékes tényezőkkel már megállapított arány szerint—a Nagypénteki társaság, a Lorántfy-egylet, a Magyar gazdasszonyok árvaháza, a Művelt nők otthona, a losonczi Menedékház-alap javára és az általam választott vagyontalan gyermekek neveltetésére ajánlom fel." Emphasis mine.

[617] Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico*, "Preface."

[618] Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa,* vii.

home in the life of women.[619] While acknowledging this feature of female travel accounts, it has to be noted that almost all Hungarian men also included apologetic notes in introductions to their publications. These, however, emphasized the deficiencies of their writing skills mostly, otherwise they liked to stress the unique and informative nature of their accounts.

Mrs. Mocsáry published travel accounts both in the form of newspaper articles and books, illustrated by photographs taken during her journeys. Her articles were published in *Ország-Világ* and *Magyar Szalon*[620] as well as in the "Séták a nagyvilágban" [Strolls in the World] section of *Új idők*[621] where several other female travel writers also published travelogues (e.g. Kornélné Kozmutza about India). She wrote travel accounts for *Földrajzi Közlemények* as well, which indicates a professional attention to her journeys besides popular interest. She became a member of the Hungarian Geographical Society (which was the first scientific society that admitted women as members already at its foundation in 1872) and also gave lectures there. Dr. Béla Erődy, President of the Society, invited Mrs. Mocsáry to talk about her journeys. In his introduction to her talk on India and Ceylon in 1901, Erődy presented her as a prominent lady and one of the most experienced Hungarian travelers. Her talks were successful as the following excerpt from *Budapesti Hírlap* also indicates: "A large audience listened to the informative lecture and thanked Mrs. Mocsáry for the pleasure several times by way of enthusiastic cheering."[622]

Mrs. Mocsáry published several books about her journeys. *India és Ceylon. Úti jegyzetek* [India and Ceylon—Travel Notes] came out in 1899 and it presented her travels to and in India (Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta) and Ceylon with 80 illustrations and photographs.[623] "The kind sympathy of the general public with which they received the description of my journeys in 'India and Ceylon'", writes Mrs. Mocsáry, "encouraged me to make it available in

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[619] Béláné Mocsáry, *India és Ceylon*: *Úti jegyzetek* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), 4-5. Hereafter cited as Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon*: "a szeretet, mely egyedül boldogítja a nőt, csak ott található fel."
[620] For example: "Keleti utazásom emlékeiből," *Magyar Szalon* July 1901: 357-382.
[621] See footnote 601 above and also: "Az amerikai Riviéra," July 23, 1905.
[622] "India és Ceylon," *Budapesti Hírlap*, April 27, 1901: "Nagy közönség hallgatta a tanulságos előadást s több ízben lelkes éljenzéssel mondott köszönetet az élvezetért Mocsárynénak."
[623] Mocsáryné, *India és Ceylon*.

a new edition extended with the description of my visit to Egypt and Palestine, together with the photographs of major landscapes, buildings, and surviving relics encountered during my travels."[624] Thus, her 400-page-long book *Keleti utazás. Egyiptom, Szentföld, India, Ceylon* [Oriental journey: Egypt, the Holy Land, India, Ceylon] is a second, extended edition of the first one, this time also featuring accounts of her journey to Egypt, the Nile, Jerusalem, Greece, etc.[625] This publication also included more than two hundred photographs.

The accounts of her US and Mexican trips, studied below, were first printed in article form in *Földrajzi Közlemények* and *Magyar Szalon* respectively, and were published as reprints in book format due to their success.[626] Compared to her former books, these were short texts. While *Földrajzi Közlemények* offered a scholarly forum, *Magyar Szalon* was a more popular medium where the publications of illustrated travel accounts was also dominant.[627] The fact that she published in papers for such different audiences and purposes shows her appeal to a wide range of readers of the time.

Mrs. Mocsáry provided Hungarians with the first female view of Mexico and Mexicans by a Hungarian. While, as we have seen, translation of texts by other female travelers such as de la Barca were available in Hungary before, among Hungarian writers only men provided travel accounts of the country and thus women served only as the objects of descriptions. Thus, Mrs. Mocsáry could provide a new point of view and open up new realms of discourse with regard to the image of Mexico. She produced an original type of account as she traveled and wrote about Mexico as a tourist per se, describing the major sights of the

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[624] Mocsáryné, *Keleti Utazás*, 3: "A nagy közönségnek azon megtisztelő rokonszenve, melylyel *India és Ceylon*-ban tett utazásom leírását fogadta, bátorított fel arra, hogy azt egyptomi és palaestinai utazásom leírásával kibővítve, az utazásom közben érintett nevezetesebb tájak,építmények és fenmaradt emlékek fényképeivel kiegészítve, új kiadásban t. olvasóim rendelkezésére bocsássam."

[625] Mocsáry Béláné Fáy Mária, *Keleti utazás: Egyiptom, Szentföld, India Ceylon: úti jegyzetek* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1901). Hereafter cited as Mocsáryné, *Keleti Utazás*.

[626] Mocsáry Béláné Fáy Mária, *Útazásom Éjszak-Amerika Nyugati Partvidékein* [My journey on the west coast of North America] (Budapest: Fritz Ármin, 1902). Reprint from *Földrajzi Közlemények* vol. XXX. Hereafter cited as Mocsáryné, *Útazásom*; Mocsáry Béláné Fáy Mária, *Mexikói utazásom: úti jegyzetek* [My journey in Mexico: travel notes] (Budapest: Pesti könyvnyomda, 1905). Reprint from *Magyar Szalon,* February and March 1905. Hereafter cited as Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom.*

[627] "A városias magyar középosztály kulturális tükre: a Magyar Salon," in *Magyar Sajtó Története II/2, 1867-1892,* ed. Miklós Szabolcsi. Available at: http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04727/html/584.html Access date: July 10, 2013.

country while traveling on the tourist path. As a result, she wrote with a different purpose and in a style that had not been present in Hungarian travel writing on Mexico. With this writing style in itself, she propagated a new image of Mexico: that of a country where even a woman can travel alone. This way, similarly to Bánó, Mrs. Mocsáry deconstructs the former image of Mexico as a land of bandits and thieves and propagates Mexico as a safe country. Even if gender obviously influenced her approach and the topics introduced and discussed, she also often reiterated former male perceptions of the American country and it would be difficult to distinguish her travel account simply on a textual basis from contemporary male travel writing.

A Touristic View of Mexico

Mrs. Mocsáry provides a modern tourist's account of North America using a descriptive style where the personality of the writer, her thoughts, and opinion often remain hidden (as opposed to most male travel writers discussed in this dissertation). In this sense she was similar to some of the other Hungarian women travelers. Márki described Mrs. Ádám Wass, for instance, in a similar fashion: "Her personality never steps too much into the foreground, at least during her journeys, as she only gets off in major cities and thus her delicate taste does not have to accommodate itself to the imperfect, sometimes dirty inns of small towns or villages."[628] Mrs. Mocsáry also traveled on the tourist track, staying in the best hotels and visiting "tourist attractions" only; thus, she provided descriptive accounts of various cities (Mexico City, Guadalupe, Cuernavaca, Guanajuato, and Queretaro) similarly to those found in a Baedeker. She offers a guide for future tourists by providing tips to them: on good hotels, the price of accommodation and different types of services, what people should wear during trips to different locations, etc.

[628] Márki, "Magyar nők utazásai," 111: "Egyénisége sehol sem is lép túlságosan előtérbe, legalább útközben kevésbbé, mert csak a nagy városokban száll ki és kényes izlésének nem kell a kisvárosok vagy épen falvak hiányos, néha piszkos vendéglőihez alkalmazkodnia."

The assumption of the identity of a tourist made it possible for Mrs. Mocsáry to exclude comments on social problems and politics from her travel account and to focus on portrayals of the scenery and tourist sites. This was supported by the relatively calm historical period as well, compared to earlier travel accounts, as her journey was not affected by political problems that she would have had to address even if seen "unfit for a lady." Fanny Calderón de la Barca, traveling to Mexico during a more hectic period, could not exclude political comments from her text partly due to the events (revolutionary upheaval) surrounding her:

> I shall close this long letter, merely observing, in apology, that as Madame de Staël said, in answer to the remark, that "Women have nothing to do with politics;"–"That may be, but when a woman's head is about to be cut off, it is natural she should ask *why?*" so it appears to me, that when bullets are whizzing about our ears, and shells falling within a few yards of us, it ought to be considered extremely natural, and quite feminine, to inquire into the cause of such *phenomena.*[629]

The fact that Mrs. Mocsáry did not have to deal with such issues also resulted in a more favorable portrayal of Mexico as a safe and attractive country.

Her presence as a tourist already indicated changes in Mexico under the Porfiriato. At the turn of the century "under the new calm, tourists became a common sight. […] The first guidebooks had appeared in the 1880's, and in the last two decades of the century nearly sixty books of travel were published by American and British writers." The new group of tourists also brought changes in terms of what was noteworthy in the country. "Few tourists were coming to explore the ancient Indian monuments, which were mostly in ruins, inaccessible, or undiscovered. […] rather it was the Spanish heritage, the new works created by Maximilian and Díaz, the scenery, and the local color that attracted tourists."[630] This was certainly true for Mrs. Mocsáry as well. Karl Baedeker's *The United States with an Excursion into Mexico* was

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[629] Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico*, 200.
[630] Drewey, Wayne Gunn, *American and British Writers in Mexico, 1556-1973* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), 40.

first published in 1893 and could probably serve as a handbook for the Hungarian woman as well.[631] The guidebook's introduction to the Mexican section already heralds a new approach towards the country both in terms of its progress and attractiveness for (female) tourists:

> Since the opening of the railways described in RR. 107-110, an excursion into Mexico can be easily added to a visit to the S. part of the United States, and affords a survey of so novel and picturesque a civilisation as amply to repay the time and trouble. Three weeks will suffice for the journey to and from the City of Mexico, with halts at many interesting places on the way, and also for trips from the City of Mexico to Orizaba (or even Vera Cruz), Puebla, and Oaxaca (Mitla). This excursion involves no serious hardships and is constantly made by ladies;[632]

The guidebook supplied her with tips on what cities and sights to visit, recommended hotels, possible means of transportation, theatre and other social programs, and also provided introductory notes that she could use to prepare for the trips and also recycle in her account. It is likely that Mrs. Mocsáry consulted this Baedeker as she stayed in the hotels suggested by the guidebook and described many of the places recommended in it. She then recirculated this information and created a Baedeker-like account herself. At the same time, we cannot claim that she simply followed the itinerary outlined in this publication: many of the sights had already become major attractions before the publication of Baedeker's book (and were described by numerous travel writers) and her special interests (for example in the legacy of Maximilian) also influenced her journey and choice of subjects in her travelogue.

Objective and matter-of-fact descriptions of Mexico in a relatively short publication (37 pages with most of the space taken up by photographs) provide detailed descriptions of the most important sights in major cities and tourist spots focusing, similarly to Bánó, on the beauty and development of the country. Without any discussion of social matters (let alone social problems) or political issues, she introduces only those aspects of life in Mexico that

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[631] Here, I am using the second, revised edition: Karl Baedeker, ed., *The United States with an Excursion into Mexico* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1899). Hereafter cited as: Baedeker, *Excursion into Mexico*. The German version was also available (and was probably used by Mocsáryné): *Nordamerika: die Vereinigten Staaten nebst einem Ausflug nach Mexiko* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1893).
[632] Baedeker, *Excursion into Mexico,* 537.

could be experienced by a higher class woman traveling on the tourist path and living in the best hotels. Using the form of a tourist report, Mrs. Mocsáry did not feel compelled to comment on social issues discussed in all Hungarian travel accounts before; for example, the differences between racial and ethnic groups in Mexico. This was also in line with gender expectations in travel writing: "despite their generally privileged class position, women writers tended to concentrate on descriptions of people as individuals, rather than on statements about the race as a whole."[633] Women in their travel accounts seem to be more interested in domestic life and picturesque landscapes than men, exhibiting a "clear assertion of femininity, either through attention to details of clothing, accounts of domestic life, or the inclusion of romantic episodes."[634] Mrs. Mocsáry's account provides a positive image of the nation as she was ready to take note of improvement and not willing to present the problems of the Porfiriato. Due to these features, one might ponder if hers was not one of those works "directly or indirectly subsidized by Porfirian authorities."[635]

She does not use triangulation when writing about Mexico: the US does not serve as a constant reference point in her travelogue. This may be due to two main reasons. On the one hand, in her Baedeker-like account she focuses on Mexico specifically, its main attractions and peculiarities, and in such an account there is no point in making inter-American comparisons. On the other hand, such contrasts would have involved the discussion of politics and the making of political statements on issues of superiority and inferiority. Such declarations were not in line with Mrs. Mocsáry's purposes of writing.

In terms of their reception, women travel accounts were often devalued and seen as non-literary, merely autobiographical, while (seemingly in a contradictory manner) they were also often accused of falsification and exaggeration[636] and were thus seen as marginal to men's accounts. "If they tend towards the discourses of femininity in their work," wrote

[633] Mills, *Discourses of Difference, 3.*
[634] Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," 239.
[635] Frazer, *Bandit Nation,* 90.
[636] Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 110.

Mills, "they are regarded as trivial, and if they draw on the more adventure hero type narratives their work is questioned."[637] Taking photos and attaching them to their work could authenticate the accounts and could make them more real or believable for readers, avoiding accusations of falsification. As a modern tourist, Mrs. Mocsáry was also equipped with a Kodak that she used throughout her journey to document her experience and taking photos became an important way of relating the journey and sharing impressions with Hungarian armchair travelers.

By the time of the publication of Mrs. Mocsáry's book, the inclusion of photographs became relatively widespread as taking photographs and printing them as part of the account became easier due to the development of technology. Photographs became important parts of travelogues and were integrated into the text itself (unlike in the case of Rosti). Taking photos also came to play a crucial role in the tourist experience itself. Mrs. Mocsáry often emphasizes that she is using her Kodak to record what she sees and expresses her regret when she cannot take a photo of an event or place worthy of remembering.[638] There are about 40 photos included by the Hungarian in her Mexican travelogue; most of them document major attractions of the cities visited, some focus on beauties of nature, intriguing (and ancient) objects, artwork, etc. Interestingly, people rarely appear in these pictures, the only exception being three close-up images of Mexican women. This also seems to reinforce the guidebook-like style of the account that focuses more on propagating images of tourist attractions than reflecting an interest in ethnography and social issues.

The tourist identity during her journeys is also visible in her approach to the description of such topics as transportation and technology. Advances in infrastructure, railways, and roads are important not as indicators of progress and civilization (as in former travel accounts written by men) but because they make places accessible for "excursionists." While traveling in the US, for instance, the focus is not on the railroad itself but on the

[637] Mills, *Discourses of Difference,* 118.
[638] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom*, 5.

surrounding environment. Technology, tunnels, and snow sheds are interesting only to the extent that they make traveling for tourists easier and can bring them to places inaccessible by the masses before: "later the railroad is even more gorgeous and at every turn it offers a new surprise for the travelers, its artistic structure touches on the most beautiful spots, turning here and there, sometimes leaving, then resurfacing from one of the canyons, but always visiting those places where there is a surprising view."[639] Technological and infrastructural development in Mexico is not linked to the progress of the country directly; it does not represent a significant move forward for the country, it is only an achievement contributing to improving the tourist experience. Even if Mrs. Mocsáry mentions examples or suggestions for Hungary to follow, they come within the realm of tourism: she claims that Hungary's most beautiful places in the High-Tatras should be served by railroads, which would benefit the tourist industry.[640] She also emphasizes the popularity of outdoor camping in the United States and claims that such a form of holiday should also be encouraged in Hungary so as to allow even the poor to enjoy nature and go on holidays.[641]

As we have seen in the case of Bánó, by the turn of the century the legacy of Maximilian von Habsburg became an integral part of the image of Mexico in Hungary and the various places connected to the former Emperor's life in Mexico became tourist and memory sites. This is well exemplified by Mrs. Mocsáry, who visited the most important locations related to the Habsburg Emperor of Mexico. Maximilian is mentioned several times and he is presented in positive terms as the "unforgettable emperor"[642] working for the good of Mexicans and the modernization of the country: there has never been another man, writes Mrs. Mocsáry, "who would have strived to lead the people towards a better and happier life

[639] Mocsáryné, *Útazásom*, 14: "Ezentúl a vasút még nagyszerűbb lesz s lépte-nyomon újabb meglepetésben részesíti az útast, művészies építése a legszebb pontokat érinti, ide-oda kanyarogva, hol letérve, hol ismét kibukkanva a kanyónok valamelyikéből, de mindig felkeresve azokat a pontokat, ahonnan meglepő a kilátás."
[640] Mocsáryné, *Útazásom*, 16.
[641] ibid.
[642] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom*, 37: "felejthetetlen emlékű császár."

with so much altruism and self-sacrifice."[643] Mrs. Mocsáry visited places in certain cases only because they were related to the life of Maximilian: "there is a house on the main square where Emperor Maximilian on his way to Mexico [City] rested."[644] Queretaro, where the last fights took place and Maximilian was executed, is presented separately as a memory site. There is no real mention of the town's current status or its portrayal, Mrs. Mocsáry focuses on the last days of the Empire, the story of Carlotta's attempts to get European support for Maximilian, and that of the execution itself. The fact that five pages out of the thirty seven in total deal with the Emperor in Queretaro and that there are recurring references to his Mexican presence throughout the travel account indicates that Maximilian's rule and its aftermath became fundamental parts of the Mexican image in Hungary—and major tourist attractions for that matter.

Mrs. Mocsáry documents a similar view of Mexico as Bánó does, although she focuses less on economic and political matters and more on the country in terms of its accessibility and beauty. The snapshots of tourist descriptions provide accounts of the general look of the cities, transportation, main attractions, and beauties of nature (sometimes like catalogues of plants and animals). She does not emphasize modernization and progress achieved by the Porfiriato directly but accounts like the following indicate a positive, although naïve, approach in this regard: "Around Progresso the people are rich and wealthy people live here."[645] Even Veracruz is described more attractively than ever before: "I have found Veracrux [sic] nicer than it was described to me. It has a nice little square with a beautiful garden that is surrounded by a beautiful church and pretty good houses. Under the arcades we have enjoyed wonderful ice cream with my companions."[646] She shares with her readers a blatantly biased image of the country: "At the stations the people were selling food

[643] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom*, 35: "bármely kormányforma alatt az ország élén még nem allot férfiú, ki annyi önzetlenséggel és önfeláldozással igyekezett volna népét egy jobb és boldogabb lét terére vezetni."
[644] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom*, 6: "főtéren van egy ház, hol Miksa császár útközben Mexikó felé megpihent."
[645]Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 4: "Progresso vidékén a nép gazdag és itt dúsgazdag emberek laknak."
[646] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 5: "különben én Veracruxot csinosabbnak találtam, mint a minő fészeknek nekem leírták. Egy csinos kis tere van szép kerttel, melyet szép templom és elég jó házak környeznek. Az árkádok alatt pedig hajótársaimmal pompás fagylaltot élveztünk."

and pulque as well as outstandingly tasty cakes for the passengers and *the well-being of the population could be seen.* There were beggars in larger numbers only at one station, I do not know why, otherwise, I saw remarkably few beggars on the entire line."[647] This seems to be a major change compared to some of the earlier accounts and it appears as if Mrs. Mocsáry was also surprised not to witness more poverty. Fanny Calderón de la Barca, for example, includes references to beggars and poverty at several points in her book.[648] The change also reflects, of course, the improvement of the situation in Mexico by the end of the century.

Mrs. Mocsáry meets several Hungarians already on the ship to Mexico and she writes about Hungarian presence in the country. She introduces Sándor Paczka at the Consulate who helped her get permits to take photos in the National Museum and who owned an estate called *Cafetal Hungaria*. She mentions at one point that the director of Hotel Palacio is a Hungarian and states that several Hungarians living in Mexico also contacted her.[649] She presents a welcoming atmosphere at the Consulate, claiming that the staff working there care "about the interest of people leaving Hungary and will give them good advice so as to spend their time usefully."[650] Like in the case of Bánó, with such accounts and the generally positive description of the country she presents a country that welcomes Hungarians, although she never directly encourages emigration from the home country. Unlike Bánó, she does not discuss political issues related to migration either, including its causes and possible effects. At the same time, in one rare statement about politics and economy, she wrote about the dominance of German products in the country and the possibilities for expanding Hungarian commerce: "If they knew in Mexico what great products and good quality wine we have in

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[647] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 8: "Az állomásokon a nép élelmet, pulque-italt s feltünő ízletesen készített kalácsokat kínált az utasoknak és a jólét meglátszott a népen. Koldusok csak egyik állomáson voltak nagy számmal, nem tudom, hogy mi okból, különben egész vonalon feltünően kevés koldust láttam."Emphasis added.

[648] See for example: Fanny Calderón, *Life in Mexico*, 62: "The church was crowded with people of the village, but especially with *léperos,* counting their beads, and suddenly in the midst of an 'Ave Maria Purisima,' flinging themselves and their rags in our path with a 'Por el amor de la Santisima Virgen!' and if this does not serve their purpose, they appeal to your domestic sympathies. From men they entreat relief 'By the life of the Señorita.' From women, 'By the life of the little child!' From children it is 'By the life of your mother!' And a mixture of piety and superstitious feeling makes most people, women at least, draw out their purses."

[649] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 20: "néhány ott lakó magyar ember is felkeresett engem."

[650] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 4: "szívén hordja a hazánkból kivándoroltak érdekeit és jó tanácsokat fog adni, hogy idejét hasznosan töltse."

Hungary, most probably they would support us as well and the Hungarians would also strive to serve Mexicans in a reliable manner."[651]

While offering detailed descriptions of major sights, Mrs. Mocsáry writes little about the population. Even when she mentions various ethnic or racial groups within society, she remains objective and does not start a discussion for example of their social position. In the United States, for example, she mentions the presence of Chinese and Japanese workers (the Chinese maids are described as "skillful and attentive"[652]) but she does not discuss Asian immigration or New Immigration (involving Hungarians as well) in general. The same happens in connection with African-Americans, when she mentions the work of black servants on trains without any regard for the discussion of their social status. Concerning Mexico, she practically remains silent on the population and provides an introduction only to two groups in relative detail, the Native population[653] and women.

While in former travel accounts the different social, racial, and ethnic groups were always discussed, in Mrs. Mocsáry's travel accounts of Mexico these considerations are completely missing. With regard to Natives, Mrs. Mocsáry ponders upon their past traditions, beliefs, and artwork, providing an overview of their history and the description of major sites and archeological findings related to their culture, without actually visiting these places (the description of the practice of sacrifice and the Aztec calendar stone have by now become standard elements of travel accounts on the country). Although she tries to avoid criticism and a hostile approach towards the population, certain statements reveal her attitude towards the contemporary Native populace. At one point, she reports the opinion of someone else, when she documents that the wife of the Count working at the Consulate "complained that despite all her efforts and sacrifice she can help improve the problems of the people only slightly due

[651] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 23: "Ha tudnák Mexikóban, hogy mennyi és minő kitünő terményeink és boraink vannak Magyarországon, valószinűleg pártolnák a mieinket is és a magyarok is igyekeznének jól és pontosan kiszolgálni őket."
[652] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 7.
[653] She also writes about Alaska Natives in her US accounts.

to their fanatic thinking and traditions."[654] Later, however, she shares with her readers her own unfavorable view as well: "they [i.e. Natives] bent before European civilization and today it is hard to imagine that these people were capable of governing a state like that of the Aztec's on a regular basis."[655]

While it is often claimed that women travelers are more open to the detailed discussion of the status and position of fellow women and provide more reliable accounts of their domestic life than male travel accounts, in the case of Mrs. Mocsáry we can encounter a similar attitude as in former male travel accounts. Unfortunately, Mrs. Mocsáry does not provide any new information about Mexican women. She focuses on their physical beauty only, presenting their looks and clothes, and the reader cannot really learn about their domestic life or concerns. Basically, she reiterates former views of Mexican women: "the Mexican woman is always pretty, strong, and healthy and she stands out with her long black eyelashes and strong eyebrows; she does not know about the corset and likes music and flowers."[656] Although she also adds photos of Mexican women, her descriptions are rather simplistic and provide only a few general statements as "the love of children and flowers is well developed in women."[657] During her stay, she did not have the chance to actually get to know Mexican women and thus she did not learn about their everyday life in any more detail than male travel writers previously. We cannot gain more insights into a woman's opinion on Mexican social issues and the status of women at the turn of the century. Mexican women were mentioned by all Hungarian travel writers, who found them attractive, beautiful, and exotic; such statements, however, rarely went beyond the simplistic portrayal of women's

[654] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 11: "panaszkodott, hogy minden fáradozása és áldozatkészsége dacára is csak keveset bír a nép bajain javítani, annak fanatikus gondolkozás és szokásai mellett."
[655] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 12: "meghajlott az európai civilizáció előtt és ma alig képzelhető arról a népről, hogy képes lett volna államot rendszeresen kormányozni, mint at Asteceké."
[656] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 21: "A mexikói nő mind csinos, erős és egészséges és kitűnnek hosszú fekete szempillájuk és erős szemöldökük által, fűzőt nem ösmernek és igen kedvelik a zenét és virágokat."
[657] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 17: "gyermekszeretet és virágszeretet nagyban ki van fejlődve az asszonyok között.

physical features and exoticism and one cannot learn about their social position in detail. Unfortunately, Mrs. Mocsáry did not leave behind this "tradition."

Mrs. Mocsáry introduced Mexico as a place where "everything was wonderfully unfamiliar."[658] She provided a new point of view in her travel account by presenting the country through the eyes of a modern tourist. This required a different writing style as well as an alternative approach to what was worthy of visiting and writing about in Mexico. Mexico was seen by her as an attractive country; however, similarly to former travel accounts, the personality of the traveler and the purposes of the journey predetermined how the country was portrayed. Mrs. Mocsáry traveled and wrote as a higher-class tourist who disregarded any criticism of the country. As she followed the recommendations of and was in contact with higher circles of society in Mexico, she documented the achievements of the Porfiriato. The lack of criticism may be the result of the fact that she did not want to get involved in political discourse that was a field reserved for men. She wanted to present an account of her "excursions" focusing only on the beautiful and attractive sights of North America. Similarly to Bánó, such a publication also fit into the aims of the Diaz government that wanted to propagate a more positive image of the country in Europe.

In about fifty years Hungarian travel writing on Mexico went from one extreme to the other: while the first generation of travel writers depicted Mexico and Mexicans mostly in negative terms, they emphasized the country's backwardness, and criticized the nation harshly and often without justification, by the beginning of the century Mrs. Mocsáry (and Bánó as well) shared only positive accounts and remained blind to problems of society that resulted in a revolution and the collapse of the Porfiriato within a few years. Thus, we might claim that Hungarians were "deceived about the country" throughout most of the nineteenth century: travel accounts were either influenced by a hostile imperial view and the shadow of the United States or supported the propagandistic purposes of the Porfiriato.

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[658] Mocsáryné, *Mexikói utazásom,* 9: "Csodálatosan idegenszerű volt itt minden."

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

This dissertation set out to investigate Hungarian travel accounts on Mexico during the second half of the nineteenth century. It aimed at collecting and introducing the most influential and representative travelogues of the time and at documenting the most important images of Mexico available in Hungary from such texts. The half century studied in this paper witnessed changes in the attitude towards the Latin American country, revealing the external and internal motivations behind such alterations. The analysis of travel accounts has shown that while the travelogues provide valuable insights into contemporary Mexican life and culture, they reveal just as much about Hungary and Hungarians (supporting one of the major tenets of travel writing studies). Accounts of Mexico often served as a medium for commentary on the home country: feelings related to a failed War of Independence, the attitude towards Hungary's position caught between East and West, changing political systems, power struggles, emigration, etc.

The feeling of being deceived, mislead about Mexico at home, as expressed by Bánó, might be the result of this background and influence and the differences between the writers not only in terms of what they experienced in Mexico but also how they related to the mother country. At the same time, one might claim that some of the accounts introduced in this dissertation could have been written without ever visiting Mexico: Xántus proved this, while others also often recirculated popular stereotypes, images, and preconceptions that were available for writers without taking the actual journey. Such "deception" might be inherent in the genre of travel writing as well, simply because of the way the travelogues are created: the travelers (acting as translators, interpreters) are just as much influenced by their own cultural and social background as the experience of travel in the countries visited. It is hard to escape the frame of reference which they are familiar with and that provides them with a set of tools and attitudes to relate to and make sense of a new world. It is often easier and more convenient to go back to and use these references: in this particular case, the United States as

a model for development both in a political and economic sense in the point of view of Reform Era travelers, the belief in the superiority of a European monarchy in the case of Hungarians visiting Mexico during the Second Empire, and the rejection of the imperial view when rebelling about the situation at home. I have noted on the very first page of the dissertation that Europeans often projected their hopes and fears into the New World; this is what happened in the case of Hungarian travel accounts on Mexico as well. Thus, the sense of deception as noted by Bánó was also the result of the changes in these hopes and fears; Hungarians noted, emphasized, and sometimes exaggerated what fit the purposes of their journeys and publications: bandits or the lack of them, the uncivilized and backward population or a sense of brotherhood with a welcoming populace.

At the same time, we should certainly not disregard these texts as being only repetitive and providing no new information. As a matter of fact, the texts discussed here offer new insights into the history and culture of all three countries involved in the study: they include information on Mexican culture at the time (and its perception by foreigners), the view of US role and position within the Western Hemisphere, and also highlight questions of Hungarian identity in the second half of the nineteenth century. The publications by Hungarians also call attention to many unique achievements and resources: the accounts of all writers presented in this dissertation provide invaluable research material for scholars of Mexican studies, while Rosti's photos and illustrations and László's unpublished diary especially serve as unique resources on life in Mexico in the nineteenth century.

The authors discussed in this dissertation represent a wide spectrum of travel writers: accounts were written by immigrants (László, Bánó), scientific travelers (Rosti, Xántus), members of an invading army (Pawlowszki, Szenger), and a tourist (Mrs. Mocsáry).[659] These people came from diverse social backgrounds, had different reasons for leaving the mother country, visited different parts of Mexico and wrote in differing styles. Despite the substantial

[659] It should be noted that other classifications and groupings would also be possible and one writer could be placed in more than one group depending on the time and type of publication among other circumstances.

variation in the publications, I considered all of these texts as representatives of travel writing because, in line with the definition provided in the introduction, they were all preoccupied with a journey undertaken by the author that involved constant comparisons between self and the other, even if such comparisons were often complicated by triangulation.

At the same time, the number and composition of these Hungarians in Mexico also reveal the country's position in the history of Hungarian travel writing: Mexico was not an important destination either for travelers or for emigrants; still, a discourse was started on the country and people interested in this far-away land could turn to diverse publications for information. Compared to the United States, Mexico was marginal but in contrast to other countries in the Latin American region, it received considerable attention. However, there are certain types of travel accounts missing from the spectrum of travelogues on Mexico (that were more popular in the case of other regions of the world): hunting accounts seem to be missing (only short stories are included in the publications discussed here), detailed political studies are also lacking, and publications resulting from study trips in the country are not available either or at least we are not aware of them yet.

The dissertation has shown that the image of Mexico in Hungary went from one extreme to the other in the period under consideration. The first wave of travelers established the basic and later recurring elements of the image of the country (often based on Western sources): an inferior, lazy, and unreliable (male) population, the land of bandits and exotic señoritas, and abundant nature. Rosti's travelogue especially (along with the book of Humboldt) became one of the standard references in later texts about Mexico (just as Bölöni's text with regard to the United States). Besides common topics, the identification with the Western, imperial view was also characteristic of all travel writers discussed in Part I. Mexico was presented as the periphery, a country that could and should learn from Western nations, especially the United States, which was often perceived as a possible model to be followed by Mexicans. Hungarians, not willing to identify with a country they deemed to be backward and

un- or semi-civilized, reiterated Western images. This attitude well reflected their identity trapped between East and West: emphasizing identification with the latter but often perceived as belonging to the former. Events of the 1860s, Maximilian von Habsburg's involvement in Mexico's Second Empire, brought changes in Hungarian travel writing about the country to a certain extent. Mexico became more attractive and interesting than ever before and more accounts were published than previously. A more independent image of the country emerged but travel accounts did not bring positive changes with regard to the country's representation. The travelogues discussed as case studies were used primarily to justify a European intervention, the presence of foreign soldiers in Mexico, including that of Hungarian participants. Vague attempts were made to alter the attitude towards Mexico (especially by Szenger) but in general, many of the former stereotypes and building blocks of the nation's image were reiterated by Hungarians.

The third period brought real changes in Mexico's Hungarian image and clearly reflected the influence of the Porfiriato (and its campaign aimed at altering the foreign perceptions of Mexico) on Hungarian travel writing. Jenő Bánó consciously set out to revise the former negative depictions of the country in Hungary, while Mrs. Mocsáry also promoted an image of a new Mexico that was characterized by modernization, safety, and a welcoming population. This was in sharp contrast with the portrayal of the country by travel writers publishing before them. Bánó also offered strong criticism of the imperial voice and called attention to the mistreatment and misrepresentation of Mexico by Westerners. As the dissertation has shown, such criticism was mostly influenced by Bánó's view of the position of his home country within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and his career plans in his adopted homeland. Bánó claimed at the turn of the century that Hungarians had been deceived at home about Mexico. This is valid criticism regarding the travelogues published before. However, it applies to his travel accounts as well as he was just as selective in terms of what he described as his predecessors. Thus, one might claim that despite Bánó's attempts, Hungarians learning

about Mexico from Hungarian travel accounts "were misled" throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. While the first travelers were eager to share with armchair travelers only the problems of the country and stressed issues of inferiority, backwardness, those at the turn of the century reached the other extreme and reported only on what shed a new, positive light on Mexico and Mexicans. The first group remained blind to the diversity of Mexico's culture and failed to perceive cultural differences as an advantage, the latter group propagated images that were in line with political intentions and failed to pinpoint such problems of the masses that resulted in a revolution within a few years after their journeys.

One of the central objectives of the dissertation was to discuss Hungarian travel writing in comparison with Western travel accounts. As we have seen, Hungarian writers heavily relied on the terminology and attitudes of Western travel writers and depicted Mexico and Mexicans similarly to them. This was due to several factors: on the one hand, it reflected Hungarians' perceived identification with the West ("the more civilized, modern, developed part of the world") as a result of which they wrote similarly to them, emphasizing the superiority of their own (or assumed) culture and background. On the other hand, most of them were familiar with such travel accounts even before visiting Mexico and thus Western travelogues clearly influenced their preconceptions and determined the way they saw Mexico even before their arrival to the country; they willingly used the tools and images offered by these publications.

At the same time, in certain texts there seems to be a delay in terms of the style and approach used compared to Western writers. Bánó wrote similarly to the capitalist vanguard almost half a century later, while the real imperial attitude was experienced by Hungarians themselves in the 1860s for the first time. The idea of possible business opportunities for Hungarians and the feeling of superiority as members of an invading army, although with a significant delay, created the same reactions and attitudes in the case of Hungarians as Western travelers and this resulted in a similar image of Mexico. This also led to the

emergence of a special blend of travel writing in particular cases, as the example of Bánó shows, where the style of the capitalist vanguard is mixed with features of propagandistic texts incorporating the attitudes characteristic of Western travel accounts published before and altered due the beackground of the Hungarian writer.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that Hungarian travel writing on Mexico often involved a process of triangulation. Many Hungarians when writing about Mexico used a third reference point besides the binary oppositions of home and abroad, familiar and unfamiliar. In most cases, this reference point was the United States, partly due to its geographical proximity but also because many Hungarians visited Mexico's northern neighbor as well and the US was often seen as a possible model for the Latin American country. In certain cases (for example Rosti's), a Western European reference point was stronger and Mexico was measured against that part of the world and not the United States; but even when references to the US were less central, the authors had to explain why the United States was missing from the accounts. In all cases, such triangulation reflected Hungarian's identification with the West and the fact that they tried to pose as Western travelers. They could not use their home country as a direct point of comparison with Mexico when talking about the latter's backwardness and its lack of progress, and this required the assumption of a new identity that enabled them to write similarly to Western travelers; without expressing any sympathy with Mexicans or admitting any similarities between the status of Mexico and their home country.

Triangulation was used less extensively, however, when there was no need for such identification or when Mexico proved to be interesting enough in its own right. This was the case for example in connection with Maximilian's Mexican venture as we have seen, when Hungarians could assume their "own imperial voice" as members of an invading army. The United States did not serve as a main reference point in these texts as the identification with the Austro-Hungarian Empire provided them with a vantage point for criticism. Triangulation

was also left behind by Mrs. Mocsáry as a result of textual and generic considerations related to a Baedeker-like publication. In Bánó's case, when he set out to alter Mexico's image the process involved the revision of triangulation as well: not only Mexico's position had to be revised but its depiction in relation to the Northern neighbor also had to be adjusted and Bánó did exactly this. It should also be noted that triangulation is not a completely closed or fixed process; different regions of the same country or places located outside the area directly described might influence this and result in a fourth or fifth site of reference at some points within the same text.

The dissertation provided an analysis of Hungarian travel accounts on Mexico from the second half of the nineteenth century. The case studies have been selected to include a wide range of travel writers with regard to their social background, purposes of travel, and writing style. The paper aimed to be as comprehensive as possible but, of course, it still has its limitations and work should be continued by scholars studying these and other travel accounts from different perspectives. The question of censorship could and should be studied more closely as (even if sometimes only self-imposed) it could have an effect on the way Mexico was presented (in terms of topics, the date of publication, etc.) There must be more travel accounts on Mexico than what we are aware of currently. Thus, research should be continued to find additional reports published in (regional and local) newspapers, magazines, journals, and there are probably other, so far unpublished diaries and manuscripts. At the same time, work with those texts we are already familiar with could and should be extended.

The authors discussed in this dissertation published travel accounts on other parts of the world as well and the analysis of these texts (maybe even in comparison with the ones discussed here) should be continued. Xántus visited and wrote about Asia, Bánó and Rosti traveled extensively in South America, while Mrs. Mocsáry visited the Middle East and India providing invaluable materials for researchers. Scholars from other fields could also be involved. The language of travel accounts and its changes (in terms of style, word-use, etc.)

could be studied together with linguists, while the accompanying illustrations could be studied more systematically by art historians. At the same time, the work started here could be extended chronologically as well. Although sporadic, travel accounts (for instance translated from foreign works) published before the time period discussed here should provide scholars with great insights into questions of travel and travel writing in earlier times. Meanwhile, the study of travel writing on Mexico from the time period following 1910 would be a rewarding field of research as well. Researchers should study how the basic building blocks of the Hungarian image of Mexico survived or changed after the Mexican Revolution, in the interwar period, and after World War II.

Besides analytical work with primary documents, the translation of these Hungarian texts should also be completed in the form of properly annotated publications. The unpublished sections of László's diary, the newspaper articles and books discussed in this dissertation are all awaiting further work and translation. International scholars could also get involved in the study of Hungarian travel writing more extensively and such translations could also enable more extensive comparisons, revealing similarities and differences between the depictions of Mexico by different nationalities. This dissertation examined the influence of Western travel accounts on Hungarians and offered several comparisons; this work could and should be continued and extended both in geographical and temporal terms. Hungarian female travel writers should be compared more extensively with women of other nationalities, the Mexican texts of such authors as D.H. Lawrence or Graham Greene (among others) could be studied comparing their attitude towards Mexico with those of Hungarians, while the question of a common East Central European identity in travel writing could also be addressed. This would be especially important in our region where the language gap has so far hindered broad scholarly cooperation. Considering all the different avenues in which the research involved in this dissertation could be continued, I believe that this work is more of a beginning than the end.

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Semmelweis Museum, Library and Archives of the History of Medicine, Budapest

Hungarian Geographical Museum, Érd

Mary Couts Burnett Library at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX

Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA

Vasváry Collection, Somogyi Library, Szeged

John F. Kennedy Institute Library, Berlin, Germany

Centre for Travel Writing Studies, Nottingham Trent University, UK

APPENDIX I

Károly László's letters published in *Vasárnapi Újság*:

Title	Date of Publication
"László Károly levelei Amerikából I" [Letters of Károly László from America]	January 2, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából II"	January 30, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából III"	February 27, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából IV"	May 29, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából V"	June 19, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából VI"	July 17 and July 24, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából VII"	Aug. 21, and Aug. 28 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából VIII"	September 25, 1859
"László Károly levelei Amerikából IX"	January 29, 1860
"László Károly levelei Amerikából X" (in *Politikai Újdonságok)*	February 19, 1860
"László Károly levelei Amerikából XI"	February 26, 1860
"László Károly levelei Amerikából XII"	August 12, 1860
"László Károly levelei Amerikából XIII"	Sept. 23 and Sept. 30, 1860
"László Károly levelei Amerikából XIV"	January 13, 20, 27, 1861
"László Károly levelei Amerikából XV"	May 12, 18, and 26, 1861
"Népszokások Mexikóban (László Károly természet utáni rajzai szerint)"	January 26, 1862
"Kirándulás a Niagara zuhataghoz"	Oct. 14, 21, and 28, 1866
"László Károly Naplójából: A palenquei romok Mexikóban"	August 9, 16, and 23, 1868

APPENDIX II

Sample pages from Károly László's diary