

“WHAT FOREIGN FASHION MAGAZINES ARE NOT ABLE TO GIVE” THE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED LANGUAGE OF FASHION IN THE MAGAZINE *NŐVILÁG* IN 1859–1860

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In the turn of the 1850's and 1860's a topic – which generated serious disputes in the reform era – flamed again in Hungary: it was the national clothing. With the slackening political rigour, the traditional Hungarian dress as a symbol of national togetherness was on the agenda yet again in Hungarian-language fashion magazines of Pest.

The *Nővilág* [Woman's World] edited by János Vajda aimed to work on women's aesthetical education since the start of the magazine in 1857. The column named *Original Fashion Report* was written by the leader contributor of the magazine Júlia Jósika, who has been corresponded up to date French and Belgian fashion from Brussels. Popularity of her articles was unbroken until 1860. The *Original Fashion Report* in this name was published for the last time in the february of 1860; then the column was renamed, and of results of a slow process until the end of the year Júlia Jósika's fashion reports frayed from the *Nővilág*. Her place was taken by a young writer with increasing publicity, Lenke Bajza, who made a stand for national fashion. She – likewise Júlia Jósika – worked for the magazine as fictionist and fashion professional.

This change can be associated not with aesthetical but political decisions. Because of a delicate international political situation in the year 1859 Hungarian revisionists started to hope again in a new revolution for independence from Austria. With a press being strictly supervised by the police, traditional Hungarian fashion became part of the language of national solidarity.

In my paper I will confer the competition of French fashion and traditional Hungarian clothing through Júlia Jósika's and Lenke Bajza's confronting fashion reports and the alteration of *Nővilág* in the context of the politically charged alternative language of clothing.

Keywords: 19th century fashion; tradition; national attire; clothing; fashion magazine; female roles; history of press; Hungarian press; émigré literature; cultural transfer

Social discourse about national unity and its sustainability was not restricted to the medium of spoken and written language in 19th century Hungary. Martial law – which had been in effect since the lost revolution and war of independence 1848-1849 – was abolished in 1854, and political rigour seemed to ease.¹ The rules of publishing print media changed, too: instead of preparatory censorship, the new practice was posterior inspection by the police.² This method appeared to be more concessive, or it could even be eluded. However, editors or publishers got tempted, they had to reckon with serious retortions. For example Gusztáv Heckenast, owner of the magazine *Nővilág* [Women's World], had to pay heavy a fine and his editor, János Vajda was detained for eight days in 1862, after they failed to send an obligatory copy to the police for inspection.³

After 1849, the press gradually began to reorganise itself, and the void left by banned political newspapers and periodicals was filled by new magazines focussing on family and fashion themes and approved by the authorities. On the surface, these women's magazines were free from politics, but underneath they were far from neutral. It was not only the language that changed in the national discourse – because of self-censorship caused by posterior inspection – but the participants, too. Female authors appeared in great numbers in journalism in the 1850s-1860s. One of the most important and popular articles of the women's magazines was beyond doubt the fashion report. The formal language of clothing enabled people to make a political statement at public appearances without uttering a single word. As Anikó Lukács declares in her book titled *Nemzeti divat Pesten a 19. században* [*National Fashion at Pest in the 19th Century*]:

„For contemporaries [Hungarian people in the 19th century] the Hungarian national dress style – together with the language, the nation's morals and traditions – was a tool for expressing Hungarian national character; it was a representative signal, as well as a pledge – for some even a criterion – of the nation's preservation.”⁴

Júlia Jósika was fashion adviser and leading contributor for *Nővilág* ever since the start of the magazine in 1857. As the wife of the famous novelist and political refugee Miklós Jósika, she lived in Brussels. Both of them were in lively contact with the Hungarian literary milieu; they published novels, short stories and various articles in magazines and books, including original texts, as well as translations. The position of the émigrée provided Júlia Jósika with the opportunity to have firsthand information about Parisian fashion, as well as its Belgian and even English adaptations, therefore her fashion tidings were extremely popular until 1860 – the year when the column was taken over by Lenke Bajza, who promoted the Hungarian national fashion of Pest instead. The transition was not without antecedents, nor did Júlia Jósika leave the magazine immediately, so I have the

opportunity to compare the rivalling different narratives of western and Hungarian fashion in the volumes 1859-1860.

In the first months of *Nővilág*, editor János Vajda phrased the program of the magazine in a serial essay titled *About Beauty to the Beauties*⁵. His interpretation of the character, greatness, and even survival of the nation was founded in the creation of works of art with high aesthetical value and the cultivation of the idea of beauty. According to this, the national character was not a self-enclosed entity that should be examined in comparison only to its own historical past; but the ways to preserve Hungarian national culture could have been defined only in a European context, in relation to the cultural achievements of other nations. He would stick to some of these aesthetical principles declared at the start of *Nővilág* even much later: in his 1896 essay *Hungarians and National Self-esteem. Sickly Streams*, he wrote: „We cannot conquer with armed forces, only with the light of our erudition.”⁶ In the essay *About Beauty to the Beauties*, Vajda, who attributed particular significance to aesthetical values, rejected the idea of national literature founded upon folk poetry. He stated that going back to antique Greek and Roman art was the only way to survive, because it alone provided a connection with European culture.⁷ (He was to refine this harsh statement in the *Letters of aesthetics*, published in the *Nővilág*, 1861. Henceforward he rejected the eastern orientation which was seen to impede development, as well as the folkloristic poetry of the Petőfi-epigones;⁸ however, he reconsidered his former opinion about genuine folk poetry being obscurantist and unifacial.)⁹

It is essential to see János Vajda's fundamental principles because *Nővilág* was built upon his conscious aesthetical program based on a pro-Western policy with aims to help middle-class women's erudition, engagement in economic roles and, last but not least, their social and political emancipation. Though this latter endeavour did not succeed at this time, it never became a defining feature of the magazine, either.¹⁰ In the beginning, *Nővilág* numbered 2500 subscribers. By the time of its termination in 1864, this number had decreased to 800.¹¹ It is a well-known fact that the owner and the editor created *Nővilág* to be the women's equivalent of the prestigious weekly news, *Vasárnapi Újság*.¹² Literary fashion magazines were popular in the Reform Era – such as *Regélő Pesti Divatlap* – but by this time they become outdated,¹³ so following a western model, Vajda edited now a high-quality weekly which included contemporary literature and fashion. Keeping the standard higher than the competition was an effort which required focused work and the recruitment of significant authors to the fold.

Júlia Jósika, the fashion columnist of the magazine since its first issue, was an overall favourite. Vajda himself found her *Original fashion tiding* and lifestyle articles to be the most popular pieces of *Nővilág* – although sometimes he had to edit her writings in fear of police inspection. He wrote in his letter to Miklós Jósika in 1859:

I have read the article titled „Courage” (*Bátorság*) only at revision, just as all the letters coming from the Rt. Hon. Baronesse. It is clear that it was quite harmless in the political sense, but at home [in Hungary] we know that the press-police, especially in a highly popular magazine and within the circumstances of the current movements [...] reads between the lines straightaway. Indeed they would likely have banned my magazine entirely, whereon already weighs a written warning, moreover a trimester ago I barely eluded six weeks of captivity for a couple of reckless lines of mine. Thus I must be overmuch alert. I had to sacrifice the true meaning of the article „Courage”, and I changed it, as best I could and as it was possible in such a short time.

[...] I have to admit that the letters from Brussels are the prime asset of my magazine; therefore I pay great attention to them, and I am embarrassed when I can't make out some of the lesser-known fashion technicalities in the manuscript.¹⁴

The above quoted fragment sheds light on two relevant factors regarding my topic. On the one hand, János Vajda testifies to the exceeding popularity of Júlia Jósika's column. It was clear even from the constantly growing font size with which her name was printed in subscription advertisements; in the words of Gyula Barla, her column was „the most attractive feature” of *Nővilág*.¹⁵ On the other hand, the letter clearly shows the delicate relationship between the weekly and the authorities; furthermore it expresses the need for increased caution with any (apparently) political topics.

It was not an entirely gratuitous assumption to suspect a political message in the article *Courage*. Perusing the Jósika-correspondence it becomes clear that the pair did have active connections to Lajos Kossuth and his family, together with other Hungarian political emigrants.

In 1859 Lajos Kossuth joined forces with György Klapka and László Teleki – regardless of their past disagreements – and together they lead an initiative in London which sought to induce a new outburst of the Hungarian revolution against the Habsburg.¹⁶ The Franco-Austrian war was around the corner, and the group, formed of Hungarian emigrants hoped to use the possible international political rearrangements to support the Hungarian cause.¹⁷ Although later the endeavour failed and this expected second revolution never happened, in 1859 the agencies of emigrant Hungarians made an echo in Hungary too.

All of this related closely to the spread of Hungarian national attire, since under these circumstances fashion was a comfortable and safe area in the national narrative.

Júlia Jósika, who gained her popularity through her reports on French fashion, had found the role that best suited her in view of her authorial temperament and the demands of the market – that of a mediator of a kind of duplex cultural transfer sustained throughout her ten year stay in Brussels. Her career had started with

translating Miklós Jósika's novels from Hungarian to German; next came her renderings of literature in the Hungarian language, one after the other. She edited annuals and miscellanea, and was also a press correspondent to several newspapers and magazines in Pest, reporting on cultural, scientific and economic news from Western Europe, as well as on the everyday life of Brussels. Spreading Hungarian culture in the west was not confined to the translations mentioned above. For example, in 1860 she wrote a thorough and detailed history of Hungarian literature in French, beginning with the Reform Era and leading up to the contemporaries, in the Parisian *Revue Contemporaine*.¹⁸

Envigorating Hungarian cultural life through Western European influence checked up perfectly with the program of János Vajda and *Nővilág*, especially as regards the emerging new female social roles. However, despite all the ideological parity and her immense popularity, Júlia Jósika lost her fashion column in 1860, and until the following year her writings vanished from the magazine.

The young and ambitious Lenke Bajza, the other protagonist of the rivalry – which never escalated to a public press-debate – joined to the editorial staff of *Nővilág* in 1858.¹⁹ Just like Júlia Jósika, Lenke Bajza had the right family connections to prevail in the literary scene. Her father, József Bajza, had granted her a good education, and she chose to become a writer at a remarkably early age. Later in her life she evolved to be one of the most popular, Hungarian female authors of the second half of the 19. century and without question the most prolific, – although in aesthetical terms she did not belong to the group of authors consensually considered talented.²⁰ Her first marriage to Gusztáv Heckenast had played a massive role in starting off her flourishing career. He published her first volume titled *Short stories* in 1858.²¹ We must note that Gusztáv Heckenast, owner of *Nővilág* (and other newspapers), was also the publisher of the Jósikas; so, among other factors, it could have been a reason why the rivalry between the two fashion columnist ran under the surface, and none of them risked an open confrontation.

For Lenke Bajza, *Nővilág* meant safe ground and publicity, but her name became truly famous only after her second marriage, this time to Ferenc Beniczky who was also devoted to supporting her work.²² Her début in *Nővilág* was connected to her first book. János Vajda wrote a warm opinion piece about the volume *Short stories*; furthermore, the magazine promoted the book in every possible way.²³ Only the smaller part of the review is about the actual texts of Lenke Bajza, in the rest, Vajda took a stand in the big debate about female authors that was taking place at the time²⁴ – and had nothing to do with the fashion-debate. In the brief part about the short stories, he emphasises their moral value and also offers a critique, in a forgiving manner, of author's lack of originality and her modest skills in the use of language – pointing out that the volume is the début book of a very young, up-and-coming author.²⁵ After this Lenke Bajza became

a regular contributor of *Nővilág*. She published short stories and travel journals, and by 1860 she had also obtained the fashion column.

As Piroska D. Szemző suggests in her paper on the termination of *Nővilág*, Lenke Bajza strengthened her position in the summer of 1859 when she took over copy editing tasks from János Vajda during his illness and recovery away from Pest.²⁶ This must have been a fairly short-lived, temporary solution because her name was not printed next to that of Vajda as chief editor, nor was it stated in the current subscription advertisements. However, the following year brought a huge wave of publicity, when the fashion column went through an overall transformation to keep in line with the explosive spreading of Hungarian national attire, and Lenke Bajza's first fashion reports were published.

And now it is time for the central questions of my paper, which puzzled the publicists of the period. May tradition become fashion? Can Hungarian national clothing be subsumed into the waves of fashion that change with the seasons? Is it possible to conserve national dressing, frozen in time, in its one and only historical state (if it even exists), in the crossfire of fashion magazines' and social events hunger for novelty?

The year 1859 brought a significant change to the fashion of the bourgeois society of Pest. In November-December, the fashion columns of magazines such as *Napkelet*, *Nefelejts*, *Divatcsarnok* and *Nővilág* informed the public about the Hungarian *dolman* (hussar pelisse), the so-called *kanász-hat*, and the characteristic jacket called *atilla* with varieties made for both men and women. Appearance now had a stronger political meaning than ever before. The fashion, filled with symbolic significance, created political parlance, and no one could back out of it by the necessity of clothing.²⁷

The craze about this type of attire was so prevalent that particular pieces of Hungarian clothing were on sale even in foreign countries – naturally without the ideological overtone.

The Hungarian attire, derived from gala dress of the 17th -18th. century nobleman and combining western and Turkish elements, was a national symbol not because of its Hungarian cultural origin, but because of its unchanging nature. In this era, folk clothing was considered to be vulgar; therefore, no elements²⁸ of the ethnic dress of the lower classes had found its way into Hungarian national style used by the bourgeoisie and the nobility.²⁹

The temporary recrudescences through various epochs can be connected with each other. National clothing, enriched with a new meaning, appeared again in the turn of 1820s and 1830s at the international events of the Hungarian aristocracy, for example in 1829, at a Hungarian dance in Paris. The report about the ball, published in *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* in the same year, provides detailed portrayals of the guests, the dance-card and, of course, the Hungarian costumes.³⁰ This report was published once again in 1859 in the *Vasárnapi Újság*³¹ as a re-

action to the current fashion wave and for the 30th anniversary of the Parisian Hungarian dance.³² The editorial remark is noteworthy because it explains the reason behind the re-publication of the old article:³³ „This report, which generated delight when it first appeared, as some of our elderly readers may remember, has not lost its significance today when we are celebrating its 30th anniversary.”³⁴ These lines prove that in the carnival season of 1859 Hungarian costumes just like those that were described in the article from 1829 were not a rare sight.

The general fashion of national clothing rested upon tradition, and the columnists often referred to old articles, creating the impression that it was a continuous phenomenon, but in fact the enthusiasm about the Hungarian dress style waned shortly after every such occasion. The pieces of Hungarian attire that were widespread in the 1850s and 60s later, in the second half of the century, came to serve as the full dresses for formal events in the upper classes, although the more affluent strata of the peasantry also took over some of its elements and incorporated them into the folk dress style.³⁵

Following or rejecting a particular fashion has the function of demonstrating identification with or separation from a specific group. Traditionally it has been seen as an unambiguous sign of societal status, but, thanks to its complex semiology, it can tell us much more about its wearer than merely their level of wealth.

Copywriters of *Napkelet*, who used appearance for visible political identification, set up two categories: one was termed *clothing* – an ideologically charged category which they considered superior to the other approach, free of ideology, which they termed *fashion* and rated low.³⁶ In other newspapers these two terms were commutable.

Judging Hungarian clothing based on its aesthetical aspects was a matter of dispute amongst its fanciers. There was a conservative group of people who saw the survival of tradition as a self-enclosed system which precluded any synthesis with current European fashion. One author writing anonymously in *Napkelet* in 1860 takes the previously mentioned distinction between traditional, invariable *clothing* and *fashion* which supposedly follows the principle of neatness and beauty. Changing every season and experimenting with new patterns for the sake of a flattering appearance was the nature of everyday *fashion*. The author claims that when it comes to wearing Hungarian *clothing* there is no place for vanity about good looks because the ideology behind it is far more important.³⁷ This way, they shifted clothing from being an aesthetical category to a moral philosophical category; and the demand for change and diversity was sidelined. This approach also disregarded the intercultural origins of the Hungarian national attire.

Others thought just the contrary. János Vajda in 1859 in *Nővilág* captured the essence of Hungarian clothing in its high aesthetical value. He stated that its beauty and grandiosity allowed the national dress to *become* fashion not only

in Hungary but also abroad, indeed, that this was the ground for its perennial appeal. He welcomed the phenomenon when an original national treasure became so popular that it could rise to the rank of fashion all by itself and become widespread in other the countries. From his point of view, these were the cultural footprints of a nation – something to be remembered.

„We may perish from the face of the earth, or we may completely change, melt away in time just like other, more mighty peoples, our language may fade away, but our clothing can survive, until the current generation of the earth perishes and, just like the Latin language amongst the clergy, the hussar uniform will be common in Europe’s armies for times to come.

And now, as we start to wear our national attire in public life again, we can say with unwarped pride that by so doing we venerate not only a peculiarly Hungarian but also a European fashion.”³⁸

Vajda demonstrates through the example of the military uniform that the spread of the hussar uniform in Europe is sufficient proof that Hungarian clothing may expect a warm welcome in the fashion of other nations, and is not inferior in beauty to English or even French styles. It is desirable, he claims, for Hungarian clothing to become a fashion so that it may expand, and this could also represent yet another step toward becoming a part of the Western European cultural community.

Vajda’s article *The immortality of Hungarian attire* prepared the changes in the fashion column of the following volume, simultaneously defying *Nővilág*’s attitude in the matter. The image shift of the magazine did not come from thin air; however, the extent of the change, dictated by the wave of Hungarian fashion, was not well communicated at the beginning of the year. Possibly, even Vajda and Heckenast did not make the decision until later about the radical transformation regarding fashion. In January 1860 the subscription advertisements, published in several issues, were promoting the magazine with a free bonus copy of *Ladies’ Calendar* edited by Júlia Jósika and, of course, with her fashion reports:

„Original weekly fashion reports will be written henceforward by b[aronesse] Júlia Jósika, known to be unrivalled in this matter; furthermore she will continue her widely celebrated lifestyle articles in the literature column of our magazine.”³⁹

The fashion reports from Brussels survived those subscription advertisements for barely more than a month; the last *Original Fashion Report* by Júlia Jósika was published on 12th February 1860.

The first promotion of Hungarian attire in *Nővilág* was on 11th. December 1859. The attached fashion plate pictured a female *mente* (a typical Hungari-

an pelisse). According to the caption, besides the already rife Hungarian men's wear, the female versions were evolving too. Júlia Jósika mentions in her fashion report that in a Brussels shop she found a female *atilla* (dark frogged jacket), similar to the one she had read about in a Hungarian fashion magazine. It was not the first occasion that she spotted Hungarian clothing abroad. Beforehand, in 1857 she described the garish and ridiculous Hungarian costumes of two Belgian gentlemen.⁴⁰ The same year in the Hungarian carnival season the rope-moulding *pruszlik* (short bodice), *párta* (traditional coronet for unwed girls) and embroidered apron also turned up as parts of a complete outfit.⁴¹ It is possible that these sporadic appearances foreshowed the flourish of the Hungarian attire that was to come in 1859-1860.

The penultimate issue of *Nővilág* within the volume for 1859 published a portrait of Júlia Jósika (which they had promised in the subscription advertisement in July), followed by the next piece of her lifestyle articles in the last issue with the suggestive title: *Silence*. Unconventionally, in the same issue János Vajda confers about fashion in his article, *The immortality of Hungarian attire*, to which I have formerly referred.

Henceforward, in her *Original fashion tidings*, Júlia Jósika would always allude to occurrences of rope-moulding and frogged Hungarian ornaments in western fashion. *Nővilág* dedicates the fashion-plates and captions to promote a 'suddenly arisen Hungarian fashion.'⁴² At the end of the issue, the editorial staff made a promise to give an accurate and extensive presentation of Hungarian fashion in the year 1860. They allured readers to buy the magazine as follows:

[...] may You deign to subscribe to our fashion weekly, if for no other reason but because it is the cheapest, and so far [...] also the most widely read such magazine – and if it has been fortunate enough up till now to earn Your high contentment, it is certain that in the future it will make itself even more worthy, providing regularly what foreign fashion magazines are not able to give: original Hungarian fashion-plates [...]⁴³

It is hardly surprising that the celebrated Hungarian clothing overshadowed the fashion news from abroad. According to the articles, by this time there was almost no interest in Parisian novelties, because anyone who did not want to be stigmatised by fine society had to wear Hungarian attire.⁴⁴ This was the very attitude that the later editors of *Napkelet* revolted against, because – in their eyes – this way the Hungarian national dress style was degraded to a cheap whim flaunted without any principals or political awareness.

But why was it so outrageous to wear pieces of Parisian fashion in Pest at this time? After the national movements of Europe in 1848-1849, in the 1850s there emerged a movement referred to as the *second rococo* which favoured the Habsburg restoration. In German-speaking territories this meant that people

stopped wearing revolutionary barricade-clothing, and started to follow the eccentric fashion of the aristocracy once again.⁴⁵ Similarly in Hungary the call for traditional national dresses dwindled after the fall of the revolution.

The central figure of the second rococo was Eugénie, Empress of France, the wife of Napoleon III. She admired the style of Marie Antoinette and collected her relics. Empress Eugénie was a fashion idol all over Europe. Thanks to her, features such as tight-lacing, deep cleavages, the crinoline and the berthe spread quickly in French fashion.⁴⁶ Naturally, in Vienna, they welcomed this fashion with delight, as it honoured an illustrious member of the House of Habsburg. This is also an explanation for the sharp conflict between the Parisian and the Hungarian style.

In her very last *Original fashion report* Júlia Jósika welcomes the overwhelming advancement of Hungarian clothing, while, for want of interested readers, she foregoes writing about French fashion.

„This lovely Hungarian attire is a nice and joyful thing; and I am happy with all my heart that it came to light again – but I have to admit, that there is a lot of selflessness in this joy on my side, because we, poor fashion-reporters have trouble with it! You do not require news of the French trends anymore – so why would I speak of these? It is a logical conclusion; I wish I was equally clear as to what should I write about. However, Hungarian gowns are also made of silk-fabrics, indeed, of beautiful fabrics, and these also needed some lace, ribbon and jewellery etc. to go with them. So from now on, I will speak about matters of this kind [...]”⁴⁷

Speaking of the future of her column, she attempts to adapt to the new wave through descriptions of fabrics all around the world, which can be used to tailor Hungarian dresses, but this was not competitive enough for her to keep the column. She kept on writing about fashion now and again, but never in the official fashion column of *Nővilág*. With this, she started a new series of articles about everyday life and holidays in Brussels, wherein she introduces Belgian culture and social life. She praises the fact that festivities are more frugal compared to Pest – which naturally manifests itself in clothing, too. True to her former style she points out that Hungarian balls and soirées are exaggerated and wasteful, so she offers a western alternative to arrange festivities with moderate expenses – in exchange, she points out, they can be held more often. The articles are not blinkered in their view, she does not shun describing the weaknesses of Belgian societal events, either. For example, she criticises the pitiable music at some of the dances and the occasional appearance of what she finds scandalous costumes.⁴⁸ The only thing these articles do not speak a word about is Hungarian clothing – which intrigued the public the most.

Surprisingly, within the buzz around Hungarian clothing, *Nővilág* tarried in announcing their new fashion expert. The magazine had published the latest fashion-plates of Pest, but the first fashion report by Lenke Bajza – wherein she made a stand by Hungarian clothing – was published only two months late, on 1st of April; at first anonymously.⁴⁹ The author lauded the work of her predecessor while also quite clerly putting an end to it:

„[...] my task is easier than my predecessor's, since for a Hungarian woman it is easier and without doubt more joyful to write about Hungarian fashion than about the common European or so-called Parisian fashion which is nevertheless so alien to us.”⁵⁰

It was a remarkable act under János Vajda's editorship to dissociate Hungarian fashion from Europe and renounce the magazine's western orientation, but it was exactly what she did, and maybe there was no other way within the current circumstances of the market. A bizarre situation thus emerged: in order to show support for the Hungarian revolutionary initiative by emigrant Hungarian politicians in Western-Europe, people turned away from western culture and celebrated an enclosed, eastern-oriented fashion, which they could call their own. This resulted in the curious state of affairs whereby political emigrée Júlia Jósika who, through her husband, had an actual connection to Kossuth and his circle lost her most important position with *Nővilág* to Lenke Bajza – because of the readers general enthusiasm about the Hungarian cause.

The initial silence around the new fashion reporter's name was probably the publisher's technique to arouse interest in the new college. The name „Lenke Bajza-Heckenast” did not appear alongside the *Original fashion report* until the end of the month, 29th of April, 1860. Thereunto came a short editorial note, which clarifies: in order to avoid *Nővilág* becoming more expensive, Lenke Bajza takes over the column as a ‘patriotic offering’⁵¹ (i.e. for free). They also reassured the public that Júlia Jósika was to remain an associate of the magazine.

In July, in the subscription advertisement for the second half of the volume, Lenke Bajza's name appeared for the first time, moreover, with a larger font size than her rival's. Altogether the 4th volume was dominated by Júlia Jósika's short stories, lifestyle advice and other articles, but her name was taken off the subscription advertisement for the 5th volume in December of 1860, and Lenke Bajza, who became a leading contributor in 1861 gradually supplanted her in *Nővilág*.

The new trend rejected the infiltration of Parisian fashion, which they saw as incorporating so-called „non-Hungarian”, „bizarre” elements into the national clothing, which could please only foreigners. It satirised the radical and frequent changes of western fashion compared to the traditionalist Hungarian attire, which was placed above Parisian ways both in comfort and neatness. Its followers, how-

ever, did not immure themselves to certain changes, which made the attire, originally designed as a full dress, convenient as everyday wear.

According to fashion reports, by the summer of 1860, Hungarian clothing had become common regardless of age, gender, location or social status. The weakness of Lenke Bajza's fashion reports was the ungainly use of language – which was criticised earlier by János Vajda regarding her first book of short stories. For her loutish, sometimes almost unreadably poorly shaped sentences⁵² she compensated her readers abundantly with the description of „ancient Hungarian attires, one more beautiful than the other”, worn by well-known ladies of Hungarian social life.⁵³ For the subscribers, encountering names and events familiar from their own circles meant more than reading about some famous marquise or Belgian duchess and their fabulous balls, no matter how well-written the report was.

Although the news, the stores and saloons of Pest were full of national fashionwear, the renaissance of the Hungarian national attire lasted no more than a couple of years both in the capital and in the provinces. Authors of fashion reports struggled in vain against the Hungarian style merging into a superficial fashion, the press spared no effort in trying to imbue dress style with national ideology and make it permanent, but its journey proved to be rather short.

After its first appearances at balls in 1857, Hungarian clothing filtered in with everyday wear, and this process culminated in 1860 when it completely supplanted Parisian fashion in magazines and at social events. This exclusivity lasted only one year, in 1861 it started to mingle again with western elements, and by 1862 Hungarian noble ladies were modelling themselves on the style of Alexandra of Denmark, the future Princess of Wales. In 1865 the patriotic enthusiasm faded away regarding everyday female clothing, and by 1868 it disappeared almost completely,⁵⁴ along with the revolutionary ideas.

To choose Hungarian clothing instead of Parisian fashion, which was so popular even in Vienna and to appreciate one's own tradition as against a foreign trend had for some time been placed on a level with the preservation of the language in the narrative of national unity. The ideal of spreading the traditional Hungarian national dress style amongst the entire population as a tool of national self-preservation proved to be the one thing most antithetical to this idea: a short-lived fashion unable to step over externals which flared up briefly for a couple of seasons.

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- 1 Buzinkay Géza, *A magyar sajtó és újságírás története a kezdetektől a rendszerváltásig [The History of The Hungarian Press and Journalism from the Beginnings to the Régime Change]*. (Budapest, Wolters Kluwer, 2016.) 144.
- 2 Buzinkay Géza, *Magyar hírlaptörténet 1848-1918 [The History of Hungarian Daily Papers 1848-1918]*. (Budapest, Corvina, 2008.) 31.
- 3 D. Szemző Piroska, „A Nővilág megszűnési körülményei” [The Circumstances of the Abolition of „Nővilág”]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95, no. 2. (1979): 134.
- 4 „A kortársak számára a magyar nemzeti öltözet – a nyelvvel, a nemzet erkölcsével és szokásaival együtt – a magyar nemzeti jelleg kifejezésének eszköze, a nemzetet reprezentáló jel, egyúttal a nemzet megőrzésének egyik biztosítéka, egyesek szemében egyik kritériuma volt.” (Translation: J.K.) Lukács Anikó. *Nemzeti Divat Pesten a 19. Században [National Fashion at Pest in the 19th Century]*. (Budapest, Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2017.) 9.
- 5 Vajda János, „A szépről a szépekhez” *Nővilág* 1, no. 1;7;13;16 (1857)
- 6 Vajda János, *Magyarság és nemzeti önértet. Kóros áramok.* (Budapest, Singer és Wolfner, 1896.) 11.
- 7 Szajbély Mihály, *A nemzeti narratíva szerepe a magyar irodalmi kánon alakulásában Világos után.* (Budapest, Universitas, 2005.) 314
- 8 A great wave of talentless followers of the famous national poet, Sándor Petőfi emerged after his death in the war of independence in 1849.
- 9 Szajbély, *A nemzeti narratíva...* 316-317
- 10 Kosáry Domokos and Németh G. Béla, eds. *A magyar sajtó története 1848-1867 [The History of the Hungarian Press 1848-1867]*. Vol. II/1. Szabolcsi Miklós, ed. *A magyar sajtó története [The History of the Hungarian Press]* (Budapest, Akadémiai, 1985) 435-436
- 11 D. Szemző, „A Nővilág megszűnési...” [Abolitions of the Magazine „Nővilág”], 127
- 12 Miklóssy János, „Irodalmi folyóirataink a Bach-korszakban”, *Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (Budapest, 1973) <http://epa.oszk.hu/01400/01464/00012/pdf/274-275>.
- 13 Ibid. 272.
- 14 „A „bátorság” című cikket, mint a Mélt. bárónő minden levelét, csak revisionál olvastam először. Világos, hogy politikailag ártatlan volt, de mi tudjuk itthon, hogy a sajtórendőrség, kivált egy elterjedt újságban, és a jelen mozgalmak közt [...] mindjárt a sorok közt olvas. Bizonyos, hogy letiltotta volna lapomat, melyen már egy írásbeli intés súlyosbodik, azonkívül, hogy harmadéve alig menekedtem hat heti fogságtól egy pár meggondolatlan soromért. Tehát szerföltöt

- óvatosnak kell lennem. Föl kelle áldoznom a „Bátorság” című cikk helyesebb értelmét, s változtattam a hogy tudtam, s a hogy hamarjában lehetett.
- [...]Belátom, hogy a brüszeli levelek teszik lapom legfőbb értékét, ezért nagy figyelmet fordítok rájuk, s nagy zavarban vagyok, ha néha egy egy ismeretlen divatműszót a kéziratban nem tudok elolvasni.” (Translation by J.K.) Vajda, János *Jósika Miklóshoz [To Miklós Jósika]*. Vajda, János, *Levelezés [Correspondance]*, Boros Dezső and Barta János, eds. *Vajda János Összes Művei [The Complete Works of János Vajda]* X. (Budapest, Akadémiai, 1982.) 12.
- 15 Vajda János, *Kisebb költemények [Minor Poems]*. Barla Gyula and Boros Dezső, comps. Barta János, ed. *Vajda János Összes művei [The Complete Works of János Vajda]* Vol I. (Budapest, Akadémiai 1969) 295.
- 16 Ibid. 10–12
- 17 Ibid. 10–12
- 18 Julie de Jósika „La Littérature Hongroise, Pendant les dix dernières années” *Revue Contemporaine* 2. série, tome 17. (1860.) 125–147.
- 19 Török Zsuzsa, „Legtermékenyebb összes női íróink között [The Most Prolific Hungarian Female Author]”, *Irodalomtörténet* 96. no. 4. (2015.) 378.
- 20 Fábri Anna, „A szép, tiltott táj felé”. *A magyar írónők története két századforduló között (1795-1905) [Toward a Fine, Forbidden Landscape. A History of Hungarian Female Authors between the Two Turns of Centuries (1795-1905)]*, (Budapest, Kortárs, 1996) 133.
- 21 Török, „Legtermékenyebb...” 378-379.
- 22 Török, „Legtermékenyebb...” 381-382.
- 23 Ibid. 380.
- 24 The debate was sparked off in issue No. 61. 1858 of the *Pesti Napló* by Pál Gyulai, who questioned women’s capacity for intellectual work, which, he claimed, would anyhow prevent them from fulfilling their main duties as housewives. Vajda took the opposite side – he encouraged women to take an active part in cultural life, and welcomed all female writers. János Arany entered the debate in the middle: he thought that the aesthetical value of a text was more important than the gender of its author. For more on this see: Vaderna, Gábor, „Gyulai Pál, Arany János és a nők. A női írás a 19. század második felében Magyarországon [Pál Gyulai, János Arany and the Woman Question. Female Authorship in Hungary in the Second Half of the 19th Century]” *Irodalomtörténet* 96.no 2. (2015) 146-175.
- 25 Vajda János, „Könyvismeretetés. Bajza Lenke beszéleyei – Két kötet. – „Az eskü”, „A különcz” [Book Review.Stories by Lenke Bajza. Two Volumes: „The Oath” „The Excentric”]” *Nővilág* 2. no. 26. (June 27,1858.)
- 26 D. Szemző, „A Nővilág megszűnése...” [The Abolition of *Nővilág*]129.
- 27 Lukács, *Nemzeti divat...* 10.
- 28 There was one exception, in the carnival-season of 1844-1845 when *kékfestő* [‘blue print’- a patterned linen fabric used in ethnic dressing and home furnishing] was worn in ball-gowns as a gesture of support to the national trade, but this fashion lasted only one winter. For more on this see: F. Dózsa Katalin, *A kékfestő az úri divatban [Blue-Print Fabric in High Society Fashion]*, F. Dózsa Katalin, „Megbámulni és megbámultatni.” *Viselet-történeti tanulmányok [‘To Admire and be Admired’. Essays on Costume History]*. (Budapest, L’Harmattan, 2014.) 191–195
- 29 Lukács, *Nemzeti divat...* 13.
- 30 Fekete Gáspár, „Magyar táncz Párisban (Február 9-én 1829.)” [A Hungarian Dance in Paris] Vörösmarty, Mihály (ed.), *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, year 13, Vol. 1. (Pest, Trattner J.M. and Károlyi I. 1829.) 114.
- 31 Fekete, Gáspár, „Magyar táncz Párisban (Február 9-én 1829.)” [A Hungarian Dance in Paris. (February 9th 1829)], *Vasárnapi Ujság*, year 6., No. 6. (February 6th 1859)

- 32 Gere Zsolt, *Szebb idők, Vörösmarty epikus korszakának rétegei* [*Finer Times. Layers in the Epic Era of Vörösmarty's Oeuvre*], Fórizs Gergely (ed.) *Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek* 174. (Budapest, Argumentum, 2013.) 200.
- 33 Same author, *ibid* 200. (footnote No. 49.)
- 34 „E közlemény, mely megjelenésekor, mint idősebb olvasóink emlékeznek, igen öröndetes hatást gerjesztett, most sem vesztette el érdekét, midőn annak éppen 30-ik évfordulóját értük.” (Translation by J.K.) *Vasárnapi Újság*, No. 6. (February 6, 1859.)
- 35 Lukács, *Nemzeti divat...* 13.
- 36 Hites Sándor, *Még dadogtak, amikor ő megszólalt; Jósika Miklós és a történelmi regény* [*Others were still Stammering when He Spoke Clearly. Miklós Jósika and the Historical Novel*], (Budapest, Universitas, 2007.) 250
- 37 *Ibid* 251.
- 38 „Elpusztulhatunk a föld színéről, és elváltozhatunk, szétolvadhatunk idővel csakugy, mint más hatalmasabb népek, elenyészhetik nyelvünk is, de öltözetünk fennmarad, míg a föld jelen nemzedéke el nem pusztul, s mint a latinok nyelve a papságnál, úgy huszáregyenruha Európa hadseregében – általános lesz.
És midőn jelenleg újra viselni kezdjük a közéletben is nemzeti ruhánkat, elfogulatlan s méltó büszkeséggel mondhatjuk, hogy nem csak sajátlagosan magyar de egyszersmind – európai divatnak hódolunk” (Translation by J.K.) Vajda János, „A magyar öltözet halhatatlansága”, *Nővilág* 3. no. 52. (December 27, 1859)
- 39 „Eredeti divattudósításainkat hetenkint jövőben is az e részben páratlannak ismert b[.] Jósika Júlia irandja; ezenkívül általánosan kedvelt élettani irányczikkeit is folytatni fogja lapunk szépirodalmi részében.” (Translation by J.K.) „Előfizetési felhívás”, *Nővilág* 4. no 2. (January 8, 1860.)
- 40 „Two gentlemen appeared in Hungarian costume – but what was it like! – I think, Mr. Kostyál [master tailor of Hungarian attire] would have had an apoplectic fit, if he suddenly saw these two ‘compatriots’. – Imagine two stubby Belgian gentlemen, not so very young, by far, in loose, crimson pantaloons with golden trimmings, all of this tucked into high boots, on which golden fringes hung, the size of a fist. Thereto came a blue vest – also trimmed – in addition short green tail-coats strewn with lace and trimming. Both of these likeable characters wore huge grenadier caps on their heads, which they deigned to call Colbag, while long flat swords rattled on their sides. Here you have it, Hungarian!” (Translation: J.K.) „Két uri ember magyar öltözetben jelent meg – de minőben! – azt hiszem a guta ütötte volna meg ijedtetben Kostyál urat, ha hirtelen megpillantja a két compatriótát. – Képzeld csak két köpcös belga urat, nem éppen a legfiatalabbikat, vörös bő pantalonban arany paszománttal, magos csizmákba dugva, melyeken ökölnyi arany bojt függött. Ahoz kék mellényt – szintén paszománttal – s ezenfelül zöld rövid frakkot, arany csipkével s paszománttal kicifrázva. Fejeiken roppant gránátos főveget viselt e két szeretetre méltó egyéniség, melyet Colbag-nak méltóztattak nevezni, míg hosszú egyenes kard csörgött oldalakon! Nesze neked magyar!” (Translation by J.K.) Jósika Júlia, „Eredeti divattudósítás”, *Nővilág* 1. no.18. (May 10, 1857.)
- 41 F. Dózsa Katalin, *A női divat változásai 1850-1895 között* [*Changes in Femle Fashion between 1850 and 1895*], F. Dózsa Katalin, „Megbámulni és megbámultatni.” *Viselettörténeti tanulmányok* [*To Admire and be Admired. Essays on Costume History*]. (Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2014.) 302.
- 42 „Müterem”, *Nővilág* 3. no. 52. (December 25, 1859.)
- 43 „[...] méltóztassanak előfizetni divatlapunkra, már csak azért is, mert ez legolcsóbb, s ugyancsak [...] eddig legelterjedtebb is volt – és ha ugyan eddig is szerencsés volt magas megelégedésüket kiérdemelni, bizonyos, hogy jövőben erre még méltóbbá teendí magát, adandván rendszeren azt, a mit külföldi divatlapok adni nem képesek: eredeti magyar divatképeket [...]” (Translation by J.K.) „Tárca”, *Nővilág* 3. no 51. (December 11, 1859.)

- 44 „[...] there are already lots of people, and more every day, who are not wearing Hungarian clothes out of patriotic fondness, but because of the natural motive to admire the ruling and irresistible fashion, and avoid sticking out by a non-Hungarian attire.” (Translation: J.K.) „[...] már is sokan vannak, és napról napra többen lesznek olyanok, kik nem annyira nemzeties előszeretetből, de csupán azon természetes okból is kénytelenek magyar ruhába öltözködni, hogy az uralkodó, az ellenállhatatlan divatnak hódoljanak, és nem magyaros viseletük által föl ne tűnjenek.” Vajda János, „A magyar öltözet...” 822.
- 45 Belting, Isabella, *Mode und Revolution. Deutschland 1848/49* (Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1997) *Historische Texte und Studien* Band 15. (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 1997) 153.
- 46 Ibid. 154.
- 47 Szép dolog és örvendetes ez a kedves magyar viselet; s szivemből örülök, hogy ismét napvilágot lát – de meg kell vallanom, hogy ez örömben részemről nagy az önzéstelenség; mert ugyan meggyült ezáltal a bajunk, szegény divattudósítóknak! Nincs többé szükséged francia divatokra – tehát minek szóljak ezekről? Ez igen logicus conclusio; bár csak épen annyira tisztában volnék már a fölött is hogy miről írjak. Azonban magyar köntösök is selyemszövetekből készülnek, még pedig szép szövetekből, s azokhoz is kell csipke, szalag, ékszer stb. Tehát ezekről fogok ezután szólni [...].(Translation by J.K.) Jósika Júlia, „Eredeti divattudósítás”, *Nővilág* 4. no. 7. (February 12, 1860.)
- 48 Jósika Júlia, „A farsang Brüsszelben”, *Nővilág* 4. no 8-9. (February 19-26, 1860.)
- 49 The few anonymous *Original fashion reports* belonged to Lenke Bajza without doubt. Besides the obvious match of style and structure, she referred to them in the first one, whereat they marked her name.
- 50 [...] feladatom könnyebb elődömenél, mert hiszen magyar nőnek magyar divatról könnyebb s kétségkívül örvendetesebb dolog írni, mint a bár európaiilag közös, de mégis idegennek mondható ugynevezett párisi divatról. (Translation by J.K.) Heckenast-Bajza Lenke, „Eredeti divatjelentés”, *Nővilág* 4. no. 14. (April 1, 1860.)
- 51 „Tárcza, Pesti Hírek” *Nővilág* 4. no.18. sz. (April 29, 1860.)
- 52 E.g.: „In this regard for us it is not only interesting, what is new, but what is interesting.” (Translation by J.K.) „Ezen szemponból kiindulva előttünk nem csupán az érdekes a mi új, hanem az a mi érdekes.” Heckenast-Bajza Lenke, „Eredeti divatjelentés”, *Nővilág* 4. no. 16. (April 15, 1860.)
- 53 Heckenast-Bajza Lenke, „Eredeti divatjelentés [Original Fashion Report]”, *Nővilág* 4. no. 16. (April 15, 1860.)
- 54 F. Dózsa, *A női divat...* 305–314

