



Converging Suffrage Politics

The Romanian Women's Movement in Hungary and Its Allies before World War I

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the Romanian women's movement in Hungary before World War I and on its veiled suffrage politics. The first part of the article presents an overview of the organizational history of the Romanian women's movement from 1850 to 1914. The establishment of the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary in 1913 constitutes a key event in this account. The second part of the article addresses the politics behind the Union and explores the converging suffrage politics of two more historical actors: the internationalization strategies of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) and the suffrage politics of the Romanian National Party in Hungary. The article concludes that the Union's actions resembled those of similar organizations in Austria-Hungary that sought to join the IWSA, indicating that the Union may have been preparing to adopt a pro-suffrage position.

KEYWORDS: Austria-Hungary, International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), internationalization, Romanian National Party, Romanian women's movement, Transylvania, Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary, women's suffrage



At the beginning of the twentieth century women's struggles for political rights spread across the globe. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was no exception, and suffrage was becoming a pressing issue within its borders. Yet little is known to date about the women's movements of the non-dominant ethnic groups in the Hungarian part of the dual monarchy and their suffrage politics. This article explores the Romanian women's movement, its options, possible allies, and difficulties with regard to obtaining women's suffrage in Hungary, especially in the years prior to the outbreak of World War I.

The history of Romanian women's activism in the Habsburg Empire began in the aftermath of the European Revolutions of 1848–1849, with the foundation of the first Romanian women's association in Braşov, a city with an educated Romanian



elite invested in the Romanian nation-building project. In the second half of the long nineteenth century, similar Romanian women's associations with philanthropic and educational purposes mushroomed throughout Transleithania, the Hungarian part of the empire, and in 1913 about thirty of them joined the umbrella organization the *Uniunea femeilor române din Ungaria* (Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary, henceforth referred to as the Union). The president of this new organization, Maria Baiulescu, expressed a collective gender identity when she introduced it as "a forum responsible for women's progress."¹ However, the bylaws explicitly rejected any implication of the Union's involvement in "political and religious matters."² One of the questions addressed by this article is why the Union did not demand women's suffrage in *Ausgleich* Hungary. Given the wider political context of the empire and of similar women's unions formed in connection to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), another major point needs clarification: what was the relationship between the Romanian women's movement in Hungary and the IWSA?

Even if the scattered fragmentary evidence of this account does not lead to a strong link between these two sets of historical actors, the wider political context of imperial politics allows me to suggest that the Romanian women's movement in Hungary did actually pursue silenced or veiled suffrage politics in the 1910s. Further, I argue that the movement may have sought to maximize its international connections.

First, I explain the hidden character of the Romanian women's movement by pointing to the weak political position of Romanians in the empire, as a non-dominant ethnic group in a nationalizing state that did not guarantee the right of association. Second, the timing of the foundation of the Union raises provocative questions about possible connections between the Romanian women's movement and the international women's movement, represented by the IWSA as a leading feminist organization. The Union was born, not only shortly after a similar Polish women's union was established in the Crownland of Galicia, but also at exactly the same time the IWSA held its Congress in Budapest in 1913. Finally, examining the sides taken by the political representatives of the Romanian ethnic group in Hungary in the suffrage debate sheds light on the possible allies of the Romanian women's movement in Hungary. The *Partidul Național Român din Ungaria și Transilvania* (Romanian National Party [RNP] in Hungary and Transylvania) supported the Romanian women's movement in a manner that bears some resemblance to the Czech case in Cisleithania, the Austrian half of the empire. In the midst of the parliamentary debates on suffrage reform in Budapest and negotiations with the prominent Hungarian politician István Tisza, the RNP demanded suffrage for both women and men in January 1913.

In order to elucidate the veiled, cautious, and silenced position of the Romanian women's movement in relation to suffrage reform in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I explore the perspectives and political tactics of the IWSA and the RNP in the wider political context of the dual monarchy.³ I first provide an overview of Romanian women's activism in the dual monarchy, from the establishment of the first Romanian women's association in 1850 to the Union's establishment in 1913. I then explore the suffrage politics of the Romanian women's movement in Hungary in connection with two other concerns: the internationalization strategies of the IWSA and the suffrage politics of the RNP in the wider political context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In so doing, I aim to bring a threefold contribution to scholarship. First, Romanian women's history writing has focused on the Romanian women's movement in Hungary only to a very limited extent, concluding by and large that the movement had little to do with international women's organizations.⁴ Based primarily on the discourse analysis of the press, existing scholarship has highlighted the particular nature of the Romanian women's movement in Hungary by emphasizing its nationalism and isolation from international women's movements. By contrast, I am suggesting that there was a converging suffrage politics involving the Romanian women's movement in Hungary, the IWSA, and the RNP, and that these three sets of historical actors did not ignore each other in pursuing women's suffrage. Second, the gender-blind political history of the RNP in Hungary has largely ignored the internal party divide (1904–1905) over whether to endorse women's suffrage or not. In this article, I begin to uncover the politics of the RNP with regard to women's suffrage and international movements. Third, I highlight the discreet and cautious strategy of mobilization of a non-dominant women's movement in Austria-Hungary by linking it to the broader political constellations of the empire and to the transnational politics of organized women's movements and international bodies.

From the Romanian Women's Association in Braşov (1850) to the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary (1913)

Romanian women's activism began in the mid-nineteenth century with the establishment of the Romanian Women's Association in Braşov in 1850.⁵ The town, which remained at the center of the Romanian women's movement until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, was located in the Saxon-dominated southeastern region of the Principality of Transylvania, then part of the Habsburg Empire. After the 1867 Ausgleich, Hungary gained more independence from the Habsburgs, and the Principality was incorporated into Hungary.

Braşov was populated mostly by Saxons, Hungarians, and Romanians and it was characterized by several traits that made it unique in the region. The town was not only Transylvania's second largest town, but also a thriving educational center, thanks mainly to the Saxon educational infrastructure.⁶ Moreover, because of Braşov's strategic position at the crossroads of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires trade routes, the town had fared well economically in the first half of the nineteenth century. As a result, a Romanian merchant class began to take shape in Braşov and came to be seen as part of the broader category of the "Greek-Balkan merchant."⁷

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the emerging local Romanian middle class began to self-identify as the elite members of a distinct Romanian ethnic group. Nation-building plans emerged in the 1830s. The Romanian merchant elite established *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (Transylvania's gazette), the first political newspaper in the Romanian language in Transylvania, supported print in the vernacular (translations, bilingual dictionaries, and so forth), demonstrated a profound concern for educational and religious institutions (especially Greek Orthodox), and hired educated men to teach in the newly established schools. Among the new teaching staff were two men—George

Barițiu and Iacob Mureșianu—who edited *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and engaged politically in the increasingly secularized Romanian nation-building process. After Brașov’s economic success faded away in the second half of the nineteenth century, the educated elites that the merchants had hired and intermarried with in Brașov became one of the driving forces of the Romanian nation-in-the-making.⁸

The Romanian Women’s Association in Brașov was established in March 1850, under the leadership of Maria Nicolau (1801–1860).⁹ Having fought for national liberties and for the end of serfdom within the autonomous Principality of Transylvania, during the revolutionary years Romanian women and men in Transylvania positioned themselves against the Hungarians and remained loyal to the Habsburgs. However, when the Hungarian revolution was quelled in 1849, the centralized absolutism of the Habsburgs left Romanians without a reward:

We fought and we shed our blood for the Emperor and the right of our nation, not for medals or money. Now we see that the throne has been reinforced by the blood of some 40,000 Rumanians killed and by the destruction of some 300 villages, but in spite of all this our nation still groans under the old tyranny and finds itself in a more miserable state than before 1848.¹⁰

In the difficult period that followed the revolutions, women’s associations that sought to improve girls’ education and to alleviate the consequences of the revolutions were established throughout the monarchy.¹¹ In this context, Maria Nicolau argued that because “[o]ur nation especially lacks charitable institutions,”¹² the Romanian Women’s Association in Brașov concentrated on “the more solid education of females, and especially of the poor orphan girls, first and foremost those belonging to the martyrs of our nation fallen in the 1848–1849 revolution.”¹³

Establishing associations in the post-revolutionary period was a difficult task that required significant effort and support in high places. The founders of the Romanian women’s association exerted influence on the authorities and, through Sophie von Wohlgemuth, appealed to her husband, Ludwig von Wohlgemuth, the governor of the Principality of Transylvania, to facilitate the establishment of the association.¹⁴ In search of high-level protection, the association reached out to Empress Elisabeth of Austria, who in 1854 agreed to be the highest-ranked patron of the Romanian Women’s Association in Brașov and donated 750 florins to its increasing capital.¹⁵ Among other initial patrons of the association were women from wealthy Romanian and Aromanian families in the Habsburg Empire, such as the Hurmuzakis, the Sinas, and the Mocionis.¹⁶ These names suggest that the affluent women and men from Brașov succeeded in mobilizing a network of Romanian philanthropic merchants in the Habsburg Empire. Overall an average of about one hundred regular members each year contributed to the association’s advancement up until the outbreak of World War I.

The initial purpose of the association was to support poor Romanian orphan girls, especially those whose parents had died in the Hungarian-Transylvanian revolution of 1848–1849.¹⁷ After fulfilling this short-term goal, “the fund of the association will be transformed into a philanthropic institute for the upbringing and instruction of all

that is connected to the feminine sex, referring to our orphans bereft of both parents and to those girls whose parents had contributed to the gains of the association."¹⁸ The wealth of the association was carefully invested in other projects that developed after the first short-term goal was achieved.¹⁹ From the 1860s on, the association committee proceeded with a piecemeal strategy of institutionalizing primary school education for girls in Braşov and in the region's other towns (Blaj, Sibiu, and Cămpeni). Their combined efforts translated into access to education for about one hundred girls every year. From the 1880s on, the association concentrated its efforts on opening a boarding school for Romanian girls in Braşov. In the following decades, the association made this project its top priority, while trying to maintain a balance between the assistance it gave to Romanian orphan girls (as stipulated in the initial bylaws of the association), and the opportunities it opened to middle-class Romanian girls. The association welcomed between thirty and fifty pupils every year to its local boarding school and orphanage, more than half of who were required to pay tuition fees. Education for girls remained a constant focus of Romanian women's activism in Hungary. In implementing its education programs within the existing confessional educational system in Transylvania, the association drew support from both Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches.²⁰

The number of Romanian women's associations in Hungary similar to the Braşov group grew steadily throughout the Dualist period. Prior to World War I, the number grew to over sixty and all worked relentlessly to improve women's situation, especially in the area of education, demonstrating a growing sense of Romanian women's solidarity in Hungary. In 1913, following the call to unity from Maria Baiulescu—then president of the Romanian Women's Association in Braşov—over thirty Romanian women's associations joined to form the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary.²¹ This newly established Braşov-based organization was a public forum created by women for women, which functioned under the motto *un cuget și o simțire* (one mind, one heart).²² A small circulated leaflet asked that only women speak at the founding Congress.²³ The central mission of the organization was to

unite all Romanian women's cultural, social, and charity associations into one association with combined powers to solve problems ...; to show as much as possible women's work for humanity, as well as the diversity and extension of women's work; to ease contact and mutual agreement, to be conducive to mutual trust and co-operation between those women who try to improve society in any form; to create a center, where women could convene.²⁴

The 1913 Union bylaws stipulated that its members would concentrate their efforts in the following spheres of activism: educating girls, fostering religion, maintaining churches, developing women's home industry, providing education for maintaining a household and for home industry, creating philanthropic institutions for the ill and the poor, and establishing a common orphanage.²⁵ The main activities of the Union before the outbreak of World War I included obtaining official permission to function and welcoming more Romanian women's associations as affiliates. The Union held a second Congress in Sibiu in June 1914.

During the Braşov Congress days a so-called censorship committee was established to draft the bylaws of the Union in the manner most likely to receive the approval of the Ministry of Interior.²⁶ Consequently, the bylaws of the newly established Union made it clear that it excluded all religious and political matters from its affairs.²⁷ Furthermore, paragraph 32 of the bylaws stipulated that if the Union stepped out of its sphere of activity, the government could suspend its activity without delay and even dissolve the association altogether because it might jeopardize the interests of the state.²⁸

Until the Ministry of Interior approved the bylaws, with some modifications, in February 1914,²⁹ the Union's president Maria Baiulescu proceeded with caution in representing the organization publicly. In one instance, she turned down the invitation to participate in the 1913 Congress of the Orthodox National Society of Romanian Women in the Romanian Kingdom. Baiulescu explained that she declined

[b]ecause of superior reasons, which we discussed with leading men—with the vice-presidents from Sibiu and Deva, we agreed to send a back-up delegation for this period, when the bylaws of the Union are analyzed by the government in view of approval and amendment. Once we are over this hurdle, our forum will need to be represented both here and there.³⁰

Undoubtedly, the Romanian women's movement was severely restricted in its sphere of activities by the Hungarian state itself, which did not formally guarantee the right of association and assembly in its constitution. Politics were off-limits for any kind of ethnicity-based association and since 1875 such associations were approved only if they pursued cultural activities.³¹ In researching two major Transylvanian associations (a Saxon and a Hungarian one), Borbála Zsuzsanna Török concluded that throughout the Dualist period "the unlimited discretionary powers of state intervention into civic and political networks" were secured by deliberately failing to legally define different types of associations and by promulgating an increasing number of ministerial decrees regarding policies of control.³² The establishment of any association depended on acquiring the permission of the Ministry of Interior, and any public meeting required the permission of a *szolgabíró* (magistrate) and the presence of a police officer.³³

The state severely curtailed the activities of political clubs or parties, especially those of ethnic minorities and socialists. R. W. Seton-Watson, a British historian who in the early twentieth century wrote under the pen name of Scotus Viator, chronicled the numerous arbitrary state interventions into the associational life of ethnic minorities in Hungary. In his *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908), he listed several examples of Romanian women's associations that were denied permission for establishment because there were enough of such associations already or because no help was needed to support the formal education of Greek Catholic girls.³⁴ Following a highly controversial political memorandum sent by the RNP to Vienna in 1892, the RNP was dissolved through an 1894 ministerial order on the grounds that "societies formed for a larger purpose, not exclusively in view of the elections but with political tendencies, societies whose activity is permanent, cannot evade the control of the authorities, who

must exercise control and approve this activity."³⁵ A later attempt in 1908 to establish a Romanian political club in Arad led to the suspension of immunity for the politicians involved. Among them was Deputy Ștefan Cicio-Pop, who was sentenced to pay a fine or to spend eight days in prison.³⁶

It can be concluded that throughout *Ausgleich* Hungary experienced a deficit of freedom of association that could not be compensated in any other way. The political organization of women's movements was hindered not only in Hungary, but also in the Austrian part of the monarchy, where the law of associations "prohibited female membership in legally recognized political associations."³⁷ To understand the Union's seemingly odd lack of a standpoint on women's suffrage, we must take into account this legal frame, which gave the state the opportunity to strictly limit associations' activities at any time. Whatever position the Union may have had on women's suffrage, it had to be veiled because of the limits imposed on associations in *Ausgleich* Hungary.

The Suffrage Politics of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and of the Romanian National Party

At the beginning of the twentieth century, leading women's organizations, such as the International Council of Women (ICW, established in 1888) and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (established in 1904), struggled to internationalize women's movements worldwide. Faced with complex situations created in part by entangled nation- and state-building processes in an established hierarchical international setting, they developed different strategies for pursuing feminist agendas. By making women's suffrage a priority, the IWSA split from the ICW early in the twentieth century and "pledged to 'secure the enfranchisement of the women of all nations.'"³⁸ This division marked an emerging distinction between ICW and IWSA policy regarding the "nationality question." Until the start of World War I, the IWSA "developed a cautious partisanship for national emancipation and self-determination,"³⁹ especially in relation to the multinational Habsburg monarchy. Both international women's organizations tried to shape women's movements on the ground, and both reached out to them with calls for membership: the ICW accepted representation under the title "National Council," while the IWSA actively searched for "Auxiliaries" or "National Woman Suffrage Associations." Yet representing women's movements at an international level in a rapidly and violently transformative period remained a challenge for both the ICW and the IWSA. While world politics moved toward the globalization of the nation-state system, the ICW opted to accept representation only from "self-governing nations and countries enjoying a far-reaching autonomous status,"⁴⁰ whereas the IWSA molded itself into a "forum for women representing nations without states."⁴¹

Before analyzing the internationalization strategies of the IWSA with regard to women's movements in non-core zones of Austria-Hungary, in particular Transylvania where the Romanian women's movement was by and large developing, it is important to consider a series of occurrences that took place in 1913. On 22 January 1913, on behalf of the RNP, deputy Ștefan Cicio-Pop presented a suffrage bill in the parliament in Budapest, based on which he requested that the right to vote be granted to

all citizens (women and men) from the age of twenty-four on;⁴² in mid-June 1913 the IWSA held its seventh Congress in Budapest (its last until 1920 because of the war); on the occasion of this Congress, Romanian women from the Romanian Kingdom, represented by the National Romanian Association, based in Bucharest and with Eugenie de Reus Jancoulesco as the president,⁴³ joined the IWSA as an Auxiliary with full rights (which entitled the Auxiliary to twelve delegates);⁴⁴ and at the same Congress, the Polish Suffrage Committee from Galicia, based in Lemberg, with Melanie Berson as its president, joined the IWSA as an Affiliated Committee, with only two delegates and with the IWSA proviso that "as soon as the Austrian law was changed [article 30, S.P.], so as to make a National Federation possible in the Austrian Empire, that country would have to conform to the conditions of regular Auxiliaries";⁴⁵ and finally, deputy Ștefan Cicio-Pop represented the RNP at the IWSA Congress in Budapest, based on an invitation from the IWSA.⁴⁶

These converging suffrage politics prompt several observations. First, the IWSA's membership was steadily expanding, which confirms the organization's openness to representatives of nations with or without states: having started with eight full members in 1904, after the 1913 Congress the IWSA counted twenty-three Auxiliaries and three Affiliated Committees (from Austria, Bohemia, and Galicia).⁴⁷ Second, the IWSA attempted to work, where possible, with the political representatives of national movements without states, as demonstrated by the RNP's presence at the IWSA Congress. One could argue that the IWSA sought an ally in the RNP in the struggle for securing voting rights for women, especially at a time when the suffrage bill was being discussed in Hungary's Parliament. Similarly, it could be argued that, seeking more rights for the Romanian nation in Hungary, the RNP was in turn open to an alliance with this international women's organization at a time that marked the height of pressure for suffrage reform in Hungary. The suffrage politics of the RNP and the IWSA, pursued for different reasons, converged. As mentioned, the IWSA was willing to work with "nations without states" in its effort to advance the women's cause, developing at the same time a "cautious partisanship for national emancipation and self-determination."⁴⁸ Meanwhile the RNP was eager to work with an international organization in order to put pressure on Hungary and highlight an area in which the coalition government was denying voting rights to most of the population.⁴⁹ Last but not least, the RNP could show itself as being "progressive" by demanding the inclusion of women into the vote.

It remains an open question whether the establishment of the Union in 1913 as a national umbrella-organization represented Romanian women's intention of applying for IWSA membership as an Affiliated Committee. The IWSA journal *Jus Suffragii* (The right of suffrage) was silent on the Romanian women's organization in southeastern Hungary, which may recall the same restrained attitude that *Jus Suffragii* had with regard to the Czech-Bohemian case: although Czech women had formed a Suffrage Committee in 1905, it was not until 1908 that *Jus Suffragii* reported on the Czech suffrage movement.⁵⁰ The same year Czech women's committee from Bohemia was represented at the IWSA Congress held in Amsterdam.⁵¹

Thus far, I have not been able to establish the relationship between the IWSA and the Union conclusively due to the limitations and difficulties in gathering source ma-

terial. The sources that I could find connecting the two organizations are limited to a few newspaper statements. The newspaper *Românul* (The Romanian), which leaned toward the politics of the RNP, reported in a few paragraphs on the IWSA Congress in Budapest. The article mentioned Ștefan Cicio-Pop's participation in the Congress, and ended with the following statement: "[a]s we have heard, the international women's congress was warmly greeted by the national congress of the Romanian women that met the same day in Brașov."⁵² *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, briefly reported in an article titled "Feminist Congresses" on two events: the 1913 IWSA Congress in Budapest, "which was not a casual meeting but a political and social event" in which deputy Ștefan Cicio-Pop would "talk on behalf of the Romanian National Party, as it is known that the suffrage bill presented by the RNP also includes women's suffrage";⁵³ and on the inauguration of the International Women's Congress in Ghent, Belgium, where "[t]he participants stormily acclaimed the Romanian speaker and cheered for Romania."⁵⁴ As the 1913 IWSA Congress Report stated, the Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Belgium was accepted as the Belgian Auxiliary in the IWSA,⁵⁵ simultaneously with the South African, Romanian,⁵⁶ Portuguese, and Chinese auxiliaries.

These examples demonstrate the internationalization of women's movements worldwide, promoted by the IWSA (and by the ICW), as Susan Zimmermann argued, as a "multiplication of the national."⁵⁷ Yet neither the Romanian newspapers nor the IWSA Congress reports clarify the reasons for establishing the Union as the national umbrella organization. Even so, it seems at least plausible that the Union was formed as a response to the IWSA's promotion of "a trend of nationalization through internationalization, or inter/nationalization,"⁵⁸ which was in agreement with Maria Baiulescu's metaphorical description of the Union as "a strengthening fortress for the nation, which would give certainty to the future, and which would also be our shield and offer direction for our actions."⁵⁹ The possible tensions between the feminist and nationalist dimensions of identity were at least partially smoothed over by the IWSA's strategy of inter/nationalization.

Finally, there are two more aspects to consider in this interpretation. The *Românul* article alluded to a connection between the Congress held in Brașov and the IWSA Congress in Budapest. The question, then, arises as to why Romanian women from Hungary did not take part in the IWSA Congress. As the IWSA later reported, it had welcomed many Hungarian and Saxon women's associations from Transylvania to its Congress, yet there was no mention of Romanian ones.⁶⁰ I suggest that if the Union indeed had any intention of applying for membership, it cautiously maintained its distance from the IWSA Congress in order to first obtain the Ministry of Interior's permission to formally establish the Union, on which a possible formal relationship to the IWSA depended. As previously explained, the lack of formally codified legislation regarding the right of association in Hungary allowed unpredictable state intervention into associational life. Romanians, as the largest minority in Hungary, and one whose ethno-political elite had had severe conflicts with the Hungarian one, had been subjected to the arbitrary powers of the state. It encountered, just like other non-dominant ethnic groups in Hungary, a strong state opposition to the establishment of any kind of a political organization along ethnic lines. In contrast, the dominant Hungarian ethnic group had more freedom to associate and to pursue political goals. A Hun-

garian Auxiliary, with Rosika Schwimmer at its head, had been established parallel to the inception of the IWSA in 1904. Moreover, probably owing in no little measure to Schwimmer's connections, the Hungarian committee under her leadership, which prepared the IWSA Congress in Budapest, received financial support for propaganda expenses from the Ministry of Commerce in 1912.⁶¹ This example illustrates the fact that women's organizations in Hungary had unequal access to state resources and state support.

In the Austrian part of the monarchy, the law of associations prohibited women from forming associations with the political goal of struggling for suffrage. This also constituted a major impediment to the formation of the kinds of national suffrage organizations that, according to the 1904 IWSA constitution, met membership requirements.⁶² The urgent need to adapt the IWSA constitution and admission requirements to the realities of the Habsburg Empire became clear to Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the IWSA. It was on a 1906 trip to Prague, in the Crownland of Bohemia, that Chapman Catt began developing a cautious policy explicitly tailored to the situation of women's movements in Cisleithania, in an attempt to bypass the retrograde law of associations.⁶³ On this point, Susan Zimmermann has also argued that the redrafting of the 1909 IWSA constitution should be read in the context of the multiple affiliations of suffrage associations from the same country.⁶⁴ Overall, the redrafting of the IWSA constitution in 1909 provided some leeway for associations to affiliate to the IWSA in two ways.

First, it opened the door to woman suffrage associations or committees from countries where no woman suffrage organization existed to join the IWSA without having formed a National Woman Suffrage Association, provided that they gave evidence of the intention to form one.⁶⁵ Tailored for the Cisleithanian political situation, the redrafting of the IWSA constitution allowed the Czech-Bohemian Committee based in Prague and the German-Austrian Committee based in Vienna to become Affiliated Committees to the IWSA at its 1909 conference in London.⁶⁶ Due to the fact that Article 30 that made national federations impossible had still not been abolished by 1913 in Cisleithania, a Polish Committee from Galicia followed the same affiliation path and gained formal representation in the IWSA as an Affiliated Committee.⁶⁷

Second and most relevant for the case of the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary, the revision of the IWSA constitution in 1909 directly addressed the question of second associations that wished affiliation from a country already represented in the IWSA by an Auxiliary.⁶⁸ According to Article III, Section 2, such applicants, organized as National Associations, needed to fulfill four requirements: "(a) They must make the demand for the enfranchisement of women their sole object, except where local circumstances prevent such organization, or where woman suffrage already is granted. (b) They must either have local branches, or admit individual members all over the country. (c) They must have a membership of at least two-thirds of the number of the original Auxiliary at the time the application is made. (d) They must differ from the original Auxiliary in politics, religion, or the sex of their members, or in important distinctions or tactics."⁶⁹ With this section, the IWSA further adjusted its terms so as to be able to receive multiple affiliates from one country. If the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary had the intention of applying for membership, it needed to meet

the four conditions outlined above. In June 1913, when the Union was established and sought the formal recognition of the Ministry of Interior in Hungary, it found itself in partial compliance with the internationalization requirements of the IWSA, having recently formed a national association with branches throughout the country.

After the IWSA significantly modified its constitution in 1909, the Alliance developed a strong interest in the Hungarian part of the monarchy, and organized a series of propaganda tours in Eastern Hungary and in the Principality of Transylvania. In 1909 IWSA president Chapman Catt delivered ten lectures over a period of two weeks in eight towns of Hungary, causing “a great outburst of enthusiasm.”⁷⁰ The same year, Rosika Schwimmer, president of the Hungarian Auxiliary, *Feministák Egyesülete* (the Hungarian Feminist Association), reported to the readership of *Jus Suffragii* that the County Council of Temesvár (Timișoara) had declared itself to be in favor of women’s suffrage.⁷¹ Schwimmer attributed this success mainly to Chapman Catt, who had delivered a lecture there. In the following year, *Feministák Egyesülete* carried out extensive campaigns throughout the country and the countryside, distributing leaflets and putting up posters to mobilize citizens for women’s suffrage.⁷² In preparation for the IWSA Congress in Budapest, the activities of the IWSA gained momentum in the spring of 1912, especially in the southeastern part of Hungary, where Transylvania-born Marie Stritt, president of the German Auxiliary, played a leading role in “an awakening of the women of Transylvania.”⁷³

Stritt toured this part of the country, and lectured together with the leaders of the *Feministák Egyesülete*, Rosika Schwimmer and Vilma Glücklich, in Besztrercze (Bistrița), Segesvár (Sighișoara), Brassó (Brașov), Nagyszeben (Sibiu), and Medgyes (Mediaș).⁷⁴ In a retrospective 1924 account about the tour, Stritt wrote: “[a]s I myself was the innocent cause that the stone began to roll, and that things completely changed when the question came up in Parliament, and as this instance shows some characteristic features in the international suffrage movement, I may be allowed to give a short account of it.”⁷⁵

Her recollection of the tour singled out the Saxons. “[T]he leading women in the whole ‘Saxon land,’” wrote Stritt, “were aroused, began to organize, sent in petitions, and in a large number took part in the Budapest Congress.”⁷⁶ As Rosika Schwimmer reported in 1913 to the readership of *Jus Suffragii*, Saxon women collected signatures for a petition demanding women’s rights.⁷⁷ Their petition was delivered to the Saxon political representatives to be presented in the Hungarian Parliament, which the Saxon politicians decided not to do. According to Stritt, at a later point when the suffrage reform bill was discussed in the Parliament, the Saxon politicians “*unanimously voted for woman suffrage* under the same conditions as the men.”⁷⁸ Yet the 1913 law that slightly increased the electorate was never put into practice, and to date it remains unclear whether the Saxon men and women demanded unrestricted voting rights for both sexes, regardless of class and education. Nonetheless, Stritt’s account shows that the IWSA strategies for engaging with women’s movements on the ground in Transylvania bore fruit. Not only were Saxon women mobilizing, but also Hungarians. They concentrated their activities in Transylvania, where eighty women’s associations belonging to the Magyarországi Nőegyesületek Szövetsége (Federation of the Women’s Associations in Hungary, also a member of the ICW) held a Congress in 1912.⁷⁹ After

the 1913 IWSA Congress, the Alliance continued to reach out in Hungary, and sent IWSA vice-president Anna Lindemann to lecture on women's suffrage in Szeged, Temesvár (Timișoara), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Segesvár (Sighișoara), and Brassó (Brașov) in 1914.⁸⁰ However, World War I broke out soon thereafter and women were mobilized on other fronts.

The IWSA politics suggested cautious support of national self-determination, which translated into the establishment of ethnicity-based women's organizations. Moreover, with the 1909 modification of the IWSA Constitution, the Alliance created another option for affiliation for all-national organizations from the same country, which could have also worked as a stimulus for the establishment of the Union. Equally important in this equation were the more concrete developments in Hungary, such as the momentum gained by the suffrage struggle, the enthusiasm for women's suffrage propagated by the 1913 IWSA Congress held in Budapest, and the suffrage politics of the Romanian National Party.

Run by a small Romanian middle class, the RNP claimed to represent all Romanians in Hungary, whose number rose to about three million people out of an overall population of 18.3 million in Hungary prior World War I.⁸¹ About two-thirds of them inhabited the Principality of Transylvania, while the rest lived in Hungary proper. The Romanians' pre-1867 historical legacy in the Habsburg Empire had a strong impact on the politics of the RNP until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918. The RNP stood for a population, which had been in an entirely under-privileged position for centuries as the rule of the three *nationes* (the Magyar nobles, the Szeklers, and the Saxons) in Transylvania denied Romanians legal political representation.⁸² Moreover, the Orthodox Church, to which most Romanians belonged, did not enjoy the same privileged status as the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian churches in the Principality of Transylvania.⁸³ As a result, Romanian nationalists in the Habsburg Empire concentrated their efforts on obtaining political recognition for the Romanian nation. These political efforts can be traced in a long tradition of petitions sent to Vienna, from the initial *Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transsilvaniae* (Petition of the Romanians of Transylvania) from the eighteenth century up to the aforementioned memorandum of 1892, which led to the dissolution of the executive committee of the RNP. The main purpose of all Romanian political action had been gaining collective rights within the legal framework of the Habsburg Empire. Romanians finally achieved some temporary political success in Transylvania when neo-absolutism weakened, and the post-Ausgleich political set-up gave individual rights to Romanians. Highly discontented with this outcome, after 1867 the Romanian leadership adopted different tactics for achieving Transylvania's autonomy and for obtaining collective rights for the Romanian nation. The RNP was established in 1881 by the merging of two Romanian parties, and it did not take part in political elections to protest against the political outcome of the Ausgleich. The RNP's passive strategy, although contested over decades, stayed in place until 1905, when a new generation of politicians followed the legal path of elections and activism. At that time, in a Hungary riven by inequalities, only 7 percent of the population of approximately eighteen million people had voting rights.⁸⁴

In 1905 the RNP gained eight mandates in the Hungarian Parliament, out of over 400 seats.⁸⁵ Regarded from a class perspective, the RNP represented a fairly homog-

enous nation. According to Keith Hitchins's suggestive description, "the Romanian middle class itself in its origins and even in its way of life stood closer to the Romanian peasant than did the dominant Magyar classes to their lower orders."⁸⁶ Consequently, if the RNP wanted to broaden its electorate and gain more representation in the political arena, it had no choice but to demand that voting rights be granted without class restriction. However, women's suffrage was not such an obvious choice for the RNP.

The first party discussion about women's suffrage took place around 1904–1905, when the RNP decided to stand for parliamentary elections. An initial draft of its public party program co-authored by Teodor Mihali, Aurel Vlad, and Alexandru Vaida-Voevod stated that "we will support an election law based on universal suffrage, meaning that any person, male or female citizen, who is over 20 years of age ... gain active and passive voting rights."⁸⁷ Yet at the general party conference on 10 January 1905, despite Vaida-Voevod's plea for women's suffrage, the majority of the RNP committee voted against adopting it among the party demands.⁸⁸

Even if the RNP did not formally endorse women's suffrage in its 1905 political program, Romanian deputies in the Hungarian Parliament occasionally approached problems from the perspective of the "woman question." For instance, on 10 November 1906 Romanian deputy Alexandru Vaida-Voevod urged the Hungarian Parliament to solve "the woman question," comparing women's situation in most places to that of the helots (the state-owned serfs of the Spartans), adding that "women should have the same rights as men."⁸⁹ In the same parliamentary intervention, Vaida-Voevod also brought up issues related to women's free choice of career and pursuit of university studies. In Parliament a year later, on 13 March 1907, deputy Aurel Vlad criticized the unequal payment of male and female teachers, arguing that if they all have the same teaching mission, "a woman's work is of no lesser value than a man's work."⁹⁰ Vlad also pleaded for women's right to education.⁹¹ Thus, the minority of the RNP members, who had advocated for men's and women's suffrage at the end of 1904, maintained their political stance within a divided RNP and pleaded in Hungary's Parliament for gender equality in areas beyond suffrage.

When deputy Ștefan Cicio-Pop presented the bill for universal suffrage on behalf of the RNP on 22 January 1913, the party's position on this matter was finally clarified. The bill represented a strategic decision and a radical political move, meant to send a strong signal to the coalition government, and especially to István Tisza, a dominant Hungarian political figure. The RNP's bill came during a period of time when István Tisza had constantly attempted to negotiate with the RNP—on and off, directly and through middlemen—from 1910 to 1914.⁹² Tisza had reconsolidated his political position during those years: in 1910 he founded the Nemzeti Munkapárt (Party of National Work) and won a majority of seats in the Parliament, and from 1913 on he served once again as prime minister.⁹³ Among his main goals was to work against Archduke Franz Ferdinand's attempt to introduce universal male suffrage in Hungary, which Tisza believed would "diminish and even destroy the prospect of a Magyar nation state."⁹⁴ For socialists and representatives of the ethnic groups in Hungary such a broadening of franchise would have translated into a very significant gain in parliamentary seats. Tisza, although strongly opposed to universal male suffrage, attempted to negotiate

with the political representatives of Hungary's largest ethnic minority, the Romanians, ready to make some moderate concessions on cultural and administrative terms. Yet the RNP members had already sided with the archduke, with whom they were in close correspondence, and demanded secret universal suffrage from Tisza. Franz Ferdinand preferred continued opposition between the Romanians and the Hungarians; he had no interest in promoting reconciliation. The players' positions proved too firm and irreconcilable to find a middle ground: the archduke would have liked to revert to the pre-Ausgleich order, when Hungary did not enjoy as much freedom and the Habsburg Empire was more centralized, Tisza envisaged a Magyar nation-state, while the RNP leadership would have accepted a federalist project, with collective rights for the Romanian nation, within the existing imperial frontiers.

Owing to its historically weak political position in the empire, the RNP considered women's suffrage and decided to support it for pragmatic reasons. Above all, it served the RNP's historical purpose of obtaining political rights for the Romanian nation in the empire. In attempting to negotiate the Romanians' position in Hungary within the political constellation of Austria-Hungary, the RNP capitalized on women's potential for developing as a political force and used the demand for women's suffrage as convenient ammunition against Tisza. A pro-women's suffrage argument in the Romanian press of the time referred to women's suffrage as "music of the future," which would "offer us the most powerful means of agitation, and it would be a pity if we left it unexploited."⁹⁵ Some of the party members further argued that, leaving aside the broadening of the electorate, strengthening ties with the international women's organizations would bring the RNP more political support.⁹⁶ By mid-1914, on the eve of the second Congress of the Union to be held in Sibiu, the Braşov Romanian press encouraged the Romanian women's movement in Hungary to emulate the English suffragettes' will and energy in the struggle for social and political emancipation, challenging Romanian women to "prove such a fanatic and true love toward everything that is Romanian."⁹⁷

Conclusions

The Romanian women's movement in Hungary developed gradually and in close relation to the Romanian nation-building project in the dual monarchy. As such, the growing Romanian women's movement sought to improve women's situation within the conceptual frame of the nation, in opposition to the ruling elite and nation in Hungary. In many ways the co-operation between the Romanian women's movement and the Romanian political elite resembles the Czech case in Cisleithania. In particular, concern for developing educational establishments for women was a building block for many women's movements throughout the empire. Yet at no time were the Romanian women as politically active as Czech women or even Polish women in Galicia, both of whom could support female candidates in their respective Diet elections.⁹⁸ The Czech feminist movement reached a climax with the election of Božena Viková Kunéťická as the first woman deputy to the Bohemian Diet in 1912. Were Romanian women aiming to gain a comparable position? The historical records I researched do

not provide a clear answer to this question. Future research is needed to clarify the reason for establishing the Union as a national umbrella organization. In this article, I suggested the plausibility of a number of direct and indirect connections between the IWSA and the Union.

This article has shown that the Romanian women's movement in Hungary was a part of a much wider political constellation in which the internationalization and nationalization of women's movements played a key role. In this process, the national women's movements interacted not only with the international women's movement, but also with each other. By tracing the IWSA's strategies of "nationalization through internationalization,"⁹⁹ this article has shed light on the organized women's movements in Transleithania, in particular on the Romanian—and to a limited extent—on Saxon women's movements in Transylvania at a time when political parties were discussing women's suffrage in the Budapest Parliament.

While there is much still to discover about the women's movements of the non-dominant nationalities in Transleithania and the dynamics of their interactions and political networks, it can be concluded that nationalism played no small part in them. Any account will bring forth tensions between feminist and nationalist components of a political identity. To illustrate this point, I refer here to Božena Viková Kunéťická's nationalist stance on the eve of the 1913 IWSA Congress, when the Czech deputy, upon Rosika Schwimmer's invitation to lecture, refused to deliver the speech in any other language but Czech.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Viková Kunéťická maintained her position and publicly framed her abstention from the 1913 IWSA Congress as a protest against the government's treatment of the "small nations," especially the Slovaks, in Hungary.¹⁰¹ With the IWSA's outreach in Transylvania, similar tensions seem to have surfaced. In a letter dated 12 February 1913, Rosika Schwimmer wrote, "I have to confess that currently other regions seem more important to us than those difficult to treat, tiresome, and cost intensive nationalist regions."¹⁰² Although the precise reason why Schwimmer wrote this sentence in reference to Transylvania (and most likely also to Bohemia) remains unclear to date, it nonetheless shows that neither half of the Dual Monarchy was spared the tension between co-existing feminist and nationalist dimensions of identity. As women's movements internationalized, their proponents had no choice but to find permanent ways to cope with the tension caused by social and political inequalities. Authoritarian regimes and the two World Wars brutally disrupted the struggle for women's suffrage. In Romania, women gained full political rights in 1946, in the aftermath of World War II.

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◆ Notes

1. “Congresul Reuniunilor femeilor române” [The congress of the Romanian women’s associations], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, [Transylvania’s gazette] no. 121 (18 June 1913): 1. For more information on Baiulescu in English, see Tanya Dunlap, “Maria Baiulescu,” in *A Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminism in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 48–50.

2. *Statutele Uniunii Femeilor Române din Ungaria* [Bylaws of the Union of the Romanian Women in Hungary] (Brassó: Ciurcu & Comp., 1913), 4.

3. With the hope that further research will bring to light more evidence on the Romanian women’s movement in Hungary and on the women’s movements in Hungary in general, I list below the archival material that I found in researching this topic. Three local institutions in Braşov, Romania, today preserve the majority of documents of *Reuniunea femeilor române din Braşov* (The Romanian Women’s Association in Braşov), which was the first and most active Romanian women’s association in the empire, established in 1850. It was the leadership of this association that called for the Union to be established in 1913. The local branch of the National Archives has held most of these sources since 1960. Another significant set of documents that sheds light on this core association of Romanian women’s activism is found in the family archives of *Casa Mureşenilor* (The Mureşeni House, cited as *Arhiva Mureşenilor*), an institution that preserves the history of the Mureşeni family. The Mureşenis played a significant part in the establishment and development of the Romanian Women’s Association in Braşov. A third collection of documents, which had previously belonged to the Baiulescu family, is located at the George Bariţiu Library of Braşov. Documents relevant to the history of the Romanian women’s movement in Hungary were also preserved in private family collections, making the sources even more widely dispersed. During Romania’s communist period, these collections were scattered through donations to various archival institutions throughout the country, rendering a full reconstruction of the collections impossible to achieve to date.

To supplement my local archival research in Braşov, I also browsed the documents of the Hungarian Feminist Association (Feministák Egyesülete, fund P999) at the National State Archives in Budapest, Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár). From among contemporary newspapers, I analyzed *Jus Suffragii* (The right of suffrage, quoted in this article by its later name, *International Women’s News*), the journal of the IWSA, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, published by the Mureşeni family in Braşov, and *Românul* (The Romanian), a newspaper sympathetic to the politics of the RNP.

Because of my limited Hungarian language skills, I have not been able to research the relationship between the Hungarian and the Romanian activists and feminists. Furthermore, the highly relevant Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection at the New York Public Library (NYPL SLC) has also remained out of my reach.

4. Eugenia Glodariu, for instance, emphasized the isolation of the Romanian women’s movement in Transylvania from the international women’s movements. Eugenia Glodariu,

“Unele considerații privind mișcarea feministă din Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea–începutul secolului al XX-lea)” [Considerations on the feminist movement in Transylvania from the second half of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century], *Acta Musei Napocensis* 20 (1983): 238. For a critical review essay of several major books published on women’s history in Romania, see Roxana Cheșchebec, “Reclaiming Romanian Historical Feminism. History Writing and Feminist Politics in Romania,” *Aspasia: The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European Women’s and Gender History* 1 (2007): 255–265.

5. For a more detailed account of this association, see chapters 3 and 4 in my dissertation, available at www.etd.ceu.hu/2013/paltineanu_oana.pdf. Oana Sînziana Păltineanu, “Calling the Nation. Romanian Nationalism in a Local Context: Brașov during the Dual Monarchy” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2013). Romanian historiography sometimes regards a women’s association in Pest, established in 1815, as the precursor of the Romanian Women’s Association in Brașov. The Pest-based association was established mostly by Aromanian women for the benefit of Orthodox children, be they Romanian, Serbs, or Greeks. A Romanianizing account of this association, which lacks thorough documentation, can be found in Octavian Lugoșianu, “Societatea femeilor române din anul 1815” [The Romanian Women’s Association from 1815], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 139 (22 June 1895): 2.

6. Viktor Karády and Péter Tibor Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910* (Budapest: John Wesley, 2009), 24. According to the 1910 census, about 41,000 individuals lived in Brașov.

7. In Brașov the so-called Romanian Levantine commercial bourgeoisie came into being. See Ambrus Miskolczy, *Rolul de intermediere între est și vest al burgheziei comerciale levantine române din Brașov, 1780–1860* [The mediation role between East and West of the Romanian Levantine commercial bourgeoisie in Brașov, 1780–1860] (București: Kriterion, 2000). For the Balkan Greek merchant, see the classical study by Traian Stoianovich, “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” *Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234–313.

8. Păltineanu, “Calling the Nation.” See especially chapter 2.

9. The first president of the association, Maria Nicolau, was “[a] well-educated woman, kind, modest, and wise—the only daughter of Bălașa Cepescu, wife of the distinguished merchant, the first among the founders of the Romanian church in the old town of Brașov.” Lazăr Nastasi, *Raport despre festivitățile jubileului semicentenar al Reuniunii Femeilor Române din Brașov și istoricul Reuniunii pe baza actelor, dela înființarea internatului până în ziua de astăzi de Lazăr Nastasi, secretarul Reuniunii* [Report on the half-a-century celebrations of the Romanian Women’s Association in Brașov and the history of the Association based on documents, from the establishment of the boarding school until today, by Lazăr Nastasi, secretary of the Association] (Brașov: Tipografia A. Mureșianu, 1902), 11. Maria Nicolau’s daughter, Sevastina, married Iacob Mureșianu, in 1840. He was then a Latin teacher at the local Greek Catholic Gymnasium. This example clearly illustrates the family alliances between local merchants and intellectuals.

10. A letter from revolutionary Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian to George Barițiu written in 1850, in Keith Hitchins, *Studies on Romanian National Consciousness* (Pelham, NY: Nagard, 1983), 107.

11. See, for instance, the Spolek Slovanek (Association of Slavic Women) and the Magyar Gazdasszonyok Országos Egyesülete (The Hungarian Women’s National Association). Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, eds., *Women’s Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 172, 193.

12. “Founding Documents to the Austrian Throne,” 16 March 1851, 1, 9054/5/1, Arhiva Mureșenilor, Brașov.

13. “Letter from the Committee of the Association to Baroness Sina,” 1852, 2, 9077/564, Arhiva Mureșenilor, Brașov.

14. "Letter from Sophie von Wohlgermuth to Maria Nicolau," 3 May 1850, 9137, Arhiva Mureșenilor, Brașov.

15. Nastasi, *Raport despre festivitățile jubileului*, 15–16.

16. "Letter from the Committee of the Association to Baroness Sina."

17. "Founding Documents to the Austrian Throne," 1.

18. *Ibid.*, 3.

19. In the first eight years of activity, the association's capital amounted to around twenty thousand florins. By the end of the century, the capital had doubled. For a detailed breakdown of the financial situation, see Păltineanu, "Calling the Nation," 102–105.

20. The bylaws of the association stipulated that, in the case of dissolution, the capital should be equally distributed to the Greek Orthodox Gymnasium in Brașov and to the Greek Catholic Gymnasium in Blaj with the goal of furthering education for girls. *Statutele R.F. in Brașov pentru ajutorința orfanelor române, modificate în ședința generală din 31 mai 1858 și întărite de In. Guvern la 21 octomvrie 1860* [Bylaws of the Romanian Women's Association in Brașov, modified in the general meeting of 31 May 1858 and approved by the Government on 21 October 1860] (Brașov: Römer & Kamner, 1879), 10. This provision remained in place throughout the Dualist period.

21. The newspaper *Românul* indicated that thirty-one of the associations invited responded positively to this call. For more information, see "Congresul femeilor române" [The Romanian women's congress], *Românul*, no. 120 (18 June 1913): 2.

22. *Statutele Uniunii Femeilor Române din Ungaria*, 5.

23. "Leaflet," 1913, 9131/5, Arhiva Mureșenilor, Brașov.

24. *Statutele Uniunii Femeilor Române din Ungaria*, 1–2.

25. *Ibid.*, 2.

26. "Congresul reuniunilor femeilor române" [The congress of the Romanian women's associations], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 121 (18 June 1913): 2. Lucia Hossu-Longin presided over this committee.

27. *Statutele Uniunii Femeilor Române din Ungaria*, 2.

28. *Ibid.*, 16.

29. "Activitatea comitetului 'Uniunii Femeilor Române' în anul 1913–1914" [The committee activity of the "Union of Romanian Women" for the years 1913–1914], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 113 (6 July 1914): 2.

30. Ruxandra Moașa Nazare, *Maria Baiulescu (1860–1941): corespondență* [Maria Baiulescu (1860–1941): Correspondence] (București: Ars Docendi, 2001), 156.

31. Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, "The Informal Politics of Culture: Transylvanian Learned Societies, Civic Networks and the Formation of the Nation-State, 1790–1914" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2004), 163.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London: Archibald Constable, 1908), 281–282.

34. *Ibid.*, 277–278.

35. *Ibid.*, 475.

36. *Ibid.*, 278.

37. Susan Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire for the International Women's Movement: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Development of Feminist Inter/National Politics," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 103.

38. Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 22.

39. Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire," 87.

40. *Ibid.*, 100.

41. Ibid.

42. *A nő és a társadalom* [Woman and society] 7, no. 2 (1913): 35; Rosika Schwimmer, "Hungary," *International Women's News* 6 (1913): 57.

43. I have used the name as cited in the source used here. In some documents her name is spelled Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu.

44. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary. June 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 1913* (Manchester: Percy Brothers, Ltd., The Hotspur Press, Whitworth Street West, 1913), 34.

45. Ibid.

46. "Congresul internațional al femeilor la Budapesta și românii" [Women's international congress in Budapest and the Romanians], *Românul*, no. 121 (18 June 1913): 7.

47. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary*, 4–6.

48. Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire," 87.

49. Tibor Zsuppán, "The Hungarian Political Scene 1908–1918," in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary. Essays in Political and Military History 1908–1918*, ed. Mark Cornwall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 64.

50. Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire," 116.

51. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Fourth Conference, Amsterdam, Holland, June 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1908* (Amsterdam: F. Van Rossen, 1908), 10. The following year, in 1909, after a revision of the IWSA Constitution Bohemia and Austria were able to join the IWSA as Affiliated Committees.

52. "Congresul internațional al femeilor la Budapesta și românii," 7.

53. "Congrese feministe" [Feminist congresses], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 121 (18 June 1913): 3.

54. Ibid. To date, I have been unable to identify precisely which feminist Congress is being referred to in this newspaper article.

55. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary*, 31. A Belgian Committee first received affiliation to the IWSA in 1909. See also The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of the Fifth Conference and First Quinquennial, London, England, April 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, May 1, 1909* (London: Samuel Sidders & Co., 1909), 26; Julie Carlier, "Forgotten Transnational Connections and National Contexts: An 'Entangled History' of the Political Transfers That Shaped Belgian Feminism, 1890-1914," *Women's History Review* 19, no. 4 (2010): 503–522. I thank Julie Carlier for sharing with me her PhD dissertation on the entangled history of feminism in Belgium.

56. See Roxana Cheșchebec, "Feminist Ideologies and Activism in Romania (approx. 1890s-1940s). Nationalism and Internationalism in Romanian Projects for Women's Emancipation" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2005).

57. Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire," 89.

58. Ibid., 90.

59. "Congresul 'Uniunii Femeilor Române'" [The congress of "The Romanian Women's Union"], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 114 (6 October 1914): 1.

60. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary*, 25–27.

61. Rosika Schwimmer, "Hungary," *International Women's News*, no. 9 (1912): 81.

62. Zimmermann, "The Challenge of Multinational Empire," 103.

63. Ibid., 103–105.

64. Ibid., 105.

65. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of the Fifth Conference and First Quinquennial, London, England*, 146.

66. *Ibid.*, 3.

67. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary*, 34. Marie Gerzabek reported about the Polish case in Galicia that, following the establishment of the Women's Suffrage Committee, a Polish Men's League was also founded, which joined the Men's International Alliance for Women's Suffrage (established in 1907). Marie Gerzabek, "Report from Societies Affiliated to the Alliance. Empire of Austria. Galicia," *Women's International News* 4 (1913): 36. It remains for future research to establish whether the RNP deputies planned on founding a Romanian Men's League for Women's Suffrage. See also Natali Stegmann, *Die Töchter der geschlagenen Helden: "Frauenfrage," Feminismus und Frauenbewegung in Polen 1863–1919* [Daughters of defeated heroes: "The woman question," feminism and women's movement in Poland 1863–1919] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000).

68. This question first arose a few years earlier, when a Dutch League attempted to apply for a second affiliation. In the preface to a collection of letters of the IWSA members, Mineke Bosch referred to a serious inner dissent in the Dutch Auxiliary in 1907, which led to the separate establishment of the Dutch Woman Suffrage League the same year. The League applied for membership in the IWSA in 1907, but it was rejected. Mineke Bosch, with Annemarie Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship. Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902–1942* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), 44, 70.

69. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of the Fifth Conference and First Quinquennial, London, England*, 145.

70. *Ibid.*, 108.

71. Rosika Schwimmer, "Hungary," *International Women's News*, 4, no. 2 (1909): 15.

72. Rosika Schwimmer, "Hungary," *International Women's News*, no. 11 (1910): 87.

73. Eugenie Miskolcey Meller, "Untitled," *International Women's News*, no. 9 (1912): 81.

74. Rosika Schwimmer, "Hungary," *International Women's News*, no. 9 (1912): 81.

75. Marie Stritt, "A Letter from Transylvania," *International Women's News*, no. 2 (1924): 22.

76. *Ibid.*

77. Schwimmer, "Hungary," 1913, 57.

78. Stritt, "A Letter from Transylvania."

79. *A nő és a társadalom* 6, no. 5 (1912): 95.

80. "Anna Lindemann előadásai" [Anna Lindemann's lecture], *A nő és a társadalom* 1, no. 11 (1914): 225.

81. Ambrus Miskolczy, *Romanians in Historic Hungary* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs; Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2008), 121.

82. Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860–1914* (Bucharest: Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999), 15.

83. *Ibid.*, 15–16.

84. Zsuppán, "The Hungarian Political Scene 1908–1918," 66.

85. Stelian Mândruț, *Mișcarea națională și activitatea parlamentară a deputaților Partidului Național Român din Transilvania între anii 1905–1910* [The national movement and the parliamentary activity of the deputies of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania from 1905 to 1910] (Oradea: Fundația Culturală "Cele Trei Crișuri," 1995), 80.

86. Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 102.

87. Oct. Sglimbea, "Despre dreptul de-a alege al femeii (după 'Feministák Egyesülete')" [About women's voting rights (after "Feministák Egyesülete")], *Tribuna*, no. 9 (25 January 1906): 3.

88. Ibid.

89. Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de aur sau luptele politice ale românilor de sub Coroana Ungară* [The golden book or the political fights of the Romanians under the Hungarian Crown], vol. VIII (Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1915), 396.

90. Ibid., 513.

91. Ibid., 491–492.

92. Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed*, 363–400.

93. Zsuppán, “The Hungarian Political Scene 1908–1918,” 69.

94. Ibid., 68.

95. Valer Moldovan, “Dreptul de vot al femeilor” [Women’s voting rights], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 53 (20 March 1912): 1.

96. Ibid.

97. Valer Moldovan, “În preajma congresului femeilor române” [On the eve of the Romanian women’s congress], *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 112 (6 June 1914): 1.

98. Susan Zimmermann, “Reich, Nation, und Internationalismus. Konflikte und Kooperationen der Frauenbewegungen der Habsburgermonarchie” [Empire, nation, and internationalism. Conflict and cooperation in the women’s movements of the Habsburg Monarchy], in *Frauenbilder, Feministische Praxis und Nationales Bewusstsein in Österreich-Ungarn 1867–1918* [Images of women, feminist practice, and national consciousness in Austria-Hungary from 1867 to 1918], ed. Waltraud Heindl, Edit Király, and Alexandra Millner (Tübingen: Francke, 2006), 154.

99. Zimmermann, “The Challenge of Multinational Empire,” 90.

100. Rosika Schwimmer, “Letter to Carrie Chapman Catt,” 23 December 1912, Magyar Országos Levéltár P999/17/21. (Courtesy Susan Zimmermann.)

101. Božena Viková Kunéťická, “Discours de Mme le député Božena Viková Kunéťická sur les femmes et les petites nations, prononcé á la réunion le 9 Juin 1913 á Prague” [Deputy Božena Viková Kunéťická’s speech on women and small nations, delivered at a meeting in Prague on 9 June 1913] Magyar Országos Levéltár P999/17/21. (Courtesy Susan Zimmermann.)

102. Rosika Schwimmer, “Letter to Bacon,” 2 December 1913, NYPL SLC I 1. (Courtesy Susan Zimmermann.)