


Marta Sikorska

Uniwersytet Łódzki • University of Lodz

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6393-3391>

Aleksandra Sylburska

Uniwersytet Łódzki • University of Lodz

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4969-5048>

THE STRUGGLE OF POLISH FEMINIST ORGANISATIONS TO OBTAIN THE VOTE FOR WOMEN ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF CENTRAL EUROPE

SUMMARY

The article presents the history of Polish feminist movements against the background of similar organizations in Bohemia and Hungary in 19th and 20th century. It describes their founders and members, cooperation between them and methods of activity leading to obtaining voting rights for women. Depicting similarities and differences between them, the article explains the complexity of factors creating the feminist movement in Central Europe. Their main goal was achieved only after the First World War. The authors mainly use texts by Polish feminists and literature in Polish, English, Czech and Hungarian. They used the comparative method during analysing the sources.

KEYWORDS: Polish feminist movement, women's suffrage, Polish lands, feminist movement in Central Europe



© by the author, licensee University of Lodz – Lodz University Press, Lodz, Poland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>)

STRESZCZENIE

Walka polskich ruchów feministycznych o prawa wyborcze dla kobiet w perspektywie Europy Środkowej

Artykuł przedstawia historię polskich ruchów feministycznych na tle podobnych organizacji w Czechach i na Węgrzech w XIX i XX w. Opisuje ich założycielki i członkinie, współpracę między nimi oraz metody działania prowadzące do uzyskania praw wyborczych dla kobiet. Przedstawiając podobieństwa i różnice pomiędzy nimi, artykuł wyjaśnia złożoność czynników tworzących ruch feministyczny w Europie Środkowej. Ich główny cel został osiągnięty dopiero po I wojnie światowej. Autorki wykorzystują głównie teksty polskich feministek oraz literaturę w języku polskim, angielskim, czeskim i węgierskim. Podczas analizy źródeł posłużyły się metodą porównawczą.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: polski ruch feministyczny, prawa wyborcze kobiet, ziemie polskie, ruch feministyczny w Europie Środkowej

The aim of the article is to present the struggle for women's right to vote conducted by Polish feminist organisations from the Austrian and Russian Partition at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Numerous papers and articles have already examined this problem¹, however, there is no comprehensive comparative study that could present the activity of Polish women against the background of the international feminist movement. Therefore, it is worth trying to assess the activity of Polish suffragettes by comparing it to the operation of their ideological comrades of other nationalities. The authors of this article have decided to depict Polish feminist movements in the Central European context, that is, in relation to the international environment which is closest in geographical, geopolitical, and cultural terms².

In the first place, it needs to be explained what Central Europe stands for³. The authors of the article will apply the interpretation according to which this notion

¹ M. Kondracka, *Posłanki i senatorki II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2017; D. Musilová, *Z ženského pohledu. Poslankyně a senátorky Národnihoshromáždění Československé republiky 1918–1939*, Hradec Kralovè 2007; B.S. Andersson and J.P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own. Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, vol. 2, London 1990, p. 496; M. Seneau, *Law and Democracy*, [in:] F. Thébaud (ed.), *History of Women in the West*, vol. 5: *Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, London 1994, p. 500.

² Anyone interested in the feminist movement in Central and Eastern Europe should begin their research from reading: I. Livezeanu and J. Pachuta Farris (eds.), *Women and Gender in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia. A Comprehensive Bibliography*, vol. 1: *Southeastern and East Central Europe*, New York 2007.

³ This notion has been examined by many historians, i.a. O. Halecki, *Historia Europy, jej granice i podziały*, Lublin 1994; O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization. A History of Central Europe*, New York 1952; J. Szűcs, *Trzy Europy*, Lublin 1993; J. Kłoczowski (ed.), *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin 2000; C.Gy. Kiss, *Lekcja Europy Środkowej. Eseje i szkice*, Kraków 2009.

refers to three countries: Poland, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and Hungary. As their boundaries changed throughout centuries, they often included numerous groups of national minorities. Additionally, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, none of these nations had their own country. Polish people were under partitions, the Czechs constituted a significant, but merely one of many groups inhabiting Austria-Hungary. Even the most politically and culturally independent Hungarians, making up the dualist Habsburg state, could not boast their own statehood. The article will focus on the representatives of the Polish, Czech and Hungarian nations exclusively. They all shared strong national identity and traditions of their own statehood that had been preserved for centuries. Even if their existence was threatened by Germanisation or Russification tendencies (in the case of Polish and Czech people), these were, undoubtedly, fully developed nations⁴.

The situation was slightly different for Slovaks. Based on the interpretation of the notion of Central Europe adopted by the authors, they should be incorporated in the considerations. Eventually, however, the authors decided against this idea. From the early Middle Ages Slovak territory was part of Hungarian state. The process of shaping their identity did not begin until the 19th century⁵. The government in Budapest conducted intense Hungarisation policy towards Slovaks, which posed a serious threat to their national identity. The problem of suffrage mostly affected Slovakian men, who could not count on strong representation in the Hungarian Parliament. It exerted an influence on the standing and attitude of Slovakian suffragettes and made their significance for the international feminist movement marginal⁶.

The principal goal of the authors is to describe the activity of Polish suffragettes in the first instance and then, to compare them to the efforts taken by Czech and Hungarian feminists. They will try to establish, among other things, if there were more similarities or differences in their operations, if the interrelations were visible, if there was international cooperation in the region, if lack of own statehood determined the character and effectiveness of movements and what impact the First World War had on the fate of the feminists of these three nations.

⁴ One of the key historians studying this region, Piotr Wandycz, calls the abovementioned nations the backbone of "Central-Eastern Europe". He acknowledges it is an arbitrary name of "the area which does not entirely belong to the East or to the West, but constitutes a peculiar 'inner zone' or 'countries between the East and West'". It is applied in two ways: referring to the whole area surrounded by the Baltic, the Adriatic, the Aegean and the Black Sea or to the abovementioned core: P.S. Wandycz, *Cena wolności. Historia Europy Środkowowschodniej od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Kraków 2003, p. 11.

⁵ For more on this topic: H. Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe*, Kraków 1975, p. 77 et al.

⁶ For more on this topic: Lubica Kobová, The Contexts of National and Gender Belonging: *The History of Female Suffrage in Slovakia*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The Struggle for Female Suffrage in Europe. Voting to Become Citizens*, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 226–233.

Introductory remarks

Polish feminist organisations from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries were particularly active in Galicia (the Habsburg monarchy) and in the Kingdom of Poland (the Russian Empire). Their activity was governed by the Austrian and Russian rules of law. The organisations set up in the Kingdom of Poland cooperated closely with Galician ones. They also collaborated with international organisations, although this cooperation was limited and extremely difficult owing to lack of own state.

In the first decade of the 20th century women fighting for the right to vote made a permanent entry on the map of political problems in Europe and America. In Central Europe, like in the Western countries, activists from radical movements demanded passive and active suffrage, the access to parliament and an opportunity to co-decide about the system and laws of the countries they lived in. However, a different political situation of both nations and women's organisations, as well as diverse circumstances did not guarantee making a successful comparison with the situation in Western countries.

Striving for national emancipation was concurrent with the pursuit of total emancipation of women in society. One should also draw attention to the differences in the development of women's movements in dominant and non-dominant nations in Austria-Hungary⁷. Although Polish and Czech women had the right to and did express their discontentment related to lack of independence, they relied on different grounds. Polish women wanted independent Poland to reappear on the maps of Europe, while Czech women – until the outbreak of First World War – to reinforce the position of their nation within the monarchy or transform it into a tripartite state (Austria-Hungary-Czech). On the other hand, Hungarian women enjoyed unconstrained national and cultural development. They represented the dominant nation in Transleithania (Hungarian part of the country), which did not have to struggle for existence but posed a threat to the co-existing national minorities.

Women from the emancipation circles were clearly aware that obtaining the right to vote was the priority in their endeavours to implement all postulates of equality. The suffrage was to become the means to accomplish their aims and objectives. This legal instrument was to pave the way for implementing the programme of the equality between women and men. Women's struggle for obtaining

⁷ G. Dudeková, *Międzynarodowa działalność kobiet w Austro-Węgrzech i VII Kongres Międzynarodowego Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Praw Wyborczych Kobiet w Budapeszcie w 1913 roku*, [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, Warszawa 2008, p. 151.

social and public liberties was conducted consistently from the mid-19th century. Modernization processes occurring in Central Europe, the emergence of modern political movements and the increasing participation of women in social and political life indicated that women's pursuit would become a significant and noticeable element of transformation⁸.

Principles of women's participation in public life

Prior to the considerations on the struggle for women's suffrage, we need to depict the political reality of women in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

In the case of Austria-Hungary, it should be emphasized that the dualist system provided the opportunity of unconstrained and independent development of internal policy in Cisleithania (Austrian part of the monarchy) and Transleithania. For that reason, the political situation of Polish and Czech women inhabiting Cisleithania differed from the reality of Hungarian women.

In Hungary, pursuant to the Electoral Law Act of 1874 (and the previously binding one of 1848), women were not eligible to take part in elections⁹. Equal treatment of women was the subject matter of parliamentary debates from the beginning of 1870s. Nonetheless, the discussions held over subsequent years concerned, most of all, the possible extension of the vote to men from the lowest social classes, but not women¹⁰.

In Bohemia, by virtue of the February Patent of 1861 issued by the Emperor Franz Joseph, women were allowed to participate in elections to a certain extent. However, there were still numerous restrictions. Delegates to national parliaments were chosen in curial elections, where such standards as the minimum voter's age of thirty and property qualification applied. Czech women were only entitled to cast their vote in Bohemia but were deprived of this right in Moravia and Silesia (which also formed part of the Crown of Saint Wenceslas, that is, Czech territory). A change occurred in Cisleithania in 1907 when, under an election reform, the curial system was withdrawn, and new universal suffrage was implemented only for men above the age of 24¹¹.

⁸ R. Blobaum, "Kwestia kobieca" w Królestwie Polskim (1900–1914), [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki...*, pp. 37–56.

⁹ I. Simándi, *Küzdelem a nők parlamenti választójogáért Magyarországon 1848–1938*, Budapest 2009, pp. 9–18.

¹⁰ C. Kollonay-Lechoczky, *Development Defined by Paradoxes. Hungarian History and Female Suffrage*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The Struggle for Female Suffrage...*, p. 424.

¹¹ D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation. Women's Vote in Czech Republic*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The Struggle for Female Suffrage...*, pp. 208–209.

Polish feminist movement came under two legal orders. In Galicia, which was under Habsburg jurisdiction, the process of granting women civil rights in the Polish territory started the earliest. In 1866 women gained the right to participate in local elections. The cities of Lviv and Cracow obtained individual electoral statutes and systems. In Cracow women were eligible to vote only in the first curia of the intelligentsia. In Lviv only the property qualification was adopted. The suffrage restrictions also concerned the manner of voting; the eligible women elected to the city councils and the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria, but they cast their vote by the agency of a proxy (a husband voted on behalf of his wife). Therefore, there appeared doubts as for the reliability of votes cast by proxies and the reasonableness of granting women the right to vote and, at the same time, not allowing them to exercise this voting right. On the other hand, in the case of Vienna Parliament, female landowners cast their vote themselves¹².

Women in the Kingdom of Poland, part of the Russian Empire, did not have any civil rights. Legislative changes which were introduced during the Revolution of 1905 did not involve them in any respect. Although Parliament was established in Russia and the elections to the state Duma were held from 1906, women did not obtain the right to vote or the eligibility to win a seat in Parliament. However, they were represented in the Russian Parliament by MP Leon Petrażycki. He was given the petition, signed by four thousand women, and presented the issue in the State Duma in 1906: "It lies in general public and cultural interest to grant women political rights, i.e., social rights and obligations"¹³. In his speech he also talked about making women equal in civil law. Nevertheless, these were only postulates and they were not implemented in the first Duma.

The establishment of feminist organisations

Women involved in the activities of the feminist movement in Central Europe often asked themselves the question how to obtain the desired vote and how to exercise it successfully. The activists, who struggled for the suffrage even more consciously and effectively, started a discourse on how to fight and what political measures to use to gain the vote. In the first place, however, it was necessary to establish an organisation.

¹² W. Najdus, *O prawa obywatelskie kobiet w zaborze austriackim*, [in:] A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki. Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 101–102.

¹³ L. Petrażycki, *O prawa dla kobiet*, Lwów 1919, p. 13.

The establishment of Austria-Hungary in 1867 appeared to be very beneficial for Hungarian feminists. That year in Cisleithania they implemented a law that forbade the formation or participation in the activity of any political organisations. These restrictions were not, however, introduced in Transleithania. The initial problems of the Hungarian feminist movement mainly concerned little activity of the majority of women who, despite the official authorisation, did not manage to create their own organization for many years. It resulted from the traditional perception of the role of women in society. The development of schooling for girls brought about certain changes. Owing to appropriate education, women began to work as independent professionals and took up intellectual work. The discrimination they often encountered gave rise to the establishment of the Hungarian Association of Clerks (*Magyar Nótisztviselők Egyesülete*) in 1897, whose main representative was Rózsa (Rosika) Schimmer. In 1904 she gained experience inspired Schimmer to set up a purely politically – oriented organisation – the Association of Feminists (*Feministák Egyesülete*). In the same year the Federation of Hungarian Women's Associations (*Magyarországi Nőegyesületek Szövetsége*) was created, which united all women's organisations. The aim of the founders of the Association of Feminists was equal treatment of women, regardless of the social class or religion. It is worth mentioning that it was the only organization in the entire Austro-Hungarian monarchy that officially described itself as “feminist”¹⁴.

As mentioned above, in Cisleithania women were not entitled to establish or join political groupings. However, they were created and existed (de facto, but not de iure)¹⁵. Like in the case of Hungarian feminist organisations, the movement for education and equal chances of women in professional life played an important role in Bohemia. In 1871 the Working Women's Association (*Ženský výrobní spolek*) was established, which was led by Karolina Světa. Due to the strong position of German feminists in Bohemia, its name was altered in 1880s to emphasize the national character of the organisation into: the Czech Working Women's Association (*Ženský výrobní spolek český*) because the need to fight for the survival of the nation threatened by Germanisation was an equally strong foundation of the Czech feminist movement activities. In 1897 the Congress of Czech and Slovakian Women was held in Prague, at which postulates for the struggle for women's vote were made explicit. Also then the decision to establish the Central Association of Czech Women (*Ústřední spolek žen českých*), issuing the *Ženské listy* paper was made. In 1903 Fratiška Plamínková founded the Czech Women's Club (*Ženský*

¹⁴ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire, Shaking Patriarchy. The Growth of a Feminist Consciousness Across the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, Riverside 2014, pp. 21–27.

¹⁵ D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation...*, p. 213.

klub český), which, on the other hand, set up the Committee for Women's Suffrage (*Výbor pro volební právo žen*) in 1905. Its ambition was to unite all Czech women in one organisation fighting for the right to vote, but it failed¹⁶.

Czech women realised they needed international cooperation – Austrian (that is, German) influence in Bohemia was significant and they worried that without support they could be dominated by it¹⁷. Just like Hungarian women, they did not join the League of Austrian Associations of Women, considering it a threat to national independence of their profile of activity (the major objection was designating German language as the only acceptable one during the League's deliberations). The Hungarian Association of Feminists joined the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1906. Czech women also sent their delegates to the congresses of this organisation. Moreover, they sought cooperation with other Slavic nations of the monarchy – it involved not only the already mentioned Slovakian women but also the representatives of southern Slavs. These efforts resulted in convening the Pan-Slavic feminist congress in Prague in 1910¹⁸. It is worth noting that in the case of Hungarian feminists, their participation in international organisations was perceived by the conservative social circles as evidence that the movement was a malignant product of foreign influences, which jeopardised traditional values¹⁹. It also resulted from full independence of the Feminist's Association – in contrast to the social democratic movement or catholic organisations, it was not subordinate to any existing domestic hierarchy. Consequently, it was accused of not being “Hungarian enough” and representing foreign interests²⁰.

Polish suffragettes organised conventions which were intended to provide political sophistication of women and inter-partition discussion concerning the problems that women's organisations had to cope with²¹. The Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women (*Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet Polskich*), established in 1907, was the first legal Polish feminist organisation. It was possible because of legal changes in the Empire following the events of the Revolution of 1905–1907. The Act on Associations was introduced in March 1906. The authorities of the Russian Empire introduced the so-called “temporary provisions”, which allowed legal operation of organisations with social aims. These regulations remained unchanged until 1917. Polish Women were greatly stimulated by the revolution.

¹⁶ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire...*, pp. 32–37.

¹⁷ K. Daskalova and S. Zimmermann, *Women's and Gender History*, [in:] I. Livezeanu and Á. von Klímo (eds.), *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, London 2017, pp. 28–29.

¹⁸ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire...*, pp. 27, 36.

¹⁹ C. Kollonay-Lechoczky, *Development Defined by Paradoxes...*, p. 428.

²⁰ J. Szapor, *Hungarian Women's Activism in the Wake of the First World War*, London 2018, p. 23.

²¹ J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Trójjaborowe zjazdy kobiet na ziemiach polskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki...*, pp. 81–95.

Not only did they take part in fighting or participate in the political life, but they also started to set up a great deal of new associations. Following these events, the Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women (*Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet Polskich*) was established under the leadership of Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit in 1907²².

In Galicia, like in other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, women were prohibited from belonging to political associations until 1907. The ban was provided for in Article 30 of the Austrian Code of Associations, but it was not strictly observed. The Lviv Association for the Equality of Women (*Lwowski Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet*) located in Stanisławów operated openly, while the Committee for Women's Political Equality (*Komitet Politycznego Równouprawnienia Kobiet*) was active in Cracow. In 1912 the Committee of Polish Women's Civil Work (*Komitet Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet Polskich*), headed by Maria Dulębianka, was set up in Lviv. In 1908 in Galicia, following Warsaw's example, a feminist organisation was established. In 1908 the Democratic Party (*Stronnictwo Demokratyczne*) of the Lviv City Council founded the Reform Committee, which, included into its programme the call to grant women civil rights. Inspired by this appeal, members of the Educational Work Committee (*Komitet Pracy Oświatowej*) established the Committee for the Equal Rights of Women (*Komitet Równouprawnienia Kobiet*) in February 1908. Zofia Strzelecka-Grynbergowa was appointed its chairwoman. After the statute of the latter had been adopted by the Ministry, its name was changed into the Association for the Equal Rights of Women in Lviv (*Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet we Lwowie*)²³. The Association admitted men, while the Warsaw organisation consisted of women exclusively²⁴.

Founders of feminist movements

The leaders of the feminist movement from Central Europe, who took up active struggle for the vote 'irrespective of gender' at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, were educated and professionally active women, social activists, active publicists, agitators, etc. They were distinguished by high resistance to criticism from the public opinion, which was voiced not only by conservative circles, but also liberal ones. These women were able to balance the conflict of duties between the private

²² M. Sikorska-Kowalska, *Polskie "Marianny". Udział kobiet w rewolucji 1905–1907 roku w świetle wydarzeń w Łodzi*, [in:] M. Przeniosło and S. Wiech (eds.), *Rewolucja 1095–1907 w Królestwie Polskim i w Rosji*, Kielce 2005, pp. 129–153.

²³ J. Petrażycka-Tomicka (ed.), *Związek równouprawnienia kobiet we Lwowie. Przyczynek do historii równouprawnienia kobiet w Polsce*, Kraków 1931, p. 7.

²⁴ A. Habrat, *Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet we Lwowie*, [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki...*, pp. 97–98.

and public spheres. They could also reconcile obligations which rested entirely on women's shoulders, such as the role of a mother, wife, and carer.

Rosika Schwimmer was one of the two most important figures of the liberal wing of the Hungarian women's movement. She descended from a bourgeois family of Jewish origin. Her education included four years of secondary school and she also graduated from an extramural business school. She knew French and German. Owing to the fact that her family struggled with financial problems, she earned her living as a publicist, journalist and editor²⁵.

Vilma Glücklich was the other major figure of the Hungarian emancipatory movement. She came from a wealthy Jewish family and was the first woman in Hungary to graduate from the Philosophical Faculty of the university in Budapest (she studied Mathematics and Physics). Apart from Hungarian, she was fluent in many languages – German, Italian, English, and French. She worked as a teacher²⁶.

Meller Arturné was a member of the Hungarian Association of Feminists. She was one of the most significant and proactive activists of this grouping. She was of Jewish descent (like Schwimmer and Glücklich). Her father was the owner of a workshop. There are no details concerning her education; she worked as a teacher and a researcher in the Museum of Society in Budapest²⁷.

Countess Apponyi (née Klotild Dietrichstein-Mensdorff-Pouilly), who originated from a German catholic family, was another important Hungarian feminist. After she had married Minister Albert Apponyi, she moved from her hometown of Vienna to Budapest, learnt Hungarian and started working for her new homeland. In 1910 she was appointed the chairwoman of the Federation of Hungarian Women's Associations. Additionally, she became a Hungarian representative in the International Council of Women²⁸.

Františka Plamínková, a shoemaker's daughter, was one of the key figures of the Czech feminist movement. She graduated from the Teacher's College in Prague and worked as a pedagogue. She was a woman of many talents: she spoke French and German, painted, played the piano, sang in a choir. Moreover, she attended lectures given at the University of Prague as an auditing student.

²⁵ S. Zimmermann and B. Major, *Schwimmer, Róza (Bédy-Schwimmer, Bédi-Schwimmer, Rózsa, Rosika) (1877–1948)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006, p. 484.

²⁶ S. Zimmermann, *Glücklich, Vilma (1872–1927)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, p. 162.

²⁷ C. Papp and S. Zimmermann, *Meller, Mrs Artur, Eudénia Miskolczy (1872–1944)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 331–332.

²⁸ S. Zimmermann and C. Papp, *Apponyi, Countess, Mrs Count Albert Apponyi, born Countess Clotilde, Klotild Dietrichstein-Mensdorff-Pouilly (1867–1942)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 25–26.

She co-founded the Czech Women's Club in 1903 and the Committee for Women's Suffrage. She also prepared a campaign for the election of a female candidate to Czech Parliament in 1912, which was won by Božena Viková-Kunětická²⁹.

Božena Viková-Kunětická did not assume the office in the abovementioned election, but only 8 years later. She was a publicist, writer, drama author. In her writing she described the shift occurring in the worldview of contemporary women, she criticised women's dependence on men and created a model-ideal of a conscious and liberated mother. From 1907 she belonged to the Young Czech Party (*Mladočeši*). She was a fighter for the rights of the Czech minority inhabiting the Sudetes³⁰.

Teréza Nováková was another co-founder of the Czech Women's Club. She was born in a wealthy middle-class Czech-German family. She received thorough education in a private school, where she learnt several foreign languages. She was a writer and also conducted ethnographic research into the culture of Czech countryside³¹.

Charlotta Masaryková Garrigue was born in New York in a Huguenot family. The experiences of the civil war conformed young Charlotta's conviction that every form of discrimination is harmful. Being married to Tomáš Masaryk (who added the element Garrigue to his surname), she was involved in the activity of the Czech emancipation movement. Translating the work entitled "The Subjection of Women" by John S. Mill into Czech was her important contribution to the development of feminism on the Vltava. She was engaged into the work of the Committee for Women's Suffrage³². Her daughter, Alice, shared the same views about women's issues. She knew several languages and was well-educated. She studied Philosophy, History and Sociology at the Charles University in Prague, defended her doctorate in Berlin and then continued studies in Leipzig. Working as a teacher in a secondary school in Prague she impressed on the girls their role and importance in the political and public life of the country. In 1920 she was elected as one of 16 women-deputies to the National Assembly³³.

²⁹ S. Hendrychová, *Plamínková, Františka F. (1875–1942)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 436–437.

³⁰ I. Kreitlová and L. Heczková, *Viková-Kunětická, Božena (1862–1934)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 599–602.

³¹ L. Heczková, *Nováková (born Lanhausová), Teréza (1853–1912)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 372–374.

³² A. Nedvědová, *Masaryková Garrigue, Charlotta (1850–1923)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms...*, pp. 306–308.

³³ H. Rappaport, *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers*, Santa Barbara 2001, pp. 429–430.

Like in the case of Bohemia and Hungary, all Polish key feminists were thoroughly educated. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska was an economist, who received a doctoral degree at the Zurich University. Maria Dulębianka was a painter, she studied painting in Paris and Vienna. Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit studied Science in Geneva and then in Brussels. Kazimiera Bujwidowa graduated from a course in Biology at the Flying University (Polish underground university for women) and then she was the head of the Vaccines and Sera Production Plant, set up by Odon Bujwid. Teodora Męzkowska studied Natural Science in Geneva and (after the graduation from the studies in Switzerland) Psychology and Philosophy at the Flying University. Among the feminist movement activists there were, most of all, teachers, writers, publicists, and editors, who descended from bourgeois families, impoverished landed gentry and intelligentsia. They were usually in relationships based on partnership, in which they found help and support from their husbands. Kazimiera Bujwidowa, a mother of six, as well as a wife and collaborator of Odon Bujwid, a renowned Polish bacteriologist, is the best example. Maria Dulębianka, on the other hand, enjoyed a partnership with Maria Konopnicka, a respected Polish poet, who was a doyenne of the Polish emancipation movement. Most of them, however, decided not to start a family or gave up family life, which caused disappointment. Paulina Kuczalska-Rainschmit, the leader of Polish feminists, chose such a destiny³⁴.

Crossing the boundary of private space

One should pose a question whether feminists struggling to enter the realm of politics on the threshold of the 20th century realized what public space they were heading for and would have to deal with? To what public sphere they wanted to introduce women, who were only familiar with the private sphere and were mostly resigned to the division into “male” and “female”? Were they aware what battle they would have to fight not only for the vote, but also to release women from the fetters of patriarchal reality which locked them at home? These questions are particularly relevant in relation to the traditional, conservative model of life in the societies of Central Europe, where the binding social and cultural norms were those of nobility and peasantry.

The public sphere is common space which involves social interactions to satisfy various needs in compliance with the system of values which is applicable in society. Therefore, the public space becomes the social space, which exists as part of certain ontological and axiological order, marking the boundaries and

³⁴ A. Górnicka-Boratyńska, *Stańmy się sobą. Cztery projekty emancypacji (1863–1939)*, Izabelin 2001, pp. 90–93.

competencies of the activities of individuals. Hence in this space there is room for collective activities and the existence of individuals. Such understanding of the public space was unknown in the 19th century world of liberal values. According to John S. Mill, the public space was clearly separated from the private sphere. In the private sphere man decides about their own actions; it is the realm of freedom and provides scope to exercise this freedom. The public sphere is a legally determined area of activity, where individuals are subject to the principles and rules established as part of social agreement. Consequently, they gain sense of security at the expense of losing part of individual liberties³⁵. However, it raised a question if the rules applied to both sexes? Did women really make independent decisions about themselves in the private sphere? And did they fall under the same norms and laws in the public space?

The practice of marginalising women in public life and categorizing them in the private sphere reaches back to the times of a Greek polis. The contemporary man separated the private sphere of life from the public one. In the private sphere, that is life beyond a polis, different rules of conduct were applicable. In the social sphere they used persuasion, while in the private realm they often resorted to violence. A man, being the head of the family, exercised authoritarian power over a woman³⁶. Hannah Arendt writes that:

[...] freedom may only be found in the public realm, necessity is mostly a pre-political phenomenon, a characteristic trait of an individual organisation of a household, while force and violence in this sphere are justified as they are the only means to control necessity – for example, by ruling slaves – and to become free³⁷.

Only a man could be a free and equal person as he entered the public sphere. There was neither equality nor freedom at home; freedom was the privilege of those who were not subject to life necessities, held power and gave orders³⁸. Greek principles under which society functions weighed heavily on the history of women, whose fate was compared to slavery. A polis consolidated the perception of women as an unimportant, hidden element of life. For hundreds of years women were first subordinated to fathers, and then to husbands. It was governed by the law included in the Napoleon's Civil Code, which made a woman 'eternally minor' for the entire 19th century. According to Arendt, the public sphere, which was inaccessible to women, allowed men to gain power, prestige, and recognition. Confining

³⁵ J.S. Mill, *O wolności*, Warszawa 1999.

³⁶ H. Arendt, *Kondycja ludzka*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 43–46.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 50–51.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

women to the private sphere associated with ownership and family deprived them of freedom, which was reserved for the public sphere exclusively³⁹.

A woman, who was subordinated in marriage, was perfectly in tune with the typical model of family and social relations. Marriage that was subject to ‘civil benefits’ focused on providing the state and family with offspring⁴⁰. A wife was not devoid of rights in a marriage, but as M. Foucault noted: ‘Marriage involved a certain type of behaviour mainly because a husband was the head of household, a serious citizen or somebody who intended to exercise political and moral power over others; hence this art of living in a marriage was about self-control, which was supposed to shape the behaviour of a prudent, moderate and righteous husband’⁴¹.

Driving women into the private sphere and subordinating them to marital authority supported the stereotypical views that women were mostly marked by warmth and expressiveness, submissiveness, and sociability, while men were characterised by competence and rationality. Furthermore, according to the stereotype of femininity, a woman was a source of emotional support for others, ran the house and looked after children. Nowadays it has been observed that women are carriers of traditional values, which they transmit in the process of upbringing⁴². 19th century women could not imagine functioning in a family and society without observing social norms and restrictions, which they accepted without reservations. Such behaviour corresponds to Pierre Bourdieu’s social concept of “doxa”, in which he argues that this is:

[...] the world order as it is, with its applicable meanings and forbidden meanings – both in a literal and metaphorical sense; with its imperatives and sanctions, which are observed *grosso modo*, protecting from more serious violations or subversion [...] it is even more surprising that the existing order with its inherent relations of dominance, laws and harm, privileges and injustice becomes established so easily [...] that hardly bearable conditions of existence are considered to be acceptable, and even natural⁴³.

³⁹ W. Heller, *Trudne porozumienie feminizmu z filozofią polityczną Hannah Arendt. Humanistyka i płeć. Publiczna przestrzeń kobiet: obrazy dawne i nowe*, Poznań 1999, pp. 222–224.

⁴⁰ M. Foucault, *Historia seksualności*, Warszawa 1995, p. 516.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² K. Piątek and A. Barabasz, *Doksa. Analiza socjologiczna*, [in:] K. Piątek and A. Barabasz (eds.), *Pułapki ponowoczesności. Rodzina, płeć i role społeczne w oglądzie socjologicznym*, Bielsko-Biała 2009, pp. 53–54.

⁴³ P. Bourdieu, *Męska dominacja*, Warszawa 2004, p. 65.

Patriarchal social relations and men's dominance in the family and public sphere were the target of feminists, who took up a struggle for women's rights at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. First, the traditional model of society had to be broken and women needed to be liberated from male domination. It was necessary to change the perception of the role of women, who were only destined for family and home life "by nature". The "natural" woman's vocation came down to the reproduction of species and performing their roles as mothers. Moreover, "nature" endowed women with other mental qualifications. All these aspects were to eliminate women from public life⁴⁴. As Kate Millet emphasized in her works, the key consequence of being a woman is that women find themselves on the lost side regarding the unequal division of political power. That is why the relations between women and men in patriarchal society must be described with such terms as: control, domination, and submission⁴⁵. Shaking off this yoke of subordination is the first and major task to be accomplished in the pursuit of women's participation in public life.

A factor which made the situation of local women slightly different from that in other Central European countries occurred only in Hungary. In 1895 a reform which introduced civil weddings was enacted. It was an unprecedented case in Central Europe. It enabled Hungarian women (depending on their financial standing) to feel more independent than women in Cisleithania. Furthermore, wives were entitled to manage the property they brought into marriage, as if it was their private ownership. In non-aristocratic families, widows were entitled to half of their husband's property. Unmarried women over 24 ceased to be subject to their fathers' guardianship and were independent until they entered marriage. There was a possibility to order legal separation⁴⁶.

The Austrian Civil Code was implemented in Bohemia in 1811 and, surprisingly, its provisions were in force until 1949. It means they did not change despite the democratic character of the interwar political system of Czechoslovakia. According to the principles of the Code, a man was the head of the family, while a woman was expected to be obedient to him. Only the father could take decisions about the children. The question of entering or dissolving marriage was subject to church authority⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ M. Środa, *Indywidualizm i jego krytycy*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 295–296.

⁴⁵ B. Grabowska, *Ciało upolitycznione – feministyczne dyskusje wokół problemu płci w polityce*, [in:] A. Kiepas and E. Struzik (eds.), *Terytorium i peryferia cielesności. Ciało w dyskursie feministycznym*, Katowice 2010, p. 489.

⁴⁶ K. Daskalova and S. Zimmermann, *Women's and Gender History*, pp. 15–16; L. Kobová, *The Contexts of National and Gender Belonging...*, p. 235.

⁴⁷ D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation...*, p. 220.

The law applicable in the Polish territory banned women from appearing independently in various legal actions or holding public offices. They did not have complete discretion on holding their own property and managing family property, independent income-earning, exercising care and guardianship⁴⁸. The Civil Code of the Kingdom of Poland was the most restrictive towards women; constraints on women were also included in the Austrian and German Civil Codes. The laws included in the Civil Code of the Kingdom of Poland stipulated that upon marriage the property brought by the wife belonged to the husband. Similarly, income earned by the wife was also owned by the husband. Moreover, the husband granted his wife and the father – his daughter, consent to gainful employment. Among the most acute restrictions there were: lack of separate identification documents, which could be issued only with the husband's consent, limitation of parental rights by the Family Council, prohibition of leaving the place of residence indicated by the husband, no title to the income earned by a woman or ban on testifying in court directly. These laws were applicable in the Kingdom of Poland until 1902⁴⁹. In Galicia, by virtue of the Austrian Civil Code, the division of marital property was applied to the spouses, however, the husband administrated his wife's property and only court's decision could deprive him of this right. As long as the husband managed the wife's property, her entitlement to these assets was limited.

The laws contained in the civil codes applicable in partitioned Poland humiliated women and allowed men to dominate in a family and society. Among numerous restrictions, the most severe one was lack of economic independence of women. In addition, the codes highlighted the inability of women to perform various social roles owing to gender differences and relevant weaknesses. Consequently, a woman was perceived and defined as timid, careless, and weak. No political rights and time-honoured women's subordination in a family and society constituted barriers that efficiently separated women from full participation in different spheres of both public and private life.

Programme objectives of the Polish feminist movement

The key objective of feminists who fought for woman's rights and entry to parliaments was, in the first place, to convince their countrywomen about the reasonability of this struggle:

⁴⁸ T. Maciejewski, *Historia ustroju i prawa sądowego Polski*, Warszawa 1991, p. 354.

⁴⁹ K. Sójka-Zielińska, *Prawo cywilne*, [in:] J. Bardach and M. Senkowska-Gluck (eds.), *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, vol. 3: *Od rozbiorów do uwłaszczenia*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 499–516; H. Konic, *Dzieje prawa małżeńskiego w Królestwie Polskim (1818–1836)*, Kraków 1903; A. Okolski, *Zasady prawa cywilnego obowiązującego w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1885.

The quite common right to vote is considered in our country to be the most radical demand of gender equality not only by men but also a number of women. In their opinion the vote constituted the ultimate, almost unnecessary complement, like a dome of the edifice of liberty⁵⁰.

Many women could not imagine entering the public sphere. The conviction that they would not be able to handle pressure involved numerous women from the landed gentry circles and rich middle class, who limited themselves to doing charity work. This situation gave rise to concerns that they would be perceived as “public women” (*femmes publiques*), which referred to fallen, stripped of their dignity, acting dishonourably, betraying the ethos and principles of their own class women. Only a man (*homme public*), which meant a public, respected figure and was a sign of recognition of a person acting in the public sphere, found respect in the public space. Women from wealthy landed gentry and bourgeoisie circles usually condemned and distanced themselves from women who entered the public space⁵¹.

Breaking down class barriers and going beyond their own sphere was considerably easier for educated women, aware of the fatalism of social divisions and inequalities. Feminists were primarily women who, as a result of pauperisation were forced to leave the social class they were born in. Owing to downgrading, they smoothly crossed the boundary between the private and public sphere. Gaining education, taking up work, acting in political and social organisations they became *femmes publiques*. But they still did not get civil rights. In 1903 Helena Witkowska wrote in her book entitled “A voice in female issues”:

Today an unconscious, illiterate person, with no idea about state affairs has more rights than the cleverest woman, even if she had a doctorate in medicine or philosophy or was the author of economic and social works, even if she held an important office or was the head of a scientific or educational institution – she would be refused any rights just because she was a woman⁵².

Feminists struggling for the suffrage regardless of gender thought that universal education for women would give them an opportunity to help them understand the need for equal vote. Lack of education pushed women to the political margin. The majority of the feminist movement activists graduated from secondary

⁵⁰ P. Kuczalska-Reinschmit, *Wyborcze prawa kobiet*, Warszawa 1911, p. 1.

⁵¹ M. Perrot, *Femmes publiques*, Paris 1997.

⁵² H. Witkowska, *O prawach politycznych kobiet*, [in:] M. Turzyczna et al. (eds.), *Głos kobiet w kwestii kobiecej*, Kraków 1903, p. 65.

education, but usually also higher. In the case of women, the education paradigm was an insufficient argument to include them into the intellectual elite of societies. In any case, feminists fought not only for the vote for elites, which already had education or property. They struggled for equal rights for all women.

Feminists proceeded to overcome barriers connected with the patriarchal culture. They realised that politics was the realm reserved for male activity. They decided to challenge this stereotype, leave the private sphere, prove they could act independently in politics, not repeating the same patterns, and constitute a new quality, indispensable in the life of a democratic country. Did they really succeed in developing a model of a women's party which could act independently and taking part in the public discourse in its own style at the beginning of the 20th century?

This is strongly connected with the question of the identity of women who are entering the sphere which used to be reserved for men. Anthony Giddens presents this concept as follows:

For an emancipated woman the problem of identity grows in importance. While liberating themselves from home and homeness, women encountered a closed social environment. Women's identity was so firmly defined by the home and family that, when they "came out", it appeared the only accessible models of identity were male stereotypes⁵³.

Entering the world of politics at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, women realised they would have to adopt male rules of the political game. At the same time, however, they stressed that their political goals differed considerably from men's objectives. They also believed in the possibility of developing female parties and running for elections themselves. The political scene of this period was characterised by two basic features: it was space without women, burdened with the paradox that women could begin the struggle for their rights only by sitting in 'male' parliaments. In Maria Dulębianka's articles the problem seemed to be extremely complex and difficult to pursue:

If we intend to perform any momentous, independent acts, we must break the mould at all costs. We must afford the independence of judgements and deeds. We must establish our own headquarters and determine our own direction. We need to find our own path. Otherwise, we will never emancipate from minority, submission, and immaturity⁵⁴.

⁵³ A. Giddens, *Nowoczesność i tożsamość*, Warszawa 2001, p. 294.

⁵⁴ M. Dulębianka, *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety*, Warszawa 1908, p. 10.

In her opinion, women had to remain apolitical. Women's parties were to introduce the ethical element into politics, which would constitute an effective barrier against all atrocities resulting from the politics pursued by men in the 19th century. As regards Poland, it entailed rejecting the national egoism policy, which, according to Dulębianka, was not compliant with the principles of ethics and love for the country. However, she also rejected the ideas of internationalism and denying national feelings. The political programme of a women's party was supposed to contain the slogans of fighting capitalism and militarism. A women's party was to inscribe the motto: "women of all countries unite and use the joint forces to struggle for liberation"⁵⁵.

It raises a question if female parties were able to find their own way and model of operation? The 'irrespective of gender' slogans of the struggle for the vote proclaimed by feminist activists from Central Europe were imbued with idealism. These slogans conveyed ethical and moral postulates and the ideas of integrity of political pursuits. Demanding rights in the name of social justice and equality failed to convince male lawmakers. Combining politics with morality was one of women's major political postulates. Feminists committed to political independence. The political programmes created by feminist parties included a very strongly emphasised ethical element, which was to be implemented into politics by the movements.

Democratisation of political life, which could occur only after the incorporation of women into the political life, constituted another important demand contained in the programmes of Polish feminists. According to Teodora Męczkowska "granting women political rights is a necessary condition of thorough democratisation of society"⁵⁶. In the first issue of feminist *Ster* paper in 1907, in the programme article the editors assured strongly that the weekly: "holds truly democratic views, demands the equality of all classes, universal measure of justice, ethics, purity of morals, freedom of conscience and civil rights for everybody regardless of gender, religion and nationality"⁵⁷. One year later Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit wrote: "Political equality of women is an integral part of the general pursuit of freedom and becomes attainable only if the two are combined"⁵⁸.

The question if women would not be contained in their own scope of activity was another barrier restricting women's participation in public life. The problem was whether they would be able to break through with their demands into men's

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ T. Męczkowska, *Ruch kobiecy. Ideały etyczno-społecznego ruchu kobiecego*, Warszawa 1907, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁷ "Ster" 1907, no. 1.

⁵⁸ P. Kuczalska-Reinschmit, *Wyborcze prawa kobiet...*, p. 24

world where the decisions about legal changes were taken. That would imply entering space which, until that time, had been reserved for men exclusively⁵⁹. Radical women's parties which operated at that time embarked on breaking the rule – stereotype that all authority rested with men. In Great Britain the fight was particularly acute. In Central Europe, despite rallies and conventions, feminists took up a public discussion with the leaders of those political parties which could enter the demand for the equal right to vote for women and men into their programmes. It involved concerns about not being able to overcome social and cultural barriers, as well as discrimination in the public sphere. Consequently, it entailed anxieties over facing harassment, which could relate to lack of competence, appearance, outfit, lack of political experience, inability to speak in public, etc.

As late as in 1904 Warsaw feminists indicated that the atmosphere of the political discourse concerning women's rights was frivolous and discriminatory. The discourse: "evoked a chuckle or, at best, good-natured admonishing"⁶⁰.

The national issue in the programmes of feminist parties

The presence of national motifs in feminist programmes accompanied the problem of equal suffrage for both sexes⁶¹. It is worth noticing that the issue varied across every nation. Hungarian women did not have to include the question of national emancipation in their activity, as they were the dominant nation in Transleithania. The situation was entirely different for the Czech feminist movement, in which the ties between the female and national issue were very strong. Czech suffragettes did not want to picture themselves as the opponents of men but as their allies in the struggle for national rights. Men, on the other hand, were supposed to support them in resolving their problems⁶².

In the Polish context of patriarchal hierarchy, women assumed a greatly honourable role of the 'Polish Mother'⁶³, who was expected to raise patriotic sons, give lessons of the mother tongue and history. The role appointed to women during the

⁵⁹ M. Fuszara, *Kobiety w polityce*, [in:] K. Siany et al. (eds.), *Gender w społeczeństwie polskim*, Kraków 2011, pp. 119–133.

⁶⁰ P. Kuczalska-Reinschmit, *Wyborcze prawa kobiet...*, p. 24.

⁶¹ M. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *How real were nationalism and feminism in 19th century Galicia*, [in:] S. Kemlein (ed.), *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848–1918*, Osnabrück 2000, pp. 143–152.

⁶² D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation...*, pp. 209–210.

⁶³ The situation was similar in Bohemia. The Czech-speaking educational system for girls prepared them mostly for the role of the mother. The significance of education was not neglected – however, its purpose was to enable the 'Czech Mother' to be the 'mother of the nation', playing an important role in the patriotic society, whose main objective was to fight for preserving and protecting the nation: K. Daskalova and S. Zimmermann, *Women's and Gender History...*, p. 3.

partition period in the home environment contributed to politicising traditional female functions. As written by Dobrochna Kałwa: “the symbolic figure of the ‘Polish Mother’ combined traditional values, connected with the private sphere (mother) and a new element of civil and patriotic activity (Polish), and indicated that home and family were the scope of woman’s activity”⁶⁴. In 1918 Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska argued that the ethos of national education involved not only home teaching. Women performed this mission in the public space by educating in the Polish language and teaching Polish history despite the bans introduced by the partitioning authorities: “for Polish women, social and educational work has always been not a struggle for the rights of their gender, but, most of all, performing patriotic service”⁶⁵.

Another aspect, typical of the activity of feminists in the Polish territory, was the element of sacrifice for the national cause. A Cracow suffragette, Maria Turzyna, the editor of *Nowe Słowo* depicted the situation as follows:

The women’s movement in Poland is distinguished by its remarkably social orientation. In their emancipatory pursuits, women from other countries mainly strive to liberate themselves from men’s domination, win rights equal to men. Our women demand mainly access to civic life, even without asking for rights, so that they are allowed to fulfil their civil duties, namely cooperate in work undertaken for public interest⁶⁶.

Lack of independence and social expectations towards women made them conduct rather social and national liberation activities than an active struggle for their own rights. Polish women on par with men sacrificed for the sake of their homeland: “Polish women act not to liberate themselves but to sacrifice”, Turzyna continued. “Sacrifice legitimises the right to freedom. Crossing the domestic role of a woman appears to be not so much crossing, but rather adapting to historical circumstances”⁶⁷.

Lack of independence and expectations towards women to withdraw from their political demands were voiced openly by the politicians from the national party. Zygmunt Balicki, one of the leaders of Polish nationalists, spoke at a rally in Warsaw in 1905:

⁶⁴ D. Kałwa, *Kobieta aktywna w Polsce międzywojennej. Dylematy środowisk kobiecych*, Kraków 2001, pp. 118–119.

⁶⁵ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Prawo wyborcze kobiet*, Warszawa 1918, p. 3.

⁶⁶ M. Turzyna, *Dobra i zła wola*, “Nowe Słowo” 1902, no. 4; as cited [in:] A. Górnicka-Borańska, *Stańmy się sobą...*, p. 85.

⁶⁷ M. Janion, *Kobiety i duch inności*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 97–98.

We do not promise anything, neither to the people nor women, only undertake to perform national duties at this important moment when the elections are drawing nearer and there is a danger that Warsaw can be transferred into foreign hands! Discussing women's rights is not a national affair. Women do not need political awareness, which men already have – women have wonderful intuition, their role is to guard the instincts rooted in the lower layers of the nation⁶⁸.

As a sign of protest, the feminists attending the meeting left the room. The nationalist party totally rejected the ideas of the women's movement independence, accusing it with egoistic concentration on individual gender interests: "it is not the right time to fight for women's rights when the nation's rights are at stake" – quoted Maria Dułębiana in her brochure⁶⁹. She also reminded that women were members of the nation and fighting for their rights they struggled for the nation's rights.

Feminists hit back and in their programmes, they hammered nationalist political principles. The slogans of 'national egoism' led to aggravating the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Galicia. They pointed out that nationalist parties gained popularity only in places where people were oppressed. While in the modern understanding of patriotism nations should be able to coexist following the principles of equality and voluntary federation⁸¹. The collaboration with national democracy was unacceptable for the Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women.

Alliances with other parties

Many feminists sought agreement with existing political parties. It concerned the representatives of all the three nations. It appeared, however, that in certain cases it was possible to initiate such cooperation.

It was commonly believed that the election law in Hungary after 1867 guaranteed a privileged position for men of Magyar descent. Owing to the conservative character of the ruling elite and despite certain facilitation measures for women in everyday life (which has been discussed above), feminism was perceived as a threat to traditional values. Initially, it was difficult for Hungarian suffragettes to find allies in these circumstances, but their efforts brought some results. In 1911 the Men's League for the Suffrage for Women (*Férfiliga a nők választójogáért*) was created. However, eventually this cooperation did not bring any results.

The Czech feminist movement gained strong support from an influential and respected figure in the Czech world of science of politics, and also future president of Czechoslovakia – Tomáš Masaryk. The activity of his wife has been presented

⁶⁸ P. Kuczalska-Reinschmit, *Wyborcze prawa kobiet...*, p. 28.

⁶⁹ M. Dułębiana, *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety*, Warszawa 1908, p. 18.

above. His Czech Progressive Party (*Česká strana pokroková*) adopted the postulate of Czech suffragettes and admitted them to their party. Other Czech parties included the questions of women's equality in their programmes also, as well as allowed them to join their ranks⁷⁰. These were: the Social Democratic Party, the National and Social Party or the National and Liberal Party. Unfortunately, most of them treated their female members instrumentally, mainly taking advantage of their commitment during election campaigns⁷¹.

In their pursuit of the suffrage for women, Polish feminist groupings searched allies in both left-wing and national parties. Polish activists sent petitions to Stanisław Głąbiński – a nationalist politician. They invited Ignacy Daszyński – the leader of the Polish Social Democratic Party in Galicia (*Polska Partia Socjalno-Demokratyczna w Galicji*), to rallies and conventions. He wrote in his “Memoirs”: “I cannot even imagine what will happen to people's life if half of them – women – will enter this life with consciousness, with the power corresponding not only their number but also female traits, in some respect stronger from men's”⁷². Nevertheless, the cooperation with political parties did not bring expected results. Programme differences prevented closer relations with the national movement, although, to win women's political support, the National Democracy included their demands into its programme, but they had a limited form. The National Women's Organisation (*Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet*) was founded whose members expressed a conviction that: “if Poland regained its political existence [...], it was obvious that while establishing a new electoral system, it was out of question to exclude women from the vote and, generally, the participation in the development of revived Polish statehood”⁷³.

Both parties openly supported women's pursuits, but they were not priority postulates of their programmes. Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit expressed her regret in the pages of *Ster* that the socialists said: “don't disturb us now and you will get rights in a better social system that we will establish”, while the nationalists appealed: “do not sacrifice the good of the nation for your own interests and liberty”⁷⁴. No cooperation was established between Polish feminists and the peasant movement, although its programmes also included statements of support for women's demands.

⁷⁰ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire...*, p. 35.

⁷¹ D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation...*, p. 214.

⁷² I. Daszyński, *Pamiętniki*, part II, ed. K. Piskała, Warszawa 2017, p. 107.

⁷³ U. Jakubowska, *Kobiety w świecie polityki Narodowej Demokracji*, [in:] A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 146–147.

⁷⁴ “*Ster*” 1907, no. 1, p. 21.

Maria Dułębianka, who made a realistic assessment of the intentions of political leaders, advised to be wary not only of the National Democracy but also the Polish Social Democratic Party:

The Social Democratic Party acts mainly in favour of the interests of male proletariat. Unless women's interests are closely tied to their own ones, the party gives them little attention and, irrespective of all declarations, does not want political rights for women, at least for the time being, predicting, like socialists from other countries, that women who are more conservative by nature, would have a negative and detrimental impact on the progressive movement if they enjoyed more influence⁷⁵.

Dułębianka was even more reluctant to cooperate with the left due to her dispute with Feliks Perl – one of the Polish Socialist Party leaders. The reason was that Perl considered feminist movement to be bourgeois: “social democracy is a class, not gender party, it is a party of solidary fight of male and female proletariat against the abuse and oppression of both sexes”⁷⁶.

Dułębianka categorically rejected the cooperation of the female movement with political parties. According to her, the leaders of political parties were ‘spirit traders’, agitators, who would not shrink from the dirtiest arguments. She reproached the leaders of all political parties for it. She thought women would not find themselves in politics, which was done ruthlessly:

In no party can they find the embodiment of significantly higher and sincere notions of brotherhood and justice, they cannot find this atmosphere of truth and integrity, where words match actions and actions match words. These women – and they are in majority – who do not have any political background, do clearly realise that the principles of narrow-minded class egoism governing our parties exclude this simple, but more valued by women and universally followed rule: “do unto other as you would have them do unto you”⁷⁷.

Methods of struggle

Setting goals, establishing watchwords and creating an organisation were still the first step for Central European feminists. They had to develop and implement the means of political struggle. Members of the Association of Feminists organised lectures, meetings and manifestations. They took over *A nő és társadalom*,

⁷⁵ M. Dułębianka, *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety...*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ A. Uljasz, *Mysł polityczna Feliksa Perla*, Lublin 2005, p. 256.

⁷⁷ M. Dulebianka, *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety...*, p. 12.

the magazine of the Hungarian Association of Clerks, which was issued from 1907. The articles covered the activities and efforts of both domestic movement and feminist organisations in the world⁷⁸. Czech women had different ideas on how to conduct the fight for the vote. Liberal fractions of the movement preferred sending petitions and meetings, while social democrats and socialists valued street demonstrations more⁷⁹.

In 1908, both in Bohemia and Galicia women took part in elections. Although the act which changed the election law in 1907 in Cisleithania guaranteed universal suffrage for men, Czech women decided to study the regulations and find a “loop-hole”. They claimed that if the February Patent gave them the right to stand for elections to the Czech National Assembly, they currently held the same right. As early as in 1908 three candidates ran for election: Karla Máčková, Božena Zelinková and Marie Tůmová. Although none of them was elected, they considered the election a success because they were not rejected by the voters as potential candidates⁸⁰. Then, the election campaign of 1912 turned out to be very effective. It ended up successfully with the election of the abovementioned Božena Vikova-Kunětická to the National Assembly. Unfortunately, she was not sworn in by the Czech Province Governor, Prince Franz Anton von Thun und Hohenstein, but the entire case was closely watched by the feminist movement all over the world⁸¹.

Polish feminists applied the same interpretation of law. In Galicia, Maria Dulębianka was the candidate to the National Assembly appointed by the Lviv Association for the Equality of Women. Nominating her to be elected a representative of the city of Lviv shows women’s determination and political awareness. Dulębianka received 511 votes, 410 men and 101 women supported her. The votes cast for her were annulled. Meanwhile, women, not discouraged, conducted a continuous political and propaganda activity for being conferred the suffrage and they resorted to the riskiest manoeuvres.

In Galicia the demands to grant women the vote appeared as early as in 1891 when a petition for the suffrage was sent to the Municipal Council of Lviv. It had been signed by four thousand people. In 1911, on the National Assembly opening day a 20-person delegation of Polish and Ukrainian women went to Parliament with a petition which was submitted to Juliusz Leo, President of the Election Reform Committee of the National Assembly. In 1912 in Lviv and Cracow there appeared a threat of limiting the existing election laws applicable to women. In the light of this situation, a delegation of female candidates to Parliament demanded

⁷⁸ C. Kollonay-Lechoczky, *Development Defined by Paradoxes...*, pp. 425–426.

⁷⁹ D. Musilová, *Mothers of the Nation...*, p. 215.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁸¹ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire...*, pp. 36–37.

to lower the educational status from university to three-year department school and put forward a postulate of direct voting, that is, liquidating the institution of proxies.

The propaganda activities grew in strength in Galicia during the parliament election campaign in 1913. Cracow feminists transformed the Political Committee for the Equality of Women (*Komitet Polityczny Równouprawienia Kobiet*) into the Election Committee (*Komitet Wyborczy*) and embarked on intensified political activities, organised rallies, and lectures. The intensification of women's activities encouraged also men to support their efforts and in 1913 in Lviv they established an organisation called "Men's League for the Defence of Women's Rights" (*Liga Mężczyzn dla Obrony Praw Kobiet*) headed by Bronisław Pawlewski, Chemistry Professor, husband of Henryka Pawlewska, one of the key feminist movement activists in Lviv⁸².

Women who were active in feminist organisations took advantage of the time of general or local elections which were held in their countries to spread their demands. This method was applied both in the Polish territory and Galicia. The statements concerning women's suffrage were voiced for the first time during the election campaign to the first Russian Parliament – state Duma, which was organised in 1906. At pre-election rallies the activists of the Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women questioned parliamentary candidates if they were ready to fight for women's rights in Parliament⁸³.

During the election campaign in Hungary in 1906 the activists from the Association of Feminists spread agitation for obtaining women's suffrage. Leaflets and posters with slogans demanding to grant women the vote appeared in Hungarian cities. Moreover, women took up work in election offices of male candidates, but mainly they began direct agitation, organising meeting in cafes and commercial spaces. As a result of these activities, five (out of nine) Budapest parliamentary candidates included the demand for women's rights into their election programmes. In 1908 a delegation of the Association of Feminists and the Hungarian Association of Clerks presented their proposal of the election law to Gyula Justh, the Speaker of Parliament. Rosika Schwimmer even met Gyula Andrassy, one of the major contemporary political leaders. However, Sándor Wekerle, the Prime Minister, refused to receive the women's delegation⁸⁴.

One of the main political targets of feminists was to convince women who held truncated suffrage in Austria-Hungary to exercise it fully. The problem of women's non-attendance in elections or transferring their vote to male proxies prevails

⁸² W. Najdus, *O prawa obywatelskie kobiet...*, p. 115.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 114–115.

⁸⁴ J. Szapor, *Hungarian Women's Activism...*, p. 26.

in Galician feminists' journalism. A direct participation in elections was supposed to be a lesson of democracy for women, was to make them aware of the importance of their vote and overcome their political inactivity. Feminists encouraged women to exercise their legitimate rights as they hoped to find support for their political demands in such an attitude – they looked for the backing of female electorate in future elections, in which they would finally be able to put up their candidates.

Cooperation with the international feminist movement

Women fighting for equal suffrage for women in Central Europe drew on and followed the activities of the feminist movement in the world. In the pages of magazines, brochures and books they announced the achievements of the feminist movement, kept track of the political situation of women in the world and in Europe. Most texts and journalistic articles started with the information about the activity of the feminist movement in other countries. Suffragettes from Central Europe took an active part in international women's rallies and demonstrated involvement and organisational initiatives there. In 1910 at the rally of the Union of Women's Suffrage Associations in Copenhagen the representatives of Hungary made a proposal of issuing a bulletin that would comprise the update on the latest feminist movement advancements and provide guidelines on its activities. In 1913 Budapest hosted the 7th Congress of the International Women's Association – the only one in this part of Europe (except for the Berlin congress of 1904)⁸⁵.

The activities of suffragettes during First World War

The outbreak of the First World War was a breakthrough in the history of the Central European feminists. Suffragettes' energy from rallies and protests during the international conflict was used at work in the field, industry, transport, and commerce, as well as many other male professions. Moreover, Polish women took an active part in the First World War; they fought on fronts and belonged to organisations supporting military activities⁸⁶. In war circumstances women entered the public sphere without difficulty, took up jobs which had been considered typically male ones before and donned male uniforms. Feminist publicists used this aspect of women's activities in programme journalism. They drew attention to the fact

⁸⁵ VII International Woman Suffrage Congress Program. Budapest, June 15–20. 1913, Budapest 1913, p. 12.

⁸⁶ K. Piskała and M. Sikorska-Kowalska, "Ciche bohaterki". *Kobiety w walce o niepodległość 1910–1918*, [in:] K. Piskała and M. Sikorska-Kowalska (eds.), *Kobiety niepodległości. Wspomnienia z lat 1910–1918*, Warszawa 2019, pp. 10–54.

that since women could occupy male professional space without any reservations, they would also be able to make successful political decisions on their own. Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska underlined there was no coming back to the pre-war social relations⁸⁷. Ending the war generated social problems that women were prepared to solve. The reason was that among the watchwords of the feminist movement there were demands to fight alcoholism, to provide support for mothers and children, hygiene, education, social conditions, etc. However, feminists indicated also that the war gave rise to political problems that could be solved by women, owing to their better understanding and commitment. Daszyńska-Golińska indicated that women should take over initiative in the anti-war pursuit. They should have a considerable impact on changing the existing political culture which generated and fuelled wars. It is men's culture and in the civilised world it should be replaced with pacifist women's culture⁸⁸.

It is worth noting that the majority of women's organisations in the world supported the continuation of war. It may be surprising, considering the international character of the movement, but the year 1914 sparked off nationalist sentiments also in women. Moreover, they considered the war to be an opportunity to establish their position in society by replacing men in the spaces which had been inaccessible to them until that time. Despite all this, the pacifist movement represented by some feminists was developing. It required courage, as they were perceived by their countrymen as defeatists, their patriotism was also denied⁸⁹. Daszyńska-Golińska participated in a convention of pacifists held at the end of April and the beginning of May 1915 in The Hague. One of the members of the initiative group was Rosika Schwimmer who throughout the entire wartime tried to maintain contacts with suffragettes from other countries, even those which fought with the Central Powers⁹⁰. In the Polish feminists' programmes pacifist postulates coexisted with the urge for the struggle for independence. They were aware that the war was only a temporary period and anti-war messages should be promoted in politics. In 1924, while making a comment on the events at the congress in Washington, which was held in May that year, Golińska-Daszyńska wrote: "A woman who does not officially take part in war, but is its victim, who gives life and must take care to

⁸⁷ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Prawo wyborcze kobiet*, Warszawa 1918, p. 7.

⁸⁸ Eadem, *Kobiety we współczesnym życiu publicznym*, "Na posterunku" 1917, no. 20, p. 1.

⁸⁹ A.S. Fell and I. Sharp, *Introduction: The Women's Movement and the First World War*, [in:] A.S. Fell and I. Sharp (eds.), *The Women's Movement in Wartime. International Perspectives, 1914–1919*, New York 2007, pp. 11–12.

⁹⁰ J. Addams et al. (eds.), *Women at the Hague. The International Peace Congress of 1915*, New York 2003; M.L. Degen, *The History of the Woman's Peace Party*, Baltimore 1939; J. Acsády, *In a Different Voice: Responses of Hungarian Feminism to the First World War*, [in:] A.S. Fell and I. Sharp (eds.), *The Women's Movement in Wartime...*, pp. 112–113.

save it, makes a protest against the system which starts wars and for which peace time is only the wait and preparation for war”⁹¹.

The political situation which changed throughout the war incentivised women to conduct an intensified propaganda campaign and activities for obtaining the suffrage for women. On 24 April 1917 in Vienna a delegation of the Women’s League of Galicia and Silesia submitted a petition for extending the vote to chairman of the Polish Circle. On 8–9 September 1917 a tri-partition Women’s Convention was held in Warsaw and its participants represented different political and social groups. In December 1917 at a rally attended by around one thousand women a resolution to establish the Central Political Committee for the Equality of Woman was adopted and it was constituted on 5 January 1918⁹². Undoubtedly, women’s war struggle and work had an influence on the Chief of State’s decision about granting the right to vote to women. The very event was preceded by the appointment of the Central Committee for the Equality of Polish Women with Józef Piłsudski (10 November 1918), represented by Józefa Budzińska-Tylicka and Maria Chmieleńska. They submitted a declaration with the objectives of full political equality for women in an independent country.

Efficiency

The act adopted at the last session of Hungarian Parliament in the dualist monarchy in 1918 deprived all women of the suffrage. However, the First World War resulted in the breakup of the Habsburg state, which led to the establishment of independent Hungary. Democratic government of Mihály Károlyi introduced universal suffrage for 21-year-old men and 24-year-old women. During the several-month existence of the Republic of Councils in Hungary the vote was conferred on all working men and women above the age of 18. Following the failure of the communist “experiment”, the authoritarian and conservative regime of regent Miklós Horthy was established. Limited electoral system was applied in the parliamentary election of 1920. The representatives of both sexes over the age of 24 were eligible to vote, provided that they had been Hungarian citizens for at least 6 years and had resided in Hungary for 6 months. Further restrictions were introduced in 1922, when the minimum age for women was raised to 30 and for both sexes the requirement for holding citizenship was extended to 10 years, while residence in the country – to 2 years. Additionally, certain requirements concerning education were

⁹¹ Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Międzynarodowy kongres kobiety w Waszyngtonie (od 1–8 maja)*, “Bluszcz” 1924, no. 18, p. 263.

⁹² *Ibidem*, pp. 283–288.

implemented⁹³. In the interwar period two women were elected to Parliament: it was Anna Kéthly and Margit Szlachta⁹⁴.

The constitutional act of 20 January 1920 of the Czechoslovak state built on the ruins of Austro-Hungary stipulated the equality of all citizens, regardless of gender, and universal suffrage. The first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, had a significant influence on the inclusion of this provision. Women's organisations (mainly liberal and social democratic ones) cherished a hope that the democratic character of the state would guarantee the equality of men and women. They demanded the suffrage as early as in 1919 before the scheduled parliamentary elections, but they had to wait one year longer to obtain it. The right to vote was granted to everybody over the age of 21 (elections to the Chamber of Deputies) and over 26 (to Senate), irrespective of their gender⁹⁵.

By virtue of a decree of 28 November 1918 the Provisional Chief of State, Józef Piłsudski, conferred full suffrage on Polish women. The demands contained in programme postulates of Polish feminists indicate that women were prepared to participate in parliamentary elections. The presented arguments were marked by political maturity of contemporary feminist activists. Moreover, many predictions contained in statements, including those of Maria Dulębianka, materialised after the election to the Legislative Sejm. One of the forecasts was lack of belief in the feasibility of individual women's representation in parliament. In her brochure Dulębianka anticipated the future of women's political commitment: "Unfortunately, for ages women have been reared in obedience, they still need to be obedient to somebody. With few exceptions breaking this rule, some listen to the National Democracy, others to the Social Democracy"⁹⁶. These predictions appeared justified during the first parliamentary elections, as well as in the case of all subsequent ones when women stood for election from party electoral lists. In 1919 mainly women included in the lists of national parties were elected to the Legislative Sejm. The election campaign to the Legislative Sejm, which was held at the turn of 1918 and 1919, indicated that there was no place for a woman's party at the Polish political scene. At that time the Central Committee for the Equality of Women (*Centralny Komitet Równouprawnienia Kobiet*) was created, which put forward its own list. Merely 51 votes were cast for this list.

⁹³ C. Kollonay-Lechoczky, *Development Defined by Paradoxes...*, p. 429.

⁹⁴ A. Schwartz and H. Thorson, *Shaking the Empire...*, pp. 28–29; K. Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950*, Stanford 2000, pp. 294–295; K. Daskalova and S. Zimmermann, *Women's and Gender History...*, p. 17; J. Szapor, *Hungarian Women's Activism...*, p. 78.

⁹⁵ M. Bahenská et al. (eds.), *Ženy na stráž! České feministické myšlení 19. a 20. století*, Praha 2010, pp. 19–20; A. Nedvědová, *Masaryková Garrigue, Charlotta...*, p. 308.

⁹⁶ M. Dulębianka, *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety...*, p. 6.

Conclusions

The aim of feminist organisations was to provide women with the suffrage, introduce women into Parliament and enable them to take up legal, lawful political activity that would be sanctioned by Parliamentary seats. Obtaining the right to vote was not the ultimate political goal of feminists, but only a means to guarantee women full civic and civil rights.

Feminist movements in Central Europe succeeded in this area. After the First World War, women in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were granted the vote (although in the case of the last country it was later restricted). It did not, however, result in a mass participation of women in parliamentary life. Nevertheless, feminists' activity and modernisation processes which occurred as a consequence of the war brought about tangible effects in the form of women's conscious participation in political life. They benefited from civil rights they were eligible for and took part in voting, but they did not constitute a true political force which would be able to enter women as female parliamentary candidates independently of political parties.

Comparing Polish, Czech, and Hungarian feminisms, one could notice many similarities, but also some differences. Undoubtedly, all the three movements shared the main objective, which has been discussed above. They differed, however, regarding national issues or the opportunity to act. Polish and Czech women were part of dependent nations; their activities were often misunderstood. They were criticised as it was believed that by concentrating on women's problems they ignored, weakened, and worked to the disadvantage of the national liberation movement. Hungarian women found themselves in a more privileged position. Being the representatives of the nation dominating in the Danubian empire, they could devote themselves entirely to the issues of the suffrage. Besides, owing to the differences in legislation, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries they were the only ones to be allowed to develop organisational activities in an unconstrained and legal manner. Another difference between movements was also the question of their activists' profiles. They shared a high level of education and well-established independence. One characteristic feature, however, was that in the case of Hungarian feminism – unlike the Polish and Czech ones – the most prominent figures were Hungarian women of Jewish descent⁹⁷. It could be the consequence of the abovementioned differences in the approach to national issues, which was a highly significant question for the Czech and Polish activists, while less important for

⁹⁷ At the end the 19th century the level of assimilation of Jews in Hungary was high. In the abovementioned activists' opinion, they were simply Hungarian citizens: P. Lendvai, *Węgrzy. Tysiąc lat zwycięstw w klęskach*, Kraków 2016, pp. 476–477.

the Hungarian ones. However, unquestionably, all the three movements had to face the conservative nature of the environments they originated from.

It is worth considering the interrelation of Polish, Czech and Hungarian feminism, and regional cooperation. On the basis of the above considerations, one may claim that feminists of the three nations inspired one another and still pinned their hopes on the international movement of suffragettes. If they contacted one another, they mostly met in a wider forum. Moreover, it was in the West where efficient methods and solutions could be searched, as it was the very place where suffragettes were successful. Although the main goal was the same, the three movements differed in other aspects, which could constitute a barrier, making further cooperation more difficult. One should bear in mind, however, that feminist activists considered themselves to be part of the world movement, in which the questions of regional differences were of secondary importance, while achieving the objective pursued remained the priority.

BIBLIOGRAFIA • REFERENCES

“Ster” 1907, no. 1.

Acsády J., *In a Different Voice: Responses of Hungarian Feminism to the First World War*, [in:] A.S. Fell and I. Sharp (eds.), *The Women’s Movement in Wartime. International Perspectives, 1914–1919*, New York 2007.

Addams J. et al. (eds.), *Women at the Hague. The International Peace Congress of 1915*, New York 2003.

Andersson B.S. and Zinsser J.P., *A History of Their Own. Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, vol. 2, London 1990.

Arendt H., *Kondycja ludzka*, Warszawa 2010.

Bahenská M. et al. (eds.), *Ženy na stráž! České feministické myšlení 19. a 20. století*, Praha 2010.

Blobaum R., “Kwestia kobieca” w Królestwie Polskim (1900–1914), [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 37–56.

Bohachevsky-Chomiak M., *How real were nationalism and feminism in 19th century Galicia*, [in:] S. Kemlein (ed.), *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel – und Osteuropa 1848–1918*, Osnabrück 2000, pp. 143–152.

Bourdieu P., *Męska dominacja*, Warszawa 2004.

Daskalova K. and Zimmermann S., *Women’s and Gender History*, [in:] I. Livezeanu and Á. von Klimó (eds.), *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, London 2017.

Daszyńska-Golińska Z., *Kobiety we współczesnym życiu publicznym*, “Na posterunku” 1917, no. 20.

Daszyńska-Golińska Z., *Międzynarodowy kongres kobiecy w Waszyngtonie (od 1–8 maja)*, “Bluszcz” 1924, no. 18.

- Daszyńska-Golińska Z., *Prawo wyborcze kobiet*, Warszawa 1918.
- Daszyński I., *Pamiętniki*, part II, ed. K. Piskała, Warszawa 2017.
- Degen M.L., *The History of the Woman's Peace Party*, Baltimore 1939.
- Dudeková G., *Międzynarodowa działalność kobiet w Austro-Węgrzech i VII Kongres Międzynarodowego Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Praw Wyborczych Kobiet w Budapeszcie w 1913 roku*, [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, Warszawa 2008.
- Dulębianka M., *Polityczne stanowisko kobiety*, Warszawa 1908.
- Fell A.S. and Sharp I., *Introduction: The Women's Movement and the First World War*, [in:] A.S. Fell and I. Sharp (eds.), *The Women's Movement in Wartime. International Perspectives, 1914–1919*, New York 2007.
- Foucault M., *Historia seksualności*, Warszawa 1995.
- Fuszara M., *Kobiety w polityce*, [in:] K. Siany et al. (eds.), *Gender w społeczeństwie polskim*, Kraków 2011, pp. 119–133.
- Giddens A., *Nowoczesność i tożsamość*, Warszawa 2001.
- Górnicka-Boratyńska A., *Stańmy się sobą. Cztery projekty emancypacji (1863–1939)*, Izabelin 2001.
- Grabowska B., *Ciało upolitycznione – feministyczne dyskusje wokół problemu płci w polityce*, [in:] A. Kiepas and E. Struzik (eds.), *Terytorium i peryferia cielesności. Ciało w dyskursie feministycznym*, Katowice 2010.
- Habrat A., *Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet we Lwowie*, [in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, Warszawa 2008.
- Halecki O., *Borderlands of Western Civilization. A History of Central Europe*, New York 1952.
- Halecki O., *Historia Europy, jej granice i podziały*, Lublin 1994.
- Heczková L., *Nováková (born Lanhausová), Teréza (1853–1912)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006, pp. 372–374.
- Heller W., *Trudne porozumienie feminizmu z filozofią polityczną Hannah Arendt. Humanistyka i płęć. Publiczna przestrzeń kobiet: obrazy dawne i nowe*, Poznań 1999.
- Hendrychová S., *Plamínková, Františka F. (1875–1942)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006.
- Jakubowska U., *Kobiety w świecie polityki Narodowej Demokracji*, [in:] A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1996.
- Janion M., *Kobiety i duch immości*, Warszawa 2006.
- Kałwa D., *Kobieta aktywna w Polsce międzywojennej. Dylematy środowisk kobiecych*, Kraków 2001.
- Kiss C.Gy., *Lekcja Europy Środkowej. Eseje i szkice*, Kraków 2009.
- Kłoczowski J. (ed.), *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin 2000.
- Kollonay-Lechoczky C., *Development Defined by Paradoxes. Hungarian History and Female Suffrage*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The Struggle for Female Suffrage in Europe. Voting to Become Citizens*, Leiden–Boston 2012.
- Kondracka M., *Posłanki i senatorki II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2017.

- Konic H., *Dzieje prawa małżeńskiego w Królestwie Polskim (1818–1836)*, Kraków 1903.
- Kreitlová I. and Heczková L., *Viková-Kunětická, Božena (1862–1934)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006, pp. 599–602.
- Kuczalska-Reinschmit P., *Wyborcze prawa kobiet*, Warszawa 1911.
- Lendvai P., *Węgrzy. Tysiąc lat zwycięstw w klęskach*, Kraków 2016.
- Livezeanu I. and Pachuta Farris J. (eds.), *Women and Gender in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia. A Comprehensive Bibliography*, vol. I: *Southeastern and East Central Europe*, New York 2007.
- Maciejewski T., *Historia ustroju i prawa sądowego Polski*, Warszawa 1991.
- Męczkowska T., *Ruch kobiecy. Ideały etyczno-społecznego ruchu kobiecego*, Warszawa 1907.
- Mill J.S., *O wolności*, Warszawa 1999.
- Musilová D., *Mothers of the Nation. Women's Vote in Czech Republic*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The Struggle for Female Suffrage in Europe. Voting to Become Citizens*, Leiden–Boston 2012.
- Musilová D., *Z ženského pohledu. Poslankyně a senátorky Národnihoshromáždění Československé republiky 1918–1939*, Hradec Kralovè 2007.
- Najdus W., *O prawa obywatelskie kobiet w zaborze austriackim*, [in:] A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki. Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1994.
- Nedvěďová A., *Masaryková Garrigue, Charlotta (1850–1923)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006, pp. 306–308.
- Offen K., *European Feminisms 1700–1950*, Stanford 2000.
- Okolski A., *Zasady prawa cywilnego obowiązującego w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1885.
- Papp C. and Zimmermann S., *Meller, Mrs Artur, Eudénia Miskolczy (1872–1944)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006.
- Perrot M., *Femmes publiques*, Paris 1997.
- Petrażycka-Tomiccka J. (ed.), *Związek równouprawnienia kobiet we Lwowie. Przyczynek do historii równouprawnienia kobiet w Polsce*, Kraków 1931.
- Petrażycki L., *O prawa dla kobiet*, Lwów 1919.
- Piątek K. and Barabasz A., *Doksa. Analiza socjologiczna*, [in:] K. Piątek and A. Barabasz (eds.), *Pałapki ponowoczesności. Rodzina, płeć i role społeczne w oglądzie socjologicznym*, Bielsko-Biała 2009.
- Piskała K. and Sikorska-Kowalska M., “Ciche bohaterki”. *Kobiety w walce o niepodległość 1910–1918*, [in:] K. Piskała and M. Sikorska-Kowalska (eds.), *Kobiety niepodległości. Wspomnienia z lat 1910–1918*, Warszawa 2019, pp. 10–54.
- Rappaport H., *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers*, Santa Barbara 2001.
- Schwartz A. and Thorson H., *Shaking the Empire, Shaking Patriarchy. The Growth of a Feminist Consciousness Across the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, Riverside 2014.
- Seneau M., *Law and Democracy*, [in:] F. Thébaud (ed.), *History of Women in the West*, vol. 5: *Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, London 1994.

- Sikorska-Kowalska M., *Polskie "Marianny". Udział kobiet w rewolucji 1905–1907 roku w świetle wyda-
rzeń w Łodzi*, [in:] M. Przeniosło and S. Wiech (eds.), *Rewolucja 1095–1907 w Królestwie Polskim
i w Rosji*, Kielce 2005, pp. 129–153.
- Sikorska-Kulesza J., *Trójzaborowe zjazdy kobiet na ziemiach polskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*,
[in:] A. Janiak-Jasińska et al. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorgani-
zowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, Warszawa 2008.
- Simándi I., *Küzdelem a nők parlamenti választójogáért Magyarországon 1848–1938*, Budapest 2009.
- Sójka-Zielińska K., *Prawo cywilne*, [in:] J. Bardach and M. Senkowska-Gluck (eds.), *Historia państwa
i prawa polskiego*, vol. 3: *Od rozbiorów do uwłaszczenia*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 499–516.
- Szapor J., *Hungarian Women's Activism in the Wake of the First World War*, London 2018.
- Szűcs J., *Trzy Europy*, Lublin 1993.
- Środa M., *Indywidualizm i jego krytycy*, Warszawa 2003.
- The History of Female Suffrage in Slovakia*, [in:] B. Rodríguez-Ruiz and R. Rubio-Marín (eds.), *The
Struggle for Female Suffrage in Europe. Voting to Become Citizens*, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 226–233.
- Turzymia M., *Dobra i zła wola*, "Nowe Słowo" 1902, no. 4.
- Uljasz A., *Mysł polityczna Feliksa Perla*, Lublin 2005.
- VII International Woman Suffrage Congress Program. Budapest, June 15–20. 1913*, Budapest 1913.
- Wandycz P.S., *Cena wolności. Historia Europy Środkowowschodniej od średniowiecza do współczesno-
ści*, Kraków 2003.
- Wereszycki H., *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe*, Kraków 1975.
- Witkowska H., *O prawach politycznych kobiet*, [in:] M. Turzymia et al. (eds.), *Głos kobiet w kwestii
kobiecej*, Kraków 1903.
- Zimmermann S., *Glücklich, Vilma (1872–1927)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Diction-
ary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and
20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006.
- Zimmermann S. and Major B., *Schwimmer, Róza (Bédy-Schwimmer, Bédi-Schwimmer, Rózsa, Rosika)
(1877–1948)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and
Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006.
- Zimmermann S. and Papp C., *Apponyi, Countess, Mrs Count Albert Apponyi, born Countes Clotilde,
Klotild Dietrichstein-Mensdorff-Pouilly (1867–1942)*, [in:] F. de Haan et al. (eds.), *Biographical
Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe,
19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest 2006.

NOTKA O AUTORKACH • ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr hab. Marta Sikorska-Kowalska, prof. UŁ – historyczka, profesor uczelni w Katedrze Historii Polski XIX w. w Instytucie Historii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Autorka m.in. biografii Aleksandry Piłsudskiej.

Zainteresowania naukowe: historia kobiet, historia polskiego socjalizmu, dzieje Łodzi.



marta.sikorska@uni.lodz.pl

Dr Aleksandra Sylburska – historyczka, adiunkt w Katedrze Historii Powszechnej Najnowszej na Wydziale Filozoficzno-Historycznym Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Autorka monografii *Działalność polskiej placówki dyplomatycznej na Węgrzech (1946–1956)* (Łódź 2020).

Zainteresowania naukowe: historia relacji polsko-węgierskich w XX w., historia Europy Środkowej w XX w., historia dyplomacji w XX w., diaspora polska na Węgrzech.



aleksandra.sylburska@uni.lodz.pl