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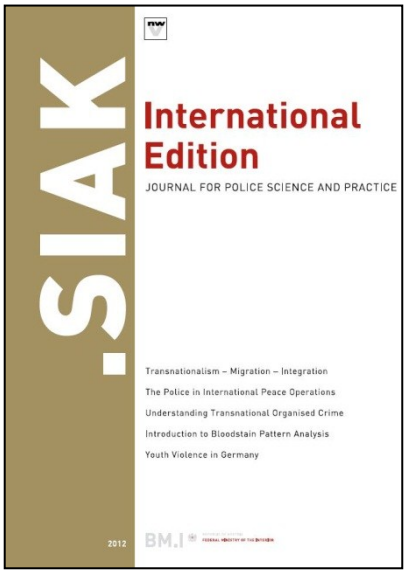

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The Effort to Combat the Traffic in Women in Austria before the First World War[1]

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The first wave of globalisation and migration, a product of industrialisation from the second half of the 19th century onwards, brought with it the phenomenon of the "white slave trade". The traffickers preyed in particular on women and girls in the poorest areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, which, within the Austrian part of the realm (Cisleithania), meant Galicia first and foremost. The primary destination until 1914 was Buenos Aires. The issue was soon high on the daily political agenda, chiefly thanks to the efforts of civil society initiatives. The strategies adopted against the traffic in women involved forward-looking governance structures, which enjoyed successes in Austria and elsewhere. This article illustrates cooperation in Austria between the state and civil sectors through the example of the "Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children".

There is not a life that this social evil does not menace. There is not a daughter, or a sister, who may not be in danger" (Roe 1911, 9).

"The modern traffic in women and girls crosses our world in a thousand ways (…) Austria-Hungary has not only the liveliest export trade in human wares, but also does a brisk domestic trade. As a bridge between East and West, it is of great significance as a transit country" (Baer 1908, 5; Baer 1908, 55)

INTRODUCTION

From the late 19th century onwards, a phenomenon came increasingly into the focus of public interest that in the past years has again become a subject of public debate and political activity on a national and international level: the traffic in women and girls. By the eve of the First World War, the issue had gained great prominence in Europe, America and the European colonies. "Mädchenhandel" (the traffic in girls), as it was referred to in German, or the "white slave trade" in English, occupied a significant position in public discourse and politics. The topic also found wide reception in literature and the emerging medium of film (Sabelus 2009; Jazbinsek 1995; Nautz 2011).

Traffic in women went hand in hand with industrialisation and globalisation from the 19th century onwards. Colonial expansion, industrialisation and globalisation increased economic ties and migration flows to a more or less global extent (Held et al. 2003). Ronald Hyam views the growth of traffic in women in the context of a new workforce mobility based on the technological innovations of the 19th century (Hyam 1992, 142–149). It soon emerged

that women were very willing to migrate. Ernst Georg Ravenstein observed in his groundbreaking studies on migration: "Woman is a greater migrant than man. This may surprise those who associate women with domestic life, but the figures of the census clearly prove it. Nor do women migrate merely from the rural districts into the towns in search of domestic service, for they migrate quite as frequently into certain manufacturing districts, and the workshop is a formidable rival of the kitchen and scullery" (Ravenstein 1885, 196). Four years later, based on empirical data from over 20 countries, he observed: "Females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants. On the other hand long-journey migrants appear to predominate among females born in large towns, including London; all the great Scotch towns, Paris, Vienna, and many others" (Ravenstein 1889, 288).

The then unparalleled level of migration of (lower-class) women from the countryside and small towns to developing cities and industrial regions/hubs, from the home countries to the colonies, and from Europe and Asia to America has been identified as the chief cause of the emergence of traffic in women (Bristow 1977; Hyam 1990, 142–145). In addition, the institutionalisation of prostitution by the state is considered by researchers to have had a strong influence on the increase in the traffic in women (Limoncelli 2010, 19 ff; Doezma 2004, 66). This association between prostitution and traffic in women also finds expression in definitions by such writers as Mexin (Mexin 1904) and Schrank (Schrank 1904, 1; Schrank 1904, 9).

The majority of the victims from mainland Europe came from Italy, Russia (Russia-Poland) and Austria-Hungary, and to a lesser extent from Germany and France. A relatively large number of trafficked women came from Austria-Hungary. Galicia, Bukovina and the border area of Romania were the main source of victims from Cisleithania. Within the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (Transleithania), Székely Land was the traffickers' prime recruiting ground. The primary destinations before 1914 were Argentina, Brazil and the USA on the American continent, and Singapore, Shanghai, Hong Kong and various parts of Indochina in the colonial Far East. Egypt (mainly via Alexandria) was the most popular destination in the Middle East, while European women were also taken to East Africa (Limoncelli 2010; Schrank 1904; Nautz 2008a; Nautz 2008b). Within Cisleithania, the greatest number of victims came from Galicia. A comparison of the economic and social situation of Galicia with that of the other Crown lands sheds light on one of the main causes of traffic in women: the weak economy. Destitution and lack of prospects in the region of origin acted as push factors, while the possibility, imagined at least, of an improvement in economic situation and life chances in the destination countries served as a pull factor. Figure 1 (see page 84) shows the great difference in income between Lower Austria and Galicia, as well as Galicia's lack of involvement in the general economic growth.

Such differences between wage levels in developed or booming regions and those areas, such as Galicia, that saw nothing of the economic upswing, were one of the main reasons for the rise in criminality. The sex trade was one of the sectors of the economy that thrived the most. The traffickers played on the victims' hopes that they could improve their wretched living conditions elsewhere for their own good and that of their family, if they had one. It is striking how relevant an analysis of the current-day situation such as the following by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is to the

Source: Good 1993

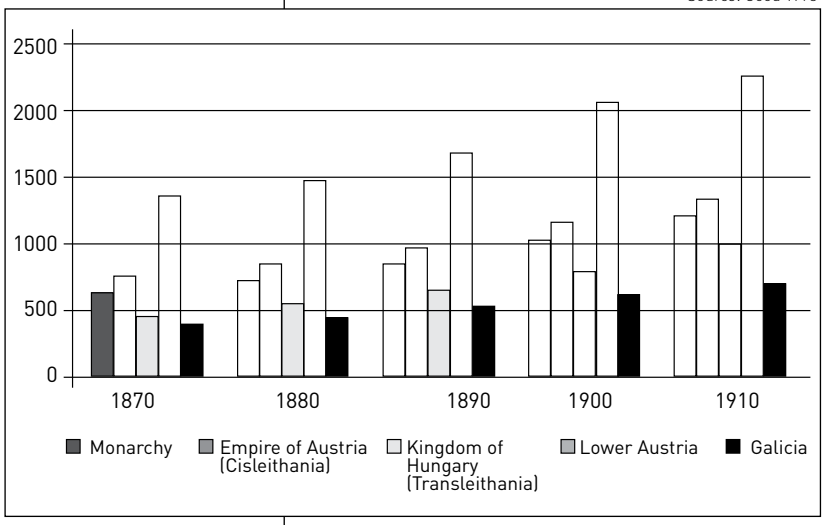

Figure 1: Per capita income in Galicia in comparison to Lower Austria, the Monarchy and the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Monarchy in international dollars (1980)

historical state of affairs: "The steady supply of persons trying to improve their lives, or those of their children, is created by a climate of (relative) poverty and political and/or social exclusion; lack of educational or employment opportunities; discrimination and violence against women, children or ethnic minorities; government corruption; natural disasters and war" (OSCE 2010, 23).

Sources: Austro-Hungarian Consul General in Buenos Aires; German Embassy in Vienna 1889; ABPD[4]

Period/date	Number	Origin	Destination
annually	> 400	Hungary (Székely Land, Transylvania)	Buenos Aires
?	"several thousand"	Hungarian border counties	Romania, Serbia
annually	> 400	Hungary	Montevideo
annually	> 400	Hungary	Rio de Janeiro
annually	> 400	Hungary	Pernambuco
monthly (1896)	117		Buenos Aires
1898	1,500	Russia	Buenos Aires
annually ; circa 1900	8,000–10,000	Russia-Poland	South America
annually	"several thousand"	Austria (Galicia) and Russia	India
annually	≤ 1,000	Galicia	–

Table 1: Statements about the number of victims before 1914

The American continent was the main destination for emigrants from the Habsburg Empire. In South America, Buenos Aires was one of the most popular ports of arrival for immigrants. At the same time, Buenos Aires (together with Montevideo) also acted as a South American hub for the trade in women before the First World War. The victims were brought from Galicia to Buenos Aires via migration networks. Typically, the victims and the criminals came from the same migration area.[2] In Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the women were mostly kept in brothels that belonged to emigrants of the same culture. A list of the brothels in Buenos Aires made by the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Buenos Aires dating to 1898 contains a record of 111 brothel owners whose names overwhelmingly suggest an Austro-Hungarian background.[3] Similar conclusions can also be drawn from reports by organisations tackling the traffic in women (Deutsches Nationalkomitee 1903; Schrank 1904).

Like today there are no reliable macro data for the 19th and 20th centuries. However, various publications and official correspondence of the time offer some figures (see Table 1) based on the victims discovered.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AS A TOPIC OF DEBATE

The issue of traffic in women was a prominent topic of public discourse and state and civil society counter initiatives at the turn of the 20th century. The focus on the problem was only interrupted by the war years. A chief inspector at the German Reich Criminal Investigation Department in Berlin observed at the end of the 1930s that nothing else is "tackled as extensively (…) as the traffic in women and girls". (Hauke 1939, 102–106).

The political sphere's intensive efforts to tackle traffic in women and girls from the

late 19th century were due to a clever and intelligent organisational structure that today we would describe as a transnational network of NGOs. Following on from the abolition movement and moral reform initiatives in England[5], organisations that took up the cause of combating traffic in women and (forced) prostitution also became established there.[6] From those movements arose the two leading umbrella organisations, which supported very different views of women and political goals: the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF) and the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, later called the International Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children" (IB). According to Limoncelli, the members of the IAF tended towards a feminist stance and championed individual women's rights within the framework of an international humanitarian network. The network of the IB, which belonged to the moral reform camp, consisted of dedicated women who did not subscribe to feminist views, and men who were concerned with the issue in an official function (as doctors, lawyers, police officials, scientists etc.) (Limoncelli 2010, 44 ff). With considerable propaganda efforts, the "National Vigilance Association", which was founded against that background, anchored the idea of working in an organised way to suppress the traffic in women and girls on the European continent as well (Coote 1910) and initiated the establishment of national committees dedicated to the issue in several continental European countries. The British initiative fed into existing German and Austrian debates on such topics as gender roles, sexuality and morality (Nautz 2011). It was by no means the case that awareness of the issue on the continent was first raised by the work of the English organisations. For example, case files on traffic in women held by the police in Hanau (near Frankfurt am Main), can be found from as early as 1837.[7]

An international office was set up in London to coordinate the work of the national committees (cf. Bristow 1997, 112; Baer 1908, 95; Dietrich 1989, 60 f). The aim, in which the organisations succeeded to a significant extent, was to lobby the European governments systematically to take up the fight against the traffic in women. The beginning of the 20th century saw the signing of the first international agreements.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

In the second half of the 1880s, a series of bilateral treaties on the treatment of foreign prostitutes were signed. Such agreements, whose content was the same, were concluded in 1866 between Belgium and the Netherlands, in 1888 between Belgium and Austria-Hungary, in 1889 between the Netherlands and the German Reich and in 1890 between the German Reich and Belgium. It was agreed that prostitutes who were citizens of one of the signatory states and plied their trade in another signatory state should be questioned by the authorities as to who had caused them to migrate. Women engaging in prostitution against their will and minors, even if plying their trade voluntarily, were to be returned to their country of origin (Nautz 2008a). The agreements are considered not to have been particularly effective (Hauke 1939, 104).

However, the issue became an increasing focus of interest. The topic was discussed during the deliberations on emigration laws in Germany and in Austria-Hungary. While such a law with corresponding sanctions was adopted in the German Reich in 1897 (Reich Act on Emigration[8];

de Werth 1928, 10)[9], the discussions in the Habsburg Empire came to nothing (Zippel 2003). Symposia on a national, European and international level, such as the 5th International Prison Congress in 1895 and the Conference of the International Society for Criminology in Budapest in 1899, addressed the issue of the traffic in women. In the meantime, the network of national committees joined forces with other organisations to push for further-reaching national and international legislation. At their international congress in London in 1899, they explicitly called for governments to cooperate on an official level to tackle the traffic in women and girls. Three years later, the French foreign minister invited interested governments to a conference in Paris. Delegations from 15 European states and from Brazil drew up three recommendations for legislative and administrative measures. These included a call for the discrepancies between the laws of the countries to be eliminated and for identical national sanctions to be introduced in order to combat the traffic in women and girls effectively (Brewster Lewis 1992).

Based on such groundwork, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic[10] was signed on 18 May 1904 in Paris by Belgium, Denmark, the German Reich, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Spain and Switzerland, and some time later by Austria-Hungary, the USA and Brazil. The agreement committed the signatory states to establishing national authorities for the surveillance and suppression of the traffic in women and girls. Those authorities were charged with coordinating all information concerning the traffic in women and girls. The agreement also provided for the stepping up of police controls at critical points (railway stations, port cities). In addition greater care was to be taken of young women and girls immigrating and emigrating, with closer supervision exercised over the job agency trade, which stood under suspicion. The provisions of the aforementioned treaties from the 1880s were incorporated into the agreement. To increase the effectiveness of the fight against the traffic in women and girls, the national authorities were authorised to correspond with one another directly. In other words, they did not need to use the usual diplomatic channels to communicate. However, the text of the agreement lacked a commitment to punish the traffic in women and girls (Wijers/Lap-Chew 1997, 20; Bullough/Bullough 1987, 320; Frostell 2002).

In subsequent years, state bureaucracies, politicians and interested NGOs worked on a further-reaching version of that first agreement. The "International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic" was signed in Paris on 4 May 1910, committing the signatory states to the coordinated prosecution and punishment of the "white slave traffic".[11] However, the procurement, enticement and leading away of women of full age was punishable only if committed by fraud, by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion. Procuring, enticing or leading away women or girls under age for "immoral purposes" was made punishable, even if consent was given.

A final protocol to the convention established that women or girls aged below 20 were considered as under age. The convention of 1910 was intended to suppress the traffic solely in white European girls and women. It was not until the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children of 1921, concluded and adopted under the auspices of the League of Nations, that no distinc-

tion was made with regard to the origin of the victims.[12]

During both the drafting and implementation of the legislation for the suppression of traffic in women, there was cooperation among a network of state and political bodies, civil society organisations and media. They shared the same goal of combating the traffic in women, although their views on the roles of women and men differed greatly in some cases. The suppression of traffic in women was among the first criminal offences to be tackled through international cooperation between criminal prosecution authorities (Jäger 2006). Even more interesting is the fact that a form of cooperation took shape involving state, political and civil society bodies and the media that even then had all the features of the structure that today we would term "governance" (de Vries 2004, 22; Limoncelli 2004, 1; Nautz 2007; Nautz 2008a; Nautz 2008b). The outbreak of the First World War interrupted this international cooperation, but did not end it. Women's organisations were consulted ahead of the peace negotiations and raised the issue of the traffic in women. As a result, all treaties with the defeated nations contained commitments to tackling the problem. However, it was the newly created League of Nations above all that was charged with coordinating the international effort against the traffic in women.[13] NGOs dedicated to the issue were involved in the relevant committees and activities of the League of Nations from the start.[14]

AUSTRIAN EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

The activity of the Austrian criminal prosecution authorities matched the keen public awareness of the issue in Austria from the late 19th century onwards. As a result of the agreement of 1904 and the civil anti-trafficking campaigns, the Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women was established in Vienna in 1904. From 1903, there was an equivalent body in Berlin, namely the Central Police Office (Central Reich Office) for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women.

The Vienna Central Office lists figures for the years 1910 to 1913 concerning investigations opened on suspicion of traffic in women (see Table 3, page 88). According to those figures, around 320 investigations were opened in 1910 and 1911. In 1912, the number was significantly higher at 360. In the first half of the last year of peace, 181 investigations were opened. The Central Office attributed this increased activity not to an increase in the traffic in women and girls, but to the effect of awareness campaigns that resulted in "the

Source: Nautz[15]

1866	Belgian-Dutch Agreement for the Protection of Female Persons
1888	Agreement for the Protection of Female Persons between Belgium and Austria-Hungary*)
1889	German-Dutch Agreement for the Protection of Procured Female Persons, entered into force in 1891
1890	German-Belgian Agreement for the Protection of Procured Female Persons, entered into force in 1891
1904	International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade
1910	International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. VIII, p. 278 (Modifikation Vertrag 1904)
1919	Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 282, No. 17
1919	Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Article 234, No. 14
1919	Covenant of the League of Nations
1919	Peace Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, Article 167
1920	Treaty of Trianon, Article 217
1921	International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children
1923	Treaty of Lausanne, Article 100
1933	International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age
1949	UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others
	*) identical in content to the agreement of 1866

Table 2: Historical bilateral and international agreements for the suppression of the traffic in women

Source: Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women 1914, 20

1910	320
1911	321
1912	360
1913 (January – May)	181

Table 3: Investigations opened[16]

public (…) having become more aware and more cautious, and therefore making more use of the authorities than in former times when making journeys abroad or taking up jobs or something like that".[17] The authority monitored not only the red light district, but also other trades suspected of serving as covers for the traffic in women and children. These were chiefly agencies for performing artists, job agencies and emigration offices.

For the suppression of the traffic in women and the forced prostitution of minors, in Austria the prohibition on the enticement and leading away of minors pursuant to the Austrian Penal Act of 27 May 1852 (Sections 25, 97) was applicable. If an Austrian citizen committed such an offence abroad, they could be penalised by the Austrian judiciary (Sections 36, 235).

For the prosecution of offences committed by non-Austrian citizens in third countries, the authorities of the country of origin of the accused were to be given administrative assistance in prosecuting the offence (Sections 39, 40). A decree issued by the Ministry of Commerce dated 7 May 1908[18] contained specific provisions applying to offices and agencies providing jobs abroad.

It only allowed persons aged under 18 to be engaged for jobs abroad with the proven agreement of the Guardianship Court, after it was found that parents and guardians often gave their consent too lightly because of material need.[19] In the course of its work, the Police Headquarters in Vienna built up an extensive archive containing information about persons suspected of being traffickers in women and girls. There was an extensive collection of photographs (of suspected offenders and victims) as well as the fingerprints of persons who had been in custody for involvement in such trafficking. The Central Office was supported by other Austrian and Austro-Hungarian agencies such as legations and consulates. The information compiled was made available to foreign investigating authorities on request. Within Austria, the Vienna Central Office corresponded in particular with the police departments in Chernivtsi, Krakow and Lviv, because most of the victims, as well as many international traffickers in women and girls, came from Galicia and Bukovina, and also had close links to compatriots abroad. However, the Central Office also cracked down on traffic in women taking place within the frontiers of the Empire, where some convictions for the offence of procuring were secured.[20]

Many private organisations took up the cause, with the "railway missions" playing an important role. From the last quarter of the 19th century onwards, an increasingly extensive network of associations and authorities dedicated to combating the traffic in women was formed (Nautz 2006a; Jäger 2002). It is noteworthy that the cooperation extended beyond ideological and religious lines, which was anything but a matter of course in those years (Reports by the "Austrian League for the Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women"; Nautz 2011; on Germany: Brinkmeier 2003, 338 f). The police offices and political bodies worked together with civil society organisations, which frequently have a religious background. This cooperation was not entirely without conflict, but can ultimately be described as successful (Hauke 1939, 155). This can also be seen by the fact that some individuals held dual roles. For example, the Viennese police doctor Josef Schrank was also president of the Austrian League for

the Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women, which was later renamed the Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children. The League was founded on 17 November 1902 in Vienna by a group of men and held its first general assembly on 29 May 1903 after obtaining permission from the Interior Ministry (Austrian League for the Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women/ Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children 1913, 6). The League, based in Vienna, acted as a central office for a number of branch offices and cooperating associations: the "Società d'assistenza e protezione femminile", Trieste, the "League for the Protection of Women and Children" in Lviv, the "Protection of Women" chapter of the Association of Jewish Women in Krakow, the local committee in Chernivtsi, the confidential help office in Prague, a news bureau for Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Russia and the East, Budapest and Vienna, and a confidential help office for Sarajevo.

Other organisations were also engaged in the suppression of the traffic in women (for example, the "Caritas socialis" organisation and the Catholic Railway Mission, both founded by Hildegard Burjan; on Burjan: Schödl 2008), but the Austrian League and its member organisations were the main points of contact for state bodies (see Table 4).

The number of female clients referred to the League should not be seen as the number of victims. A large proportion of the women were regarded as being at risk for various reasons, while a smaller proportion were classified as "fallen".

The core conviction was that young women should be protected from sliding into a "loose way of living" and ultimately prostitution. Prostitution was regarded as an incurable infectious disease, against which young women should be protected and "immunised". The city with its many "temptations" was believed to be the breeding ground for that contagion. Department stores, confectioneries, dance halls, railways, ports and even ice-cream parlours were regarded as venues where women could all too easily be infected. The narratives on this topic are almost identical

Source: Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels 1909–1914

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Guardianship authorities	95	81	95	155	109	180
Imperial and Royal Police Headquarters in Vienna	270	343	183	198	273	264
a) Bureau for Moral Policing	—	—	160	180	231	209
b) Youth welfare	—	—	23	18	42	55
District police departments	57	41	165	194	201	228
Committee for Juvenile Court Assistance	—	—	—	4	9	2
Vienna Rescue Association	—	—	—	3	4	1
Viennese orphan boards and other associations	36	15	20	49	41	30
Parents, guardians	58	39	75	176	133	147
Private individuals	97	37	40	97	60	87
Of own volition	126	109	190	248	185	66
a) from Vienna	—	—	173	200	—	—
b) travelled from outside Vienna	—	—	17	48	—	—
Total	739	665	768	1,124	1,015	1,005

Table 4: Cooperation of state bodies with the Vienna Central Secretariat of the Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children

Source: Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels 1909–1914

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Innocent with regard to their former life, but morally at risk to a varying degree	314	312	390	471	458	514
Suspected of a loose way of living	223	214	170	299	245	219
Vagrants	30	10	15	94	94	45
Fallen	172	129	198	260	260	227
Total	739	665	768	1,124	1,015	1,005

Table 5: Characterisation of female clients by the Austrian League for the Protection of Girls and Children in Vienna

throughout the transatlantic area and relate back to older narrative strands (Nautz 2011; Sabelus 2009).

Many of the victims came from the countryside and/or lower-class and peasant backgrounds. The activists worked on the assumption that these young women and girls had not been able to build up sufficient defences against the disease of lust and would therefore easily fall prey to vice and crime. The lack of immunity was attributed primarily to shortcomings in the parental home (inadequate upbringing, poor role models) in the case of women with a lower-class or peasant background, while in the other cases a poor education, low wages and precarious job situation were seen as reasons for having a low resistance. Therefore, anti-trafficking organisations in general, and not only the Austrian League, placed particular importance on helping women to gain additional vocational training, properly paid jobs and secure accommodation. They also saw it as their goal to have women become part of stable family structures and take part in joint leisure activities designed to keep women away from the temptations of the big city. The importance attributed to helping women find jobs can be seen in Tables 6 to 8.

The question of accommodation was problematic for many women: Young women who came from the countryside to the city were often promised accommodation by traffickers and procurers, only to be lured by them into prostitution. Other women found themselves in difficulty when they lost their job and could no longer afford the rent payments. Leage member organisations therefore set up shelters for homeless women and those at risk in

Source: Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels 1909–1914

Services	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Provided with a job	—	552	496	608	967	746	789
Given money for journey home	—	15	19	21	39	30	19
Helped to find a husband**)	—	3	2	3	2	—	—
Adoption	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Other forms of assistance*)	—	63	15	17		18	21
"left to their fate as being beyond help"	—	106	132	119	116	221	176
Total	356	739	665	768	1,124	1,015	1,005

*) Other forms of assistance include: financial support, advice, appointment of a guardian, 1909. Only financial support in 1910.
**) 1910, 1911: married and provided with trousseau

Table 6: Help provided by the Vienna Committee

Source: Liga-Bericht 1913, 17

Assistance	
Assistance in finding a job	660
Legal support	26
Accommodation	170
Railway mission	31
Total	887

Table 7: Committees in Chernivtsi, 1913

Source: Liga-Bericht 1913, 15

Identity papers obtained	95
Medical help	17
Judicial assistance	19
Clothing	36
Accommodation	40
Journey home	10
Advice	450
Information	199
Intervention with authorities or in private cases	142
Assistance in finding a job	1,012
Total	2,020

Table 8: Assistance provided by the Società d'assistenza e protezione femminile (Trieste 1913)

other ways. In Vienna, the League's "Refuge Centre" was opened on 3 December 1907 in District V at Grüngasse 15 (Austrian League for the Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women/Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children 1908, 14). The refuge centre was well received and the frequency with which it was used increased steadily (see Table 8). The refuge service also developed in a similar way at other locations (Austrian League for the Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women/Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children 1909–1914).

The recognition accorded to the work of the Austrian League is also demonstrated by the fact that it received annual grants from the city of Vienna and the ministries, as well as donations from private persons and enterprises (Austrian League for the

Source: Liga-Berichte 1909–1914

Year	Number of persons	Nights
1908	301	—
1909	358	1,293
1910	434	1,423
1911	516	1,485
1912	409	1,506
1913	601	1,520

Table 9: Accommodation at the Vienna Refuge Centre 1909–1914

Suppression of the Traffic in Young Women/ Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children 1918–1913).

CONCLUSION

The modern traffic in women developed in parallel with industrialisation and modernisation processes from the second half of the 19th century onwards. The traffickers, who often worked in networks within the Habsburg Empire, had business connections all over the world. The region of Buenos Aires/Montevideo, where there were close links to the prostitution trade, was one of the primary destinations until 1914.

With only a short time delay, a coalition of civil society organisations and state bodies that was just taking shape became engaged in numerous activities to tackle the traffic in women and girls. Judicial authorities and politicians valued the collaboration with civil society organisations, as exemplified by the cooperation with the

Quelle: Liga-Berichte 1909-1914

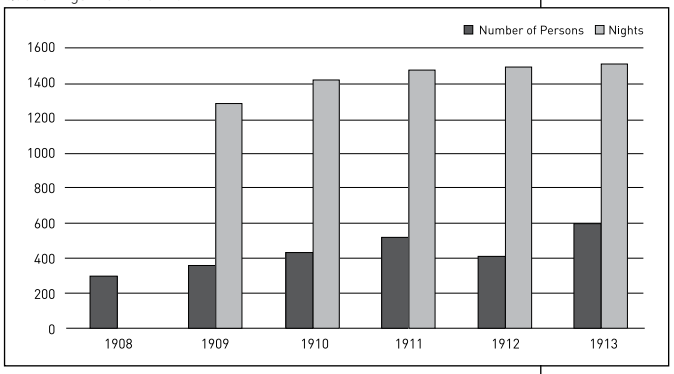

Figure 2: Accommodation at the Vienna Refuge Centre 1909–1914

Austrian League. That specific form of combined effort and interlinking between political institutions, state bodies and civil society, which today we would term governance, undoubtedly achieved successes. This historical collaboration is certainly comparable in nature to modern forms of cooperation.

[1] The data are based in part on the work of the author as part of the W.E.S.T. (Women East Smuggling and Trafficking) project and the Gendered Migration, Sex Work and Exploitation: Trafficking in Women and Prostitution networking project. Sources from Austrian archives were used primarily. The author owes particular thanks to the Archive of the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna for assisting him in his research.

[2] On the network structure of the traffic in women in detail: see Nautz 2007.

[3] Report No. 116.039 ex 1898, 12 January 1899, Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna (BPD Wien), Prostitution – Traffic in Young Women 1897–1899.

[4] Vienna Carton 1887–1890/2 (Prostitution – Traffic in Young Women); Schrank 1904, 45, 74, 77.

[5] The term "abolitionism" underwent a similar development to that of "white slavery". Originally, the abolition movement stood for the fight to eliminate slavery; the reference to the campaigns against slavery was intentional and was designed to trigger such associations (McPherson 1964). On the organisational development of the two movements, see the literature summary in Limoncelli 2010 (42 ff) with further references.

[6] This movement gained considerable impetus thanks to a series of articles written by the London-based journalist William Thomas Stead entitled "The maiden tribute of modern Babylon", which were published in the London Pall Mal Gazette in 1885. The series attracted considerable attention and served as a model for the emerging field of investigative journalism in continental Europe. Stead's articles can be read online at: http://www.atta cking-thedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/index.php (02.03.2011).

[7] File "On the activities of the so-called fly-whisk traders, 1834–1837, 1847", in: Central State Archive of Marburg 180 Hanau, No. 854.

[8] German Reich Law Gazette (RGBl.) 1897, 404.

[9] "Section 48: Whoever entices a female person to emigrate in order to lead her into immorality as a trade, with fraudulent concealment of that purpose, shall be punished by a sentence of up to five years in a hard-labour prison. In addition to imprisonment with labour, the wrongdoer shall also forfeit their civil privileges and a fine from one hundred and fifty to six thousand marks may be imposed. The sentence may further permit police supervision. The same punishments shall apply to whosoever wilfully assists the emigration of the female person, with knowledge of the purpose pursued by the wrongdoer. If extenuating circumstances exist, a sentence of not less than three months in a prison shall be granted, in addition to which a fine of one hundred and fifty to six thousand marks may be inflicted. Section 22: The agent may only give transport to emigrants if a previously concluded written agreement exists. Emigrants may not be obliged after their arrival at the point of destination to pay, refund or work in exchange for the price of their transport, any part of that price or any advances made to them. Nor may they be restricted in the choice of their place of living or their employment in the country of destination" (Act on Emigration of 9 June 1897, German Reich Law Gazette (RGBl.), 463).

[10] Austrian Law Gazette (Österreichisches

RGBl.) 1905, 695.

[11] Austrian Law Gazette (Österreichisches RGBl.) 1913, 31.

Section 1: "Whoever in order to gratify the passions of another person has procured, enticed or led away even with her consent, a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

Section 2: "Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has, by fraud, or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority, or any other method of compulsion, procured, enticed, or led away a woman or girl over age, for immoral purposes, shall also be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

[12] International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, Austrian Law Gazette (Österreichisches RGBl.) 1924, 80.

[13] http://www.versailler-vertrag.de/vv1.htm.

[14] Federal Chancellery, Instruction, No. 50.091–16/1925), in: Archive of the Republic (AdR), Federal Chancellery (BKA), Federal Interior Ministry (BMI) 4768; Fischer 2006).

[15] References to texts of treaties and laws: Belgian-Dutch Agreement for the Protection of Female Persons and Agreement for the Protection of Female Persons between Belgian and Austria-Hungary: Hauke 1939, 104. Agreement between the German Reich and the Netherlands for the Protection of Procured Female Persons: (German) Reich Law Gazette Volume 1891, No. 23, 356–358; Agreement between the German Reich and Belgium for the Protection of Procured Female Persons: German Reich Law Gazette Volume 1891, No. 25, 375–377; Trianon: http://www.versailler-ver trag.de/trianon/index.htm; Versailles: http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/dokumente/versailles/index.html ; St. Germain: http://www.versailler-vertrag.de/svsg/ svsg-i.htm; Neuilly: http://www.versailler-vertrag.de/neuilly/index.htm; Lausanne: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne; Covenant of the League of Nations: http://www.versailler-vertrag.de/vv1.htm; International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade 1904: League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1, 83; 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic: League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. VIII, 278, http://www.oas.org/juridico/MLA/en/traites/en_traites-inter-wst.pdf; International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children 1910: LNTS8a (treaties.un.org/pages/LONOnline.aspx); International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children 1921: http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201009/ volume-1009- C-269-English.pdf; International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, Oct. 11, 1933, 150 L.N.T.S.: http://www1.umn. edu/humanrts/instree/women-traffic.html.

[16] Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women on suspicion of the traffic in women and girls.

[17] Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women 1914.

[18] Austrian Law Gazette (RGBl.) No. 97.

[19] Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women 1914, 21; Federal Chancellery, Circular to all national government offices and to the federal police authorities, No. 83034 – 9. Dubious recruitment for positions abroad, in: Archive of the Republic (AdR), 14/HP 844; on cases in Germany: I HA Rep. 77. Ministry of the Interior, Title 423, No. 31. File on police measures and punishments for the abduction and theft of children and young girls.

[20] Central Office for the Suppression of the International Traffic in Young Women 1914.

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