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# City Introductions

# Prostitution in Alexandria, Egypt

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The construction of the Mahmudiyya Canal in 1820 gradually transformed Alexandria, Egypt, into a bustling Mediterranean port city that attracted migrants with promises of fortune and social mobility. Over the next 30 years, the population of the city soared from 12,000 to 104,000, reaching over 320,000 by the end of the century. Given the high degree of mobility and anonymity in that rapidly expanding city, prostitution soon became a profitable economic venture. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, prostitution in Alexandria was tolerated yet informally relegated to the social and geographic margins of the city by state officials and local communities. That practice of unofficial zoning gave rise to the formation of red-light neighbourhoods in Kom al-Nadura, Kom Bakir and Al-Tartushi, which were roughly within the boundaries of the Al-Labban district of Alexandria. Despite efforts to isolate sex workers, some women navigated the boundary between respectability and abjection by engaging in prostitution temporarily and covertly, plying their trade outside the boundaries of red-light districts.

## Legal situation and demography

According to contemporary reports, prostitution in Alexandria had reached unprecedented levels by the second half of the 1870s. The sharp rise in the number of sex workers can be attributed to demographic changes prompted by political and economic developments in the Mediterranean region. While the global demand for Egyptian cotton during the American civil war had restructured rural Egyptian economies and brought large waves of immigrants from Greece, Italy and Malta into Alexandria, the drop in the demand for cotton in the post-civil war era left many Egyptian peasants and Southern Europeans in precarious economic straits. With the country hovering on the verge of bankruptcy in the mid-1870s, Southern European and rural migrants in Alexandria turned to prostitution in increasing numbers. More aggressive attempts to abolish slavery in Egypt in the 1870s also brought newly manumitted Ethiopian and Southern Sudanese slaves into Alexandria's expanding sex economy. In addition to those domestic developments, Alexandria had long been subject to the ebb and flow of Mediterranean crises; thus, the large-scale migrations set in motion by the outbreak of war in the Balkans in the second half of the 1870s further contributed to Alexandria's fluctuating demography.

Although the increased visibility of sex workers in Alexandria in the late 1870s prompted some doctors and state officials to call for the regulation of prostitution, it was not until the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 that a system of regulation was put into place. The regulation system required sex workers to register with the state and renew their licences on a yearly basis. All sex workers had to be at least 18 years of age. As in Cairo, licensed prostitutes in Alexandria had to report to a state inspection bureau every week for a medical examination, and those who were diagnosed with a venereal disease were confined to a hospital and discharged only upon recovery. Licensed prostitutes who failed to appear for their weekly examination without a medical certificate to excuse

- 8• their absence were required to pay a significant fine and faced possible imprisonment. By making it unlawful for women to engage in commercial sex work without registering with the state, the regulation system turned prostitution into a full-time job and identity.

The efficacy of the regulations was significantly reduced by a system of capitulations that granted the majority of Europeans in Egypt immunity from both taxation and Egyptian law, allowing them to be tried by their consular courts for any alleged criminal offence. Many non-European Christian and Jewish minorities in Egypt were also able to secure the same capitulatory privileges through a European power, usually by purchasing a certificate called a *berat* from a European consulate. Although the colonial state initially attempted to subject foreigners to the regulation system, a Mixed Court ruling in Alexandria in 1886 determined that sex workers who had capitulatory protection could only be detained and tried by their consular courts. That made the policing of prostitution in Alexandria particularly challenging owing to the nature of its demographic composition. Alexandria contained a larger, more diverse and more transient population than both Cairo and Port Said, offering migrants a variety of seasonal employment opportunities. The majority of sex workers were of Egyptian, French, Greek and Italian origin, yet statistics also document a significant number of Maltese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Syrian and Turkish sex workers.<sup>1</sup> It was not uncommon to find women of three or four different nationalities in a single brothel, and policing such a brothel often required the cooperation of multiple consulates, which was both logistically and politically challenging.

The refusal of European consulates to cooperate with the regulations implemented by the British colonial regime was particularly prevalent in Alexandria owing to long-standing competition for hegemony between its French, Greek and Italian communities. Women's bodies were sites of political contestation, and a consulate's refusal to grant the state access to those bodies functioned as a form of communal resistance to the encroaching power of the colonial state. Yet the protection afforded to European sex workers by the regulations was due not only to the capitulations but also to the way in which race shaped perceptions of disease transmission, as the bodies of native sex workers were seen as the primary sites of venereal infections. Thus, despite the fact that the British imposition of martial law in Egypt during the First World War enabled the colonial regime to apply the regulations to European sex workers, colonial officials treated European women as a "more respectable class of prostitute" and granted them access to less rigorous medical examinations and better hospital care.<sup>2</sup> In the early twentieth century, it was both the exploitative nature of the capitulations as well as the racism embedded in the prostitution regulations that gave Alexandria the reputation of being the largest centre of traffic in women and children.

## Causes of prostitution

Although the market for commercial sex in Alexandria had been expanding throughout the nineteenth century in relation to its growth as a major hub of international trade, the way in which colonialism and military occupation restructured the city's economy during the First World War

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children, Part Two (Geneva, League of Nations, 1927), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> United Kingdom, The National Archives (FO 141/466/2), "Report to the Commandant, Alexandria City Police, September 20, 1915".



was a major driving force behind the spread of prostitution. Alexandria was home to the British army's base depot for its military campaigns in the Levant, which made it a centre for military reinforcements. After a brief recession at the beginning of the war, the demand for both labour and leisure activities gradually increased as soldiers and military supplies moved through Alexandria. Thus, while traditional markets in Egypt fluctuated during the war, the market for providing goods and services to soldiers in Alexandria steadily grew, attracting new waves of migrants from Upper Egypt. The Upper Egyptians were accompanied by Christian and Jewish refugees from the Levant, Armenian refugees fleeing genocide, Jewish refugees fleeing anti-Semitic violence in Eastern Europe, and Syrian refugees fleeing famine. Commercial sex was a key sector of Alexandria's wartime economy, and it had the potential to yield greater profit for women than many of the other economic opportunities available at that time.

In 1917, colonial authorities began an aggressive recruitment/conscription campaign throughout Egypt to gather men for the Labour Corps, which provided manual labour for the Allies in the theatres of war. Alexandria was one of the sites where men were medically examined, vaccinated and treated before they were sent abroad, and secret brothels quickly began to appear around the military camps. Many day labourers in Alexandria joined the Egyptian Labour Corps during the second half of the war, but few were able to send money back to their families in their absence. That situation, combined with the rise in the cost of living during the war, led married women and underage girls to turn to the commercial sex industry in increasing numbers.

## Organization of the trade

In wartime Alexandria, several government-sanctioned red-light districts existed in the areas of Al-Labban, Al-Attarin and Al-Manshiyya, with the highest concentration of native prostitutes in Al-Labban and the highest concentration of European prostitutes in Al-Attarin.<sup>3</sup> Yet the war years marked a notable rise in the prevalence of clandestine sex work outside the licensed quarters for several reasons. First, married women and underage girls were not allowed to obtain licences owing to their age and marital status, nor was a licence a desirable option for women who sought to engage in sex work temporarily. Secondly, transient sex workers preferred to cater to transient markets, which made it more advantageous for them to operate in close proximity to military camps. Thirdly, the British colonial authorities put red-light districts in Alexandria out of bounds to soldiers at certain points during the war, allegedly owing to the spread of venereal disease, thereby harming the livelihood of licensed sex workers.<sup>4</sup> The wartime policies made clandestine prostitution a more stable source of income than licensed prostitution, creating a strong economic incentive for sex workers to practise their trade covertly.

Due to the colonial state's monopolization of transport in Egypt for military purposes as well as its more stringent policies against *souteneurs*, the war years were characterized by a decline in the international and domestic trafficking of sex workers in Egypt, which contributed to the increased

<sup>3</sup> Egypt. *Journal Officiel du Gouvernement Egyptien*, 20 Mai 1915 (Cairo); Census Register of the Alexandria Governorate, 1927 (Cairo, Ministry of Finance, 1929), p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> United Kingdom, The National Archives (FO 141/466/2), "Report by Major Hopkinson, Commandant of Alexandria City Police, March 19, 1916".

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role of local women in Alexandria's commercial sex industry. Streetwalking became more common, particularly among married women. Streetwalkers found their clients while peddling goods in the marketplace or street, and they would usually take their clients to a clandestine brothel or private home, relinquishing half their pay to the owner of the room. Other women preferred to find their clients directly through clandestine brothels, which secured their clientele via their proximity to a well-frequented venue and/or connections to powerful people in the local community. Women played the most prominent role in the procuring business during the war years, as female brothel owners took on the responsibility of finding sex workers for their large clientele.

After the war came to an end, Alexandria was left with a sizeable working-class population yet few work opportunities. Many women who had profited from the commercial sex industry during the war continued to ply their trade, and working-class men joined them in increasing numbers as procurers. The relative independence and freedom of mobility that many sex workers had enjoyed in Alexandria's wartime economy soon came to an end as competition for clients increased and procurers adopted new strategies to control and profit from the trade. Organized networks were formed to facilitate the illicit movement of people, narcotics and precious metals, and Alexandria rose to prominence as the centre of international and domestic trafficking in Egypt. That development transformed the nature of clandestine sex work in interwar Alexandria as procurers began to increase their control over the movement and earnings of sex workers operating in their area. The trafficking networks that developed around the clandestine sex trade in the interwar period left sex workers increasingly vulnerable to exploitation and organized crime, and since the racism embedded in the regulation system created a higher incentive for native sex workers to practise their trade covertly, race became a dominant factor in their exposure to gender violence.

The most infamous example of the relationship between organized crime and clandestine prostitution is the 1920 Alexandria serial murder case, which is still known in Egypt today as the Raya and Sakina case. During the First World War, two sisters from Upper Egypt by the name of Raya and Sakina operated a successful clandestine brothel next to a military camp in Alexandria, which catered to both soldiers and civilians. After Raya and Sakina's husbands returned from the Labour Corps at the end of the war, the sisters opened a number of new clandestine brothels and became involved in an organized criminal operation that resulted in the murder of at least 17 women. Many of the victims were self-employed sex workers and some had accumulated a relative degree of wealth which they carried on their bodies in the form of gold. Although the state prosecutor assumed from the beginning of the investigation that robbery was the motive for the murders, the details of the testimonies indicated that the murders were punitive and aimed at eliminating competition in the sex trade. In May 1921, Raya and Sakina became the first Egyptian women to receive the death penalty despite the fact that the judges determined they were only accomplices to the murders. Their husbands and two of the local strongmen in their community who had allegedly provided them protection were also executed for the murders, yet the investigation records indicate they were part of a larger network, many of whose members went free. The high rate of unsolved murders and violent crimes in Alexandria's 1926 criminal court register suggests that the 1920 serial murder case was only the beginning of an era in which organized crime accompanied the spread of clandestine prostitution.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Egypt, Ministry of Interior, National Archives, 1926 Alexandria Criminal Court Register.

## Societal reaction

The expansion of Alexandria's commercial sex industry during the First World War captured public attention when newspapers in Egypt began reporting on the Alexandria serial murder case in November 1920. The reaction to the case is significant because it marked the first aggressive attack on prostitution by members of the Egyptian middle class, launching a nascent Egyptian social purity movement that would gain momentum throughout the interwar period. That movement blamed colonialism for the spread of vice and called for an end to state-regulated prostitution. It was rooted in nationalist discourse and was particularly critical of Alexandria, where European communities were most prominent and powerful.

In the 1920s, a number of social actors joined journalists in the anti-vice campaign, including Egyptian feminists, Christian missionaries and Islamic leaders. One British missionary by the name of Arthur T. Upson (who also went by the name of Abdul-Fady Al-Qahirani) was active in Alexandria as well as other Egyptian cities, distributing pamphlets in the streets and delivering fervent speeches in Arabic about the evils of prostitution. The growth of the Egyptian middle class during the interwar period was accompanied by increased state efforts to nationalize Alexandria's working class through the imposition of anti-vice measures. In the late 1920s, the Alexandria City Police began at an unprecedented rate to expel non-Egyptians who had engaged in illegal vice, prompting the creation of a new foreign criminal branch of the police department in 1930.<sup>6</sup> The anti-vice campaign became an integral part of the Egyptian nationalist project, and the central government increased its political control over Alexandria through the imposition of a new moral and sexual order.

Although the cultural changes brought about by the ascendancy of the middle class contributed to Egypt's criminalization of prostitution in 1949, those changes also exacerbated the spread of clandestine prostitution during the interwar period. Those who aspired to maintain or attain middle class respectability preferred the secrecy of clandestine prostitution to licensed, "public" women. Ironically, as the middle class sought to harden the public boundary between respectability and abjection, the demands of middle-class modernity helped preserve the fluidity of that boundary in daily encounters.

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<sup>6</sup> France, Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Consulat de France à Alexandrie (Box 20PO/1/189), Indésirables—expulsions: 1922–1935.

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# Prostitution in Antwerp

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## Societal reaction and legal framework

In the fourteenth century, municipal ordinances in Antwerp, Belgium, had already regulated prostitution by imposing an annual fine on brothel keepers and pimps, which was more of a tax on sexual entertainment than a repressive measure. Towards the end of that century, however, official attempts to “clean out” the city centre and push brothels and prostitutes to a few poorer streets in the city’s periphery multiplied and went hand in hand with increasing stigmatization of “public women”. In 1431, for example, the city authorities decreed, for moral and religious reasons, that all prostitutes should wear a distinctive dress. During the following centuries, that policy of geographical isolation and stigmatization was pursued, which meant that prostitution became closely associated with the poorer Antwerp neighbourhoods, where brothels were obliged to settle.

Early nineteenth-century municipal regulations concerning prostitution initially only had medical or hygienic motives, but gradually the maintenance of public order and the upholding of public morals became the central concerns. Consequently, the Antwerp city authorities and elites increasingly aimed at constraining the freedom of movement of prostitutes: they all needed to register with the police and have a “book”, a kind of passport they had to carry with them at all times. Registration involved having their name on a municipal register, and agreeing to abide by the regulations and to undergo weekly medical examinations. With that approach, the Antwerp municipal authorities simply continued the French regulatory system. From 1817 onwards, only the city council could decide if and where a brothel was opened, which resulted in an increasingly sharp demarcation of inner-city prostitution areas throughout the nineteenth century. Only some 20 years later did the Antwerp authorities see the need for regulating illicit sex outside brothel prostitution: an 1848 municipal ordinance decreed that all prostitutes needed to register, either voluntarily or on orders from the police. All the preceding provisions were eventually integrated into the final Antwerp ordinances on prostitution of 1852 — largely resembling the Brussels 1844 regulations.

The first article of the 1852 Antwerp regulations distinguished two categories of prostitutes: women involved in brothel prostitution and those working independently in lodging houses, rented furnished rooms, or as streetwalkers (*filles éparses*). The older rules concerning registration and the personal “book” or passport remained unchanged, while new additional restrictions on the women’s freedom of movement involved the obligation to report every change in professional status and residence to the police. Registration also meant protection, however. A brothel keeper holding a woman against her will was sentenced to the maximum penalty. Prostitutes were only allowed to practise their profession in a licensed brothel; in order to limit clandestine prostitution, living in saloons selling alcohol was strictly forbidden. The regulations also included the possibility of exclusion from the register: that could be done at the request of the prostitute herself or happened automatically in case of death or marriage. That implied that, legally, married women could never be professional prostitutes.

Furthermore, the 1852 regulations on prostitution contained general provisions concerning regular health inspections, which were almost identical to the Paris regulations. The extensive list of obligations and prohibitions also closely resembled the French example. There were two notable differences, however: the costs of the medical visit were not covered by the city of Antwerp but had to be paid by the brothel keepers or individual prostitutes themselves. A second notable measure in the regulations was that all foreign prostitutes who failed to abide by the rules would be returned to their home town or previous place of residence. In practice, many of the foreign women were indeed subjected to that rule. In Brussels, following convictions for prostitution-related offences or for clandestine brothel-keeping, sentences could be a fine of between 5 and 25 francs or imprisonment from one to seven days. In Antwerp, on the contrary, the authorities seemed to prefer jail as a sanction: there, prison sentences could be as long as 15 days, while the maximum fine was reduced to 15 francs.

In theory, the regulation system was a success, limiting prostitution activities to a closed environment under constant administrative control, but the reality proved to be different. In Antwerp, the measures were largely unsuccessful and clandestine prostitution was rampant. While Brussels preferred less repressive regulations and flexibility towards independent prostitutes in particular (resulting in a much greater increase in registered women), the port city of Antwerp stubbornly stuck to its harsh measures, which brought about many forced registrations, on orders from the police. In the 1860s, the mayor of Antwerp, Leopold De Wael, explicitly stated before the municipal council that he was determined to eradicate clandestine prostitution. The low number of voluntary registrations can be explained by the multiple negative consequences attached: the woman involved lost a number of her civil rights and suffered indirect damage to her personal reputation. Maybe the Antwerp authorities realized that their regulation system was not functioning optimally, since in 1879, the municipal council put forward a possible revision of the city's prostitution regulations, a proposal which was not, however, followed up.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, concern over prostitution grew in the city of Antwerp, as in other European and (North and South) American cities at the same period. In Antwerp, public and official anxieties about "vice" heightened in a context of rapid urban transformation, producing new perceptions of urban disorder. At the same time, economic activity around the port of Antwerp boomed throughout those years and an increasing number of dockworkers and sailors continued to fuel the demand for prostitutes, causing an actual increase in prostitution activity. Apart from actual urban and social change, growing attention to the "prostitution issue" was also part of a moral panic about illicit sex and venereal diseases, which conservative reformers saw as the most problematic part of a general plague of immorality and degeneration.

By the early twentieth century, new psychomedical discourses on deviance that coupled sexual transgressions with the propagation of "unfit" and criminal offspring, anxieties about "white slavery" and stories about growing numbers of young women being lured and forced into a life of prostitution (largely exaggerated, see the section below on the realities of prostitution), as well as (post-war) growing sanitary concerns about venereal disease, all contributed to fuel a new and massive anti-vice campaign. Abolitionists, hygienists and moral reformers, gaining considerable support in larger political and judicial circles as well as from protagonists of the labour and women's movements,

defined prostitution as the “ultimate evil” and called for its outright criminalization and eradication. Public and official anxieties centred especially on young girls: being increasingly more mobile and less supervised, young working-class women constituted “walking moral and sexual dangers” in the eyes of moral reformers. They constituted both a possible threat to themselves (seduction, white slavery) and a danger to society (sexual diseases, illegitimate pregnancies). The result was, not surprisingly, calls for heightened sexual regulation and repression of prostitution in particular, which meant that the Antwerp city police were put under a great deal of pressure to tackle the problem of prostitution and eradicate its clandestine sectors. Furthermore, the Antwerp city authorities grew more and more reluctant to keep the regulation system from the late 1920s onwards and considered suppressing all tolerated brothels, anticipating the move to abolitionism and the end of regulation at the national level in 1948.

## **The policing of prostitution: instruments and realities**

Within the regulation system, under the 1852 Antwerp municipal regulations, prostitution as such was not illegal. Municipal public order ordinances, however, gave the Antwerp police wide discretionary powers over a variety of street activities, and constituted a mighty legal arsenal which they could use to arrest prostitutes: that included regulations against soliciting in public, unruly and indecent behaviour displayed by prostitutes, and noisy gatherings of sex workers. On the other hand, disorderly houses, suspected of being clandestine brothels, were targeted using municipal police regulations that fixed the closing hours of taverns and prohibiting unlicensed dance events.

Whereas the Antwerp police acquired considerable powers to repress prostitution and suffered increasing public and official pressure, actual police practices were constrained by financial and manpower considerations, a blind eye being turned to certain types of criminal behaviour deemed not to challenge the social order. Overall, practical policing concerned crime management, not elimination, for in certain areas the police still faced a hostile public until well into the twentieth century. For prostitution — in common with other forms of discretionary offences such as street betting and public drunkenness — the police pursued a policy of containment. It was realized that, if the police tried to eliminate disorderly activities such as prostitution in one district, the problem would merely move elsewhere. It was thus better to keep disorder and vice within bounds in a well-policed area.

The practicalities of managing the streets led to some complicity with the trade — and in some cases it fostered a culture of corruption. While some officers expressed hostility to prostitutes and others stressed the “degrading” side of the profession and the “inherent” laziness or deceitfulness of the women involved, there is evidence of a degree of sympathy for the plight of the prostitute. There were regular complaints from well-to-do citizens or municipal council members that the police were “extremely friendly” with the prostitutes. Familiarity with the prostitutes did, however, allow the police to discourage the arrival of too many newcomers, thus providing a degree of stability within the accepted geographical bounds of street prostitution.

At the end of the nineteenth century, complaints about the reluctance of the police to take the necessary and proper action to suppress clandestine prostitution peaked. In December 1887,

the Police Commissioner of the 6th district of the city of Antwerp reacted in a letter to the Mayor: “You will certainly understand, highly estimated Mayor, that when one undertakes the task to fight clandestine prostitution, in a neighbourhood where it keeps on making worrisome progress, one is unavoidably exposed to the hostility and anger of those who live off this dishonorable trade, to the detriment of respectable families who suffer from it [...] It is said that our measures are not general [...] Allow me to state that I treat all our inhabitants in the most equal way, providing them all with the same amount of protection, and listening only [...] to the voice of equality and good justice”.<sup>1</sup>

Strategies of containment and increased pressure on the police to repress vice resulted, in practice, in a selective enforcement of municipal soliciting laws and public order regulations (cited above). First of all, police surveillance tended to focus on recognized vice areas, where targeted patrols were held. Secondly, police arrests were concentrated mostly on younger streetwalkers, especially in areas that lay outside the bounds of tolerated prostitution, and on newcomers to the area in particular. Regulated brothels and the known professional prostitutes were generally left unbothered, unless there was flagrant offending involved. In the 2nd district police division of Antwerp, for example, the prostitute beat concerned the outgoing area in between the Sint-Jansplein and the De Conickplein and the block of streets just north of the central railway station around the Gemeentestraat. Up to three patrols of two men together were detailed for surveillance, depending on the number of complaints. For example, in late November/early December 1913, all six men were used throughout the day to clamp down on prostitutes in the busy Van Maerlant Street.

Containment was not only concerned with geographical but also with numerical limitation; for example, the police arrested a de facto quota of prostitutes each year to show that the problem was being addressed. Moreover, levels of surveillance fluctuated according to the time of day: during the “rush hour”, up to four men were detailed to the patrol. However, the period from the 1890s up until the First World War saw important peaks in police arrests for prostitution-related offences. Explanations for the heightened police activity can be found in operational shifts, local complaints, increased media attention and the growing concern of the city authorities about “floods of vice” pouring down the city streets.

Overall, however, considering the entire period from the late nineteenth up until the early twentieth century, although the Antwerp authorities decreed relatively harsh measures, as has been seen above, their actual enforcement by the police to repress prostitution was certainly not full scale and arrests were definitely not the main strategy. Still in 1923, an entry in the police’s 2nd District Register of Daily Instructions, stated that “it must be clearly understood that it is the duty of the police, in dealing with prostitutes, more to prevent loitering and importuning than to detect it. Arrests should only be made to enforce obedience to the law where warnings have been disregarded”.<sup>2</sup>

From the early twentieth century onwards, a specialized vice squad operated in Antwerp, concentrating its efforts on the hunt for unregistered, clandestine prostitutes. Targeted controls focused on suspect or disorderly houses and bars where new clandestine prostitutes were recruited and put to work. In 1913, for example, 38 houses were either suspect or had convictions for unlicensed

<sup>1</sup> Belgium, Antwerp City Archives, Antwerp Municipal Police Fund (MA 5545), Letter of the Police Commissioner of the 6th district to the Antwerp City Mayor on the subject of clandestine prostitution (30 December 1887).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. (MA 3451/1), 2nd District Register of Daily Instructions, No. 720 (1923).



brothel-keeping in Antwerp (compared to roughly 40 regulated brothels). Apart from inspection visits by plain-clothed officers, which were not very frequent, the regulation of prostitutes was mostly realized through enforcement of the police ordinances on the closing hours of taverns and on the prohibition of unlicensed dance events. Premises suspected of selling sexual services had to close at midnight or were not granted the necessary licence to organize dance events.

That type of police interference was very unpopular amongst the bar keepers, especially those who had invested in developing fancy places, resulting in a large number of complaints addressed to the city mayor. For example, the bar owner of the “Hollandsche Tuin” stated that the police measures made it impossible for him, as a father with children, to run a properly licensed place, with a huge stock of liquor to be sold, that had been decorated with the greatest care in a “clean and honourable” way, and that offered the diversion and amusement needed in a port city like Antwerp.

## Realities of prostitution

In 1890, the police counted 44 licensed brothels and estimated the number of registered prostitutes in the 2nd district of Antwerp to be around 200. Apart from those women, all the prostitutes working in illegal brothels and bars or operating independently from lodging houses and furnished rooms should, of course, be taken into consideration. Not much is known about the profile of those women, yet the immigration files of the city of Antwerp suggest that a considerable number of them did not have Belgian nationality. Moreover, the files show a steady increase in the proportion of female migrants who practised the profession of prostitution, moving from 8 per cent in 1875 to 18 per cent in 1879. By that time, one fifth of the female migrants could call themselves a prostitute. The increase could have merely resulted from changed registration practices, however, or perhaps the Antwerp city council did not want to lag behind concerning the new prostitution regulations issued in the capital and more actively encouraged prostitutes to register. Finally, the Antwerp authorities did step up active searching by their police for clandestine brothels. Whatever the reason, it was known that the proportion of (French) female migrants was on the rise, that a substantial part of those women prostituted themselves, and that the profession generally was a booming business. In this regard, it is important to take into account the increasing demand for sexual services that had resulted from the expansion of the Antwerp port, mentioned earlier.

Overall, the nineteenth century was characterized by a rise in single female migrants to the city of Antwerp, an increasing proportion of them opting for the prostitution trade. The girls were almost all young, unmarried and in their twenties. Most preferred a separate dwelling and after a short stay generally moved on to another Belgian city. Only a minority crossed the border to France or to the Netherlands. There was also a migration network between Antwerp and Brussels. The prostitutes did not always voluntarily leave the city, some being forced by the authorities to leave the country because they did not abide by the city’s prostitution regulations. In general, anxieties about white slavery scarcely corresponded with the realities of both the sex trade and the policing of prostitution in the city of Antwerp: although there certainly was some degree of trafficking and coerced prostitution, the available evidence suggests that the phenomenon was relatively marginal.

Next to foreign prostitutes, there was also a considerable amount of casual prostitution by local Antwerp girls. In the poorest quarters, such as the slum of the Rozenstraat and the Zwanengang,

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prostitution manifested itself in a less commercialized form and was tolerated by the local population. Antwerp police officers were well aware of that: they reported that certain girls would solicit out of sheer economic necessity, yet those girls were not viewed as prostitutes. A lack of public pressure to clean the streets of the slum meant that there, no specific patrols were used to target prostitutes: not one procès-verbal for a prostitution-related offence was ever given in that poor working-class neighbourhood.

In 1890, 79 per cent of arrests for prostitution-related offences in the 2nd district were made in the vicinity of Van Maerlantstraat, Osystraat and Rotterdamstraat. Indeed, the former was prominent, accounting for nearly 18 per cent of the total. Of the remaining 20 per cent, frequent references were made to the streets around the Gemeentestraat, in the red-light area north of the central station. By 1914, however, there was scant reference to the area around Van Maerlantstraat. Arrests for prostitution, public drunkenness, illicit dancing and not respecting closing hours for taverns disappeared entirely from the former well-renowned centre for outgoing and illicit sexual activity. All the charges for soliciting in the 2nd district were then concentrated in the “professional” red-light districts surrounding the central station on the one hand, and on the other those situated on the frontier with the harbour and its famous “Schipperkwartier”, that had a long-standing reputation for selling sexual services. Both shifts can be ascribed to urban redevelopment, with the old outgoing district between Sint-Jansplein and De Conickplein having largely been cleared out, and gradual population decline, that had caused a significant drop in actual prostitution activity which had moved from the main thoroughfares to side streets in the northern and southern red-light areas. Most of the streetwalking had moved to the surroundings of the train station, while towards the Schipperkwartier, the main roads such as the Vandewervestraat had their full share of sleazy backstreets and consisted almost entirely of lodging houses renting single and double rooms and attracting all sorts of odd customers.

Another explanation for the drop in police activity in the Van Maerlantstraat and surrounding streets was that prostitution had not really disappeared there, but the area was by then known as the haunt of low-class prostitutes and was significantly less policed. In some of the side streets in the area, women solicited from every doorway and prostitutes were visible on every street corner. The public women in those poorer areas probably caused less offence than they did in the more upmarket parts on the frontier with the well-to-do 6th district, for all arrests took place in the environs of the latter. Given that those areas were poor, the presence of prostitutes was not deemed an affront to decency when compared to more politically and media sensitive areas. As such, that kind of illicit sexual activity did not constitute “vice” in practical police knowledge and vocabulary.

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## Prostitution in Athens

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### Historical overview

Greece showed very early interest in the control of prostitution. Since 1834, the regulation of prostitution had been performed through circulars and administrative measures. Until 1856 permission for the exercise of prostitution was granted by police authorities. Women in the sex trade had to be registered with the police in a special book in order to be under constant medical and administrative control. The civil rights of women who worked in the sex trade were violated because prostitution was perceived as an insult to public morals. Women were under constant fear of persecution. Venereal disease was also used as a justification for the control and supervision of women as well as for their arbitrary persecution.

Since the mid-nineteenth century certain women were put into the discourse of sex and were represented as sexualized subjects who had to be controlled. The woman in public became the symbol of lower-class sexual disorder. In that frame of mind, the connection between domestic service and prostitution was established in that period. In those discourses prostitution, although never named explicitly, was seen as a diversion from “ancestral morals”. Ancestral referred to the “simple morals” of the countryside as opposed to the modern demoralizing environment of the city. Moreover, those ancestral morals were nationalized. It was the countryside and the peasant, through songs and everyday life that preserved the quintessential and unalterable elements of Greek identity, that is, language and religion. The rise of folklore studies after the 1830s served to establish the temporal and spatial continuity of the Greek nation and to integrate the rural population in the newly established Greek state. Migration and contact with other ethnicities were perceived as having contaminating effects on the pure ancestral customs and morals of Greek women. As the discourse on morality was nationalized, women acquired a symbolic role in the nation. This process was illustrated by the fear that women might lose their ethnic and religious consciousness. In all the discourses on social control and policing, women and women’s bodies became the central figures and came to represent disorder and danger.

In 1873 the ambassador of Greece to Constantinople, in an official letter to the mayor of Ermoupolis (capital city of the island of Syros), asked him to take measures and prohibit the migration of women from the Aegean islands going to Constantinople to work as servants. The reason was the misbehaviour of the women whose “morals had been loosened”, who “were sinking into vice”, ending up in a “complete catastrophe”. The need to eliminate “that evil”, the “distortion of simple morals” and “corruption” were referred to via authorized vocabulary that discreetly avoided

saying too much about sex directly and overtly.<sup>1</sup> The prohibition of female migration owing to the so-called moral and sexual misbehaviour of female servants in Alexandria and Constantinople clashed with the economic role that female migration played among the local communities of the migrants' origin due to their important financial contribution. The economic costs of prohibiting migration made its implementation impossible. Instead the mayor of Ermoupolis suggested that community control on the part of the males of the diaspora communities was the appropriate means of policing female migrants. The control of servants' sexuality became one of the most important targets and subjects of public discourses.

As employment agencies in Athens and elsewhere were considered a hotbed of prostitution, several initiatives were undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by labour inspectors and middle-class feminists and philanthropists to find a substitute for them. In addition, police provisions that regulated domestic service employment consolidated the connection between domestic service and prostitution and put employment agencies under severe police surveillance. Under the 1870 police provision, if a female servant was seen once or twice in a brothel or had any relationship with prostitutes or madams, she would be expelled from the service trade.<sup>2</sup> The labour inspector, Maria Svolou, requested the substitution of employment offices with new ones under the direction of women. The 1905 police provision granted a philanthropic institution, the Asylum of Saint Catherine, the responsibility of acting as a supplier of servants and providing homes for female servants in periods of unemployment.<sup>3</sup> In the 1920s middle-class women tried to colonize the public discourse on sex and to establish and gain responsibility over welfare and repressive institutions in order to control working-class women's sexuality.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

In 1836 the regulation of prostitution was allocated to police authorities by royal decree under which the municipal police were authorized to repress acts that encouraged corruption of morals. The system of regulated prostitution (*diakanonistikon*) was established in January 1856 with two regulative ordinances (2506 and 2057) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Several decrees and circulars established the system of regulation on a firmer basis: the regulative ordinance on brothels of June 1856; the circular of April 1894 of the Sanitary Department of Athens and Piraeus on common women and brothels; and the 25/9443 circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the way of defining common women in May 1911. The above provisions had the French Act of July 1791 as a model while the 1894 and 1911 circulars were influenced by the French standing order of October 1878. With the 3032 Act on Indecent Women of 1922, committees in prefectures and no longer the police were held responsible for granting permits for the establishment of licensed houses or deciding on their suppression as well as for the characterization of a woman as "indecent". A committee consisting of administrative and public health officials decided on the registration of women as prostitutes. Between 1927 and 1933, 66 of the 74 brothels that existed in Athens closed down as the system of regulation was then held responsible for

<sup>1</sup> Antonios Miliarakis, *Ipomnimata perigrafika Kikladon nison: Andros, Keos* (Memorandum for the Cycladic Islands: Andros, Keos) (Athens, 1880), pp. 153–157.

<sup>2</sup> Greece, Efimeris tis Kiverniseos, Police Headquarters of Athens, *Peri Ipireton, trofon kai ipiretomesiton* (On servants, wet nurses and servant agents), No. 39 (25 November 1870).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Peri ipiretomesiton, ipiretomesitriton, ipireton, ipiretrion kai trofon* (On servant agents, servants and wet nurses), No. 24 (9 July 1905).

- 22 • increasing prostitution and not protecting women. In 1935 the regulation system was enforced again and by that year 45 brothels existed in Athens. The 3310 Act on Combating Venereal Disease of 1955 abolished the regulation system.

Two of the preoccupations of national and international feminist organizations were the abolition of the system of regulated prostitution and improvement in the moral conditions of the working-class population. In 1923, Annie Baker, representative of the League of Nations, established the Office for the Repression of Trafficking in Greece and two years later Maria Svolou, labour inspector and president of the League for the Rights of Women, prepared its memorandum. The preventive measures of that organization involved the establishment of an office for the supervision of juvenile servants. The aim of the office was to take care of the mental and moral education of servants and to impede the seduction of servants by white-slave traders and sexual exploitation in their recruitment. The measures consisted of (a) establishment of registry offices supervised by women; (b) control of the existing agencies; (c) foundation of a home for servants where they could stay until they found employment; (d) establishment of a separate department for the supervision of servants in order to prevent the expansion of prostitution.

In March 1927 the Office was re-established with the aim of introducing both preventive and repressive measures. The repressive measures of its Branch of Social Morality consisted of the foundation of an asylum for “fallen” girls, sponsored by the state, which apart from board and food would provide employment as well as moral sermons in the manner of stories and a lending library. Besides, it will prepare them for exercising moral occupations. In this way, the Branch by advising and supervising fallen girls will make them virtuous and honest so that when they leave the asylum, they can be used in its factories where virtuous and honest women reside and where their presence would not set other women in danger. In this way their social and moral reconstitution will be complete [...] The Police Department of Morals informed the Branch that there are girls who had only fallen once and who regretted and would like to work as servants. The branch is eager to help them and promised to position them in families where the mistress can act as a moral adviser and valuable help. Unfortunately, families do not accept eagerly this kind of servants being afraid that they will relapse and tolerate harassment. Thus, enlightening and systematic work is required.<sup>4</sup>

Yet in the accounting report of the National Council of Greek Women of 1931, the establishment of the Branch of Social Morality had not been achieved.

The establishment of vocational schools was one of the major targets of women's associations in the interwar period in order to combat prostitution. The House of Girls and the Young Women's Christian Association established a number of workshops where refugee girls were provided with utilitarian and practical education in order to pursue an “independent economic life”. Vocational education was considered a solution to the problem of prostitution as well as a form of employment that was performed in a moral and controlled environment and not in the so-called immoral setting of a factory. Yet, transforming the female workforce into homeworkers was castigated by Maria Svolou as a violation of workers' rights. The wages women received when employed in philanthropic or other institutions and schools were much lower than any other private enterprise. Athina Gaitanou Giannou,

<sup>4</sup> Lefki Iliou, “Branch of Social Morality”, *Ellinis* (11 November 1927), p. 226.

president of the Socialist Women's Group, admired the embroidery work produced in the Empeirikion reformatory school for girls. The inmates were occupied with luxury lingerie, dressmaking, hat-making for women and making men's underwear. Dressmaking especially and in general needlework that was

done at home were considered as a strategy of the upper and middle-class females to obtain goods such as linen, lingerie and lace at low cost.

## Organization of the trade

Since 1834 the port of Piraeus, Greece, had been rife with brothels, cafes and cabarets. In 1848 there were 19 women between 15 and 41 years old registered as prostitutes in the city. In 1873 the municipality of Piraeus undertook the sanitization of the city, and especially the clearance of the area of Troumba after protests from the inhabitants, and established the first state-controlled brothel named after the district of Vourla. Vourla functioned as a ghetto in which women registered as prostitutes had to reside by order of law. The residence was guarded by the police and only one entrance existed. The 70 inmates were allowed to exit only with the permission of the police and could not leave the residence after nine o'clock in the evening. The press also promoted segregation through the removal of women from neighbourhoods and their enclosure in controlled areas. Aristotelis Koutsoumaris, Director of the Department of Criminal Investigation between 1925 and 1932, repeatedly stated that women were abducted from the streets and enclosed in Vourla by policemen either in order to obtain promotion or financial benefit from enclosing them in Vourla. Vourla closed down in 1937.

Brothel prostitution was dominant in the city of Athens. Women were dependent on madams who received most of their earnings. A large proportion of women in the sex trade worked alone in tenement houses and were considered "free". Sex work was also performed in cabarets where the majority of women were foreign and worked under the guise of being artists.

Anxiety about the connection between domestic work and prostitution had been incorporated in police provisions since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. If a female servant was seen once or twice in a brothel or had any relationship with prostitutes or madams, she would be expelled from the service trade. If she was registered in a different municipality than in the one she worked as a servant or if she was an alien, she was sent back to her place of origin or else she was registered as a prostitute.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

The first two decades of the twentieth century were characterized by major changes on the social and economic levels: creation of an urban labour force, incorporation of the urban centres of the north into the Greek state, unionization of the working class and the shaping of a state labour policy. The decade of war (1912–1922) which resulted in the Asia Minor catastrophe was followed by the inflow of 1,104,217 refugees, of whom 660,000 settled in towns. The agricultural exodus of the 1890–1912 period as well as the influx of refugees in the second decade of the twentieth century, which culminated in 1922, led to a surplus of labour supply and to the creation of a more permanent labour force in urban centres. The period between 1907 and 1940 was characterized by a substantial increase in the workforce, a result of the inflow of refugees and internal migration as well as the annexations and the natural rise in the population.

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One of the predominant characteristics of industrial production was its seasonal character. During the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, the majority of factories and workshops functioned for three to six months a year. Unemployment was high during the interwar period and the only work available to women was domestic service and prostitution. Between 1907 and 1930 the numbers of women employed outside the household increased in all sectors of the economy. Furthermore, women's wages in industries and workshops were characterized as "hunger wages". Thus women employed in sectors with high seasonal unemployment performed occasional prostitution. Surveys about prostitution aimed to investigate the connection between prostitution and other forms of employment of the urban working-class female population.

In 1930, a survey inquiring into prostitution was conducted in Athens under the surveillance of Koutsoumaris. The aim of the investigation was to find out the social and economic background of women involved in prostitution. It turned out that 17.3 per cent of the 363 women who worked as prostitutes had previously been servants; 17.1 per cent had been industrial workers; 17.6 per cent were seamstresses; 26 per cent had been unemployed; 4.5 per cent were clerks; 3.5 per cent were waitresses; and 14 per cent housewives. The investigation showed that, in addition to the system of regulated prostitution, occasional prostitution was a means to supplement income. Another investigation was held by the police with regard to 325 women arrested by the police between 1926 and 1927 in places with a "suspicious reputation or surrendered by other authorities to the police in order to prevent them from slipping into corruption".<sup>5</sup> It turned out that 65.8 per cent had been servants, while the rest had been industrial workers, seamstresses and clerks or women who wandered in the streets of Athens without permanent residence looking for work, as well as women abandoned by their families. The second investigation had a preventive aim. Yet, it was widely used to argue that the majority of prostitutes had worked earlier as domestic servants. In fact, the police picked up women who were homeless whose situation was thus considered as a step towards prostitution. It is no surprise that the majority of those found wandering in the street were servants; internal migrants who did not have relatives in Athens or orphan children were also in a very difficult situation when they were out of work.

The conclusion of both surveys was that women turned to prostitution out of economic distress and inadequate wages. This confirms Walkowitz's findings (1982) that occupational dislocation had been a more decisive factor than premarital sexuality and pregnancy in the United Kingdom of the nineteenth-century.

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<sup>5</sup> Koutsoumaris (1963), p. 21.



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## From Ottoman Modernity to French Beirut

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The French mandate over Lebanon and Syria linked those former Ottoman Arab provinces to other territories under French tutelage, including North African colonies and protectorates in present day Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. As political boundaries were redefined, new circulations joined earlier migratory circuits and corridors, engendering debates, policy and surveillance over populations in movement. In the global context of women's movements and women's growing access to the public, the migration of women in particular became suspect, especially that which lacked the moral and economic supervision of women's activity by a spouse, a government or another institution. Often identified as "foreign" women by local populations, they increasingly found work in service positions in the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet women workers were suspect. They were tolerated but resented by both the French authorities and former Ottoman officials incorporated into mandate administration, who could all agree on casting women's presence in public as a moral threat.

Eastern Mediterranean ports, especially Alexandria and Beirut, which housed consulates and new municipal governments or shipped the products of new industries, had grown enormously since the 1860 civil war in the Lebanese Mountains. Others would grow in the mandate years, especially the oil duct terminus industrial ports, Haifa and Tripoli. This Mediterranean archipelago offered unprecedented opportunities for consumption and differentiation through spaces and sociabilities grounded in the urban modern. The process intensified between 1919 and 1943, as the mandate brought troops, administrators and industries into the region. With its myriad mobilities, the mandate afforded a privileged window on the reorganization of social formations and the reconfiguration of boundaries between categories of women workers. As Stoler (1997) has noted elsewhere, the mandate period begs attention to the centrality of state control over the availability of European women and the sorts of sexual access condoned, for the reproduction of European populations and privilege in colonial social geographies.

While in metropolitan geographies, once women were branded as "prostitutes" they could be channelled into various institutional enclosures for the purposes of punishment, redemption or reform, the Eastern Mediterranean in the mandate period offered a social landscape in which categories were destabilized by the colonial condition, by the colonial role of modernism — its enticements and discontents, and by the emergence of new social agents. Debates were informed by global concerns with vulnerable subjects — defined as women and children — and the mystique of the white slave traffic. But it also had an Ottoman history and responded to the social transformations resulting from Ottoman modernity.

In Beirut, debates centred on who should be labelled as a "prostitute"; whether such subjects could be differentiated; and the administration of their residence, health and visibility by different instances of the state. The mandate authorities tried to replicate the Paris system through a series of decrees, relegating the question of prostitution to administrative custom. That scandalized municipal

authorities and the police—former Ottoman subjects—who disputed sovereignty over women who could be classified as prostitutes. In their perspective, the core debates were juridical questions: about who could claim foreign or artist status and who could be taxed.

## Ottoman prostitution

The vocabulary of prostitution varied across the Egyptian and Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, but overlapped consistently with class distinction. In Cairo, prostitutes, *al-nisa' al fawahish* or *al-nisa' al-mashhurat*, had been recognized members of the lowly professions along with other entertainment specialists and had come under the fiscal jurisdiction of a tax farm at least since the sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century, after being banned from entering Cairo on pain of death by Bonaparte's military authorities, prostitutes were increasingly opposed—in popular, expert and elite discourse—to the free people, *al nas al-ahrar*, and were perceived as members of *al nas al-ashrar*—the evil or dangerous classes. In 1834 prostitutes and public dancers, *ghawazi* and *'awalim*, were banished from Cairo, large cities and military camps where they were perceived to be threats to discipline. The authorities and plaintiffs consistently expressed concern that the places where those people exercised their trade—coffee shops, taverns and brothels—should not be too close to decent people's homes and that they not walk promiscuously down the streets.

The coffee house had introduced an alternative night-time sociability in the medieval Middle East when nightlife in the city had been limited to the tavern or the gambling den, where one risked soul, reputation or even life. The cabaret and the *café chantant* did as much in the nineteenth century; disreputable in the metropole, their novelty and association with foreigners and Western mores made them constantly suspect in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. The port area of Beirut was described by Nerval in 1851 as full of cafes and cabarets and infested with Greek and Maltese sailors. A few decades later, the new seaside cafes in the coastal area of Zaytouneh emerged as a respectable space of leisure in contrast to the notorious quarters east of Sahat al-Burj and the port. As spaces of sociability emerged, new Ottoman police laws, taxes on coffee houses and casinos and alcohol-vending regulations were issued in 1878. In 1888 an imperial decree regulated and taxed the storage of imported alcohol.

According to Hanssen (2005), the first to advise spatial confinement for prostitutes was a resident French doctor, Benoît Boyer, who conducted a sanitary enquiry in 1897 at the request of the Ottoman authorities. Many women engaged in the trade only arrived at their workplace after sunset. Boyer, accustomed to the Paris system of regulated prostitution, found it unbearable that the “creatures” infested salubrious “decent” citizens' living quarters with hygienic and moral corruption. The fact that the Beirut municipality carried out compulsory monthly sanitary check-ups on the 200 to 220 known prostitutes, charging them up to the equivalent of over 8 francs, did little to alleviate Boyer's disgust. He insisted that a designated zone of exclusion be implemented for the 40-odd scattered brothels, setting them apart from the urban fabric. The results of the enquiry were published, but the recommendation for segregation went unheeded.

## Ottoman modernity

While much work is yet to be done on the cartography of Ottoman prostitution, by the late nineteenth century women employed away from watchful families and neighbours had incurred the moral disapproval of religious authorities like the Maronite clergy. Losing marriage prospects in their pursuit of wages to sustain decadent family economies, some of the girls and women working in the silk industry eventually moved to the outskirts of Beirut, feeding an urban imaginary that equated *banat al-karhane*, the girls from the silk-spinning mills or *'amilat*, working women, with prostitutes. The currency of *karhane* as a term referring to a brothel long outlived the silk industry in the mountains. In fact it seems to have travelled to Egypt by the 1870s, perhaps in the wake of the Egyptian campaign when Muhammad Ali's men developed such a taste for the prostitutes of Syria that a syphilis epidemic ensued, paralyzing the Egyptian army and infuriating the Pasha and his son.

Practices with checkered local histories alternating between toleration and persecution, such as public drinking and commercial sex, went through late Ottoman permutations in which they came to be associated with a European modernity that was to be emulated. The Protestant missionary, Henry Jessup, complained of that in Beirut: "Whereas before the Pasha of Beirut [had] closed the only grogshop ... by the turn of the century there were 120 licensed saloons and Moslems of the two extremes of society, the Turkish civil and military officers and the lowest class of boatmen and artisans, drink as much as the foreign Ionian Greeks, and the native so-called Christian sects".<sup>1</sup> The modernizing Ottoman civil service came to champion public drinking as a sign and symptom of a universal modern civilization.

Drink in the Ottoman context, however, had been associated with the company of women "of little virtue". Both were in ample supply in 1907, when 14-year-old Umar Salih, the son of a Palestinian rural notable was sent to Beirut for a year at the new *sultaniye* school. As can be learned from his memoirs: "The city was roaring with places of seduction, brothels and nightclubs for adolescents", where Umar and his schoolmates spent "stealthy nights revelling, watching films or popular dances ... or for sexual pleasures with a young girl or other such matters."<sup>2</sup> According to Hanssen, by 1911–1913, among the moral incentives to relocate one of the oldest and largest cemeteries in the city from its prime real estate location in central Beirut was the dispersal of illicit brothels that had recently erupted in the cemetery's perimeter.

A *suq al-ummumiyya*, a prostitute's market, existed inside the city walls of Beirut around Khan al-Arwam before the urban expansion of the nineteenth century. In turn of the century Beirut the "common" class, *tabaqa al-'amma*, opposed in the public imagination to the *tabaqa al-khassa* of the government and the rich, included "the roughs and toughs" — the *qabaday* but also *rijal al futuwwa wa abna' al hawa*. The enlargement of the port and the establishment of modern consumption quarters attracted brothels to the fringes of the newly fashionable areas. According to the head of the guild of porters, before it was moved to the quarter of Saifi in 1913, the *suq* of women was in the *suq al-khammamir* (the wine sellers' market) between the Petit Seray and the port east of the Muslim cemetery. When the French army arrived in 1920, the brothels moved to an area known

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Hanssen, 2005, pp. 202–203.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

as *wara' al-bank* or al-Manshiyya, behind the former Ottoman bank building east of Sahat al-Burj. An old Beirut confessed that at the time, the number of public women (*al-mumsat*) was around 850 Arab women from Lebanon, Palestine and Syria, and there were no less than 400 foreign girls, French, Greek and Turkish. According to Al-Sayyid Sha'ban, the most famous prostitutes were considered great stars who offered their services in public houses that were the property of respected local families. The majority of prostitutes, however, were social “outcasts” who had arrived from the outskirts of Beirut.

## The Mandate

What happened in the Mashriq during the period of French colonial rule, and how does it reflect the crossed histories of the colonial encounter? Who were those public women, how did they come to be marginalized, and what was their relationship with the colonial state? The administration of the mandates conferred by the League of Nations was subject to new criteria of legitimacy as well as to new reporting requirements. Territories under mandate administration and tutelary metropolises had to respond to calls for transparency and imperatives to conform to the new international governance emerging in bodies like the League. Practices with multiple histories, logic and vocabulary — such as commercial sex — were subjected to the emerging new norms.

Women were the subject of debate in various commissions and bodies of experts in consultation with social agents that had acquired new legitimacy at the turn of the century, like social science researchers and social purity campaigners. Conversations and consultations that acquired international currency and came to shape international law and the terms of its debate were often led by Anglophone civil society. Eventually championed by institutions of international governance as new universalist moral vocabularies, they were constructed through fact-finding missions that initially sought to map particular circuits and traffic. In those debates, all women engaging in commercial sex — whether temporarily, seasonally or full time — came to be construed as unwilling victims of trade and mobilities that needed to be supervised by states, experts and international governance bodies, and stopped.

In the French administration of Lebanon and Syria, a paradox emerged. Though France adhered to the League of Nations Convention on the Traffic of Women and Children — being one of the very few countries to sign and ratify the Agreement of 1904 and the Conventions of 1910 and 1921 — the French administration devoted enormous energy to extending and expanding its system of regulated prostitution in the mandates conferred to its tutelage. The paradox has been explained by Chaumont (2009) in terms of the production of a new international order through expert debates; yet the colonial entanglements of this tension invite further work.

Mediterranean debates on working women and prostitution in the mandate period can be read as crossed histories that acknowledge colonial spaces and their history of regulating sexuality as well as the new and scandalous public debates on women's work, women's bodies and women's relation to the law which the colonial authorities dragged into their colonial administration. The state became a procuring state — importing experts and administrative arrangements developed in its North African territories, as architects for an enormous industry of prostitution destined to serve

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its troops in the Mashriq. The system replicated what they believed to be efficient measures, like the installation of reserved quarters and more flexible arrangements like the BMC — *bordel militaire de campagne* — a travelling brothel that followed campaigning troops. The system relied on the growing militarization of the commercial sex market.

With the British and French military and administrative presence during the mandates, venues offering “modern” pleasures with local histories multiplied further, and so did their purveyors and official attempts to curb and regulate them. As Znaïen (2012) has calculated by crossing French and Lebanese sources, Beirut’s brothels jumped from a total of 46 early in the mandate in 1925 to 62 by 1930 and 76, nearly double the initial number in 1932. Whether as providers of Western crafts and commodities materializing in the urban modern Eastern Mediterranean or as prostitutes engaged in state-engineered servicing of troops stationed in military outposts, women circulated despite the hardening of restrictions on movement by the authorities, the League of Nations’ concerns over trafficking in women, and local hostility on the part of conservative and religious sectors, who equated the French presence with moral depravity.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, colonial prostitution in the Mashriq unfolded at the intersection of several debates. From the perspective of the mandate state, concerns initially centred on mobility and migration, contagion and circulation. Very quickly they included doubts about the legitimacy of colonial rule. The mandate was questioned through protests against French administrative practice and attempts on French “national honour” that led to debates on the integration of mandated territories into metropolitan politics and across imperial jurisdictions. French and local authorities found common ground on issues of gendered spaces and occupations. Imperial competition, including Franco-British tensions during wartime, but also the definition of the French mandate’s policy regarding women in contrast to British policy, also played its part, as did the creation of international boundaries that resulted in certain movements being prohibited and their transgression labelled — as in “white slave trade” cases. From the perspective of the Mashriqi elite, prostitution and the visibility of foreign and local women in public sparked debates on changing spaces of sociability and on the ambivalent desirability of modernity. From the perspective of the suspects — women who engaged in activities classified as prostitution, the debate hinged on employment opportunities, but also on the possibility of embodying desirability and modernity in the Mashriq.

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# Prostitution in Brussels

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## Introduction

As an urban centre from the Middle Ages on, Brussels has had a long history of prostitution, which has, however, remained largely underresearched. The nineteenth century remains the best explored period. In particular the so-called white slavery scandal has recently produced several studies by Belgian sociologists and historians. In general, the focus has been mainly on the genealogy of the different regulations. Very little is known about the prostitutes and even less about their clients. (Discursive) control has attracted the attention, practices of the different actors far less.

When talking about Brussels, it has to be borne in mind that it is a very complex region where 19 city councils govern over 19 heterogeneous territories, urban or rural, rich or poor, industrial or more service-orientated. This diversity makes it difficult to present one coherent narrative. That was also a problem for the municipal police corps during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They were not allowed to go after prostitutes in the territory of another municipality. And the regulations often differed from one municipality to another. After the First World War for example, nine municipalities had regulations relating to prostitution, five explicitly had none and no regulation is known in five others. Among the nine municipalities with an explicit set of rules, eight were inscribed in a policing framework: in Anderlecht, however, medical logic prevailed. The control of prostitutes was not directed by a police officer, but by a physician who even had some policemen under his command.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

Very attached to the autonomy of local authorities, in 1836 the new state of Belgium confined the daily control of prostitution within the hands of the municipalities. Influenced by the so-called “French model” of Parent-Duchâtelet, i.e. a regulationist approach in which prostitution was considered as an inevitable evil, in 1844 Brussels adopted a very detailed set of rules which earned the Belgian capital the title of the “best regulated town in the world” and which was an example for other cities in Belgium, which often simply copied the guidelines valid in Brussels.

The set of rules which was rephrased in 1877 and 1922 in Brussels can be resumed as follows: prostitution — when controlled and limited to certain geographical urban spaces — was allowed and even encouraged. (Regulated) prostitution was seen as necessary. The goal of the regulationist approach was to make prostitutes invisible in the public space but controllable for the police and medical authorities. The regulation system distinguished between two kinds of prostitutes, those working inside specific brothels and those called *éparses*, who were not related to one specific whorehouse. The control of the women was double: by the police who inscribed the women on a register and by a municipal physician, whom the women were obliged to visit twice a week to pass a physical examination. A special unit existed at the Saint-Pierre hospital, where prostitutes were

confined when diagnosed with an illness. Brothel keepers were also controlled by the municipal authorities; they had to pay a fee in order to exercise their trade. Unlike other towns such as Paris and Vienna, controlling prostitution not only had costs — a common complaint often formulated by opponents of regulation — but also brought money into the communal budget. A strict hierarchical social differentiation existed between the brothels, which were categorized into different classes. For example, before the First World War, a first-class brothel with more than five women was required to pay 150 francs a month to operate. In the 1870s, that configuration showed its limits — the number of official brothels was declining and the number of clandestine prostitutes growing — and in 1877 a new set of rules reinforced the police prerogatives by creating a vice squad. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the deportation of foreign women and men suspected of being prostitutes or pimps by the *Sûreté publique* also became one of the ways of punishing undesirable persons.

The “white slavery” scandal (1880–1881) put Brussels on the global map of prostitution for a number of years. In 1880 several Belgian and British newspapers revealed that 40 minors — most of them English girls — were working as prostitutes inside brothels in Brussels with the tacit approval of the local police. For several months the scandal was hotly debated not only in Belgium but also in the United Kingdom. Several managers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and the head of the local police and the mayor of Brussels were forced to resign. That was an important blow to the regulationist approach that had been the dominant ideological framework in which prostitution was regarded during the nineteenth century.

During the First World War, surveillance was under the control of the German occupiers. Their approach was highly regulationist: soldiers needed to have access to prostitutes “to rest” from the experiences they underwent at the front. In order not to weaken the German army with venereal disease, prostitution was, however, strictly controlled. The German military police worked hand in hand with the local vice squads. Medical control of prostitutes was exclusively German at the Molière hospital in Saint-Gilles, where one of the German physicians was the famous German poet Gottfried Benn. The increase in prostitutes due to the presence of a large number of German soldiers lasted until after November 1918 when Allied troops replaced the German ones. It was not until the end of 1919 that the number of prostitutes decreased significantly. After the First World War, the authorities in Brussels maintained the medical intercommunal structures that had been imposed by the German occupiers: they centralized the testing of prostitutes at the community clinic and all prostitutes who were diagnosed as ill went to a common hospital in Uccle.

With the staging of various white slavery scandals, the abolitionist movement had received a certain impulse in Europe in general and in Belgium in particular. From the 1870s on, regulations were criticized for favouring prostitution and corruption. In 1881 the *Société de moralité publique* was created in Brussels in order to promote the abolitionist agenda. At the beginning, the *Société* was able to gain wide support across party lines: liberals, socialists and Catholics were united. After 10 years, however, puritan Catholics gained a majority inside the *Société* and several years before the outbreak of the First World War, the association collapsed. Yet that institutional decline did not correspond to an ideological decline. One of the major arguments of the abolitionist movement was the fight against the prostitution of minors. The Le Jeune law in 1912, named after Jules Le Jeune, the Catholic Minister of Justice at the time, was a first major victory for the abolitionist movement.

After 1918, the city of Brussels first seemed to reaffirm its regulationist stance with a new municipal regulation in 1922 that replaced the old 1877 one. But that apparent consensus was fragile. In 1924 the mayor of the Belgian capital proposed suspending the existing regulations for six months in order to demonstrate that the abolitionist model was more successful. His proposal received a wide majority: 41 out of 42 councillors voted in favour of the experiment for which several new associations lobbied, such as the *Comité National Belge de Défense contre la Traite des Femmes et des Enfants* founded in 1921 by Isidore Maus or the *Ligue Nationale Belge contre le Péril Vénérien* in 1922 created by Adolphe Bayet with the support of the royal family. A community clinic was put in place: prevention and education was central. But forestalling the regulations did not mean abolishing medical controls, quite the opposite: most of the experts agreed that the only solution should come from the medical field, which was, however, quite divided on the matter of a best solution, for example Bayet, president of the *Ligue Nationale* and defender of an abolitionist solution, and Dujardin, military doctor and sworn opponent of the former.

Discussion of the experiment illustrated the medicalization of the social phenomenon on both sides. Avoiding venereal disease was the key point, used by most of the discussants. Several politicians (and physicians) underlined the importance of the problem by linking it directly to the demographic and moral consequences of the First World War, which had weakened the “Belgian race”. Numerous medical articles were published arguing with the help of various statistics that the post-war period was being characterized by the wide dissemination of syphilis and gonorrhoea.

Finding a consensus on the results of the experiment proved, however, to be very difficult: the archives of the police and the mayor of Brussels are full of letters from people protesting against the experiment. As only the city of Brussels had adjourned the rules, many prostitutes from the surrounding municipalities had changed their place of work and there was a great surge of visible prostitution in the municipality. Echoes in the press were also mainly negative, so that the regulations were reintroduced in 1925. The commission that had been created to evaluate the six-month experience properly did not produce any results. So regulation remained in place till after the Second World War. In 1948, a law proposed by Isabelle Blum put an end to the Belgian regulation system.

## Organization of the trade

Very little is known about the organization of prostitution. The practices that were revealed during the white slavery panic showed that the worlds of the local political elite, the police officers and the tenants of the brothels were closely entangled, everybody being interested in maintaining the existing system.

In general, regulated prostitution was organized around two systems: the brothels called *maisons closes*, which were favoured by the police and the municipal authorities, and other brothels called *maisons de passe*, to which the so-called *éparses* took their clients. In contrast to a common opinion expressed regularly in books favouring regulation, half of the brothel keepers in Brussels were men. The *maisons closes* especially were in free fall from the 1860s onwards: from over 40 in the 1850s to less than 10 in the 1880s. At the end of the decade, the city of Brussels had only 12 houses where prostitution was officially allowed. The reason for that rapid decline has not yet been researched. It is

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probable that some tenants tried other municipalities such as Saint-Josse-ten-Noode or Schaerbeek, the second and third most important communes for prostitution during the First World War, communes where controls were perhaps less rigid: only the city of Brussels had a substantial vice squad. But it is also plausible that the number of unregistered brothels became more important over time. Generally it is very difficult to advance precise numbers of women working as prostitutes outside the official registers. The number of 15,000 to 20,000 women that some politicians advanced in the 1920s was largely exaggerated. Flexner estimated in 1914 that 3,000 non-registered prostitutes existed in Brussels with around 150 that were registered. The only precise numbers that exist are related to the number of women who had been detected as ill: in 1919, 47 registered prostitutes and 204 non-registered prostitutes (a proportion of one in four) were in hospital.

The urban spaces where prostitution took place in Brussels remained remarkably stable over the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. As regulation tried to make prostitution invisible, brothels were mainly situated in small backstreets of the bigger boulevards. The area around the North Station was especially known as one of the busiest red-light districts in Brussels in the nineteenth century and has remained as such throughout the whole of the twentieth century until the present day.

## Social profiles and causes of prostitution

From the mid-nineteenth century, local authorities in Brussels had been engaged in a regular effort to quantify prostitution. A continuous series of registered prostitutes (*prostituées inscrites*) exists from 1854 to 1923. Those numbers need, however, to be viewed with care. First of all, they only represent those who were registered: evaluating the number of prostitutes who have not been recorded numerically is difficult (see above). Secondly, those numbers are deeply entangled in political and social negotiations that are not stable over time. Taking these biases into consideration, the published numbers show the following evolution. The number of prostitutes inside brothels was around 200 from the 1840s till the 1860s before falling under 100 till the 1920s except for a significant surge between 1875 and 1882. For the *prostituées éparses* the evolution was roughly speaking similar but the surge more exceptional (almost 400 women registered as *éparses* in 1879).

In the mid-nineteenth century, most prostitutes came from the incessant flux of rural migrations, mainly from Flanders. At the beginning of the twentieth century, that population had far less of a mobile profile: most were then from Brussels. There was a great number of foreigners until the 1880s when the white slavery scandal caused a significant drop in prostitutes coming from France or the United Kingdom. They again gained in importance after the First World War. During the war the composition of the population slightly changed. The number of married women increased probably owing to the absence of their men at the front and their precarious living conditions. Owing to limitations on mobility, foreigners and women from other Belgian provinces dropped in number.

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## Prostitution in Budapest in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

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### Historical background

As in other parts of Europe, in Austria-Hungary prostitution during the nineteenth century was recognized by reformers and “respectable” society as a phenomenon of massive proportions and a cause for alarm. The perception of the nature of prostitution, the underlying social and cultural factors fostering it, as well as its consequences for the social order were also similar to those in other parts of Europe. Prostitution was seen as a necessary evil that could not be eradicated, and its apparent unprecedented expansion to the public spaces of Budapest and Vienna was considered a natural consequence of particularly rapid urbanization. Regulationism predominated over other approaches as government policy. Naturally, the exact nature of the policies that were implemented was shaped by local traditions of municipal governance and the police, and by cultural norms. In comparison with Vienna, which was a Catholic stronghold and where attempts at introducing regulatory norms and legislation were for decades strongly opposed by the clerical elite that saw it as a policy of “legalizing the whores”, late nineteenth-century Hungary and its capital city traditionally practised a much more laissez-faire attitude in line with other initiatives of the Transleithania’s ruling liberal government. Thus while the system of regulation was similar to that of Cisleithania, enforcement of the regulation was different in the sense that the Hungarian authorities were given fewer powers of coercion and control.

The first attempts to control prostitution in Hungary were recorded during the 1848 revolution, when the government of Hungary requested its army to make weekly checks of the “girls” it frequented. In the decade following the crushing of the revolution, prostitution thrived in pubs, coffee houses, dosshouses, baths and streets of the Hungarian capital. Of somewhat better repute were the so-called courtesan houses (*kéjnőtelepek*), in which the prostitutes enjoyed not only security of residence but also employment security. That laid foundations for the establishment of formal brothels in Hungary, which differed from other, earlier institutions of the sex trade in that they possessed a specifically designed meeting place, the salon. The existence of brothels was formally recognized in the guidelines of the Pest municipal government from 31 October 1867, the year of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. There was an attempt to convert every courtesan house into a brothel and to confine every prostitute within it. Naturally, from that point onwards the brothels were also to function within the market and had to put up with competition, pay their taxes and undergo regular supervision by the municipal police. Prostitutes were issued medical identity cards, the so-called “yellow cards” (*sárga lapok*) and the police decided, in each particular case, how much a brothel should ask for its services and how much the government levy should be. In legal proceedings that concerned the brothels it was again the police who decided on the outcome. That often resulted

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\* I would like to thank Susan Zimmermann for her helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

in the blossoming of corruption between the police and the madams. Additionally, residents of public houses were also often made fully dependent on their owners owing to the need to borrow clothes and other items necessary for the trade. Since most of the prostitutes came from a poor background, very few of them were in a position to pay their debts to the house and leave. They often worked in a spartan environment and many of the brothels were far removed from the romanticized ideal of purple plush furniture and piano music that they later acquired.

Tough competition also meant the need to change the women “on offer” regularly, which in turn resulted in the increase in turnover of prostitutes between different establishments and, more importantly, in a more active circulation of working girls within the Monarchy and beyond. The cases that are known confirm the hypothesis that, while transnational and transatlantic movements of men and women active in the sex trade somewhat subsided with the signing of the international agreements of 1904 and 1910 and the subsequent imposition of national legislation, internal circulation remained much more common. In that situation, Budapest with its reputation of a booming entertainment industry, entrepreneurial spirit and a large number of brothels and street prostitutes often functioned as a main source of supply. Hungarian prostitutes were known to have operated in Alexandria, Constantinople, Hamburg, Prague and Vienna, and also in Argentina, Brazil and the Russian Empire. As in the case of Polish women, the pejorative term “*hungara*” (and also its equivalent in several Slavic languages, “*vengerka*”) came to connote a cheap prostitute of Hungarian origin abroad. Contemporary discussion of the issue of the white slave trade was also strongly influenced by the growth of anti-Semitism in Hungary; press reports thus routinely exaggerated the proportion of “Jewish traffickers” in the transnational and transatlantic prostitution networks.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the brothels of Budapest proliferated in the predominantly Jewish VIth district of Terézváros, which was also renowned for its entertainment industry, in the neighbouring VIIth district of Erzsébetváros, and in the poor VIIIth district near the Eastern (*Keleti*) Railway Station. The latter area was also a place where shipping companies specializing in transatlantic migration ran cheap hotels for overnight stays for those on their way to European ports of departure. Further research would be necessary to assess whether the two networks — transatlantic migration and prostitution — overlapped in any way as their proximity to each other and to the railway station is clearly evident. More expensive services, or “cockrel houses” (*kakasos házak*) as they were known, were available in the city centre, beyond the inner ring road. Among those establishments was the brothel of Fanny Reich, wife of Budapest’s notorious police chief, Elek Thaisz. According to police reports, even some of the “better” establishments contained large storerooms divided into several compartments with “thin wooden walls” and were, therefore, a far cry from the luxury services they claimed to be offering.

From the mid-nineteenth century and until the new legislation of 1885, prostitutes operated in brothels while an even larger number worked on the streets and in rented flats. According to Thaisz, who based his estimate on the records of the municipal police, over 40 brothels were functioning in Budapest in 1878, employing 281 prostitutes. In the very same year, the police recorded about 900 streetwalkers and over 700 prostitutes in the unregistered brothels known to the authorities. Investigations conducted by the police and independent sources further confirm the proliferation of street prostitution. Covert (unregistered) prostitution was mostly concentrated in the same area

or areas nearby to the ones that hosted the majority of brothels, in houses on and along the main thoroughfares surrounding the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth districts.

According to the historian Mihály Szécsényi (1999), there were 104 courtesan houses functioning illegally in addition to the officially registered brothels in the city centre in 1878. While they intended to legalize most of them eventually, the authorities clearly lacked the resources to do so, and the number of both registered and covert prostitutes, if press and police reports are to be trusted, seems to have increased within a decade. From 1885 onwards, when the police launched a curb on brothels, sex for sale was increasingly on offer in Budapest's famous music halls, the so-called orpheums, and later in variety clubs and cabarets (for example, *Jardin de Paris* and *Jardin d'Hiver*), but also in coffee houses, hotels, inns and baths (in particular, in the garden of the Lukács Bath). Contemporary accounts speak of the fame of Budapest in the eyes of tourists as a centre of prostitution that surpassed that of its historic places of interest. Some prostitutes were also employed elsewhere and practised their trade only during the evening or at night. Many of them were young maids or seasonal workers, and some were also married. In 1894, there were over 500 prostitutes in the 44 registered brothels, while there was an even larger number, over 600, of registered streetwalkers. From 1909 onwards the police kept account of and issued health cards not only to registered prostitutes but also to all waitresses, maids, hotel maids and other women only suspected of working as prostitutes. All that resulted in a situation where, in 1912, the number of street prostitutes was double that of those operating in brothels (769 to 321), while at the same time the number of brothels, like in other cities in Central Europe, was significantly lower than a decade previously (21).

## Legislation and societal reaction

The regulation law of 1876 was simply an adaptation of the earlier one of 1867 in that prostitution was the concern of the police only inasmuch as it constituted a threat to public health and order. In 1881, the authority of the municipal police to protect "public morals" was expanded. In 1885, János Török replaced Thaisz as Budapest's police chief and, in consequence, the policy towards prostitution changed as well and the police closed down 36 brothels on allegations of corruption. The new regulation, introduced in 1885 to replace the earlier 1876 law, thus marked the end of the brothel era and the transfer of the sex trade to other locations. For the first time the Statute of 1885 recognized the existing phenomenon of prostitution outside brothels (so-called "discreet" prostitution), the regulation of which became the task of the police authorities. Once they were recognized as an existing phenomenon, registered prostitutes were subjected to a number of restrictions on their code of dress and behaviour: for example, "roaming the streets" and "disturbing public peace" in any other way, wearing their hair loose or "conspicuous disclosure" of busts in public were prohibited. Additionally, they were forbidden to operate in the vicinity of schools and churches, on the Danube promenade and on the main boulevards.

Covert (unregistered) prostitution was a matter of increasingly strict police control, and, breaching the law could result in compulsory medical examination or being sent to an asylum or prison. Both unregistered prostitution and the breaking of various rules attached to registered prostitution, as Susan Zimmermann (1995) has shown, had consequences which were practically



identical to the treatment of undeserving paupers and vagabonds in that the authorities treated them as undesirable and attempted to remove them from public areas. In those cases where their legally defined place of origin was a community other than Budapest, the authorities would remove them from the capital altogether. An entire relocation transport system by rail for the “undeserving poor” had existed in Hungary since the 1860s. It deported offenders of public order back to their places of origin. The relocation system was part of a larger policy of poor relief operated by the local and national governments.

The health card system was seen at the time as the best way to tackle clandestine street prostitution by way of offering women “discreet” registration and subjecting them, at the same time, to regular medical examination. From the 1890s onwards, detectives in civilian clothes roamed the streets monitoring unregistered street prostitution. Medical treatment for venereal diseases had already been made compulsory in 1881 and a Disinfection Institute was established in 1892. After 1893, the Budapest authorities introduced compulsory sanitary inspection of all hotels, thereby subjecting all female hotel employees to regular medical check-ups on the assumption that they might be prostitutes. The main concern, of course, was the health and well-being of the male customers, and generally the alarming spread of venereal disease among the urban population. Regular raids on selected bars and other suspicious establishments were made, and those women who were detained and found to have a venereal disease were forcibly sent to a hospital. The new prostitution regulation of 1909 concerned patrolling not only of streets but other areas of the public space: coffee houses, hotels, dens, dance halls, orpheums and dance schools. Cases of police misjudgement, which exposed any “suspect” woman to the same procedure by mistake, were reported in the press and lamented by activists. In this context, Zimmermann and others report that the criteria for “appropriate” behaviour in public were so strict and the definition of prostitution so fluid that in fact every woman could potentially be subjected to a similar procedure if they refused to conform to gendered middle-class norms and modes of behaviour in public.

Apart from having initiated, reluctantly, the monitoring of white slave traffic after having acceded to the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in Paris in 1904 and the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in 1910, which was only passed as a law by the Hungarian Parliament in 1912, the police limited itself to further regulationist measures. Other approaches, which questioned the adequacy of the fin-de-siècle double morals allowing men much more sexual freedom, were almost exclusively limited to the liberal-progressive feminist movement in Hungary, such as the Feminist Association, founded by a small group of women around Vilma Glücklich in 1904. In contrast to other movements in the region, the Feminist Association as an organization did not campaign for abolitionism. While individual representatives repeatedly declared themselves publicly against the system, they saw general poverty and ignorance as the main causes of prostitution and therefore argued for more economic independence for women in modern society, for greater awareness of the nature of sexual relations and for progressive sex education. They believed that with the advent of modernism new types of relationship would emerge that would eventually make prostitution redundant. However, even their politics, aimed at least in principle at the prevention of prostitution through promoting women’s paid work and economic independence, were ambivalent. The Feminist Association supported the new ethics of partnership-based intimate relationships between women and men, void of the double standard, and promoted

the new ethics as a normative standard of behaviour for all women, including prostitutes and former prostitutes. By implication, that meant that prostitutes and other women who were not willing to accommodate to the standard or who continued to behave differently remained outside the reform horizon. Factors such as the higher social status of a prostitute in Central Europe in comparison to that of a female factory worker or a maid, and the fact that some lower-class young women would actually work as prostitutes after work in order to make ends meet or for other reasons, were beyond the eyesight and rhetoric of the Feminist Association. Other, more traditionalist women's groups suggested that the solution to the double morals issue was to try to restrict the sexual freedom of men, and attempted to "improve" the morals of the prostitutes by providing them with different values. Other prominent people involved in the discussion were Leó Liebermann, a medical doctor and a founder of the Association for the Protection against Venereal Diseases (founded in 1913), and Ágoston Dumitreánu, chief doctor in the Budapest police. The lack of an outspoken abolitionist movement resulted in the survival of brothels and street prostitution in Budapest for almost a decade longer than in other cities of Central Europe. In the increasingly restrictive political atmosphere of the Horthy regime, the nationalist-conservative government of István Bethlen changed its policy towards prostitution in the 1920s as part of its efforts to consolidate the political system of interwar Hungary. After the new prostitution law of 1926 no new permits to run brothels were issued, and from 1 May 1928 all the existing permits were withdrawn as well. That marked the end of the liberal approach to prostitution that had characterized Budapest and Hungary during the previous decades.

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## Prostitution in Buenos Aires and Montevideo

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### Historical overview

Situated on either bank of the River Plate, the cities of Buenos Aires — capital of Argentina — and Montevideo — capital of Uruguay — together with the Argentine city of Rosario, on the Paraná River, were the epicentres of the intense development that characterized the region as from the last decades of the nineteenth century. Argentina and Uruguay appeared in world capitalism as agro-exporting economies, while, at the same time, they entered a period of political stability after a turbulent nineteenth century. From then onwards, an urban expansion of unprecedented dimensions added to the demographic impact of European immigration, with high masculinity rates in both countries. Those were the most visible traits of a process of modernization, which had evolved in a particular way in each of the port cities mentioned.

The sex trade had a pre-eminent place in public reflections on the main challenges Argentine and Uruguayan societies faced at the beginning of the twentieth century: on their identities, on the need and meaning of their public policies, on the chances of reaching the standards of European civilization, and on the moral risks that such a process involved. Urban reconfigurations and the challenges of cosmopolitanism were an intense experience for the inhabitants in terms of their gender dimension. The prostitute, depicted as either *criolla* or foreign, as femme fatale or as the victim of pimps, was present in literature, music and other cultural expressions. In her were concentrated the moral dilemmas, the risks and the charms of modernity.

Given the geographic proximity of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the permanent connection between both capitals is an unavoidable fact in the social and cultural history of the region. An intense economic and cultural circuit had united them during their histories. In tune with that trend, entrepreneurs dedicated to the trade of prostitution were on the watch for advantages in investing in both banks of the River Plate. That way, they nurtured a more or less informal economy around the sex trade. The application of regulatory frameworks at the end of the nineteenth century in both cities was characterized by similar temporalities and by the attention paid by public authorities to laws, their uses and the policies in force in the neighbouring city. Argentine and Uruguayan police forces also sought to create the conditions for collaborative work. At the same time, abolitionist criticism fed on the transnational organization of socialist groups, feminists and physicians from both banks of the River Plate.

Both capitals had adopted regulations on prostitution as from the mid-1870s. They underwent various changes, but were long in force, until the mid-1930s. Rosario was the first city in the region to adopt a municipal regulatory framework, in 1874. Buenos Aires followed in 1875. Finally, in 1882, Montevideo adopted the first of many regulations. They were all in line with the so called “French system”, in which public health principles encouraged the intervention of municipal and political

powers in the social organization of prostitution. Although repeatedly criticized by physicians for not following the medical principles correctly, the rules and regulations found undeniable inspiration in them.

In both cities, the regulated brothel generated resources for the municipality. It was controlled by a madam in charge of adhering to the rules of operation in order to ensure discretion and the sanitary status of the building and the prostitutes, through periodic medical examinations. That kind of sex trade was broadly accepted, which explains its longevity, in spite of the intensification of abolitionist militancy. Both in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the regulations on prostitution had a part in outlining some fundamental aspects of male urban sociability.

While in force, regulated prostitution was combined with a variety of offers of sexual entertainment, classified as “clandestine” by authorities, such as rendezvous houses, cafes, taverns and cabarets, places that allowed for extramarital sexual encounters. During the twentieth century, the various forms of prostitution in the region were related to the dynamics of the urban property market in both cities and to the circuits of the entertainment business that connected them.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the centrality of the South American region in narratives about the white slave trade that circulated internationally, criticism of the arbitrariness of the regulatory system, its ineffectiveness in the fight against venereal disease, together with the rise of nationalistic ideologies, converged into the perception that there was a need for legislation against procuring. Both countries, in line with other societies that were receiving massive immigration movements from Europe until the 1930s, adopted special laws to back the practice of expelling foreigners without judicial proceedings. In the period after the First World War, Argentina was the first to adopt legislation that restricted the entry of certain groups of foreigners, including prostitutes, based on eugenic criteria.

In the post-war period, criticism of the regulatory practices became stronger, while public debate on prostitution became encompassed in broader discussions of sexuality. After the 1920s, issues such as compulsory premarital certificates, the crime of venereal contagion and sexual education, under the strong influence of eugenic thought among River Plate physicians, gained importance in public debate.

The abolitionist movement, both local and international, associated regulatory systems with the traffic of women, which contributed to the ill repute of River Plate cities. Thus, the police forces and the municipal power were at the centre of public attention, permanently under suspicion of corruption and arbitrary action, fuelled by reports in the local press. In the 1920s, the figure of the pimp became the epitome of the flaws of the liberal principles that had inspired the republics.

In Argentina, a nationalist conservative coup d'état in 1930 coincided with the start of a scandalous and sensational trial against a society of Jewish pimps. Zwi Migdal, called the Warsaw Society from its foundation in 1906 until 1927, functioned as a mutual aid association, with religious and communal functions for its members, Jewish pimps and prostitutes (it owned a synagogue, a cemetery and supported its members in situations of illness or old age). When it was prosecuted

by the Jewish Association for the Protection of Women and Children in the 1920s and by Police Commissioner, Julio Alsogaray, in a spectacular trial in 1930, Zwi Migdal gained notoriety among many other ethnic associations formed in Argentina during the immigration period, as well as among similar associations of prostitutes and pimps in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Santos) and New York. The case had immediate repercussions in Uruguay. It was feared that it would be the first place to be sought by pimps who had been persecuted in Argentina, as had happened in previous police campaigns against pimps. After the trial, Zwi Migdal came to be known only as a criminal organization of pimps. Its communal and religious dimensions were dismissed as a mere facade and were only reinstated recently, in studies such as that by Mir Yarfitz (2012).

The Zwi Migdal scandal strengthened the elements that had characterized the first decades of the twentieth century with reference to prostitution in the River Plate area, as it was seen as confirmation of the widespread belief that prostitution was basically foreign, especially Jewish, managed by obscure organizations of pimps, and benefiting from police and municipal corruption in the framework of the regulatory system. The passing of the Law on Social Prophylaxis in Argentina in 1936 and of the law against procuring in Uruguay in 1927/1928, famous for abolishing regulation, did not, however, solve police corruption. In fact, from then onwards the police forces gained prominence in the organization of the sex trade. Several authors agree that the development and dissemination of contraceptive methods together with sexual liberation as from the mid-twentieth century pushed the sex trade to grey and silenced areas of public debate. One of its consequences was to make it possible to put broad groups of women under moral suspicion, especially in situations of political authoritarianism.

## **Societal reaction and legal situation around the time of the First World War**

The long-lasting regulations on prostitution in Buenos Aires and Montevideo marked social perception of the subject in the region. The various amendments they underwent until the 1930s form a virtual guide to the main issues of public debate in each city during the first decades of the twentieth century: location of brothels in the urban space, underage prostitution, cost of compulsory medical examinations, questioning of the legality of a system that relegated prostitutes to a separate status, rights of prostitutes and madams, and the ineffectiveness of the coercive characteristics of the regulations in controlling venereal disease. In addition, they reflected different phases of the tensions between the police and the sanitary authorities, often centred on the compulsion exerted on prostitutes to take the medical examinations.

Acknowledging the contemporary connections between regulation systems and the white slave trade, the Uruguayan and Argentine authorities sought to hinder the exploitation of prostitutes by making changes to the regulations. In Montevideo, the area officially delimited for prostitution was suppressed after 1903, and the requirement shifted to a maximum number of three prostitutes per brothel. The suppression of large brothels and of the “free area” was expected to put an end to “the kidnapping of prostitutes in brothels”. After 1909, the system became a “mixed free zone”, combining the *Bajo* (Lowlands) and small brothels in different neighbourhoods. In 1927, a law with an abolitionist undertone was passed, which repressed procuring and related crimes. In being applied,

though, the law yet again acquired a regulatory nature. According to the socialist physician, active abolitionist militant and representative of the government of Uruguay on the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children of the League of Nations, Paulina Luisi, the decree regulating its application “guillotined” the abolitionist principles that had been in force for eight months, by endorsing police action in connection with the registration of prostitutes.

In Argentina, the regulation system was also shaped by the conflict between sanitary and police perspectives on prostitution, in which municipal authorities had a particularly important role. It was common for police authorities to accuse municipal authorities of protecting certain houses and acting arbitrarily, while the local press accused police commissioners of violence and corruption. The original 1875 regulation established a minimum distance of two blocks from temples, schools and theatres; it sought to keep pimps away from brothels (by demanding that they be managed by women); and it created the means to separate prostitutes from other groups of female urban workers. Brothels had to have a licence, pay municipal taxes and their inmates had to undergo periodic medical examinations. The areas reserved for brothels underwent several changes at the beginning of the twentieth century, while at the same time there were attempts to limit the number of women per brothel thereby seeking to lessen their vulnerability to pimps. In 1919, a new regulation came to demand only one woman per brothel, accompanied by a maid, and only one brothel per block. It was hoped that the abolition of large brothels would help combat the exploitation of prostitutes. Although the project was originally put forward by a socialist deputy, socialists accused the *Unión Cívica Radical*, the political party to which the city mayor belonged, of distorting their idea. The expectation that smaller and less segregated brothels would reduce prostitutes’ vulnerability to exploitation by a pimp clashed with anxieties about the disastrous urban effects: there was a fear that the number of brothels would increase dramatically and that the price of housing would go up, a situation which put the issue on the agenda of the electoral contest.

Notwithstanding broad social acceptance of the regulation system in both countries, abolitionist propaganda won over more and more supporters among physicians, socialists, feminists and other reformist groups. Buenos Aires had appealed to associations to fight against white slavery since the city had first been mentioned in stories of trafficking in the international press. The National Vigilance Association, founded in London in 1885, sent a delegate to Buenos Aires in 1912, Rosalie Lighton Robinson, to accompany and document cases of white slavery. The Chairman of the Association, William Coote, also visited Buenos Aires, during a long trip which took him to Africa, America and Europe.

Jewish philanthropy became organized and that resulted in greater visibility of suspicious cases involving young Jewish women. The Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, based in London, had an active subsidiary in Buenos Aires, with rabbis and representatives authorized to go on board ships. Their records suggest that they were more interested in spotting young immigrants at risk than in rescuing women who already lived as prostitutes. In 1913, its secretary, Samuel Cohen, also visited Buenos Aires. The Association had an important role in the denunciation of Zwi Migdal in 1927.

In 1893, the Argentine subsidiary of the *Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille*, based in Switzerland, started work on surveillance of recently disembarked young immigrants. Some years

later, that initiative gave birth to the Argentine National Association against White Slave Trafficking that brought together several members of foreign communities in Buenos Aires. The Association was responsible for one of the first bills against procuring. From 1917 until its final dissolution in 1928, it was directed by Petrona Eyle, a socialist physician.

Feminist and socialist physicians belonged to a wide international network. Specifically, Luisi, the Uruguayan socialist physician, became the international reference of the heterogeneous movement that criticized the fundamentals and the form of the regulatory system for being immoral, ineffective and illegal. In both countries, and in line with the international debate, the strengthening of the connection between the regulation system and what at the time was called white slave traffic was one of the main strategies of socialist, reformist and feminist groups, who sought to promote propaganda critical of regulatory practices and, in some cases, of prostitution itself. Luisi's fight against regulated prostitution encompassed the principles of sexual education, criticism of double standards in sexual morality and a sensitivity to class tensions in Uruguayan society. Luisi responded to a long secular and reformist intellectual tradition that gained more prominence in Uruguayan politics than in those of Argentina, and earned Uruguay the reputation of being the first welfare state in Latin America, based on social reform and political democracy.

In Argentina, socialist militancy gained force with the election of the first parliamentarians at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its exponents were unable to reach an agreement over the convenience of abolishing regulated prostitution promptly, which revealed the broad acceptance of the system in local society. Nevertheless, socialists became the main promoters of legislation against procuring. In 1918, Luisi and the Argentine physician and socialist deputy, Ángel Giménez, founded a Uruguayan-Argentine Section of the International Abolitionist Federation.

The first initiatives for the criminalization of favouring, facilitating, inducing and making profits from prostitution of adult women were taken at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1913, Argentina passed Law No. 9143, proposed by the socialist legislator, Alfredo Palacios, which was named after him. The law, which was incorporated into the Argentine Criminal Code (*Código Penal Argentino*) in 1921, penalized the act of promoting or facilitating prostitution or the corruption of women under 22 years of age, even with their consent, and also of women over 22, should there be "violence, deceit or coercion". In Uruguay, the Brum Law was passed in 1916. On the verge of the end of his mandate, President José Battle y Ordoñez urgently commissioned a bill against procuring, which ended up being inspired by the Argentine law.

In both countries, the challenge was to combine repression of procuring and the principle of the regulatory vision that assumed the existence of prostitution that was exercised voluntarily. That is why neither law considered madams to be procurers, except when there was proven corruption of minors. In any case, both countries supported the police practice of expelling "undesirables". In 1913, the Argentine press reported that the Palacios Law had brought about a mass flight of pimps, frightened and under pressure from the police. The Brazilian and Uruguayan press echoed the news simultaneously. In 1916, according to the Uruguayan press, the Brum Law gave the police the opportunity of expelling hundreds of pimps, which caused concern on the Argentine side.



It was not long before the Argentine and Uruguayan police authorities perceived the ineffectiveness of that method of expulsion, which in Argentina was backed by the Law of Residence of 1902. For both countries, pushing the problem beyond national borders only strengthened the criminal links between both countries, and did not stop the outcasts from returning. Nevertheless, efforts to change the deeply rooted practice were costly in many ways. The two South American Police Conferences held in 1905 and 1920 should be interpreted in that light, with their intention to homogenize ways of identifying suspects in order to improve the exchange of police and judiciary information. The white slave trade was one of their manifest concerns. In the view of police officials, the perception of a crime of international scope demanded an international organization of police authorities as well.

## Organization of the trade

Wide circulation of stories about young European women deceived by pimps and forced into prostitution in brothels in Buenos Aires and Montevideo was mixed with the recognition that many women worked relatively autonomously. Local and visiting reformists talked much about white slavery, but had difficulty documenting “authentic” cases, both in Argentina and Uruguay. During his visit to Buenos Aires in 1913, Samuel Cohen observed that the situation was not as he had imagined. In contrast to what he had expected, he found that the majority of European women who were registered in brothels in Buenos Aires had already previously exercised prostitution. He also observed that prostitution could serve as a form of initial capital accumulation that could then be reinvested in other activities, and mainly in the acquisition of property.

There is evidence of various forms of coercion and violence exerted on prostitutes who settled in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, yet that did not match the stories of deceit and captivity that circulated in the European press. The system of regulated brothels, especially the frequent changes in the number of women per house and of brothels in specific areas of the city, fostered one of the recurring forms of appropriation of income from prostitution, namely through the rental of houses and/or rooms. The high value of rentals, of licences and taxes made registered prostitutes vulnerable to the owners of the houses in which they lived. In general, the madam would charge weekly rents for the rooms they took. Another possibility was hiring them “*a lata*” (tin-way or with tin), a system in which they were paid with tokens to be exchanged for part of the client’s money. In the end, the business of regulated brothels constituted a system that favoured intermediaries.

The system not only organized the dynamics of the sex trade, but also had consequences on urban housing in both cities. In 1885, a police commissioner in Buenos Aires remarked, with concern, that many “respectable neighbours”, who invested in the city’s urban expansion “used” the police to persecute women suspected of exercising prostitution on land awaiting an increase in value. Thus, they obtained an “exaggerated profit” with that speculation. When the 1919 ordinance was passed, which established one prostitute per house and one house per block, politicians who opposed the socialists accused them of causing a housing crisis, foreseeing skyrocketing rents and housing shortages. The fear that the property market would end in the hands of procurers was permanent.

In fact, Zwi Migdal, like other pimps and prostitutes, sought to invest in the property market of Buenos Aires. There were also some women who participated in Zwi Migdal. As members they

bought property with money accumulated through the exercise of prostitution or in brothels managed together with their husbands.

In both cities, the persistence of various forms of autonomous prostitution, be it on the streets or in rendezvous houses, suggests the vitality of alternatives to the regulated brothel. Prostitutes alternated between regulated and clandestine forms at different times of their lives, according to circumstance. The legal status of the chosen alternative was less determining than the combination of age, income and potential clientele at each moment and for each woman. Certain forms of clandestine prostitution, such as those associated with the entertainment industry, could have greater expectations of independence and autonomy.

In both cities, the regulatory system created the figure of the madam, the main interlocutor of the municipal power, responsible for complying with the requirements of regulations, maintaining order in the brothel, and demanding medical examinations of their lodgers. Brothel keepers' complaints to the municipality in Buenos Aires and Montevideo suggest that they thought of themselves as bearing privileges, since they paid taxes and for licences. They often expected government protection from the competition of clandestine prostitution.

For many women who registered in the brothels of Buenos Aires in 1912, "the act of registering transformed prostitution into work".<sup>1</sup> Police files and press articles in Montevideo record fragments of the stories of many women and their perception of their activity. In 1924, Anita explained to a journalist that in the regulated brothel where she worked in Montevideo, she had a set schedule. She started at 2 p.m. and had to "go through with whatever came along" until 3 a.m. Before that, she considered herself "free", but life was very "hard". Similarly, a cabaret artist who had an ailment in her legs, entered a brothel in Montevideo, convinced by a friend that she would make more money and would not need to drink so much alcohol.<sup>2</sup> Entry into a regulated brothel also involved the expectation that the state would guarantee certain rights, such as not being dismissed without cause. In 1932, a madam cast out her lodger with the explanation that the brothel would be closing. Upon finding out that it was an excuse to let in a new lodger, she appealed to the Uruguayan authorities to ensure she could stay in that brothel.<sup>3</sup>

The intervention of pimps took on various forms, including more or less consensual relationships, and partnerships for the exploitation of brothels. Men who performed a variety of roles in the sex trade world could be accused of procuring and end up with a criminal record. There was a common belief among the authorities, in literature and the press that women never denounced their exploiters, either out of fear or for love. But in Montevideo prostitutes did denounce their partners or former partners who broke their rules of coexistence, or who borrowed money and never paid back, for instance. Records of the expulsion of foreigners in Brazil also included various accusations by women who exercised prostitution in Buenos Aires, against their former partners, for being pimps. These pieces of evidence contradict the consolidated narrative around the scandal of Zwi Migdal, that the organization's power to immobilize the Argentine authorities, in addition to their victims' fear, had

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<sup>1</sup> Guy (1994), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Trochon (2003), p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

guaranteed its impunity until 1930. To explain that the case resulted from the exceptional initiative of a “slave” who denounced the organization plus the courage of the police commissioner, Alsogaray, ignores the denunciations made the previous year, and the usual accusations of prostitutes against their pimps; it also brushes aside changes in the political context, with the arrival of a nationalist conservative government, by means of a coup d’état in 1930. Furthermore, it was considered that the means used to guarantee the displacement of young Jewish women were always forms of deceit and coercion, particularly arranged marriages, thereby ignoring their possible connotation as a free-will resource.

To sum up, authors diverge on the existence of a highly organized traffic of women, and when they concede to it, they differ on its degree of organization. They tend to agree, however, on the fact that there is no evidence for the stories of the white slave trade that circulated in the international and sensationalist press. In the River Plate area, registered and clandestine prostitutes had to face the daily difficulties of settling in cities with serious housing problems, which were undergoing complex processes of urban expansion and property speculation. Accusations of police violence were permanent during the twentieth century as a whole. The shift from a regulatory regime to an abolitionist one did not change the police’s entitlement to monitor and repress suspects of prostitution, but rather seems to have broadened it.

## Social profiles

To foreign observers, proof of the existence of an important route for the trafficking of women was the pre-eminence of European women in regulated brothels. As Donna Guy (1994) observed, the profile of registered women cannot be taken to be representative of the sex trade, especially considering the fact that the regulation itself suffered permanent changes that had a bearing on the profile of the women registered, and on the circulation between both modes (regulated and clandestine prostitution). In 1910, of the registered women in Buenos Aires, 75 per cent admitted to having engaged in prostitution previously. While 63 per cent mentioned money as their main motivation, 15 per cent declared that they liked the job. In Montevideo, of the 400 prostitutes that had registered with the Sanitary Inspection in 1924, about half admitted to having engaged in prostitution before.

The nationalities declared in sanitary and police records are misleading too. All over South America, French prostitutes were the most valued, as they were identified with specific sexual ways (oral sex) and with civilized cosmopolitan practices. Thus, the adoption of French names might rather have been a propaganda strategy. Information given by prostitutes in Montevideo to the Police Research Division between 1922 and 1932 reveals that 50 per cent of them were French women, among the foreigners, and 46 per cent Uruguayan. Declaration of Argentine and Uruguayan nationality, in that registry and others, might refer to the adoption of those nationalities by European women or to the increasing visibility of new generations of women born in the region.

The proportion of Jewish women among the owners of brothels was much larger than that of the Jewish population in both cities. In 1930, while the Jewish population of Buenos Aires did not reach 5 per cent of foreigners, the proportion went up to 30 per cent among Jewish prostitutes registered in the municipality. Those figures contributed to establish the idea that the white slave trade was a business run by Jewish groups.

- 52• This visibility can be explained partly by the activity of Jewish philanthropists, and partly by the effectiveness of the contacts between Jewish entrepreneurs in the sexual market. In 1928, the publication of the book, *The Road to Buenos Aires*, by the French journalist Albert Londres, disclosed the contours of French procuring and the part it played in Buenos Aires, suggesting other forms of ethnic and national links between entrepreneurs and workers in the sex trade. The growing lack of interest on the part of reformers after the 1930s reflects the decline of the immigration movement and the rise of an increasingly national profile of prostitutes.

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# Prostitution in Cairo

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## Historical context and urban space

The expansion of the sex trade in colonial Cairo was an effect of the increasing integration of Egypt and its capital city within the global market and the colonial order after British occupation in 1882. Since the 1860s, and especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which had greatly increased the role of the country in the world economy, Cairo's urban fabric had started to change at an unprecedented rate. Large sections of the city were restructured or built anew to provide dwellings for the rising local middle class and the growing community of foreigners, attracted by Egypt's economic boom and the very favourable fiscal and commercial concessions they enjoyed under the Capitulations, agreements signed between the Ottoman sultans and foreign residents in the Empire since the seventeenth century. Commercial activities multiplied, sanitization and diffusion of public transportation changed the ways in which residents, locals and foreigners alike, made use of the urban space. The fulcrum of such a changing urban landscape was the Azbakiyya, right in the centre of the modern city, which was quickly expanding to the north-east of the Islamic city on the western bank of the Nile.

In many ways the Azbakiyya was imagined as the centre of a new Cairo, a modern and vibrant cosmopolitan city. The Azbakiyya area of which the central park was designed on the model of the Bois de Boulogne in Paris and inaugurated in 1872, almost physically represented the coming together of imperial, commercial, judicial and cultural influences in Egyptian society. On the south-west corner of the garden, around the Ataba al Khadra square, the Stock Exchange and the big foreign-owned department stores with their vast assortment of European items, came to symbolize the extent to which the Egyptian economy was harnessed to the imperial one and the spread of western-like consumerism. At a stone's throw from there, the Mixed Courts were to be found, tribunals where civil, penal and commercial disputes between nationals and foreigners and between foreigners of different nationalities were heard. Stemming from a long tradition of extraterritorial rights enjoyed by Europeans under the above-mentioned Capitulations, the Courts were established in 1875 with the aim of evening out Egypt's multifarious nineteenth century legal system, in which consular courts, government tribunals and religious courts overlapped. Dominated by European judges versed in European code laws, although they were entirely supported by the Egyptian Treasury, they actually perpetrated a system of legal inequality among Egyptian nationals and foreigners. To the north of the Azbakiyyah, new cultural tastes and patterns of sociability found their place: located not far from the Khedivial Opera, inaugurated in 1869, were the big international hotels and the night-life district. There bars, taverns, restaurants and ballrooms opened their doors to customers from 5 p.m. to the break of day.

The sex trade became a feature of cosmopolitan life in Cairo: rather than being removed from the public eye, it thrived in the Azbakiyyah area, where licensed prostitutes in brothels could be

seen leaning from their establishments' balconies in every sort of (un)dress. There prostitutes plied their trade in state-regulated brothels while disguised sex work was available to patrons in the many clubs, cafes and ballrooms in the area. Two main sites in the Azbakiyyah were notorious spots for prostitution: the Wagh el Birkah concentrated most of the licensed houses staffed by foreign women, while the Wass'ah was known as the area for native prostitution: there women, although licensed, used to work in self-rented "flats" soliciting customers in the street or sitting in front of their hovels.

## Regulationism

Since 1882, prostitution in Egypt had been regulated by the state. In fact, according to the general decree of 31 October 1882, sex workers who plied their trade in a place known for prostitution had to register with the police and undergo weekly medical inspections. They were given cards with progressive numbers showing their name, age, address, personal characteristics, and the names of the brothel keepers for whom they worked. The results of their sanitary check-ups would be recorded on the card. On the one hand, local women, if found diseased, were sent to the al Hud al Marsud lock hospital in the Sayyidah Zaynab area until recovery, or to be more precise, until the external signs of contagion disappeared. On the other hand, foreign women were just expected to notify their consuls, before seeking treatment with a private medical practitioner. It goes without saying, that, in order to avoid any disruption in their working schedule, foreign women would keep working even if infected with venereal disease. Regulations concerning the issuance of brothels' licences were stipulated in the 1882 decree and confirmed by a number of further legal texts, until the promulgation of an all-encompassing decree on brothels in 1905: brothels, that is, *buyut al 'āhirāt*, "prostitutes' houses", were defined as a place where two or more registered women assembled on a regular basis to perform sexual acts in exchange for money. They could be established legally in designated areas of the city and had to be clearly marked as brothels and separated from ordinary houses.

## Life in the brothel

Registered prostitutes lived on the premises, usually five or six per house, and paid their rents to the brothel keeper. Sex workers earned well, in comparison with other workers; except that their madams, or *badronas* as they were called, swindled them of most of their earnings and they found themselves heavily indebted to the brothel management. They were charged very high prices for rent, plus they had to pay for medical check-ups and buy all the items, such as stockings, undergarments and cosmetics that they needed to attract more customers. It was really hard for licensed sex workers to accumulate money towards an exit strategy. Mostly, aged prostitutes could hope to use the networks they had established among their customers, pimps and conniving police officials, to start up a new career as brothel keepers.

The brothel system was quixotic in that, while providing women with a greater degree of security when compared to the life and circumstances of street walkers, it also enclosed them in a strict hierarchical system of control. Nonetheless, it is possible to argue that stringent segregation rules that were associated with the establishment of a fully-fledged regulationist model of the continental type, were never adopted in Cairo. A close study of the arrangements between sex workers and brothel keepers shows in fact that many brothels, especially the large ones, worked more as "open houses" than brothels of the French type, that is, sorts of lodging houses where rooms were rented



to sex workers only for the purpose of meeting clients. Thus, women were not living on the premises and could procure customers for themselves independently. Many sex workers actually decided to stay away from the brothel system and ply their trade as freelancers. Non-regulated sex work existed in a variety of forms, going from disguised prostitution in entertainment venues to clandestine prostitution in anonymous flats.

## Forms of unregulated sex work

*Cafés-chantants*, music halls, cabarets, bars and brasseries had mushroomed in the night-life district of the Azbakiyyah, especially since the First World War, when the presence of imperial troops garrisoned in town increased dramatically. There women worked as barmaids, waitresses, performers and often also engaged in paid sex. *Garsunat*, or bar girls, plied their trade on the premises in agreement with the owner of the venue. They paid a fee to the bar manager for that, but were entitled to retain a percentage of the customer purchases. Other women were called *artistes*, a loose denomination for all those women who, regardless of the fact of having any real artistic skill or formal training in the performing arts, could be found dancing and singing in *cafés-chantants*. In those cases, fixed wages were very low and most of the women's income came from the drinks that they encouraged customers to order. They sang and danced on stage in order to display themselves. Later on, they were invited to sit at a patron's table and there the *fath* took place, the "opening" of bottles of beer, whisky or other liquor. The provision of sexual services was often, but not always, part of the business.

As to what constituted clandestine prostitution, that concerned every woman selling sex without a licence: mostly women whose husbands could not provide for them and their children, widows, divorced women, all those who had been pushed into casual sex work by untoward circumstances. They marketed their sexual services in the informal sector on an on-and-off basis and evaded state control and supervision by playing with the porous limits of social respectability. Most of them were local women, but there were also minor foreigners who prostituted themselves clandestinely unless their procurers endowed them with fake papers.

## Migration and prostitution

The vast majority of women active in the sex trade were not native to Cairo. Most of both the Egyptian and European women were migrants, in fact, either from the Egyptian countryside or from Europe, especially from Austria, France, Greece, Italy, Poland, Romania and Russia. They arrived through the procurement of local agents, often non-Egyptian subjects protected by favourable capitulatory jurisdiction: once in Egypt, they were taken into custody by another procurer and delivered to their final destination, either a large brothel or a clandestine house. At times women started to work in Alexandria, the main port of entry to Egypt, and reached Cairo later on. Others actually went back and forth between the two cities, as there were many connections between the two prostitution markets. Some women were certainly inveigled into prostitution, some others were totally cognizant of the real nature of their prospective work in Cairo. While it is beyond the scope of this introduction to discuss the extent to which sex workers made autonomous choices regarding their profession, it is important to point out how such an occupational option had materialized within an emerging new regime of circulation — of goods, people, ideas — on a global scale.

Most of Cairo's sex trade, both regulated and clandestine, was dependent on the influx of illegal migrants. Brothel keepers, especially non-Egyptians who employed foreign women, and nightclub managers, relied on an extensive network of international procurers to provide them with new girls, especially during the tourist season, when the demand increased. Shielded by capitulatory legislation, foreign pimps took the lion's share of the business in Cairo, especially Frenchmen, Italians and East European Jews. The French controlled the main European port of departure, Marseille, and had ties with stokers, chauffeurs, captains even on the *Messageries Maritimes* steamers that served Alexandria. European Jews could count on wide networks extending all the way to South America and Buenos Aires especially. In many cases, Cairo was just a stopover, on the way to other final destinations, especially India and the Far East, via the Suez Canal. Archival data provide a glimpse of the intricate subculture of pimping in the Azbakiyyah. The vast majority of procuring traffickers were young working-class men with no definite occupation or residence. For them, procurement provided an opportunity to earn a living without engaging with the ups and downs of the local labour market. Many made use of the connections they had previously established in the Azbakiyyah, while working temporarily in bars or taverns, or even as members of the institution in charge of maintaining public order in town, the Cairo City Police. A number of factors are invoked to explain why Egypt in general, and Cairo in particular, had become, since the turn of the twentieth century, such a notorious spot for the "white slave trade", as trafficking in women was dubbed in the moralistic press of the time: namely, the existence of a licensed brothel system, the country's booming economy, the steady expenditure on debauchery by the rising local middle-class and the large expatriate community, the seasonal influx of tourists and the massive presence of imperial troops.

## Imperial warfare and commercial sex

With the advent of the First World War, the number of soldiers in town surged, posing a major threat to public order and morality. In 1915 the famous Wass'ah riots took place, an illustration of the growing tension between the imperial troops and the local population. In April 1915, a group of drunk Anzacs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) set a Wass'ah brothel on fire in response to rumours that some local prostitutes had purposely infected some of their comrades with syphilis. Brothels were looted, women thrown out of the window, pianos and mattresses were set on fire. A second riot erupted in June later that year. In both cases, the intervention of the Lancashire Territorial Corps was necessary to re-establish order. The presence of colonial troops in Cairo enthusiastically patronizing sex workers, thus the spread of immorality and vice, was seen by the city's population as a stain on the national honour. Imperial authorities were also concerned about the link between the military and the sex trade, especially because of the soaring rate of venereal disease contagion.

In 1915 and 1916 important measures were taken both in the military and civilian realms. While a Purification Committee stipulated that regulationism did not constitute a successful means to contain the spread of venereal disease among troops and that a serious campaign for moral regeneration had to be undertaken, prohibitionist policies were implemented to crack down on vice in the public space. Belly dancing was banned from coffee shops and dance halls, the selling of alcohol was prohibited in the Azbakiyyah from 5 p.m. to 8 a.m., professionals with suspect morals such as actresses, dancers and singers were barred from frequenting public cafes in the theatre district, while only designated artists with special written permission could sit and drink with customers,

according to the *fath* custom. In 1918, a British missionary publishing company in Cairo started a press campaign against inbound brothels, that is, brothels troops could frequent legally. In 1921, all brothels were formally declared out of bounds for imperial soldiers and contagion from venereal disease was made into a military offence, that is, liable to court martial, although, in practice the use of “clean brothels”, the names and addresses of which were made to circulate in the barracks, continued to be tolerated.

## The abolitionist turn

After 1922, the incipient Egyptian nationalist discourse also tackled the debate on prostitution and its dangers for the national community. The Egyptian contemporary press is replete with fierce attacks on prostitution, especially by Mahmud Abu-l-‘Uyyun, a sheikh of Al-Azhar university who became the most vocal agitator for social purity in daily instalments in the *Al-Ahram* newspaper, “Madhabih al-A‘rad” (The slaughterhouses of virtues) and “Licensed prostitution” (Bagha’ Rasmi) in 1923 and 1926 respectively. In 1927, a bill was proposed against regulated prostitution and obscenity, which called for terminating the issuance of registration cards to sex workers, while introducing a maximum limit of five years for registration. Within the framework of the coeval debate on the “marriage crisis” question, how to contain the impact of the decrease in marriages on society as a whole, the introduction of a tax on bachelors who had the physical and financial possibilities of tying the conjugal knot, was also proposed.

The coming of age of Egyptian abolitionism was in 1932, with the creation of an ad hoc mixed Anglo-Egyptian Research Committee on Prostitution whose findings were published in 1935. The undesirability of any system of state-licensed regulation of sex work was discussed with reference to three main aspects: public health, public order and, most importantly, the protection of prostitutes’ individual rights. Incorporating the contents of a number of international conventions against trafficking under the auspices of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women in Children (1904, 1910) and the League of Nations (1921, 1933), Egyptian abolitionism, for the first time, was grounded in the internationalist humanitarian agenda, a move that clearly showed Egypt’s priority in becoming fully integrated within the international community. That approach centred on the decriminalization of sex workers, while shifting the onus onto third parties. As the Egyptian Penal Code was still based on the French one from 1810, a new committee gathered in 1937 to revise it in the light of the principles contained in the international conventions against human trafficking that Egypt had recently signed.

While legal experts were busy arbitrating between the domestic and the international legal corpus, regulationism was brought back to Cairo for very pragmatic reasons. Despite the previous emphasis on the need for soldiers’ moral uplifting, selected inbound brothels were reopened to throngs of soldiers in the Wagh el-Birkah, as a way of coping with the escalating rate of venereal disease among soldiers. The robust demand for sexual services was met by a more than generous offer. According to contemporary sources, an unprecedented number of women in Cairo turned to sex work during the Second World War because of economic need. Disguised and clandestine prostitution were practically ubiquitous.

Since 1949, abolitionism had been put into practice in the whole country. In that year, a military decree (76/1949) was issued on the closure of brothels. It remained in force until 1951, when a comprehensive law against prostitution was eventually passed. In the spirit of international human

60. rights law, it called for the punishment of all those involved in the procurement, management of brothels or support of any kind of activity conducive to the exploitation of other people for prostitution. At the same time, the decriminalization of sex workers themselves, whose need for protection from both procurers and state violence was at the core of the abolitionist humanitarian approach, was far from being enacted. In declaring any person, male or female, who habitually engaged in prostitution, liable to imprisonment for up to three years and payment of a fine, the Egyptian legislator had, in fact, reproduced the traditional ambivalence on issues of individual freedom and state disciplinary power, which had characterized abolitionism since its inception in the mid-nineteenth century.

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# Prostitution in the Free City of Danzig and Warsaw

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## Danzig

### Historical overview

In contrast to Warsaw's position as a major European capital, the history of the sex trade in Danzig is coloured by the city's status as a Free City and a Baltic port. Founded by the Teutonic knights in the Middle Ages, Danzig remained independent for much of the modern period, nominally tied to the Polish Commonwealth yet enjoying special economic privileges. Its population was mainly German and Dutch speaking, with a heavy admixture of foreign traders and Polish workers from surrounding towns and villages. With the fall of the Polish state in the late eighteenth century, the city was incorporated into Prussia and became subject to German legislation governing prostitution. Only in 1920 with the collapse of the German Empire was it partially reabsorbed into Poland and connected to the Polish state by a customs union. The Danzig that Paul Kinsie visited had just experienced yet another transition in its legal and political status, a shift that brought about a significant upheaval in its population as well as a dramatic increase in prostitution and the illicit migration of sex workers. .

During over a century of domination, first by Prussia and then by the German Empire, prostitution in Danzig had been organized according to the Napoleonic system of police registration. Sex workers in that period were only permitted to live in police-regulated public houses and were required to be registered and submit to regular medical examinations. German unification and the introduction of the Imperial Criminal Code of 1871 brought about an abrupt change in the status of public houses, officially closing all brothels and forcing prostitutes to solicit custom on their own. And yet in Danzig as in other towns in the German Empire, the local morality police maintained their powerful position in regulating the sex trade and enforced the continuation of a de facto red-light district. In order to discourage the rise of a class of parasitic pimps and hangers on, the police insisted on restricting prostitution to particular houses in specific neighbourhoods. The police were still empowered to arrest unregistered women suspected of prostitution and subject them to medical examination. The authorities justified the sequestering of prostitutes in restricted streets as a means of maintaining public order and preventing poorer, working-class neighbourhoods from being morally ruined by the presence of prostitutes in private apartments. Despite diligent official efforts, however, the number of officially registered prostitutes aged 16 and over grew dramatically in those years, though still dwarfing the number of illegal prostitutes roaming the streets of the port city. In 1910, the socialist August Bebel noted that 722 women were officially inscribed in the public records, in a town of just under 200,000 inhabitants. The population of clandestine prostitutes subject to regular police round-ups was said to be several times higher. The German military authorities reintroduced the formal brothel system during the First World War and established mobile public houses to cater to the troops. In order to protect the health of garrisoned soldiers, the morality police maintained their authority to order medical inspections of any man or woman suspected of engaging in sex with multiple partners.

## Legal situation and societal reaction

After the collapse of the German Empire at the end of the First World War, Danzig again fell under Polish influence. According to the Treaty of Versailles, the Free City governed its own internal affairs under the auspices of the League of Nations High Commissioner, but was connected to Poland through a customs union and foreign policy. The long tradition of police-run public houses ended in the 1920s with the introduction of a neo-regulation system closely modelled on the one in Poland itself. Local officials enforced a strict ban on all official brothels and permitted only those who voluntarily submitted to sanitary examinations and lived in groups of no more than two, to work as prostitutes. Most of the sex workers that were tolerated operated out of private homes, hotels or restaurants. Unlike in many other Polish cities such as Warsaw, however, prostitutes in Danzig did not always rely on pimps to attract customers. Procurement had been severely discouraged by the police in the pre-war period and sex workers were reticent to split their meagre profits with handlers. The difficulty in conducting prostitution out of private residences, combined with the general economic downturn during the hyperinflation of the 1920s, prompted increasing numbers of Danzig prostitutes to turn to smugglers and migration agents for help in relocating abroad. .

The pimps and procurers operating in Danzig were connected to larger smuggling operations in the area and served as informal migration agents for the thousands of migrants seeking to navigate the complex process of crossing international borders. The dramatic movement of people out of East Central Europe in the decades before and after the First World War prompted growing public anxiety about the loss of local populations to foreign shores and especially about the status of single women travelling on their own. Sex trafficking, or the migration of women to work in foreign brothels, was but one element in an ongoing panic about the loss of future citizens, labourers and military conscripts. Publicity about abuses taking place on the border between Polish territory and Germany helped excite increasing anxiety. Court cases such as that of 64 travel agents working for German steamship companies that played out in Wadowice on the border between Poland and German Silesia in 1889 and the 1901 trial of John Meyerowicz and associates in Bytom, German Silesia, on charges of trafficking in women, helped demonstrate to the reading public the dangers of migration and the vulnerabilities of innocent daughters travelling on their own.

The transport of women across international boundaries through Danzig for the purposes of prostitution was the subject of reform efforts on the part of German, Polish, and Jewish aid agencies. The interwar government of Poland was particularly concerned about combating sex trafficking and issued a number of directives to local officials cautioning them to be on the lookout for suspicious behaviour. The Polish Committee for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children patrolled the Danzig train station, looking for suspicious activity and warning single women of the dangers of travelling abroad. Danzig established its own Women's Police Brigade that assisted in the arrest and prosecution of pimps and traffickers working in the city.

## Organization of the trade

By all accounts, Danzig was a wild and lawless place after the war. Regulations at the harbour and on the railways leading to and from the city were initially unclear and subject to constant improvisation, permitting a wide latitude for smugglers of all kinds. Border guards were forced to improvise in the

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absence of explicit procedures and were subject to bribes from those wishing to avoid inspection. The port was a hub of activity with over 2,000 migrants passing through it each month and close to 7,000 ships docking in its harbour each year. Passenger liners were not inspected very carefully. The harbour police checked migrants entering and leaving the city, but rarely challenged personal documents. Poverty in the city was dire especially among the minority Polish population, which was subject to discrimination in employment and various forms of harassment from German speakers. The city was cut off from its traditional trade routes with Germany which led to an overall slump in the economy. Women turned to prostitution out of poverty, unemployment and the loss of income or family members during the war.

There was a close connection between the domestic sex trade in Danzig and international prostitution rings. During its early years, the Free City was overwhelmed with refugees fleeing war and pogroms along the Polish-Soviet border. Some of those new arrivals were caught up in the management of bordellos in South America and elsewhere. Jewish international procurement rings such as the Varsovia (later renamed Zwi Migdal) operating out of Danzig and Warsaw maintained thousands of brothels across Latin America. Those associations developed elaborate schemes to transfer undocumented women from Polish territory to brothels overseas. Since passenger steamers did not travel directly to South America or Mexico out of Danzig harbour, procurers relied on the easy transfer of Polish women into Danzig from Poland proper, using only the personal identification card necessary for domestic travel. Forged Polish passports could then be purchased relatively cheaply from factories manufacturing them inside Poland. Groups of women bound for brothels in Latin America would make their way across German territory in sealed trains under the noses of German border police who were notoriously cavalier in their inspection of Polish documents. From there the women could travel on to Buenos Aires, Mexico, Paris or Rio de Janeiro. Unescorted single women travelling abroad were required to show documentation of addresses of relatives or employers, and women under the age of 21 could not secure a passport without permission from their parents. Moreover, no woman registered as a prostitute was permitted a passport to travel abroad. International procurers found it easier to bypass those requirements by purchasing relatively inexpensive false documents.

Under those circumstances, the number of women transported out of Danzig and other North Sea ports and ending up in Latin American brothels rose significantly in the 1920s. Of those officially registered as prostitutes in Buenos Aires, 66 were newly enrolled women from Poland in the first seven months of 1924 alone and 144 Polish prostitutes had been registered in that period in Rio de Janeiro. Women from Poland were so prevalent in Brazilian bordellos that the colloquial term for prostitute at that period was *polaca*, though most of those were Jewish women from Polish territory rather than Roman Catholic Poles. For the most part women bound for overseas bordellos were complicit in the arrangement. Contemporary reformers were able to cite only a small handful of cases in which women were duped into travelling abroad under false pretences. The vast majority opted to leave Poland because of desperate poverty, their desire to travel outside the city, or their attachment to one of the procurers. The management of illicit brothels and procurement operations were often family run, typically headed by husband and wife teams. The prostitutes involved were frequently relatives of the managing family.



# Warsaw

## Historical overview

When Paul Kinsie made his way to Warsaw in 1924, he arrived in a country that had only recently been reunited after over a century of political partition. The vast Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth dominating East Central Europe in the early modern period had been carved up among Austria, Prussia and Russia in the late eighteenth century. Warsaw fell to the Russian Empire while the port city of Danzig (Polish: Gdańsk) would be governed by Prussia. The growth of the two cities and the sex trade within them differed considerably as a result of those political circumstances. Across Poland as a whole, prostitution was commonly treated as a product of years of foreign rule. Public opinion in Poland supported the notion that foreign Powers had brought extensive brothel trade into the country with their occupying armies and that the sexual subjugation of Polish women reflected the country's political vulnerabilities. Reformers argued that fighting rampant prostitution would strengthen Poland's struggle for independence and arm her against external enemies.

Prior to the partitions, commercial sex played a marginal role in Warsaw city life. The trade grew after the city's establishment as the national capital in the sixteenth century. It was tolerated but only minimally regulated within closed brothels on the outskirts of town. But the arrival of Russian troops brought more flagrant resort to commercial sex and when Napoleon took over the city briefly in the early nineteenth century, he introduced a system of "tolerated" or police-regulated prostitution. According to that system, which would remain largely unchanged until the country regained its political independence in 1918, prostitution was permitted so long as women selling sex registered with the police and limited their activities to licensed public houses.

Under Russian rule beginning in 1815, enforcement of regulated prostitution was loose. Illegal public houses and licensed brothels dotted city streets and prostitutes could be found soliciting near military encampments, city parks and in urban neighbourhoods. Thousands of Polish and Russian soldiers were treated for venereal diseases each year, while rates of contamination in the civilian population also skyrocketed. Concerns about the health of imperial soldiers prompted Russian administrators to introduce a more rigorous system of regulation in 1873. Practitioners were required to appear twice a week for sanitary inspections, carry a special pass booklet, and refrain from aggressively soliciting clients in public areas. Procuring women to work in brothels or coercing them to cross international borders was strictly forbidden. The understaffed Warsaw vice squad devoted considerable resources to police round-ups to force women suspected of prostitution to register with the police.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

The growth of industry in Warsaw and the city's nexus as a trading centre sparked a population explosion in the decades preceding the First World War. The city tripled in size between 1890 and 1921 reaching close to a million inhabitants. Many of the new residents were peasant women migrating to the city in search of jobs. With few resources and limited social networks at hand, increasing numbers turned to sex work, at least temporarily. Popular concern about the influence of

red-light districts on upstanding urban residents prompted the gradual closure of brothels in those years. Prostitutes began moving into private apartments scattered across the city, soliciting clients on their own or through the services of pimps.

The openness with which the army of streetwalkers enticed customers — plying their trade in popular shopping districts, restaurants and city parks — prompted a civic response among Warsaw's bourgeois social reformers. Journalists and social activists like Bolesław Prus and Aleksander Świętochowski addressed the problem of commercial sex regularly in their newspaper columns, calling the Polish public's attention to rising rates of prostitution and the limited opportunities available to unskilled women. Advocates for reform blamed the Empires occupying Polish territory for the explosion in prostitution, arguing that Russian officials treated Warsaw as a sexual playground, unconcerned about the debauchery or diseases they encouraged.

A series of high-profile court cases against alleged international traffickers drew the interest of the reading public to the issue of "white slavery" out of the Polish lands in the last years of the nineteenth century. Most of those accused of trafficking were Jews, as were many migration agents and international smugglers in the region. Assumptions about the Jewish involvement in commercial sex were reinforced in May 1905, when two days of street violence in Warsaw's red-light district pitted rival pimps against one another, all but destroying the brothel trade in the centre of the city. The *Alfonse* (borrowed from Alexandre Dumas' play *Monsieur Alphonse*) or Pimp Pogrom, as the Warsaw press quickly labelled the events, marked a turning point in popular attitudes towards commercial sex, sparking increased public awareness about prostitution across the Polish territories.

The revolutionary events of 1905 ushered in a more permissive political atmosphere across the Russian Empire, allowing a boom in organizational initiatives to combat commercial sex. Polish activists established two associations for combating prostitution and trafficking, the Christian and the Jewish Societies for the Protection of Women (later to be combined as the Polish Society for the Protection of Women and Children). Members policed train platforms and ports to warn women travellers of the dangers of travelling alone, and operated a string of shelters for female travellers. Women's organizations were particularly assiduous in their efforts to dismantle the machinery of regulation on the premise that it encouraged sexual profligacy among males while imposing a sexual double standard on women.

Meanwhile, purity societies and proto-eugenic associations set out to eliminate all resort to prostitution and to encourage male abstinence from sex outside marriage. By the early years of the twentieth century, physicians had become aware of the futility of treating venereal disease and the ineffectiveness of a registration system that could not guarantee the health of tolerated prostitutes. Medical experts would be among the leaders of the Polish Eugenics Society, which set out to combat prostitution and venereal disease in order to avoid congenital damage to Polish children resulting from syphilis and other sexual maladies. On the eve of the First World War, Polish reformers agreed that the regulation system was bankrupt, but debated whether to abolish or transform the existing registration apparatus.

With the collapse of the three Empires governing Polish territory and the founding of the Polish Second Republic at the end of the First World War, control of the regulation system passed into

the hands of Polish administrators. But years of warfare had taken their toll, resulting in rampant prostitution among military wives and those left destitute by disease, hunger and destruction. Enlisted soldiers brought disease back home when they returned, spreading it to ever wider portions of the population. Skyrocketing rates of venereal disease lent fuel to eugenic campaigns to eliminate the sex trade at all costs. Citing those near-crisis conditions, reformers managed to push a system of neo-regulation through the Polish Parliament in 1922. Under its provisions, the regulation of commercial sex was to be primarily a medical matter; treatment for sick prostitutes was free of charge. Prostitution was legal among consenting adults over the age of 21. Brothels were eliminated and practitioners were only permitted to operate out of private homes. Women who registered with the district sanitary committee attached to the local hospital had their names inscribed in a registry and were required to carry a black pass booklet indicating their occupation and health status. Unlike in earlier periods, however, the pass book was not a substitute for the personal identification card all citizens were required to carry, thus reducing the “moral branding” prostitutes experienced. Police were involved only in cases where prostitutes did not appear for their examinations or violated other restrictions on their behaviour. Forcing women into the sex trade or escorting them across international boundaries was punishable by time in jail. Despite the official banning of bordellos, at least 400 secret houses of prostitution continued to operate in Warsaw during the interwar period.

Following the passage of the 1923 League of Nations resolution urging the creation of female police forces, Poland established a Women's Police Brigade in 1925. Members of the Women's Police assisted in medical examinations, investigated allegations of secret prostitution, and patrolled railway stations in search of likely traffickers. The work of the Women's Police dramatically increased the number of convictions for international trafficking that Poland reported to the League of Nations and the number of cases of domestic pimping sent to local courts. Latin American traffickers reportedly curtailed their activities in Poland to avoid contact with the intrepid Women's Police.

## Organization of the trade

Prior to the First World War, prostitutes operated out of licensed brothels or private residences of no more than two women. Within the bordellos where upwards of a dozen women typically resided, powerful madams controlled access to employees, dividing them into first, second and third-class women with differing prices for each. Madams extracted a portion of the prostitutes' earnings for their upkeep, meals and laundry. They also served as enforcers, protecting their charges from unruly clients. Residents of brothels were not permitted to show themselves in windows or doorways or to appear in public at movie theatres, circuses or musical performances. They were forbidden to ride in open cars or carriages. Because of those restrictions on their freedom of movement, registered women began leaving brothels to pursue their trade in private apartments during the latter years of the nineteenth century.

A complete ban on public houses in the 1920s reduced the importance of the madam and threw the sex trade into the hands of pimps, called “Alfonsees”, after the main character in the play, *Monsieur Alphonse*, by Alexandre Dumas. With the aid of those mediators, who were often also the prostitutes' lovers, sex workers met their clients in houses of assignation, hotels, cafes or restaurants. Some Warsaw dining establishments were even designed with a back room especially for encounters

with prostitutes. Clients would simply order a particularly expensive dish off the menu and their wishes would be made clear. The vast majority of those selling sex in the interwar Second Republic functioned as clandestine or occasional prostitutes who did not register with the police. They worked at poorly paid or temporary jobs, using informal prostitution to supplement their wages. Such women did not self-identify as sex workers and consequently avoided registration. Morality police devoted considerable efforts to regular round-ups intended to take them to the sanitary commission for medical inspection.

The movement of women across international frontiers to work in the sex trade accelerated in the years leading up to the First World War. Facilitated by the ease of transportation on inexpensive steamships and the fluidity of borders during the great labour migrations of the nineteenth century as well as the dire poverty in the region, thousands of women left Poland each year bound for foreign brothels. Desperate circumstances in East European Jewish communities prompted high rates of sex migration among Jewish women and the disproportionate participation of Jewish agents in international smuggling rings. Most of the women were involved in prostitution before their departure and sought to relocate in search of better working conditions, adventure or because of the false promises of migration agents. Some were bribed with promises of alcohol or narcotics, or simply a good meal. Most appear to have left the country voluntarily, but were sometimes misled about their destination or the type of work they would be performing upon their arrival. As with all forms of labour migration, young women travelling on their own were often promised lucrative positions that did not materialize or were encouraged to believe they could work in legitimate professions in the new setting.

The most common destinations for single women transported from interwar Poland were the boom towns of Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. Severe immigration restrictions in the United States of America slowed the transfer of women to North American cities after 1924. Ships bound for Latin American ports left Hamburg and Bremen several times per week. Handlers would escort their charges by train across the Polish border into German territory, bribing border officials if travel documents were not in order, and would then pass them onto a colleague at the port. An agent typically accompanied small groups of women on the transatlantic trip, registering them in brothels upon their arrival. Such migration agents often crossed the Atlantic several times per year, returning to Polish territory in search of “fresh goods” to take abroad.

## **Social profile and causes of prostitution**

Marzena Lipska-Toumi estimates that about 20,000 women were practising prostitution in an informal or professional capacity in Warsaw in 1922, or roughly two per cent of the city's total population. Most were recent migrants from small towns or villages nearby and were illiterate or only minimally educated. They sought out positions as domestic help or in textile factories, but soon tired of the long hours and low pay. Long periods of unemployment drove them to the streets. Young women resorted to prostitution out of desperation and in order to avoid returning to the poverty and near starvation of the family farm. Police registries for Warsaw reflect a transient trade and included practitioners from across Poland, from Russia, and from elsewhere in Europe. Jewish refugees from the Polish-Soviet war were particularly prevalent in the 1920s. Women did not remain on the registry for more than a few years before moving on, marrying or gaining legitimate work.

Police reports during this period indicate high rates of Jewish participation as brothel managers, procurers and international migration agents. Jews were often driven into the trade because of difficulty in finding a legitimate livelihood. They were increasingly excluded from key occupations and banned from certain regions in the nineteenth century Russian Empire. Discriminatory legislation and physical attacks drove many to migrate from the Russian Pale of Settlement into what was once Polish territory. The flood of Jewish refugees during the First World War brought the total Jewish population of Warsaw to over 40 per cent by 1917. Many were unemployed or eked out a living by smuggling or serving as informal “jobbers”.

Women in need of work or wishing to emigrate often turned to the Jewish agents for assistance and found themselves caught up in the world of commercial sex. While the number of Jewish prostitutes remained roughly proportional to the Jewish presence in the city, long-distance traffickers were more likely to be of Jewish background. Jewish procurers relied on the institution of ritual marriage (marriage without the benefit of a civil licence), on their international contacts and on the camouflage provided by their status as long-distance merchants, to transport women abroad. These migration facilitators often operated in married partnerships, which helped make the transfer of young women on transatlantic shipping lines appear legitimate to border officials. Warsaw migration agents were particularly well connected to brothels in Argentina and Brazil, and a high proportion of prostitutes in Latin America were of Polish or Polish-Jewish origin.

Contemporary reformers believed that resort to prostitution resulted from the sexual double standard, which encouraged regular sexual activity outside marriage for adult males while requiring single women to remain pure. The nineteenth-century Polish medical community perceived sexual abstinence for young men as unhealthy and encouraged single males to make use of prostitutes. Visits to brothels were seen as a rite of passage for high-school and university youth. A 1903 survey of Warsaw University students revealed that most had used the services of a prostitute at least once in the previous year and fully one third acknowledged contracting a venereal disease. In addition to educated youth, clients of prostitutes comprised soldiers, government officials and members of the intelligentsia. Labouring men relied on more informal prostitution, often rewarding a girl with trinkets or a meal in exchange for her services.

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## Prostitution in Berlin and Hamburg

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### Historical overview

Historically, prostitution was not illegal in the German-speaking lands of Europe, where it was defined as the exchange of sex for money between a client and a female prostitute. Records of brothels, or 'women's houses' (*Frauenhäuser*) go back at least as far as the thirteenth century, and in places like Berlin and Hamburg prostitution was widely considered a necessary, if morally dubious, activity. German municipalities even tacitly encouraged prostitution, seeing it as a way of preventing what were considered the more problematic activities of rape and adultery. Although attitudes towards prostitution hardened with the Reformation and the emergence of the venereal disease, syphilis, in the sixteenth century, a highly localized and relatively professional trade continued to operate quietly. The village prostitutes were well known to their clientele but relatively invisible.

All that changed in the nineteenth century during Germany's rapid industrialization and urbanization. Berlin's population exploded from 172,000 in 1800 to 1,124,000 people in 1880, and Hamburg's population quadrupled during the same period, from 200,000 to 800,000. With the unification of Germany in 1871, Prussia became its most important power centre, and its capital, Berlin, became the capital of the new German nation. Despite its lack of water power, Berlin had become an important industrial and mercantile centre, producing textiles, agricultural equipment, chemicals and heavy machinery. An early adopter of the steam engine, it also became the centre of Germany's new rail network. Hamburg, by contrast, made its fortune through its water, with shipping its largest industrial sector. Because, before unification, Hamburg had been a Hanseatic free city, it boasted a customs free port, and raw goods could be transported into the port, manufactured, and then refined without import duties. Because of the primacy of its shipping and sailing industry, Hamburg had a disproportionately large, often itinerant, male population. That situation drew prostitutes to the city and also meant that women in the city were left with few other employment options. As a result, Hamburg's sex trade was particularly large and well documented. Berlin too was historically famous for the scale of its sex trade. The reasons for that were, however, somewhat different. Although it also experienced a population imbalance during the first years of industrialization, it was its role as Germany's cultural capital, and its growing reputation as a free-thinking, radical centre, combined with its underdeveloped urban infrastructure and sharp socioeconomic inequality, that led to an explosion in the scale and visibility of its sex trade during that period.

Semi-professional, small-scale local prostitution had no place in those rapidly expanding cities, and the prostitute population shifted to become largely amateur, transient and, most important, highly visible. The new urban prostitute relied on public spaces, including pavements, train stations and, in the case of Hamburg, ports, to ply her trade. It is estimated that by the turn of the century anything up to 50,000 women were working as prostitutes in the city of Berlin, with only 1,689 of them working legally.



Attitudes towards prostitution during that period, however, remained highly ambivalent. Germans still tolerated prostitution as a necessary evil that facilitated male sexual activity before and outside the boundaries of marriage. But the blatant nature of the new sex trade troubled contemporaries because it rendered the female participant in the prostitution exchange so visible, and that female did not square easily with the nineteenth-century image of women as passive sexual creatures.

In response, the newly unified German state sought more effective measures to control and hide prostitution, but not to eliminate it. The new Imperial Criminal Code of 1871 devised two new pieces of legislation to deal with prostitution. The first, paragraph 361, section six, defined two crimes: first, engaging in prostitution without first registering with the police, and secondly, violating local statutes pertaining to health, order and decency once registered. Those included regulations on appropriate dress, the presentation of places where prostitution was practised — for example, women working as prostitutes were not allowed to open their curtains or solicit out of the window — and also stipulated areas from which women prostitutes were banned. The second law, paragraph 180, criminalized pimping and procuring, and also outlawed brothels, which, up until that point, had been the preferred way of managing prostitutes, particularly in Hamburg, which had historically used a highly controlled system of brothels to regulate the city's sex trade. Paragraph 180, which forbade brothels, directly contradicted paragraph 361, which specified that sexual acts of prostitutes were to take place inside certain approved private spaces by virtue of having banned prostitutes from entering others.

A special branch of the police force, called the Morality Police (*Sittenpolizei*) was placed in charge of upholding the regulations. Many cities and towns had their own local morals police forces. Most of those forces had been created earlier in the century, but they became increasingly professional and militaristic as the century went on. Once prostitutes were registered with the morals police they were required to grant the police entry into their homes at any time and were responsible for notifying the police of any change of address. Beyond that, the morals police were responsible for ensuring that prostitutes attended their regular medical examinations, abided by their curfews, and did not break any of the other restrictions on their movement and behaviour. If they did, the morals police were responsible for levying a fine, preventing the woman from visiting certain areas of the city, or imposing a short prison sentence, all of which could be done without trial. While the regulations were intrusive and sometimes draconian, they were part of a wider system of state regulation that affected the movement and behaviour of all Germans, not just prostitutes.

Rather than solving the problem of prostitution, the new laws created confusion. Different cities applied different regulations. How women were registered — voluntarily or forcibly, or both — and for what infractions they were punished, varied across Germany. Many prostitutes attempted to evade the new and highly intrusive regulations. More problematically, the authorities in cities such as Berlin and Hamburg, who were used to a high degree of local autonomy, were reluctant to change their practices in response to the new national legislation, preferring to carry on much as they had done previously.

That was particularly the case in Hamburg, which, as a former free city, had resented Prussian-led unification. Despite it now being illegal, Hamburg clung to its system of brothelization, forcing its ever-increasing population of legal prostitutes to reside in police-controlled brothels. Berlin, too, saw its sex trade continue to expand, particularly as its reputation as the city where anything went

encouraged travellers from both inside and outside Germany to go and experience what it had to offer, making it perhaps the modern world's first sex tourism destination.

## **Legal and social responses to prostitution after the First World War**

During the First World War, the authorities began to pay particular attention to the sex trade. The social disruption of the war had created a disproportionately female population in Germany's cities, and the realities of combatant life meant that the German army was regularly using prostitutes. Syphilis and gonorrhoea spread through the population as soldiers contracted diseases from prostitutes at the front, according to government and other commentators concerned. Attempts by the military authorities to rein in the problem by creating brothels that were regularly inspected and by giving soldiers ration books for those establishments, failed to control the problem. At the same time, the German authorities, however, preferred their soldiers to use prostitutes rather than to engage in homosexual acts with other soldiers. Of equal concern to contemporaries were the activities of women on the home front. In 1916 the Deputy General Command of the German armed forces stipulated that any woman found to have had sex with multiple men in one month — whether for compensation or not — was to be placed under the jurisdiction of the morals police after two unsuccessful warnings. Citizens were encouraged to denounce them. Those women were not prostitutes, but the expansion of the categories of women who could be prosecuted for their sexual activities was to be a feature of German prostitution policy throughout the 1920s.

Despite all of that concern, recorded rates of prostitution in both Hamburg and Berlin actually dropped during the war. In 1917, for example, Hamburg's morals police were responsible for 1,501 legal prostitutes, as well as 114 official brothels on eight streets. Although the brothels had a capacity of 821 rooms, only 570 rooms were in use, a change from the pre-war period when the brothels were mostly full. Indeed the remaining 931 women — the majority of Hamburg's legal prostitutes — were only occasional prostitutes, and were thus under a system of light control and able to live where they chose. The Berlin morals police reported a similar drop in numbers.

With the loss of the war and the establishment of the Weimar Republic, Germany's prostitution "problem" descended into chaos. Germany, and particularly its two largest cities, Berlin and Hamburg, was thought to be in the midst of a moral crisis, with immorality threatening to overwhelm the nation. In its annual reports, the Ministry of Health repeatedly mentioned "the degeneration of morals" that was sweeping Germany. The moral panic stemmed in part from the loss of the war, which was viewed as both a military and moral crusade. It was exacerbated, however, by dramatic changes in social roles — particularly for women and the working classes — and also by the rise in power of the feminist movement, which was vociferously opposed to the regulation system. In Berlin and Hamburg the morals police were challenged by new, state social workers, who were also based in the police department, but who had a very different strategy for dealing with women prostitutes. Those mainly female social workers were deemed to be more adept at dealing with prostitutes, both because of their shared gender and also because of women's supposed innate maternal qualities and intuitive knowledge.

Rather than placing women working as prostitutes under police regulation, social workers wanted to reduce the rates of prostitution by persuading women to leave the trade and helping them find jobs

and accommodation. Although that shift had much to recommend it in theory, the laws pertaining to the regulation system itself had not been changed, leaving two branches of the same department competing over the treatment of prostitutes. In Berlin, where the private religious organization, the Inner Mission, had worked with prostitutes since 1879, the rise of state social workers meant that three separate organizations were then vying for control of prostitution policy.

Arguments among the various departments became a hotly contested issue in Weimar Germany. Some observers reported that the policeman was not always able to manage the relationship between criminality and the consequences of social deprivation, including prostitution, in an appropriate manner. He was trained to register and punish offenders, not participate in the management of the wider socioeconomic problems that plagued large cities such as Berlin and Hamburg. The police, however, felt that middle-class female social workers underestimated the difficulty of dealing with the poor, uneducated, sometimes mentally ill or intoxicated, and often highly antagonistic, women who comprised much of the prostitute population. They argued that social welfare approaches undertaken without police supervision would lead to a loss of order on city streets and to a dramatic rise in illegal prostitution. Religious organizations thought that the secular approaches of the state, whether through police or social workers, were both bound to fail, as the godless Weimar Republic had lost its Christian moral compass.

While those debates were taking place, social workers and feminists launched an attack on Hamburg's system of brothelization, and in 1920 the Citizen's Assembly successfully proposed the closure of all the city's brothels by 1922. At the same time new German regulations led to the closing of the bars and clip joints (*Animierkneipen*), overpriced and often sleazy nightclubs or strip clubs that were other central sites for prostitution in both Berlin and Hamburg. There was no clear plan, however, of what to do with the women made homeless by the closure of the brothels, nor what to do with the prostitutes who then had nowhere but the street to work.

More problematically still, many of the prostitutes actually preferred the police-based regulation system to what they saw as the intrusive measures of the social workers, who limited the movements and behaviour of women in their jurisdiction in the name of combating immorality, increasingly using forced internment in reform homes, and who seemingly sought to push women out of prostitution without finding them appropriate economic alternatives. Moreover, social workers focused their reform efforts not just on prostitutes, but on all women and girls considered "morally endangered", seeking to bring under their control any potential prostitutes, and often recommending forced internment for young women that they felt were on the wrong path. That represented a change in attitudes towards both prostitution and perceived immorality that had important ramifications for both the sex trade and the experience of women in the public sphere.

Confusion over policy and arguments over ideology, combined with the severe economic distress experienced in Germany during the first half of the 1920s, saw the rates of prostitution — and particularly illegal prostitution — which had held steady immediately after the end of the war, suddenly skyrocket, particularly during 1924. That further exacerbated Germany's moral panic over the sex trade. In Hamburg local citizens began to lodge complaints about the increased visibility of prostitutes, and calls for the reopening of the city's brothels began even before the last ones had

closed. As a result, brothels continued to be a major presence throughout the 1920s in Hamburg and its sister city Altona. Berlin, then the third largest city in the world, saw “respectable” citizens begin complaining to local newspapers about the prevalence of prostitution on the city’s streets, particularly the sudden visibility of male prostitutes, lesbians and transvestites. In Berlin, where the vibrant cultural scene attracted artists, radicals and tourists to partake in cabaret life, and where globetrotting thrill seekers consulted erotic guidebooks about the city’s 500 erotic establishments, the sex trade began to be connected with drug dealing and organized crime, with the police identifying 62 organized criminal gangs in the city. In Hamburg, the authorities reckoned that by 1926 there were 20,000 women working on the streets, mostly illegally.

## Organization of the trade

The German sex trade of the period can be divided into two distinct types — legal and clandestine — with two different organizational structures. Legal prostitutes in Hamburg worked within a network of officially tolerated (though technically illegal) brothels until the early 1920s, when the brothels were finally closed. At that point boarding houses began to serve a similar function, although tacitly legal brothels soon reopened. The brothels were located in the centre of the old city and in the neighbouring town of Altona. Berlin’s legal sex trade, although it did not rely heavily on brothels, also centred on a number of streets and private houses in the city centre, Mitte, with Oranienburgerstraße, the main hub of prostitution from the early 1800s onwards.

In addition to being overseen by the morals police and the health department, legal prostitutes in Berlin and Hamburg often worked under the auspices of a female procuress or madam. Those who did not often relied on the services of a sympathetic landlady. Although procuring was illegal, the morals police tended to turn a blind eye to those women, as they were useful allies in controlling and limiting the visibility of women prostitutes. Procuresses could certainly exploit their prostitute employees, and the women were required to give them up to 50 per cent of their pay. Other madams charged for clothes, make-up and the drinks that the prostitute often shared with her client. Procuresses, however, performed an important service, protecting women prostitutes from undesirable clients and sometimes acting as a mediator between a prostitute and the police.

The prostitutes who worked legally had certain rights and they were not afraid to exercise them. Prostitutes frequently lodged official complaints concerning mistreatment by the morality and criminal police forces. After the closing of the Hamburg brothels, legal prostitutes working in the city began sending letters of protest to the city Senate demanding an extension to the closure of the brothels and asking for help in finding alternative accommodation. During the same period the prostitutes of Hamburg and Altona formed their own union, the Association of the Legal Prostitutes of Hamburg and Altona, which had its own newspaper, co-edited by leading members of the city’s communist party.

Clandestine, or illegal, prostitutes were in a very different position, and the organizational structure of their trade reflects that. In both Berlin and Hamburg clandestine prostitution was not limited to the central red-light districts, but instead extended across the entire metropolitan area, with higher concentrations in working- and lower-middle-class areas. The city centres, with their

denser populations, convention centres and busy marketplaces, had the highest concentration of prostitutes, but industrial areas were also popular, including around Berlin's factories and Hamburg's docks. Train stations were also common working spots, as they boasted a large number of single, itinerant men entering or leaving the city.

Prostitutes preferred to work inside wherever possible, avoiding the policeman's gaze. Clip joints were often frequented by prostitutes. In Berlin women were paid to socialize with customers and to entice them to buy exorbitantly priced alcohol; some of those women were prostitutes. A proportion of Berlin's clip joints were officially permitted on the part of the authorities which were well aware of what was going on inside. The hang-out spots of organized gangs were also regular sites for prostitution. So too were massage parlours and cabarets.

Pimps were more common players in the clandestine sex trade than in its legal counterpart. One famous Berlin commentator, however, Hans Ostwald, who many suspected had once been a pimp himself, suggested that pimps were not usually responsible for leading women into prostitution, and instead came into the picture later on. That seems to be borne out by the statistics, which reveal that most pimps had low-level involvement with the sex trade, often working with just one woman, who was often their lover. Those relatively poor individuals were usually low-level members of the German underworld, and worked in a similar capacity to procuresses, offering useful services in exchange for a cut of a prostitute's earnings. Many prostitutes referred to those individuals as "protectors" rather than pimps. Procuresses and landladies also played an important role in the organization of the clandestine sex trade in both Berlin and Hamburg.

The clients that visited both legal and illegal prostitutes came from the entire socioeconomic spectrum of the German population. Importantly, too, prostitutes in Berlin and Hamburg, particularly those who worked legally, were not an especially excluded or marginalized population. Prostitutes lived across those cities and interacted with "mainstream" Germans on a day-to-day basis, in a wide variety of public and private spaces. A considerable proportion of Germans engaged in economic exchanges with prostitutes outside sexual services, including tailors, bar managers, newspaper advertisement editors, and so on. Legal prostitutes did not tend to be criminals; clandestine prostitutes were more prone to secondary forms of criminality, but that was most often limited to other crimes of socioeconomic deprivation, such as petty theft.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

It was socioeconomic deprivation that united the prostitutes of that period. That was perhaps the single most important shared demographic factor amongst that community. Berlin and Hamburg's prostitutes came from a wide range of backgrounds. In the nineteenth century a high proportion of them originated from rural areas, reflecting the still largely rural composition of lands in which German was spoken. As urbanization progressed, the statistics shifted, and by the twentieth century, the majority of women prostitutes came from large towns and cities, as did Germany's population more generally. Most prostitutes working in Berlin or Hamburg were local to those cities. If they had moved, it was most likely that they had moved from one large city to another, seeking better employment possibilities. Because of its role as an important shipping centre, a higher proportion

of Hamburg's prostitutes left to work overseas than elsewhere in Germany. Neither Berlin nor Hamburg had high proportions of foreign prostitutes during that period, largely because foreign prostitutes could not be registered and were often deported after arrest. Hamburg did have certain illegal enclaves for foreign prostitutes, however, because, being an international port, there were more foreigners in the city.

Statistics for Berlin and Hamburg show that women worked as prostitutes throughout their lifetimes, although most prostitutes were between 18 and 40 years old, and the vast majority were between 21 and 25. Clandestine prostitutes tended to be younger than their legal counterparts; cities such as Hamburg, with large legal prostitute populations, tended to have a slightly older prostitute "scene" than cities like Berlin, which had a larger proportion of illegal prostitutes. German women were at their most socioeconomically vulnerable during their early twenties — no longer able to count on the support of their family, particularly if they were poor, but perhaps not yet married, and thus unable to count on the better employment prospects of a husband. The vast majority of older women who worked as prostitutes did so after becoming divorced or widowed as, with the loss of their male breadwinner, they were thrown into financial distress. Those women who were married prostitutes tended to come from families which had faced unexpected financial distress, such as illness or the unemployment of the male breadwinner, and for which prostitution presented itself as an easy and immediate socioeconomic solution. Those patterns follow those of women's employment more generally during this period.

This clearly indicates why women worked as prostitutes in Berlin and Hamburg during this period — as a result of socioeconomic need at a time when women's social position and lower educational condition meant that only a limited number of often badly paid and unreliable employment opportunities were open to them. If women had worked in other occupations before becoming prostitutes, they had usually worked in that type of unreliable sector. Domestic service was one of the main previous occupations of prostitutes in Berlin during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In turn-of-the-century Berlin 60 per cent of prostitutes had formerly worked as domestic servants, which is hardly surprising as 25 per cent of Berlin's entire female population were servants at that time. Hamburg's distinct economy and male-heavy demographics meant its statistics were rather different, with many women entering prostitution from either waitressing, which was seasonal and badly paid, or from low-skilled industrial jobs. They did not usually come from wealthy families and thus could not rely on them for financial support. The majority of the fathers of Hamburg prostitutes were themselves factory workers or low-level artisans and were solidly working class. Indeed, the rate of previous employment for prostitutes was disproportionate. In a society in which a relatively small number of women were in full-time work, all of Berlin's legal prostitutes declared previous employment in 1900. Of 274 legal prostitutes interviewed in Hamburg in the 1920s, all but 22 of them had been previously employed. The 22 exceptions were all married.

Trafficking in women did occur, most often either because a woman was forced into her first act of prostitution and was unable to reclaim her good standing; she was forced to work as a prostitute in a brothel, coffee house or massage parlour against her will or tricked by an unscrupulous employer, sometimes being imprisoned by her traffickers; or she became unable to leave registered or clandestine prostitution because she had outstanding debts to her landlady, procuress or, more rarely,

pimp. The proportion of women trafficked into prostitution, however, during that period was small. That there was a relatively low level of trafficking is also demonstrated by two further, interrelated factors. First, rates of prostitution rose during seasonal downturns in other employment sectors, indicating that women chose to move into the sex trade out of economic necessity during those periods. Second, prostitution, at least for clandestine prostitutes (those most at risk of trafficking), was a highly temporary occupation, with the vast majority of Hamburg's prostitutes, for example, working for between one and two years. In Berlin many of the large number of reported clandestine prostitutes were engaged in occasional prostitution, as well as working as singers, dancers, waitresses, shop assistants, models, maids, laundresses and nurses and supplementing their income by offering "other services".

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## Havana's Sex Trade

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Owing in part to the strategic location of Cuba during the rise of Spanish colonialism in the Americas, the sex trade was established by the time the King of Spain declared it a city in 1592. Ships carrying cargo, sailors, clergy, colonial administrators and soldiers docked in Havana bay on the way to and from Seville, Spain. In Havana a service economy catering to travellers who were docked in the city by the bay developed early. *Mujeres de mal vivir* or “women of ill repute”, in the Iberian peninsula emigrated to Havana to work in taverns and gambling dens, offering entertainment and sexual and domestic services to the explorers, pirates and merchants who had immigrated or who were passing through Havana. *Mujeres de mal vivir* came from diverse backgrounds: Jewish and Moorish women fleeing the Spanish Inquisition; socially marginal women without dowries; widowers; and social outcasts, such as alcoholics, who found a means to forge a living through the sale of sex. What distinguished those women was their marginality and their challenge to social mores and gender norms.

Attempts were made to control the perceived menace of the sex trade. Historical evidence suggests that the ecclesiastical and administrative structures of the colony benefited from the organization of the sex trade. For instance, in 1584 the Governor of Cuba complained to the King of Spain that the city's military was “housing” several women. In 1657 the clergy was accused of quarrelling over prostitution. As the city grew, the upper classes were threatened by the presence of *mujeres de mal vivir* who pursued customers outside and near their homes. Those socially deviant women exacerbated the anxieties of the ruling class who felt they were a danger to the social decorum of their society, looming over the honour of their wives and daughters by their presence near their homes. To further marginalize *mujeres de mal vivir*, the colonial administration built a wall around the centre of the city to distance women of ill repute from the family homes of the elite.

For most of the early to mid-nineteenth century, prostitutes were labelled as “public women” or *mujeres públicas*. “Public woman” was a comprehensive term referring to a wide array of socially deviant behaviour, not just the sale of sexual services. They were ostracized and socially suspect. Nevertheless, during the first half of the nineteenth century, colonial governmental policies on prostitution were nearly non-existent. The lone exception was article 13 of the 1842 Edict of Governance and Police for the Island of Cuba, which simply prohibited houses of prostitution. No law specifically targeted sex work; rather, sexual commerce was mainly treated as a form of female delinquency relating to public order. Vagrants, thieves or alcoholics could also be labelled *mujeres públicas*.

The sex trade was controlled by the creation of a tolerance zone that sought to restrict sex work spatially and increase surveillance. It is unclear how women were identified and removed to the tolerance zone since the sale of sexual services was often an anonymous occupation and not a permanent one. Enforcement of the tolerance zone was difficult because women found multiple ways to evade and defeat the system, but the police kept the arrangement in place because it was deemed to be an efficient way to deal with a “necessary evil” for the containment of what were considered

unrestrainable male sexual desires. However, by 1868 it had become obvious that the tolerance policy was failing. The tolerance zone was not sufficient to contain the many women suspected of prostitution. Further, a lack of enforcement and corruption afflicted the police administrators in charge of enforcement and organization.

To maintain power, Spanish officials decided that protecting the sexual health of imperial soldiers was vital to win the anti-colonial struggle. Sexually transmitted infections took centre stage. In line with international epidemiological concerns, colonial officials decided to implement and emulate the regulationist approach of Paris, which at the time was considered to be a success. The “French system” promoted surveillance, mandatory pelvic exams, registration of prostitutes and the issuance of sanitation cards. In 1873 the Spanish colonial authorities established the Special Public Hygiene regulation, which instituted a system of licensing of brothels with state-imposed fees and regulations for controlling public manifestations of prostitution. The regulation system was intended to provide the Spanish colonial authorities with control over sex work while safeguarding the spread of venereal infections among its soldiers. It also consolidated the debate on the term “*prostituta*” or “prostitute” as a woman who sold sex. Nevertheless, the system was still hampered by corruption, scandal and prostitutes who evaded surveillance by failing to register.

After the Cuban independence movement (1868–1898) and subsequent occupation by the United States of America, prostitution regulation laws remained unchanged; in the main the programme of state surveillance continued. The Cuban desire, however, to carve out a national identity as a modern nation increasingly stirred the political debate among intellectuals and policymakers with regard to prostitution. The regulation system came under particular scrutiny because of its association with the evils of Spanish colonialism and its exploitation. Other critiques emerged from the budding feminist movement and new, and European-inspired, epidemiological approaches to public health. In response to those concerns, the President of Cuba abolished the regulatory structures of the sex industry in 1913, dissolving the Special Hygiene Section.

After deregulation both males and females could be treated in public hospitals for venereal infections. Registries, taxes, fees and tolerance zones were all dissolved. A more expansive public health system was created. That approach sought to create a healthier population through education campaigns, free clinics and hospitals. It emphasized hygiene, health and sanitation in the new nation. The focus was on detection and treatment of venereal infections irrespective of occupation, race or gender.

From that point forward sex work was relegated to various legal schemes without an overarching legal framework. For instance, the *ordenanzas sanitarias* of 1914, or sanitary ordinances, did not mention sex work overtly, but a thinly veiled clause called for reporting all cases of infection when a patient was involved in industries and commercial practices that deliberately spread venereal epidemics. The law did not directly target sex workers, but it continued the stigmatization and criminalization of women.

The Cuban divorce laws of 1918 established the transmission of venereal infection after matrimony as grounds for the dissolution of a marriage. That was part of 13 justifications for a valid

divorce decree, even though the medical community argued that it was impossible to determine how and when infections of that kind were transmitted. Under the divorce laws forced prostitution could also be grounds for divorce. Nevertheless, public prostitution was still subject to punishment, as were the corruption of minors and “public scandal originating from licentiousness”, all of which left plenty of room for the continual harassment of public sex workers.

Havana became a city with an immigrant majority during the first decades of the twentieth century. Increases in immigration from the Canary Islands, France, Mexico, Spain, the United States and other Caribbean islands during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw many women migrants entering into commerce in sex. The conditions that brought streams of migrants to the shores of Havana included the recruitment of cheap contract labourers from Haiti and Jamaica which benefited the sugar plantation interests. United States soldiers of the army of occupation, investors, fortune hunters and prostitutes also landed in Havana. The majority of the immigrants and other wanderers in the port city were young men travelling alone; a floating population that represented potential clients for the sex workers.

The circumstances that drove immigrant women to sell sex varied, but since most occupations excluded women outright or paid them less than men, the sex industry provided a comparatively greater advantage for mobility and independence. Some migrant sex workers who had accumulated financial resources elsewhere were able to become brothel owners and madams in Havana. Other women entered into sex work because of economic need and opportunity.

The sex trade offered the possibility of greater financial rewards than other occupations available to women, such as domestic work, sewing, cigar making and laundry services. Some women entered into prostitution because they had lost the financial support of a job, family or husband. Commercial sex was also a stepping stone into Cuban society for many international and rural-to-urban migrants. After securing a few regular clients or finding a marriage partner, some women were able to scale back sex work or leave the trade altogether. Others worked intermittently and elusively, supplementing their meagre earnings as needed, by working out of bars, dance academies, hotels and cafeterias.

Even after their overwhelming participation in the wars of independence from Spain, race and racism continued to mark the lives of Cubans of African descent, particularly as they sought better employment and political representation. The government of Cuba and society at large continued to resist the struggle for rights and representation of African Cubans. Immigration laws sought to restrict the entrance of immigrants of African descent and to increase that of Europeans as a way of “whitening” the population. Cubans of African descent were excluded from civil service positions, and widely discriminated against in the society at large.

In sexual commerce, race and racism structured the hierarchies of the trade. From early in the history of Cuba, enslaved women of African descent had used sex work to accumulate sufficient funds to purchase their freedom and that of their children and family members. After the abolition of slavery, race continued to be a salient issue as women of African descent were often relegated to the selling of sex on the streets. From the few historical records available, it appears that most of the brothel owners and workers in late nineteenth century Cuba were white or of European origin.

Because they operated in the tolerance zones, they were less likely to be arrested. It appears that many of the brothels either limited the number of women of colour or excluded them from employment, so race and socioeconomic class drove darker skinned women to peddle sexual services on the streets by the docks of the bay. Those clandestine prostitutes, those working the streets and not registered with a brothel, outnumbered brothel workers. Because they worked in public, they were more likely to live under the duress of police control and violence. *Fleteras*, or streetwalkers, occupied a marginal social stratum and were stigmatized for selling sex, as well as for their racial and class disadvantage. Thus, racism made for a very divided society and culture; one in which blacks underwent remarkably different experiences in all sectors of society.

During the early twentieth century, the United States occupation of Cuba and its geographical proximity to North American markets made Havana an ideal place to expand a mass tourism business that appealed to tourists and travellers from the middle and working classes. The deferment of United States travel to Europe during the First World War enhanced the positioning of Havana as an ideal alternative destination. Cuba was relatively affordable and new transportation technologies had made it readily accessible. Initially, railway travel linked to steamships and ferries connected Havana to New Orleans, Philadelphia and Key West. Beginning in 1921, air travel with a daily service between the United States and Cuba made Havana one of the first world cities to operate an international airport. It soon became the most popular foreign destination for United States travellers and the city saw passengers arrive from New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, Miami and Key West.

In essence, tourism presented a perfect opportunity to advance United States trade and investment in all aspects of leisure and travel. Tourist arrivals increased steadily, from 56,000 in 1920 to 90,000 by 1928. Central to the marketing of Havana as a leisure and pleasure destination was the notion that tourists could partake of activities forbidden in the United States, such as gambling, drinking, the consumption of illicit drugs and, of course, sexual adventure. The allure of sex with a Cuban woman was a significant narrative in tourist promotional materials. To accommodate expectations, the city offered a diverse industry of sexual entertainment, including pornographic theatres and bookstores, luxurious *casas de citas*, stuffy brothels and inexpensive streetwalkers plying their trade. There was a commercial sex market for every taste and budget.

Havana provided an escape from United States mores and laws that regulated leisure and sexual pleasure. The Mann Act of 1910 prohibited the interstate transportation of women for “immoral purposes”; hence by 1915 most states had either banned brothels or regulated the profits of prostitution. That coincided with an increase in the estimated number of prostitutes in Havana, from 4,000 in 1912 to 7,400 by 1931. The allure Havana held for United States citizens grew further with the passage of the Volstead Act of 1919, which prohibited the sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States. By the 1920s Havana had become home to approximately 7,000 bars, many of them catering to United States travellers.

The expansion and proliferation of different forms of commercialized sexual services during the interwar period made use of both new and old venues for the sale of sex, including hotels, cafeterias, bars, cabarets, dance academies, pornographic theatres and casinos. In addition to working in

brothels, women worked the streets by the wharf, just as they had for hundreds of years. Those who worked the streets, and those of Afro-Cuban descent, were penalized and subjected to violence and exploitation by the police, pimps and customers. Sex businesses were tolerated but marginal women continued to be disciplined and suffered undue hardship.

Cuba was politically and financially unstable, with corrupt government and elected officials who sought only to enhance their personal wealth. Nevertheless, occupation by the United States initiated a large wave of basic infrastructure development. The United States spearheaded a number of major public works projects, introducing more paved streets, electric streetlights, electric trams, water mains and a comprehensive system of sewage and garbage collection. United States business interests also moved to monopolize city services and control the property development of Havana's urban space. New modern buildings, warehouses and shops were built in the first 20 years of the century. Indeed, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Havana expanded more rapidly than at any other historical period.

The interests of United States capital and the Cuban elites were also maximized by the robust production of sugar for United States markets and the high prices paid for it in international markets, resulting in the accumulation of riches for particular sectors of society. Cuba became the largest provider of sugar to United States markets and to the Allied forces during the war. But by 1923 the price of sugar in international markets had descended from its previous high prices. The collapse of international sugar prices brought hardship to Cuban plantation owners, who lost their properties to North American banks. Their losses became an opportunity for United States banks and other financial concerns to become the main beneficiaries of the productive assets of Cuba.

The role of the United States, whether through "preventive intervention" in the island's political affairs or through direct investment and ownership of productive assets, tied Cuba to the United States more than at any other time in the past. The intimacy of political, cultural and financial occupation joined the two countries together, shaping the lives of ordinary Cubans in Havana.

In the early twentieth century Havana's sex industry continued to expand as it accommodated Cuban national clients, immigrant men, US occupational forces, as well as North American travelers seeking pleasure and leisure. Sexual commerce made possible not only the livelihood of socially marginal women but communities of merchants, property owners, madams, pimps and business men who profited from women's sexual labour. Earnings from sex work allowed women to compliment low wages or make a living in order to provide for their families. While the police force, feminist groups and intellectuals wanted to abolish the sex trade, the profitability of sexual commerce with its linkages to the tourism economy and military forces impinged on the privileges of many different groups. It was not until the dismantling of international tourism, the end of United States occupation, and the rise of an ideological revolution that the sex trade in Havana would be practically completely abolished.

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## Prostitution in Istanbul

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### Historical overview

Prostitution in early modern Ottoman Istanbul was a regular feature of the city and was carried out by women from all religious backgrounds, Christian, Jewish and Muslim alike. In the early years of the Ottoman Empire, prostitution was subject to taxation, but that was discontinued and a separate code for prostitution was introduced which stated that “undesirable” women (prostitutes) could be banished from cities. Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, prostitutes were regularly banished from Istanbul to the interior of Anatolia or to islands in the Mediterranean, and imprisonment was also used as a form of discipline.

Prostitution in early modern Istanbul took numerous forms. Some women who worked without a pimp solicited in public areas at night, and women also worked together, bringing clients to the rooms they rented. Both Muslim and non-Muslim men and women were involved in organizing prostitution; women worked independently as madams, and imams and non-Muslim tavern owners also worked as pimps. While prostitution was carried out by women from all religious backgrounds, there was a strong stigma against Muslim women having clients who were Christian or Jewish, and efforts were made to ensure that such confessional boundaries were not crossed.

At the end of the eighteenth century, war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Russia and Austria, and as a result, large numbers of Ottoman troops and naval officers were stationed in Istanbul, which led to an increase in prostitution. Occasional attempts were made to eradicate prostitution in the city and at times imperial edicts were issued which sought to limit the public presence of women and to regulate the clothing they wore when they did go out.

Overall, the Ottoman authorities of early modern Istanbul took a prohibitionist stance towards prostitution, but there were periods of relative tolerance punctuated by eras of strict suppression. Throughout the nineteenth century, Istanbul continued to grow, as did the city’s prostitution “problem”, and in 1880, the first attempts at regulation were carried out. Despite efforts to stamp it out, prostitution continued to proliferate, particularly when Istanbul was occupied by Allied forces during the First World War, by which time state regulation of sold sex had been implemented across the entire city and legal brothel districts had been established.

### Societal reaction and legal situation

As prostitution became more prevalent in Istanbul in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a common sentiment among (Muslim) Ottomans was that it was a Western import that had been brought in by European merchants and emissaries. The presence of Europeans in Istanbul had increased dramatically as the Ottoman Empire weakened and foreign powers competed to exert influence over the Sublime Porte and take advantage of markets in the capital city. The fact, however,

that the majority of women working as prostitutes in the latter part of the nineteenth century were non-Muslim, whether Ottoman Christians and Jews or Europeans, led the authorities to take a rather lax approach to policing prostitution. Further complicating matters were the Capitulations, which had initially been established in the sixteenth century as a means of encouraging trade between the Empire and European countries; but as the Empire weakened, by the nineteenth century the Capitulations resulted in a situation in which Europeans enjoyed a great amount of legal immunity in Ottoman territories, to the point that the Ottoman government was powerless to police prostitution. Foreign citizens were not subject to Ottoman laws on prostitution and the local police were unable to close down or regulate brothels owned by foreign nationals; also, they did not have the authority to arrest or prosecute individuals involved in prostitution. As an example, in 1876 the Ottoman authorities took into custody a number of foreign women for engaging in prostitution with the aim of deporting them to their home countries. Wielding the power granted to them by the Capitulations, foreign consuls intervened and forced the Ottoman authorities to release the women. In that way, foreigners took advantage of their legal immunity in organizing prostitution, and by the early twentieth century, prostitution had grown to such an extent that Istanbul acquired a reputation as a centre for international traffic. Only with the outbreak of the First World War was the Ottoman government able to abolish the Capitulations and take more stringent measures for the policing of prostitution.

In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman government sought to reform its military, centralize state authority and transform social structures, and that included reform of medical practices. In Istanbul, increased interaction between Ottoman and European physicians had led to the development of medical facilities and practices based on Western models, including the regulated system of prostitution. In 1878, the first step towards regulation in Istanbul took place under the guidance of the non-Muslim municipal authorities, and in 1880, after an experimental phase, the plan was given full imperial approval and the authorities began licensing brothels in the Europeanized quarters of Istanbul. That included the registration of prostitutes, a system of taxation and police supervision of prostitution. By 1915, with the First World War in full swing and the Ottomans at war with the Allies, state laws on prostitution were amended in an attempt to bring prostitution under firmer control. Brothels all across Istanbul were licensed and brought under state supervision.

From 1910, the Ottoman authorities, aware that increasing numbers of Muslim women had begun engaging in sex work in Istanbul for lack of other means of income, launched initiatives aimed at providing destitute women with employment. Those efforts sought, however, to prevent Muslim women from taking up prostitution rather than providing assistance for women working as prostitutes, as their “virtue” was seen as having already been “corrupted”. Although no Ottoman civil associations were established to carry out research on the matter or attempt to rehabilitate prostitutes, numerous investigations were carried out by foreign organizations concerning the “international traffic in white women” in Istanbul. Those efforts were led by such leading feminists as Bertha Pappenheim and Eugene Simon, as well as organizations including the Association for the Protection of Young Women and the Jewish Hilfsverein and B’nai B’rith societies. While there was a small Ottoman feminist movement, it lacked political might and was unable to lobby the government to take action on the issue of prostitution. There were no organizations, as such, seeking to provide services for prostitutes in the late Ottoman and early Republican eras. In 1921, a Prostitution

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Prevention Society was founded under the guidance of some of the foreign ambassadors in Istanbul, but it does not appear to have had a lasting existence or impact on prostitution. A handful of Turkish feminists did protest against state regulation of brothels in articles they wrote for newspapers, and the Turkish Women's League, which was set up in 1923 after the newly founded government of Turkey refused permission for the creation of a women's political party, asserted that one of its founding tenets was the abolition of the system regulating prostitution. Under government pressure, however, their efforts to improve the status of women remained limited to social aid projects, and in 1935 the League was shut down at the request of the state.

## Organization of the trade

Foreign investigators claimed that by the early twentieth century, "trafficking" to Istanbul served local demand and also facilitated the transport of women to brothels in Latin America, northern Egypt and further east. As a major port city linking the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, Istanbul was a major transit point for ships coming from southern Russia (particularly Odessa), Romania and Bulgaria onwards to points south and west, and the weakened state of the Empire made it easy to avoid complications with the authorities. It was said that traffickers were primarily men but that women were also involved, often Jews from Bukovina and Galicia, along with women from southern Hungary. While there was a significant number of Ashkenazi Jews, often migrants and refugees from Eastern Europe, who were involved in procuring, running brothels and prostitution in Istanbul, they were by no means the majority, and prostitution in the city was carried out by Ottoman citizens as well as Austrians, Bulgarians and Germans, as well as citizens of other European countries.

The Ottoman law on prostitution, the first version of which dated from 1884, stipulated that women were to be forcibly registered as prostitutes if the police caught them engaging in prostitution three times, but there is evidence suggesting that the police could often be bribed. Most women working at licensed brothels had a pimp or madam, and according to reports, many of them were entrapped by a debtor system in which they were forced to borrow money at high interest rates, making it difficult for them to pay off their debts. There were various classes of brothel in the city, each subject to different tax brackets, and conditions in them varied greatly. Women working in high-class brothels did not solicit on the street, but less privileged prostitutes approached clients outside and took them to rooms that they rented.

In 1925 there were 241 licensed houses in Istanbul, and while the majority of them were owned by Turkish citizens, just 37 of those were reserved solely for Muslim women. That reflected a trend towards a "Muslim-Turkification" of prostitution in Istanbul in the 1920s and 1930s, which paralleled efforts undertaken to "Turkify" the new nation which was imagined as a "Turkish-Muslim" entity. In the press, foreign prostitutes were vilified for "corrupting the morals of Turkish society" and under pressure from the League of Nations to eliminate the "international traffic", the government issued orders for the police to actively eliminate foreign elements from prostitution and deport them. As a result, the women working in the legal brothels of Istanbul were increasingly Muslim; many members of the country's Christian minorities fled Istanbul during and after the First World War as a result of persecution and social tensions that arose as the government set about creating its "Muslim" nation. Nonetheless, a small number of foreign women and pimps continued to engage in

prostitution after the Republic was established in 1923 even though it was forbidden by law. A study carried out by a Turkish journalist in 1928 indicated that the number of registered houses in Istanbul had decreased to 110, and she noted that the segregation of sex workers by religious affiliation had begun to decrease. Depicted as being carried out by foreigners, mostly Eastern Europeans, the international traffic was presented as being a threat to the body of the nation.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

Before 1914, Muslim women could not be registered as prostitutes and the police took Muslim women into custody when they were caught engaging in prostitution alongside non-Muslim women, particularly in the predominantly Christian and Jewish district of Beyoğlu; additionally, non-Muslim women were arrested for employing Muslim women in their brothels. During those years, the government also issued a regulation on the operation of hospitals in Istanbul which stated that non-Muslim and Muslim prostitutes were to be treated at different places. Despite those attempts at segregating prostitutes based on their religious background, investigations carried out during and after the First World War indicated that many Muslim women were working as clandestine prostitutes across the city, perhaps even to a greater extent than their Christian and Jewish counterparts. That was because poverty was rampant among Muslim families in the city as a result of successive wars fought by the Ottomans in the early twentieth century in North Africa and the Balkans, and in the Middle East and Europe during the First World War. It was primarily Muslims who were drafted into the Ottoman army, as the government was wary of arming members of the Empire's Christian minorities, including Armenians and Greeks, out of fear that they could not be trusted in battle and would revolt (those that were drafted were sent to labour camps). As a result of the large numbers of casualties during those wars, many Muslim families had lost their male breadwinners and Muslim women, unable to find well-paid employment, turned to prostitution. In addition, waves of Muslim refugees fled to Istanbul during the successive wars in the Balkans in the 1910s as they were forced out of their homelands, leading to even greater numbers of impoverished Muslims in Istanbul. There were over 50,000 Entente Power troops in the city during the Allied occupation, and while the British, French, Italian, and United States troops stationed in Istanbul were barred from Muslim brothels, they frequented the brothels of the Galata district, where Christian and Jewish women were employed; those brothels were predominantly run by Armenian and Greek citizens of the Empire. There were also more than 50 bars in the area around Pera where over 200 young women worked, and they included both registered and unregistered prostitutes.

Studies carried out in 1919 and 1920 indicated that there were approximately 2,000 registered sex workers in the city, 60 per cent of whom were non-Muslim (Armenian, Greek and Jewish) and 40 per cent Muslim. There was also a small number of non-Ottoman citizens employed in the state-licensed brothels, the majority of whom were Russian; some Bulgarian, French, German, Italian, Polish and Romanian women worked there as well. By the 1930s, it had become illegal for non-citizens to work in brothels in Turkey and foreign prostitutes were deported when caught.

One of the reasons for the large number of Muslim prostitutes in those years was poverty, which was related to their lack of access to education and the few employment opportunities available to women. Industrialization in Istanbul was minimal compared with other cities in Western Europe in

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the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and small-scale workshops tended to dominate. While emergent industries did create new opportunities for women to work, it was primarily non-Muslim women who began to participate in the economy via factory labour because such work was generally seen as being below the status of Muslim women. During the war, however, a small number of Muslim women did take up employment in the fabric industry and in sewing houses, but overall, work was not widely available to women regardless of their religious background. A survey conducted in Istanbul in 1920 indicated that widowed Muslims in Istanbul were less educated, had lower earnings and were less healthy than widows who were Christian or Jewish citizens of the Ottoman Empire. While education for girls in Ottoman territories became increasingly available from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, it was largely reserved for the children of the wealthy elite. And although more women received at least a primary education after the founding of the Republic, women's literacy remained below 10 per cent. In the mid-1920s, it was reported that the majority of women working at state-licensed brothels were from the lower classes, having worked as waitresses or servants or previously been convicted of petty crimes.

While women who took up prostitution continued to be seen as pariahs of society, representing the ultimate antithesis of the "virtuous" Turkish Muslim woman, government authorities saw the registered prostitute as the best bulwark against the spread of venereal disease in a country that had been ravaged by years of war. The newly founded Republic of Turkey was severely underpopulated owing to the large numbers of war casualties and the elimination and expulsion en masse of Armenians and Greeks who had been Ottoman citizens. The ruling elites, therefore, took a eugenic approach to rebuilding the nation that focused on the health of the population. In 1929, the government initiated measures to eliminate the state brothel system, but three years later it was decided that it was "impossible" to do away with prostitution and that the "health of the nation" would best be protected by maintaining the system.

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## Prostitution in Genoa, Naples, Palermo and Rome

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### Historical overview

The four cities in question encompass the articulation of the “problem” of female prostitution in Italy, set against the backdrop of varied legislative frameworks influenced to a lesser or greater extent by the moralizing hold of the Catholic church. Over the centuries, the church’s stance on prostitution has been one of moral condemnation of women involved in the trade. Despite differences in dealing with prostitution, the end result remained the same: ways of thinking about prostitution ranged from acceptance of prostitution as an inexorable evil, to condemnation of those profiting from it, and encouragement for the prostitute to repent. Notwithstanding the approach adopted, prostitution was perceived as a growing threat in Italy.

In Naples, for instance, prostitution seemed to have become a conspicuous feature of the city since the late sixteenth century in conjunction with the city’s demographic growth when under Spanish control. One of the largest cities in Europe and the most populated metropolis in Italy, in the 1640s Naples was said to have 30,000 prostitutes out of 300,000 inhabitants. Although that number was obviously exaggerated, contemporary government sources and foreign travellers reported being struck by seeing prostitutes crowding even the best streets of the city. Moreover, the presence of numerous women’s secular and religious institutions, refuges for repentant prostitutes and asylums for poor, unruly girls was an additional indication of the high incidence of the phenomenon.

Apparently less evident, in Palermo prostitution was also thought to be a widespread activity. The city, long-time residence of the Spanish viceroys, lost its role of capital when the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were united after the Restoration thus forming the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Until then, the two capitals had dealt independently with their “fallen women” adopting, however, similar legislative approaches and showing an increasing lack of interest in the matter over time. As in Naples, the extreme poverty of a large part of the population of Palermo and the seduction and moral corruption of innocent girls were considered two of the main causes of prostitution. Nevertheless, Palermo counted only a very few institutions that could offer overnight shelter to homeless prostitutes or protection for repentant women.

Prostitution was not a rare occurrence even in the urban landscape of Rome, where the trade was officially prohibited. As Sweet (2012) reports, the tacit encouragement of the “carnal commerce” by the papacy as a means of raising revenue was frequently cited by eighteenth-century travellers. Capital of the Papal States and second largest city in Italy, in 1850 Rome was said to have nearly 3,500



women involved in prostitution out of 200,000 inhabitants. In the same period, apparently almost 2,650 prostitutes amongst a population of 130,000 inhabitants worked in Genoa. The city, once one of the most important Mediterranean commercial harbours, had lost its relative independence in 1814 when it was annexed to the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Although these data cannot be considered a realistic representation of the sex trade in the four cities, they surely testify to the degree of anxiety caused by prostitution among contemporary observers.

Despite all those concerns and alarming reports, attempts made to control commercial sex in the four cities did not have great success. Yet the crucial turning point occurred with Italian unification and the extension of the Cavour regulation on prostitution to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to the Papal States in 1861 and then to Rome in 1870. Institutionalization of state brothels, compulsory health check-ups and restrictions on the freedom of prostitutes formed the basis of a regulatory system which lasted until 1958.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

Repression and tolerance characterized the attitude of and action taken by the Neapolitan governors towards prostitution. In 1736, the Catholic priest, Gennaro Maria Sarnelli, launched his campaign against commercial sex. While he believed that widespread female poverty was one of the main causes of prostitution, he recommended separating respectable families from the prostitutes and the extirpation of pimps and procurers from the city of Naples. As result of Sarnelli's intense preaching, prostitutes were evicted from the most representative areas of the city and relocated into peripheral zones, such as Saint Antonio Abate, while owners were deterred from renting rooms in the forbidden neighbourhoods. Despite all those efforts, no substantial results were obtained.

A similar ineffectual policy was adopted in Palermo. In 1712 an ordinance was passed banning prostitutes from loitering in the Vucciria market, *Ballarò* Square, Cassaro Street and the Marina after 1 a.m. and men from coupling with wandering whores in the night. In 1713, soldiers were forbidden either to visit prostitutes in their houses or to receive them in the military quarters. In 1793, the last known ordinance issued by a Sicilian viceroy ordered the eviction of both vagrants and prostitutes from the city. Later on new attempts were made to deal with the rising fear of moral disorder and syphilitic contagion by applying some form of regulation based on the French model imported during the Napoleonic occupation. In 1823, the municipal government of Palermo introduced licences tolerating brothels. In 1841, the *Regolamento del costume pubblico* (Regulation of Public Morals, first enacted in Naples in 1839) ordered the medical examination of all prostitutes within the city. The following years were marked by a legislative void that remained substantially unchallenged until the unification of Italy in 1860 when the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies ceased to exist.

Between 1600 and 1700 the most significant innovation both in Genoa and in Rome was the creation of designated areas where street prostitutes were tolerated and where brothel owners could advertise their businesses. In the city centre of Genoa those areas were circumscribed within the perimeter of small paved roads in the Caruggi district, close to the harbour, and along the west banks of the Tiber River in Rome. That line of attack stipulated a clear demarcation with a spatial and moral division between those who were acting as controllers of public morality and

those who were subject to control and, as a consequence, living on the margins of society. To further assure that prostitutes were kept away from respectable society, prostitutes were repeatedly forced to be hospitalized in institutions, known as Hospitals for Incurable Diseases. They were managed by Christian charity organizations and were under the supervision of the local municipal police. Massobrio (2002) highlights how the municipalities of Genoa and Rome had made plans to open such institutions. In both cities, as in many other Italian cities, the role of Ettore Vernazza was pivotal in the organization of such hospitals between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

After founding one in Genoa, under the auspices of the Fraternity of Divine Love, a religious congregation of orthodox conservative Christians, Vernazza turned his expertise to Rome, reconstructing the ancient and dilapidated hospital of Saint James in Augusta. The hospitals were designed to accommodate those who were considered incurable patients, who were mainly suffering from venereal diseases, particularly syphilis, that in those years had begun to spread in Europe.

When considering the regulation of prostitution in Italy during a period which spans several centuries — from 1400s until 1800s — it is worth highlighting that prostitution and venereal diseases were regarded as connected phenomena and deemed to be the result of inappropriate and immoral behaviour of the women engaged in the trade. In fact, women prostitutes were deemed a moral threat that needed to be assuaged, and a population in need of “saving”. Men, on the other hand, were seen as naturally promiscuous but vulnerable to diseases because of the malevolent immorality of women prostitutes. That double-standard approach was hence evident on both counts: in the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie in Genoa and Rome policed itself via the promotion of self-restraint supported at distance by the Catholic moral majority. In the nineteenth century it turned its attention to the sexual behaviour of the working classes, with the moral condemnation of “sexual deviants” focusing on women prostitutes, in particular street prostitutes. That resulted in an increased number of street prostitutes being arrested both in Genoa and in Rome. Once released from police custody, however, women in Genoa were able to remain in the city, often managing to switch from working the street, where they could be attacked and/or robbed by potential customers and passers-by, to the safer (and secluded) environment of brothels, whereas, in Rome, women who had engaged in prostitution in the past were forced to leave the city and move to different locations, as accounted for by local municipal sources relating to the period prior to the unification of Italy.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw, both in Genoa and Rome, the establishment of more lock hospitals and penitentiaries for women found to have a sexual infection. Combating venereal disease was not, however, the only reason for their establishment; instead of simply concentrating on the physical health of prostitutes, the focus of the new institutions was the surveillance and regulation of the women’s sexual behaviour by imposing strict rules of conduct. Such rules ranged from preventing women from socializing with the external world to almost forcing them to provide cheap manual labour in exchange for shelter. In Genoa, the Hospital for Incurable Diseases, popularly called the *Ospedaletto*, stood in the neighbourhood of Portoria, beside the Hospital of Pammatone. Until its closure in the 1930s, it hosted a monthly average of 50 prostitutes deemed to be in need of medical assistance and shelter. In Rome, women were detained in several hospitals in the city, according to the area in which they lived. The majority of prostitutes working in Rome, however, were detained at the hospital of San Gallicano —statistics of admissions show

that until 1937 650 prostitutes per year were admitted on average with a significant increase at the beginning of the First World War. The rationale behind the internment of prostitutes was not only limited to the medical aspect of syphilitic infection, but called attention to the social problem of prostitution, as a source for the spread of the disease.

In 1861, the newborn state of Italy extended to the annexed territories the Cavour regulation on prostitution, which echoed similar measures already taken in Europe. The state assumed control over prostitution which was legalized but confined preferably into licensed brothels, fixing the prices according to the class of the houses and the percentage of the owners' profit. It also allowed women to work as isolated prostitutes in their own premises or in rented rooms. It introduced the registration of prostitutes, fixing of the age limit of enlistment at 16, compulsory biweekly vaginal examinations in the health offices or in the brothels and forced hospitalization in the so-called *sifilicomi*. The Cavour regulation severely limited the freedom of brothel inmates who, for instance, were expected not to leave or change their premises, and not to move to another city without police permission.

The system was placed under the control of the *polizia dei costumi* (morality police) who were in charge of surveillance of both legal and clandestine prostitution. The police were far from popular as they abused their power in particular over low-class women who were subjected to harassment, arbitrary arrest, and forced registration for suspected prostitution. According to the regulationists, such a great restriction of freedom was justified by the risks of venereal contagion, the need to secure safe, sexual relief for men, and to separate prostitution from criminality and prostitutes from honest women.

Italian abolitionists, who included parliamentarians and female emancipationists from the Mazzinian left, soon raised their voices against the regulation system. They gained the support of Giuseppe Mazzini, Garibaldi and the international leader of abolitionism, Josephine Butler. Anna Maria Mozzoni, the most prominent among the emancipationists, led the Milanese branch of the International Abolitionist Federation founded by Butler in the 1870s. Abolitionists believed that the Cavour regulation crystallized women's inequality and the double standard, and stressed that the male sex drive was not a natural instinct. That is to say, prostitution was not a necessity. Abolitionism achieved only partial success in 1888 when the Cavour legislation was replaced with a new, less oppressive law, the Crispi regulation. The system of brothels remained unchallenged and, although official registration of individuals as prostitutes was forbidden, madams were required to provide personal information about those who worked on their premises. The age limit of enlistment was raised to 21. Furthermore, isolated prostitutes could be arrested only for violations of the penal code. The most innovative aspect of the regulation was the abolition of the health offices, the *sifilicomi*, the compulsory health check-up and the forced hospitalization of prostitutes.

After the fall of Francesco Crispi, in 1891, the new Prime Minister, Giovanni Nicotera, introduced a new set of measures that took his name, the Nicotera regulation. The general principles of the Crispi statute were maintained. Isolated prostitutes could, however, be charged with infecting costumers or breaking the law of prostitution. In addition, prostitutes who refused examination and those who were found infected could be forcibly hospitalized. Later on, in 1905, the Nicotera law was partially modified with the enactment of the Health Regulation, which promoted a free,

anonymous and non-coercive cure for anyone affected by venereal disease. Italian physicians, above all the director general of public health, Rocco Santoliquido, were now convinced that prophylaxis was more effective than police repression. Pragmatism, rather than concerns with civil rights, lay behind the Health Regulation.

Under the Nicotera law prostitution in Italy became fully legal in privately owned premises with the result that both Genoa and especially Rome could boast a considerable number of brothels. In 1897 the superintendent of Rome wrote a report which showed that in conjunction with the increase in the number of legal brothels, Rome had at least 400 brothels that had not yet been identified and regularized. Two years later, the provincial medical officer of Rome confirmed that situation by saying that city officials were aware of an increasing number of illegal premises. Policing prostitution became more and more problematic as the number of women involved in prostitution steadily increased. The police set up a special task force based in every municipal headquarters with the remit of tackling street prostitution and regulating brothels. The Directorate of Public Security in 1897 reported that Rome had 20 agents solely dedicated to that task, and Genoa had three.

Like their British colleagues, Italian abolitionists campaigned against the so-called white slavery that had become an international issue at the end of the nineteenth century, despite the lack of satisfying evidence to support the extent of the trade. Italian Catholics joined the anti-slave crusade in the name of redeeming prostitutes and preventing girls and young women from falling into immoral life or prey to procurers. As a result of the joint efforts of feminist, abolitionist and Catholic organizations, the government of Italy took an official position by signing two international agreements in 1904 and 1910 for the suppression of traffic in women and children. Moreover, the new network of committees and institutions devoted to rescue and redemption, such as for instance the Asilo Mariuccia in Milan, gained more visibility and the director of public security welcomed their potential role to combat white trade slavery.

Italian colonialism and, later on, the First World War brought about a modification of the policy on prostitution, revitalizing both regulation and repressive attitudes. Military hierarchies frequently expressed concerns about the spread of venereal disease among soldiers on the war front or in the training camps. In order to guarantee the effectiveness of military units, different measures were taken by government decree and by the army authorities from the creation of brothels for soldiers and officers, to the reintroduction of the compulsory medical treatment of women found infected. With the advent of the war, more and more women entered the trade especially after brothels specifically targeting soldiers flourished both in Genoa and Rome. Army doctors took care to keep all brothels operating under their jurisdiction under strict sanitary control: observing very high standards of hygiene, rooms were kept clean and sanitized at all times, and women were constantly scrutinized and forced to undergo regular health checks. Furthermore, prostitutes had to carry an identity card bearing their name. They also had to leave a hefty percentage of their earnings to the madams who were running the brothels. Madams then had to pay a fee to the army as well as to the local municipality to maintain their licence. Then there was often a small fee to be paid to corrupt police officers.

The new measures promulgated during the fascist dictatorship not only reasserted most of the pre-existing rules, but also introduced surveillance over those women who worked outside the authorized

brothels. The Regulations of 1923, for instance, strongly emphasized the sanitization of prostitution with the legal duty of regular medical examinations of prostitutes — irrespective of their place of work — and the drafting of a public record. Women had to consent to be examined, their refusal legitimized their arrest and compulsory internment in lock hospitals. All prostitutes, including the isolated ones, were obliged to carry a document recording their periodic health examinations. Although prostitution was tolerated, the police could arrest a woman suspected of having a venereal disease, for refusing a medical examination, for clandestine prostitution or merely for suspicious behaviour.

As they were institutionalized in brothels and trapped for life by criminal and sanitary records, women had few opportunities for leaving prostitution. At the same time, however, and despite all efforts, none of the measures taken were able to weaken or deal with clandestine prostitutes. It was only in 1958 that the Italian Parliament abolished the draconian measures, officially closing all brothels by approving law 75/58 on the abolition of the regulation of prostitution and combating the prostitution of others, sponsored by the socialist senator, Angelina Merlin. Italy was not alone in formulating new legislation to control prostitution, but it was one of the last of the modern European nations to deregulate it.

## Organization of the trade

The system of licensed brothels, established in 1860, did not prevent the exploitation and ill-treatment of the women who ended up working in the houses. According to the law, prostitutes kept one fourth of the money paid by each client, but madams often overcharged for clothes and toilet articles, thus creating a debt-bond trap for some of their employees. In those cases, police could intervene against brothel managers. Registered prostitutes, however, looked for every opportunity to go underground in order to escape the harshness of the law and, at the same time, to gain direct control over their own earnings. They thus joined the “army” of women who were believed to practise prostitution eluding all forms of control.

Clandestine prostitution caused great anxiety among the general public and the government. While the police kept a close watch on the activities of registered prostitutes, they seemed, however, to struggle in their battle against the irregulars. The percentage of coerced registrations of alleged prostitutes, for instance, was significantly high in Naples and Palermo where clandestine prostitution was considered to be a widespread phenomenon. Neapolitan unregistered prostitutes appeared to be concentrated in the highly populated city centre where they could easily disappear in the maze of streets. They worked in illegal brothels, as streetwalkers, or as itinerant prostitutes moving from one neighbourhood to the other. Some seemed to work occasionally in certain houses without staying overnight. Irregular prostitution was perceived to have been on the rise between the 1890s and the First World War in conjunction with the worsening economic situation.

With the unification of Italy after 1860, upon issuance of a specific licence by the local municipality, the opening of brothels was regulated *de facto* by the state. In that sense, the four cities did not display any substantial disparities except for the number of women involved in prostitution. The regulation of the opening of brothels was divided into two categories — those in which the prostitutes had a fixed abode and those in which they only worked — and into three classes of taxation payable to the state

according to the number of women employed in a brothel. With regard to the organization of brothels, the majority of Italian cities shared the same structure. The price of access divided the brothels into three different classes: the brothels to which access was granted by paying 5 lire or more (so-called luxury homes, rather numerous in Rome and virtually non-existent in Genoa), those in which the sum to be paid was between 2 and 5 lire, and finally those in which the price was less than 2 lire — defined as poor social housing.

The application of the law created a vacuum leading to the arbitrary discretion of the police who exhibited a more tolerant approach in Genoa than in Rome with regard to the arrest of women “under the suspicion of prostitution”. A more lenient approach was also displayed by the police in Genoa when dealing with women willing to stop prostituting themselves. Police records of the time — late 1800s until the 1920s — show that a great number of women in Rome claimed that police officers were still abusing and harassing them once they had stopped working in brothels, often blackmailing them and/or asking for sexual favours. In Rome, historical accounts give testimony to a double standard employed by many bishops, cardinals and highly respected members of the Catholic church, publicly condemning prostitution, but privately sponsoring and, often visiting, high-class brothels. Rome, according to Canosa (1989), boasted a number of high-class brothels where well-educated women entertained middle-class customers, the clergy and the aristocracy. Canosa also reports the presence of outdoor sex workers on the banks of the river Tiber, who entertained travellers and merchants for much less money.

The trade was organized in such a way that those who wanted to open a brothel were subject to strict rules: they were required to contact the municipal authority and the local police at least eight days prior to the opening in order to declare the whereabouts of the brothel and the number of rooms, as well as the list and particulars of the prostitutes and of all other persons “engaged in the service of the brothel”. The geographical policing of prostitution was reflected in the subtle interference of the police in Genoa, who allowed brothels to be scattered anywhere in the city centre, if considered as high-class premises, and in the district of Caruggi if brothels were catering for sailors and merchants. In Rome stricter rules applied with regard to brothels that were too near to the Vatican City and the city centre. There the local municipality and the police insistently and powerfully asked madams to provide a detailed written statement certifying that the premises chosen were not located near a convent or a school.

The number of licensed brothels remained generally stable, only to gradually decline at the turn of the nineteenth century. Naples and Palermo, in particular, saw the opening of new houses, half of which were registered by order of the police. Naples counted about 88 tolerated brothels that employed, on average, 15 women. Following a national trend, however, the total number of employees decreased to about six while that of the houses had dropped to 48 by 1941. In general, the inmates frequently asked for permission to change their residence, a sign of their resistance to institutionalization and a way to loosen the police's grip on them. Although commercial sex was thought to be mainly a women's affair, it appears that the state was not the only one interested in the trade: the Neapolitan Camorra and Sicilian Mafia had their own revenue from collecting *pizzo* (extortion) and managing rings of prostitution. Later on, in the 1920s, the authorities suspected that the periodic movement of prostitutes was arranged by a specific organization for the exploitation of women. To date, however, no archival materials have surfaced to confirm that suspicion.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

Archival sources do not offer consistent and satisfactory information about women working in prostitution in the four cities between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a consequence of the abolition of registration, very little information is available after 1888. Gibson (1986) provides, however, a general description of the social profile of the women involved in prostitution based on national data mainly produced under the Cavour regulation. In 1875, 82 per cent of all registered prostitutes were single and had frequently lost one or both parents and, as a consequence, economic and emotional support. Of those 52 per cent were 21 to 30 years old; 27 per cent were 16 to 20; 17 per cent were 31 to 40; 3 per cent were over 41 years of age. Naples and Palermo were an exception, as the group of women under 21 was significantly larger than in other cities. In the 1890s, some sources estimated that one half of all prostitutes in Sicily were under the age of 21. Hospital records pertaining to the city of Rome reveal that the average age of women legally employed in brothels between 1899 and 1910 was 25 years, and the range was from 21 to 47 years. The average length of time the women worked in the same brothel was five years, varying between one and 12 years.

The large majority of all registered prostitutes came from the lower classes and from the worst paid occupations, such as domestic service and the garment trade. Gibson highlights how “combining part-time prostitution with regular employment to supplement an insufficient income became increasingly common as the nineteenth century came to a close and clandestine prostitution grew at the expense of the tolerated brothels”. That was the case in Naples where, according to Snowden (1995), wages were the lowest among Italian cities and “in 1884 ... three-quarters of the women of the Lower City lacked any occupation — a rate that was approximately double that of men”. The illiteracy rate was high among Italian women, but even higher among prostitutes in Palermo and Naples in particular, where the percentage was respectively 100 per cent and 95 per cent.

The mobility of prostitutes was generally high: 50 per cent of all registered women resided in the province of their birth (that percentage included those who had moved from the countryside to larger centres); 45 per cent came from other Italian provinces, while 5 per cent were foreign. According to Gibson, only 15 per cent of women involved in prostitution in Genoa originated from the province with a percentage of 77 coming from elsewhere in Italy and only 8 per cent being foreign prostitutes. In Rome, by comparison, 49 per cent of women came from areas nearby against a percentage of 47 from other Italian provinces. In Rome, the percentage of foreign prostitutes was around 4 per cent. Palermo appeared to be an exception: in 1875, 75 per cent of registered prostitutes were from the city and its province. Overseas migration of young Italian prostitutes, in particular to Mediterranean Africa, had been registered since the second half of the nineteenth century, while the 1920s saw a slow increase in the number of foreign prostitutes.

Fiume (1986) states that under the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Sicilian prostitution was mainly an occasional and clandestine event. Women saw it as a means of supplementing their low income. It was associated with their main activities, such as spinning, making socks, working as a laundress, seller or servant. Those who opted for a more regular practice moved to the capital, or bigger centres, thus trying to preserve their anonymity and family bonds by going underground. Required to provide information to the central government between 1826 and 1827, many local

municipalities found themselves unable to quantify the real extent of the phenomenon. Some of them replied that no prostitutes lived within their territories. Very different data, however, came to light 60 years later. In 1881, Palermo, the fifth most populated city in Italy, counted 932 regulated prostitutes. At the turn of the century, that number had dropped to 320 per 60 brothels.

Valenzi (2000) estimates that the number of registered prostitutes in Naples ranged from between 1,000 and 2,000 in the second half of the nineteenth century. In December 1877, the former capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies housed about 1,802 prostitutes, 781 of whom worked in isolation. The majority had formerly been employed as garment traders, housewives and servants, while a smaller percentage were laundresses or farm and textile workers. Sources confirm the national trend for Naples, where 50 per cent of the prostitutes were from the city and its province, 46 per cent from Sicily, Puglia and other southern communes, 3 per cent from central and northern Italy, and 1 per cent was foreign. Clandestine prostitution and licensed brothels seemed to be concentrated in the neighbourhood adjacent to the military and commercial port, San Giuseppe-Porto, where the poorest and the youngest prostitutes wandered around looking for clients. Contemporary observers reported that a high number of them were between 11 and 16 years old, although no figures are available to show the real extent of the phenomenon.

Despite sensationalist press reports and the international crusade against the white slave trade, no conclusive evidence has been found that supports the existence of such a regular traffic in women in Italy or in other countries. This does not exclude the fact that a number of women and young girls were forced or tricked into prostitution by family members, friends or acquaintances who acted as procurers. The state of research and the lack of available sources are such that it is impossible to establish the extent of the problem. Piecing together and analysing the scattered and fragmentary information available in ministerial archives, police and trial records, however, might be helpful in reconstructing some of the many aspects that are still unknown.



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# Prostitution in Haifa and Jaffa

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## Historical overview

In the early 1920s, a few years prior to Paul Kinsie's visit to two port towns in Palestine, significant changes had taken place with far-reaching ramifications, among, other things, for prostitution. Ottoman rule had ended and the British occupied Palestine governing it according to the mandate granted by the League of Nations. By 1925 the British had not yet signed, on behalf of Palestine, the 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, issued by the League of Nations, as it would do in 1931. Nevertheless, Kinsie included the two rapidly growing towns of Haifa and Jaffa in his undercover study on trafficking of women and children in the cities of the Middle East. His visit was short and for unspecified reasons, confined to the two towns mentioned above, avoiding Jerusalem where prostitution was rampant immediately after the British occupation, in the winter of 1917–1918.

Kinsie's report on Palestine is in striking contrast to his report on the large cities of neighbouring countries, predominantly of Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt and Beirut in Lebanon. It is more like a preliminary sketch, often in contradiction with information concerning the following two decades of the 1930s and 1940s. This may be due to changes in the actual phenomenon of prostitution and trafficking, but it may also be due to his very short visit which did not enable him to get a detailed view of the towns of Palestine, which were smaller and less urbanized than the neighbouring cities to the north and the south.

Palestine was on the margins of the illegal migration routes for prostitution, especially from Europe. There was incoming migration for prostitution from neighbouring Lebanon and Syria, but mostly of Syrian women, rather than of European women, who had been employed in the registered brothels of Beirut and Damascus. The insignificance of Palestine as a destination becomes clear from the 1927 *Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children*, which elaborated the routes to Constantinople and then on from there. It talks of migration of women from Italy, Greece, Romania and Russia (among them Jewish women) into or through Constantinople and then on to Beirut, Egypt, the Far East in one direction and Argentina in the other. In the late nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth, there was also a sidetrack to Jaffa from the main route to Egypt, yet it was more like a trickle and seems to have stopped with the beginning of the British mandate. No reference was made in the 1927 report to the movement of women from Constantinople to Palestine. There was also little or no outgoing migration of Arab or Jewish women from Palestine for the sake of prostitution elsewhere, or movement via Palestine from Syria to the north to Egypt to the south, which would have been illegal according to the legislation of Mandate Palestine. The absence of such illegal migration was later confirmed in the annual reports, beginning in 1931, of the Palestine British administration to the League of Nations.

There were numerous reasons for the absence of migration to Palestine for prostitution. The towns in Palestine were small, especially in the 1920s. On the whole, the population lacked an upper middle class and wealthy bourgeoisie which were evident in Egypt and Lebanon, though a middle class was growing rapidly, as was an urban working class and migrant rural labourers. While all those provided clients for prostitution, there was little demand for European women to be brought in especially to comply with the demands of the urban clientele. Palestinian society, the majority of which was Arab, predominantly Muslim and to a minor extent, Christian, was traditional, and while there were clients for commercial sex services, urban nightlife was far more limited than in the neighbouring port cities of the East Mediterranean. Tourism, a significant catalyzer of nightlife in Alexandria and Beirut, was oriented primarily to the holy places in Palestine. In addition, during British rule, the hostilities between Arabs and Jews led to a strict inspection and control of incoming migration, thus making the concealing of girls and women difficult and unlikely. These features of Palestine stand in striking contrast to the conditions in Egypt, where there was a demand for “occidental women”, a cosmopolitan population and a plethora of both registered and clandestine brothels. As one of Kinsie’s guides in Egypt told him: “Egypt is the place where you can do anything.” That was certainly not the case in Palestine, even though the United Kingdom was the ruling power in both places.

Three main factors affected prostitution and sex work in Haifa, Jaffa and Tel Aviv during the 1920s, as well as shortly before and during the following two decades: first, transition from Ottoman to British legislation as applied to Palestine; secondly, the migration of women into Palestine, both Arab and Jewish women, some of whom ended up in sex work; and thirdly, the frequent hostile outbursts which recurred in Palestine and led to the presence of military forces, a major, though not exclusive, client of prostitution.

## The shifts in legislation

Ottoman rule over Palestine ended with the end of the First World War and British rule began. Over the first decade, legislation regarding prostitution changed gradually through new ordinances passed by the Palestine administration, which later became part of the new Palestine Penal Code of 1936. The Ottoman Penal Code did not criminalize prostitution nor did it prohibit the functioning of brothels. At the same time, there was no formal licensing and registration, as there was at the time in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. With the initial takeover of Palestine by the British armed forces, in 1917–1918, prostitution was permitted in specific sections of a number of towns, though restricted in terms of soliciting, noise and colourful entertainment. Public opinion, both Arab and Jewish, opposed such formal recognition, and by 1921 the legislation was withdrawn in Jerusalem and two years later, in Jaffa. New ordinances were passed in 1925 and 1927, which implemented the requirements of the League of Nations and the basic principles of British legislation at the time. The main concern of the ordinance passed in 1925 was the threat of procurement, the danger of respectable women being led astray by procurers who might remove them not only from their homes but from their country. It should be noted, as stated above, that that phenomenon was not prevalent in Palestine at the time. A far more encompassing ordinance was passed in 1927, adding a wide range of prohibitions included in the British Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885; keeping or managing a brothel was prohibited, as were soliciting, procuring and living off the earnings of a prostitute. At the same time, a woman practising prostitution on her own was not committing an offence.

No licensing regulations or compulsory medical supervision were enacted by the civil administration, despite frequent requests by the military authorities, especially when venereal disease seemed to be on the rise. Nevertheless, there are indications that during later years, especially during the Second World War, agreements were reached with brothel managers and medical inspections were required, with the civil administration turning a blind eye.

## **Migration to Palestine and subsequent prostitution**

There was substantive incoming migration to Palestine, both of Arabs and Jews, during the first half of the twentieth century. Kinsie's visit in the mid-1920s took place during a relatively large wave of Jewish migration from Poland (1924–1925), though the following decade would witness a still larger influx from Germany with the rise of Nazism. Arab migration, while on a smaller scale, was both internal and external. The growth of the urban port towns of Haifa and Jaffa with their employment opportunities led to migration from inland villages and towns and from neighbouring countries. That process also led to the development of urban centres beside the sea which could offer some of the attractions of Alexandria or Beirut, albeit in a far more moderate form. Neither of the above-mentioned migrations, of Arabs and Jews, was motivated by the intention of working at commercial sex. Nevertheless, migration often left some of the migrants, women in particular, on the margins of the economy and society, a situation which at times led to prostitution. The high level of unemployment among Jewish women and the difficulty they found in entering the regular labour market triggered their turn towards sex work. Neither the colonial state nor the Jewish community could provide adequate social services for families, single parents or single adults in need. Sex workers were mainly women in their twenties and possibly thirties (mainly migrants from Europe) who had difficulty securing an income for themselves and their children, and younger girls (more frequently immigrants from Muslim countries) who had finished their schooling after two to three years and preferred prostitution to highly exploitative domestic work.

The Arab women who provided commercial sex, mainly in Jaffa, appear to have had a different history. Most of them came from Lebanon and Syria, where commercial sex was regulated and licensed. They made their way south on their own initiative, usually illegally, to Palestine to continue working in Jaffa (or Haifa or Jerusalem). Other sex workers were women who had left their homes in rural settlements in Palestine or in neighbouring countries owing to domestic strife. Thus both the Arab urban community and the Jewish one were undergoing rapid growth. Most Jewish migrants and some of the Arab women turned to sex work owing to difficulties with the migration process. Some of the other Arab women moved to cities in Palestine to continue working in commercial sex.

## **War and its impact on commercial sex**

Palestine, though a small sidetrack in the migration routes for prostitution, was a site of conflicts and hostilities. Both world wars had affected Palestine. Fighting took place in Palestine during the First World War when British forces took over Palestine from the retreating Ottoman forces (1917–1918). Fighting halted on the western margins of Egypt during the Second World War, and Palestine remained at the rear. But many camps of the Allied forces were located in Palestine, and it became a popular holiday spot for soldiers from all over the Middle East. In addition, conflict rapidly developed between the newly evolving Jewish national community (the "Yishuv") and the Arab

Palestinian majority and its national movement. The British support for the Jewish national home, incorporated in the mandate agreement issued by the League of Nations, exacerbated Palestinian opposition to British rule as well as its opposition to the Jewish national project. Outbursts of violence, first in 1929 and later the Arab rebellion in 1936–1939, led to the mobilization of a large number of British troops, who were then further reinforced with the outset of the Second War World, many of whom being the clientele of commercial sex.

Immediately after the conquest of Palestine in 1917–1918, the hunger-stricken country warmly welcomed the British forces and their relative prosperity. Prostitution, as a service to soldiers who were able to pay, became rampant. Within two to three years many of the forces were moved elsewhere and the concern of the military authorities about venereal disease and their demand for venereal disease-oriented legislation, subsided. It emerged again after 1937, when the size of the forces increased dramatically, first due to the Arab rebellion and then to the Second World War.

Kinsie's visit, in 1925, took place at a time of somewhat unusual calm on the Palestine scene. The economy was prospering and while Jewish migration was at a peek, it did not arouse hostile clashes in response. That might explain his complete disregard of either the tension between Arabs and Jews or the presence of the military. Within the next decade new military camps had been established, many of which were located around Haifa and in its vicinity. Jaffa and Tel Aviv, in turn, were well-known holiday places for soldiers who saved up their money for their future leave.

To conclude, Kinsie's visit to Palestine in 1925 was brief indeed, both in time and in scope of places visited, probably due to the absence of large-scale migration for prostitution in Palestine, as compared to the state of affairs in neighbouring countries. The visit also took place at a time which was relatively peaceful, in comparison to the later years. Still, the major processes which affected prostitution in Palestine, the shift in legislation, internal migration and the presence of military forces were already evident, although not to him.

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## Kinsie Reports on Prostitution – Lisbon

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### The morals of a social phenomenon

On 5 May 1838, for the first time, there was an official announcement aimed at circumscribing the spatial circulation and economic activity of prostitution (in all its forms) in Portugal. Prostitution was forbidden around temples, avenues and squares. Prostitutes were not able to reside nearby. Despite its shortcomings, the official decree signalled an important moment in the tentative regulation of the sex trade, generating processes of social categorization and analysis. The same year saw another relevant measure: comprehensive regulation, which introduced police and sanitary guidelines and practices, aimed at identifying and dealing with the “iniquities” caused by “public prostitution” on the public’s morals and health (*Regulamento Policial e Sanitário para Obviar os Males Causados à Moral e à Saúde pela Prostituição Pública*). Authored by Francisco Ignacio dos Santos Cruz, the regulation marked a fundamental milestone in the introduction of a bureaucratic-administrative rationale in the public assessment of prostitution. The need to administrate a “public problem”, mobilizing more than moralizing discourses and interventions, became crucial: typologies of prostitutes, modalities and spaces of prostitution were identified and assessed. In 1858 and 1865, further regulations were created to enhance the public control of prostitution, aiming at its spatial and social circumscription. Formulated to deal with the realities of the capital, Lisbon, they were exported to other important cities, such as Oporto.

But the spatial, social and political realities of prostitution were far more complex and hard to rationalize. On the one hand, the sex trade as a practice was markedly (and unevenly) dispersed in major towns, including in those forbidden areas, as had happened in Lisbon in the so-called *passeio público*, an enlightened public park devised in the urban reconstruction of the late eighteenth century, following the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Its presence in the most important *feiras* (markets) and its close connection with other spaces of dense human conviviality or circulation, namely central squares, ports, piers and quaysides, was undeniable. As social and spatial practices they were therefore hard to become legible to the liberal state — since the liberal revolution of 1820 and the relative pacification in 1834, with the end of the civil war — and to be controlled by its growing apparatus. The fact that prostitution frequently ignored socioeconomic urban divides, circulating between bourgeois avenues and gardens and habitats of the *dangerous* classes (the oldest quarters of the city of Lisbon, for instance: Alfama, Madragoa, Mouraria), adapting to urban dynamics and complicating the tentative spatial delimitation of virtue and vice, added to the difficult process of understanding and administering what was a multifaceted phenomenon.

On the other hand, its intersection with other social, transgressive practices that confronted established law and enforced public morality — organized theft, for instance — challenged its separate assessment and administration. The connection between prostitution, crime and gambling, among others, conditioned the ways in which the phenomenon of the sex trade was evaluated, from



political, economic, social and moral perspectives. Consequently, it was not clear how to design policies that could deal with its existence and administer its manifestations and impacts.

Moreover, prostitution had many causes and motivations, and was not necessarily a regular, more or less professional practice. It appeared to be more dictated by social and economic necessities, being therefore frequently circumstantial. Alongside unexpected hardships, precarious conditions of life in a highly underdeveloped country were a fundamental cause that led to prostitution; but that did not automatically entail systematic and routine participation in the sex trade. Additionally, the perceived — official and unofficial — social profile of the “prostitute” had plenty of grey areas. For instance, another social type characteristic of nineteenth-century bohemian mythology — the female *fado* singer (one of the country’s music styles) — was frequently perceived as being a prostitute.

Coeval public morality blurred the distinction between prostitution and many other types of female sexual and affective behaviour, especially those that were considered to infringe the rather conservative social roles ascribed to them. Women’s freedom of choice regarding the expression of their sexuality was seen as an indicator of moral decay and social degeneration. The boundary between what was perceived as mere moral degradation and plain prostitution was hard to identify clearly. As Agostinho Lúcio wrote in 1887, there was a “tension in women’s physical and moral dualism” that could excite “all forms of vice”. In 1891, in his *Contribuição para o Estudo da Prostituição em Lisboa*, Armando Gião clarified the process: “from an ill-behaved woman, to a clandestine harlot, each day less and less clandestine.”

All those complex spatial, social and sexual multifaceted realities obstructed the production of (reliable) official information on the sex trade and prostitution. Notwithstanding, the prostitute was a privileged object of numerous political, religious, moral, artistic perceptions and statements. But debates over the moral significance and the social acceptability of the phenomenon and of that particular role — always associated with women, and frequently connected to lower socioeconomic strata and the popular classes — multiplied, and became polarized. The tension between pragmatism on the one hand, in favour of tolerance, permission and regulation and promoting a more socially inspired perspective, and on the other hand, rudimentary moral repudiation, became the rule.

## Towards the “science” of prostitution

Inspired by Parent-Duchâtelet’s *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* of 1837, Francisco Ignacio dos Santos Cruz authored *Da prostituição na cidade de Lisboa* (1841), the first modern assessment of prostitution (and the related organized sex trade) in Lisbon, which articulated everyday life descriptions and political, sanitary and legal prescriptions with sociological, psychological and physiological profiles of the prostitutes (social origins and trajectory, ways and standards of living) and of other social actors involved, which were also explored in their historically multifaceted and dynamic social, affective, economic roles (the pimp, for instance). The second half of the nineteenth century brought the intensification of public discourses on that “social problem”, which started to entail “scientific” contributions. Statistical data and sociological analyses became crucial to the public debates on a reality that was as visible as understudied and misunderstood.

Also inspired by international debates and works, such as Pierre Dufour’s *Histoire de la prostitution chez tous les peuples du monde, depuis l’antiquité la plus reculée jusqu’à nos jours* (which had

an important reminder in the title: it was a “fundamental work for moralists, useful to the men of science and literature and interesting to all classes”) and *História da Prostituição* (which was published in 1898, gathering translations from the 1890 Italian version of Parent-Duchâtelet, Pierre Dufour or Lacroix Rabuteaux), the last decades of the century were marked by studies such as *História da Prostituição em Portugal* (1887) by Alfredo Amorim Pessoa and the above-mentioned work by Gíão. The twentieth century started with some other fundamental assessments of the problem. Ângelo da Fonseca’s *Da Prostituição em Portugal* (1902), Fernando Schwalbach’s *O Vício em Lisboa* (1912) and Bugalho Gomes’ *História Completa da Prostituição* (1913) are three crucial examples. The “scientific” contribution also evolved, starting to include studies inspired by Cesare Lombroso’s deterministic anthropological criminology, namely his *La donna delinquente: la prostituta e la donna normale* (1893; with Guglielmo Ferrero) and also by his pupil Pauline Tarnowsky, a leading woman criminologist in Europe who had written the *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (1890). The works by Alfredo Tovar de Lemos, *A Prostituição: Estudo Anthropologico da Prostituta Portuguesa* (1908), which offered the first comprehensive national typology of prostitutes based on anthropometry, and by Mendes Correia, *Crianças Delinquentes. Subsídios para o Estudo da Criminalidade Infantil em Portugal* (1915) are just a few examples of those influences.

The consolidation of more systematic gathering and analysis of information relating to prostitution also enabled a more clear understanding of its socioeconomics. The (protracted) development of capitalism in Portugal brought about some important modifications to the economic and social dimensions of prostitution by the turn of the century: first, an increase in the professional self-awareness of the prostitutes and all those involved in the trade; secondly, a higher degree of professionalization of the trade; and, thirdly, a more elaborated and enhanced system of stratification of the trade. Social and economic contexts changed significantly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the sex trade reflected those transformations. The market changed and became more competitive; the strategies and decisions of the professionals involved adapted to that fact. A more complex stratification system emerged, determined by clearer differentiation between areas of circulation and seduction, sets of types and practices (with the emergence of the *nómadas* — nomads — relating to the increase in available roads and traffic), patterns of behaviour and cultural codes (namely the greater codification of practices of distinction between a first, second, third and fourth class of prostitute), prices and clienteles (which varied greatly). Nineteenth-century forms of trade organization did not cease to persist. Their more fluid and indistinct spatial and social arrangements were, however, confronted with steady movements towards a more marked social and economic differentiation and stratification. All that was simultaneously the cause and consequence of a rising political, cultural and “scientific” interest in the phenomenon of prostitution, aiming to regulate its implications, socially and morally.

## Contending regimes of prostitution

The profusion of more or less scientific assessments was related to a plethora of efforts to increase the political and moral regulation of the phenomenon. Political and social toleration and “scientific” understanding of the causes, contexts and consequences of prostitution could guide rational and pragmatic policies. The combination of political, moral and sanitary rationales and concerns could generate diverse, alternative policies. A so-called “regime of tolerance”, based on attempts to give

visibility to the phenomenon and to those involved — namely the prostitutes, or *toleradas* (tolerated) — gained momentum. Prostitution was seen as “useful”, regulating “the morals of the (Portuguese) people”, as the physician Tovar de Lemos stated in 1908. That did not prevent him, however, from considering the prostitute as “an inferior being”. Nevertheless, regeneration was possible. In that period (1910s), however, movements towards abolition in Portugal, supported by the feminist movement and connected to international movements, were unable to shake the relative consensus around a regime that accepted the social and economic realities associated with prostitution. Despite their substantial and accurate critical remarks about the failures of the regulation system in meeting its declared medical, sanitary and moral standards — including the fact that the regime failed to focus its policies on women’s well-being — the abolitionist coalition, which involved republican, Catholic, masonic, anarchist and monarchic circles, proved unable to dissipate the widespread view that it was best to maintain the existing regime, improve its understanding and enhance its control.

The system would only be questioned with the installation of the *Estado Novo* (New State) authoritarian regime in the 1930s. Regulation continued to be enforced but the guiding principles were those of public (and religious) morality and hygiene, as had happened in the past but currently with stronger moral connotations. But despite the enlargement of the bureaucratic apparatus (including more repressive mechanisms) and the intensification of the moralizing approach, which led to the cancellation of “the houses of *toleradas* and brothels (*casas de passe*)” stipulated in the Lisbon Regulation of 23 April 1930, the impact ended up being more on the suppression of the visible signs of the sex trade than on its actual business. The red-light districts were abandoned and all signs of publicity forbidden. Medical and sanitary, “scientific” rationales prevailed, although accompanied by an intensified moralizing rhetoric, fuelled by prevailing Catholic circles, and by a more repressive drive. The nineteenth-century concerns with social prophylaxis persisted. Toleration was limited but did not disappear. Abolitionism never became a fundamental policy, at least until 1963. Despite a major legal framework set up in August 1949, mainly dictated by concerns over contagious diseases, which led to a major national enquiry about “prostitution and venereal diseases” in 1950, the result was not the end of “tolerationism”. It was the increase in clandestine prostitution.

The period before the 1926 military coup, its respective dictatorship and the installation of the Salazar regime, was therefore marked by more liberal, tolerant perspectives and stands, governed by the need to gather information about the prostitution problem, its origins, contexts for reproduction, and its extent and impact. Knowledge of the problem was fundamental. The perceived dangers of national “racial degeneration”, which had emerged since the late nineteenth century, were highlighted as a potential consequence of the unchecked continuation of prostitution.

A legal framework to enforce that tendency was created, for instance with the 1900 *Regulamento Policial das Meretrizes da Cidade de Lisboa*. Statistical and sociological reasoning started to reveal the social origins (familial and professional), social attributes, personal motivations and the contexts and circumstances of prostitutes. In Lisbon, as the study by Gíão demonstrated, in the period from 1879 to 1890, prostitutes were young (90 per cent under 25), single (only 4 per cent were married), mainly illiterate (88 per cent), tended to be domestic servants (30 per cent) or clandestine prostitutes (21 per cent), and came essentially from outside Lisbon (34 per cent were Spanish). The data collected by Fonseca for the period from 1897 to 1901 confirm this description. Similar realities could be found

in Oporto, the second largest town in the country. According to the reality made legible by the new legal (and police) framework, 2,300 *toleradas* — i.e. registered prostitutes — existed in Portugal, mainly concentrated in the two major urban areas.

Later on, in 1928, an *Anuário Estatístico* (statistical yearbook) that covered the years between 1925 and 1928 (therefore including the period in which Paul Kinsie went to Lisbon) gave a similar estimate (2,293 *toleradas* in 1925, 2,674 in 1928). Their social portrait was also similar. They were single (94 per cent) and illiterate (83 per cent), and previously worked as domestic servants (more than a third). An important change appeared to relate to the decrease in foreigners working in the trade. In 1928, only 4 per cent (103) of those officially identified as prostitutes were not Portuguese. In that foreign group, mainly working in Lisbon (70 per cent), the French prevailed with 63 registered prostitutes, although there were also Brazilians, Italians, Poles, Spaniards, and even one woman from the United States (probably the one identified by Kinsie in his report).

Notwithstanding those facts, the reality of prostitution was only partially illuminated. As in previous periods, the clandestine sex trade was not taken into account, especially outside urban areas. In rural areas, the social costs of registration were much higher than in Lisbon or Oporto. Some estimates considered that clandestine prostitution amounted to more than double the official numbers. Some argued that it was far more than the quadruple of the reality registered. The existence of 10,000 prostitutes was considered acceptable (although this kind of estimate is never completely reliable). In fact, the official numbers were just a small part of a larger phenomenon, which also included temporary forms of prostitution, more the outcome of incidental necessity than the result of serious involvement with the trade.

Institutionalization of effective inspections in the 1930s and 1940s, connected to the overall development of a police state typical of an authoritarian regime, increased the legibility of prostitution and the sex trade. The result was that the numbers of those involved grew and their social profile emerged as more complex, although previous depictions did not change dramatically. But even then, those who studied the phenomenon knew that they were only dealing with a fraction of the question. As Tovar de Lemos stated: “In relation to clandestine prostitution it is extraordinary the number of girls that practise it; today, it is hard to know where it starts and where it ends.” As in the past, there existed prostitution practices that were connected to forms of temporary, circumstantial necessity. The multiplicity of causes, practices, modalities of organization, geographical situations and spaces of activity impeded clear-cut legal, political and moral understanding of and prescriptions about prostitution. It is also important to note that a national comparative perspective entailed diverse social processes regarding the organization and practice of the sex trade, and revealed the diverse social characteristics of those involved.

The prostitutes’ everyday life varied according to the modalities of organization of the sex trade, namely whether they were on their own or participated in a more organized trade, were connected to a licensed house (brothel or not) and a patron (who existed in many forms and performed diverse roles). Generally speaking, the reports and analyses from the period from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first two decades of the twentieth indicate that participation in the more organized forms of the sex trade entailed more stable and improved levels of safety (crucial in a risky

business), better accommodation (normally in the most popular and bohemian areas of Lisbon, near the river and downtown) and enriched nutrition (a service provided by the patron, who also frequently afforded beauty products). The social and spatial circulation of prostitutes in Lisbon was relatively protected, connected as it was to the nightlife and its clubs (for instance the famous Ritz Club or Bristol Club), which multiplied in the 1910s and 1920s, but would face several restrictions during and after military rule. That last measure had one particular consequence: in the 1940s and even in the 1960s, prostitution could be found in beauty salons, tea rooms, *leitarias* (dairy shops) and other socioeconomic spaces of everyday life. As noted above, clandestine prostitution was the result of a new legal framework that seemed to entail abolition and the end of decades of a regime of tolerance, but which resulted in the social invisibility and illegibility of the problem.

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# London and Liverpool

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## Historical overview

London and Liverpool are cities with very different histories, and in many ways very different histories of commercial sex, but taken together they demonstrate well both the diversity of prostitution in modern Britain and also some of its common and enduring developments and themes. London had always been a centre of prostitution in the British Isles; Roman occupation especially encouraged the establishment of brothels and the growth of prostitution in the area. In the medieval period, London's brothel prostitution was partially regulated just outside the city walls, but that regulation ended in the sixteenth century. In the early modern period, brothels and street prostitution continued to thrive, although the lines between commercial sex and other forms of sexual "immorality" were indeed blurry in the existing law, and therefore also difficult to separate in the records that have been left behind. By the modern period, when records had become less ambiguous, it is clear that London had developed into a city with one of the largest commercial sex scenes in the world.

Liverpool, by contrast, was a relatively small town for much of its history, though its connections to local maritime trade might have given rise to a small amount of prostitution. It was the eighteenth century that saw Liverpool grow as an international and imperial port — not least because of the Atlantic slave trade — and its growing docklands were home to an increasing number of women and men who sold and bought sex, though those numbers never rivalled those of London.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century London, prostitution shifted geographically along with changing centres of entertainment and trade. By the mid-nineteenth century, it was firmly established in the West End, as well as in the East End near the docklands. For the most part, trade was on the street, and to a certain extent in clubs, coffee houses, and pubs. Unlike on the Continent, brothels tended to be small establishments run by the prostitutes themselves or female landladies, and usually only the most expensive brothels operated without ties to street solicitation. The enduring pattern in London — that lasted well into the twentieth century — was for women to solicit men in the streets or other public places, and return with them to rooms they rented in a brothel or other kind of private space in order to have sex. Meanwhile, many women used London's alleys, parks and darkened corners in order to have sex with clients.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Liverpool, a concentrated prostitution scene developed around the place where the city's chief source of clients could be found: the docks. Women, increasingly poor Irish women who had been displaced by the famine and other economic hardships, sold sex to sailors as well as dock workers. Like in London, many of those women sold sex on the street but a large number — perhaps a higher proportion than in London — also used certain disreputable pubs in order to secure custom. Unlike in London, where a patchwork of often competing police divisions and local authorities made any kind of concerted attempt to spatially regulate prostitution

difficult, Liverpool in the nineteenth century began to develop a kind of tolerated “red-light” zone where brothels — again, largely places where women would take clients that they had solicited on the streets—were unofficially accepted by police and the town council as part of the local landscape.

The acceptance of the inevitability of prostitution in certain areas like port cities was in part what led to the passing of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869, which allowed for suspected prostitutes in garrison towns and some military ports to be officially registered, forcibly inspected for venereal disease, and, if found to be suffering, incarcerated in a special hospital (lock hospitals) until deemed “cured”. The Acts did not directly affect either London or Liverpool, but police and medical practitioners pressed for their extension to those cities, especially in the case of Liverpool where they were formally considered. But while the Acts might have encouraged certain kinds of laissez-faire policing and informal toleration, especially in Liverpool, nothing akin to the regulated systems of the Continent were ever put in place in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

For the most part police in both cities relied upon the Vagrancy Act of 1824 and the Metropolitan Police Act of 1839 (in the case of London), and (in the case of Liverpool), the same Vagrancy Act and the Towns and Police Clauses Act of 1847. All of those Acts used the concept of the “common prostitute” or “nightwalker” and gave the police power to arrest anyone so identified should they commit a breach of the peace, behave riotously or indecently, or annoy inhabitants or passengers. Most often the offence ended with a fine, but sometimes it allowed for imprisonment. Meanwhile, local authorities were able to prosecute brothels under the Disorderly Houses Act 1751, which addressed establishments or houses of any kind that had become a nuisance to the neighbourhood.

Like in many parts of Europe and North America, the 1870s and 1880s saw a growing tide of campaigns around the question of sexual equality and sexual morality. The United Kingdom was an epicentre of the social movements, owing in particular to the feminist, liberal and moralistic campaigns against the Contagious Diseases Acts. Once campaigners had succeeded in getting those Acts repealed in 1886, more attention was turned to the way in which police unofficially tolerated brothels and turned a blind eye to much street prostitution: in many ways, the movement shifted from one concerned with sexual rights to one more troubled by perceived sexual wrongdoing. Those crusades against commercial sex gave rise to a new law against brothels. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885 allowed authorities to prosecute without having to prove the brothel in question was causing an annoyance. Subsequent case law defined a “brothel” as simply a place where more than one woman practised prostitution. Rates of brothel prosecution rose dramatically, in both London and in Liverpool. Meanwhile, off-and-on crusades against street prostitution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pushed prostitution from one area to another, and encouraged the growth of the off-street, clandestine sex industry and a rise in third-party control. It was those features of British prostitution in particular that interested Paul Kinsie when he arrived in the United Kingdom to conduct his investigation.



## Prostitution, society and the law in the United Kingdom in the 1920s

Attitudes towards prostitution in the 1920s had for the most part continued to harden. Prostitution was more often thought of as a criminal activity in and of itself, although the United Kingdom never followed the United States of America in making the buying and selling of sex illegal. With rising rates of non-mercenary promiscuous sex outside marriage and the changes in sexual mores that the First World War had helped to escalate, prostitution was increasingly thought of as something deviant for both women and men. That being said, social attitudes often remained rather disconnected from social realities. Prostitution continued to thrive, especially in London, where a growing proportion of Britain's commercial sex market could be found. In both London and in Liverpool, sex continued to be sold on the street. Clients were still taken back to indoor spaces, but increasingly those were furnished rooms and individually rented flats, rather than brothels or shared houses. Because the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885 had created a legal loophole whereby it was legal for landlords to rent to individual women, but illegal for women to club together to rent a premises themselves, by the 1920s there resulted a situation where landlords were able to make a lot of money by subdividing their premises into individual flats and charging exorbitant rents to women who were largely at their mercy. That became a well-documented problem in London and, while less is known about property management and commercial sex in Liverpool, it would be safe to assume that a similar situation had developed on the Mersey as on the Thames though, in general, rents (as well as income) would have been much lower in Liverpool.

Prostitution had also increasingly begun to move into the new nightclubs, which flourished in London after the First World War. Those ostensibly private clubs were able to serve alcohol long after the new licensing laws prohibited it in public houses. The nightclubs were home to diverse facets of the sex industry. Dancing girls sold the promise, but not necessarily the reality, of sexual availability, while professional prostitutes also solicited inside. Nightclubs were not nearly so plentiful in Liverpool, where bars and some hotels were known as places where prostitutes solicited, alongside a street trade.

The same law that had made provisions against brothels, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, had also addressed the crime of "procurement" for the purposes of prostitution. That was rarely used, however, because it was an indictable offence — meaning that it involved a more costly prosecution and more difficulty in securing conviction — and because it included a proviso that the woman in question must not be "a prostitute or of known immoral character". Most often, men suspected of pimping, procuring, or trafficking were prosecuted under the 1898 Amendment to the Vagrancy Act, which made "living off the earnings of a prostitute" illegal. Like many other countries, the United Kingdom passed a more stringent "white slavery" law in 1912; the new Criminal Law Amendment Act simply carried on from the 1898 Act, but made "controlling or directing the movements of a prostitute" an offence, alongside both "controlling or directing" and "living off the earnings", an offence that could be committed by women as well as men.

On the street in both cities meanwhile, women were increasingly subject to the laws against solicitation. Fingerprinting had been introduced by the Metropolitan Police in the early 1920s, meaning that they could begin to more effectively identify "common prostitutes" and link them

with their past criminal records. For some women, that identification meant far fewer opportunities to escape arrest and harsher sentences, further codifying the social and legal stigma of prostitution. In Liverpool, meanwhile, more women continued to be arrested for drunk and disorderly conduct, and there continued to be a much higher proportion of casual, unidentified prostitutes who had licit jobs during the day, or sold sex only occasionally. In both cases, however, the prejudicial nature of the solicitation laws, which introduced a woman in court as a “common prostitute” before her perfunctory trial began, served to visit a cycle of arrest, prosecution and punishment upon women who sold sex. While the laws were the subject of no small amount of feminist criticism, campaigns — which were strongest of all in the 1920s — never succeeded in having them repealed.

The nexus of dishonest landlords and nightclub owners, and increasing police powers over street prostitutes fostered rising levels of police corruption. Indeed, while Kinsie was investigating, Sergeant Goddard, a police officer in the West End of London, was building a lucrative system of bribes and extortion which continued until his arrest in 1927. That, alongside some controversial arrests of men for “importuning” on the street, prompted a major government investigation, by the Departmental Committee on Street Offences, which recommended significant changes to solicitation law, in part to make it less prejudicial against prostitutes. The recommendations were ignored, however, and the system described above remained the order of the day until the 1959 Street Offences Act came into effect, which removed the need to prove that “common prostitutes” were soliciting to the annoyance of anyone, and helped to clear the streets of a much changed post-war Liverpool and London. The Act remains largely in place today.

## Structures and practices in the sex industry

In terms of the organization of the sex industry, there were some notable differences between London and Liverpool, differences which are highlighted in Kinsie’s own reports on the two cities. In Liverpool, prostitution appears to have remained more casual, while in London there were more professionalized prostitutes who did not work at any other job. Pimping was far less common in both cities compared to the Continent: most women worked on their own. There was a large third-party interest in commercial sex in both cities, but that largely took the form of estate agents, landlords and nightclub and hotel owners. It is likely that third-party interest in Liverpool was somewhat less than it was in London, but it is difficult to quantify such a situation from limited historical records.

There was every bit as much diversity within the London sex industry, however, as there was between London and Liverpool. Structures and practices much more akin to those in Liverpool and other port cities could be found in London around the West India Docks, for instance, or in Woolwich, around the military barracks. In the South, poorer prostitutes plied their trade near the southern railway stations, and women continued to sell sex in places like Battersea and Hyde Park.

While London was by the 1920s a city very much on the international circuit for migrant commercial sex, there is little evidence that highly organized or large-scale trafficking outfits had their home there. Similarly, though Liverpool was a major port of arrival and departure, no significant trafficking or smuggling industry had developed there. Of the British women who were enticed to sail abroad from the docks of London or Liverpool, most had already been working as prostitutes

and saw migration as a way to make more money, see more of the world, or distance themselves from unhappy situations in the United Kingdom. As for foreign women who had come to the United Kingdom, most had come of their own accord, but because of increasingly stringent anti-alien legislation which meant prostitutes could be denied entry and deported, they often relied upon smugglers to get them into and keep them in the country. The 1920s witnessed a rise in small organized groups who specialized in brokering marriages of convenience in order to get European prostitutes British passports and protect them from deportation.

## **Social profiles and causes of prostitution**

While foreign women were a prominent feature of London prostitution, for the most part women working in the sex industry were born in the United Kingdom. Very often, they had come to London or Liverpool from other parts of the country. Most prostitutes also seem to have been from working-class backgrounds. Many women who were on the streets in the 1920s had become involved in prostitution during the boom in the commercial sex market during the First World War and had stayed in it, either because of the stigma of criminalization, because they enjoyed it, or, most commonly, because other prospects had not improved. On the whole, it seems that Liverpool had fewer prostitutes per capita, and that those were on the whole younger and poorer, but because of the immense variety in the commercial sex market in London, it is difficult to make sweeping statements about the nature of prostitutes' backgrounds in each city.

Some women came from fairly stable and happy families, but many others came from broken or unhappy homes and frequently reported experiences of neglect or abuse to the very occasional social worker or sociologist who interviewed them. For the 1920s generation of 20 and 30-year-olds, those experiences were often created or exacerbated by losing a father, husband or sweetheart, or experiencing other kinds of emotional or physical trauma during the war. Many women involved in prostitution in the United Kingdom had children, but information on that is scant. Laws that allowed the authorities to remove children found with prostitutes — as well as laws that punished all men who took money from prostitutes as potential pimps — encouraged many women to actively conceal their families.

Many of Liverpool's prostitutes had Irish heritage, like much of the city on the whole. In London, meanwhile, non-English women were a significant minority. French women dominated the foreign sex scene, particularly after the near disappearance of the German community in London during and after the First World War. Some Belgians, Russians and other European women had come to the metropolis in the 1920s, many displaced by the war. Most of those women tended to work in Soho in the West End. Of those women, many used London and Liverpool as a stopping-off point en route to other destinations, as the commercial sex industry dramatically internationalized in that tumultuous period.

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## Colonial Regulationist Prostitution in the Maghreb and the Struggle for Abolition

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The issue of prostitution in the colonial Maghreb (North-Western Africa) is closely linked to the beginning of the French presence (1830 for Algeria, 1881 for Tunisia and 1912 for Morocco) and to the establishment of a regulationist capitalistic and racialized system. Imposed in Algeria from the onset of the conquest — the first police service and safety organization was created in Algiers on 13 July 1830, only eight days after the seizure of the city by the French expeditionary force — colonial regulationism gradually extended to all the North African territories under French control. The system was organized around a single status for prostitutes — that of “subjected girls” (*filles soumises*) — with specific locations for the venal sexual exchange (i.e. European brothels and red-light districts marked as “indigenous”). The objective, as in France, was to establish a sex market that would be both profitable and moral. It included the establishment of true sexual Taylorism inside slaughterhouses and a requirement for prostitutes to be “good winners and bad pleasure-seekers” (*bonnes gagneuses* and *mauvaises jouisseuses*), as recalled by the father of French regulationism, Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet in his famous book *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Prostitution in the city of Paris), published in Paris posthumously in 1836. Prostitutes were only a minority at the dawn of the French presence — North Africans then having other modes for the legal regulation of sexuality such as polygamy and repudiation, a network of courtesans and slavery that allowed for legal concubinage — in a regulated system their number would gradually grow and expand over the French colonial landscape in the Maghreb. Moreover, regulationism would not be abolished in Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia until the countries’ rise to independence between 1956 and 1962. There is thus a structural link between colonization and French regulationism, demonstrated by the fact that France did not apply the 1946 law named after Marthe Richard (which had abolished brothels in the metropolis), passed on 13 April in the Chamber of Deputies, to its North African territories owing to its supposed “state of lower civilization from the perspective of morals” and for the same reasons, did not ratify the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others of 1949 — despite having initially signed it — until the 1960s.

### A patriarchal and carceral police system

Considered by regulationists as a “necessary evil”, prostitution needed to be organized, controlled and monitored. Stemming from the key concepts of the “stigma of prostitution” and the “seminal sewer”, colonial regulationism (similar to its metropolitan counterpart) first aimed to channel, frame, domesticate and civilize the venal sexual market of women in poverty. With regard to the commonplace class racism in the French regulationist system — which is seen reflected in the famous nineteenth century triptych of the triumphant white male bourgeoisie that theoretically relates to

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\* Translation by Sophie L. Thunberg.

the Other as “working classes, dangerous classes, vicious classes” — there also lies the question of colonial rule in the context of a manly virile conquest where ownership is symbolically or actually appropriating the conquered women as a way of establishing its hegemony. “Without national distinctions”, all women in the commercial sex trade — regardless of the nature of such relations (legal or illegal) — worked within a regulationist system, as a process and institution, aiming to “civilize native customs” that were perceived as “abnormal”, “perverse” and “violent”.

The system simultaneously levelled and standardized the world of the Maghreb commercial sex trade while also causing a sociocultural deflagration of high intensity by publicly advertising the girls’ profiles; thus giving visibility and legitimacy to deviance — something previously thought impossible, even unimaginable, in that region. Feeding the additional impoverishment and the growing proletarianization of local societies, the number of “indigenous” women in prostitution, including very young girls, increased exponentially, overflowing and sinking the system with the proliferation of rebellious unregulated exchanges that would supply all the interstitial spaces of the prostitution market. Insubordination (not enrolling in the mandatory register of morals or disregarding the regulatory spaces) was in fact a very paradoxical yet common practice during the late nineteenth century. Owing to the violent extreme punitive measures of the dominating colonial system, which primarily targeted “indigenous” impoverished women — grabbing them from illegal spaces of prostitution and forcing them to register with the Office of Morals, consequently to be integrated into brothels and red-light districts with numbered identification or into furnished rooms, hotels or private homes duly connected to the police — prostitutes thus applied their own ways of circumnavigating the suppressive control of government agents (police, judges, doctors). Indeed, it is rather striking how “indigenous” prostitution was immediately viewed as “endemic” and dangerous for the French colonial order. That was not only due to its systematic association with venereal disease and its perils (built around the symbolically strong image of the so-called “Arab syphilis”, title of Dr. Georges Lacapère’s 1923 book published in Paris that would enjoy great success), but also to a rampant obsessive fear of racial (and not merely sexual) “contamination”. Yet, in the debates concerning the white slave trade — particularly as formalized in the international treaties of 1904 and 1910 — the issue of “indigenous” women (including minors under 21 years old located in colonial regulated brothels, red-light districts and military campaign brothels (BMCs: *bordels militaires de campagne*)) was paid little notice even though several sources can confirm their presence, unlike that of the European female population. It was not until the 1930s, however, that militant abolitionists really took an interest in the fate of those women.

## The “white slave trade” in North Africa: a non-issue?

As in France, and more generally throughout the Western world at the same time, the issue of trafficking in women in North Africa was based upon the presence of European women in the legal prostitution market. Studies, as shown by the first reviews on prostitution in the region — particularly those made in Algiers by doctors such as Adolphe Eugene Duchesne in 1853 and Adolphe Bertherand in 1859, who had gone abroad to implement and sustain the system — reported an interesting feature. In the early days of French colonization European women were the *de facto* majority. Thus, in Algiers, according to Dr. Bertherand’s 1859 report, for every 189 “indigenous” subjected (*soumises*) girls (Black, Jewish, Kabyle and Moorish) there were 319 European girls (256

French, 45 Spanish, 7 German, 4 Italian, 4 Swiss and 3 British). Fairly quickly, however, the latter number experienced a certain period of stagnation — momentarily placing the populations in stiff competition — and was then exceeded by a boom in both legal and illegal “indigenous” prostitution. A century later, in fact, the ratio was completely reversed from 102 European subjected girls to 413 “indigenous” girls in Algiers — a finding generally represented in the larger North African region. That was probably due to several reasons (including the issue of adjusting to the houses and neighbourhoods of the Maghreb) that led the migrating European sex trade not to seek North Africa as a preferred destination.

Although metropolitan pimps did indeed reach agreements with homeowners (both male and female) to recruit more European girls to go to the Maghreb, using different strategies for travel through the Mediterranean (especially in the case of minors and/or foreigners that would require forged documents), the girls were able to return rather quickly to their respective homes by applying two strategies simultaneously. The first was to argue their legal right to change brothels and the second was to draw attention to the fact that the daily drudgery and the fierce “indigenous” competition reduced their profitability, and, hence, the profits that pimps could take from them — a strong argument if ever there was one. That probably helps to explain the high turnover of the workforce after the 1920s and its eventual collapse as European-regulated prostitution soon became infinitesimal. Also, far from the structured and paradigmatic features of abolitionism — which highlighted the degradation and deportation of young “white” innocent and unwilling virgin girls — the vast majority of those Europeans had already established a (long) career in prostitution within their respective countries of origin.

Far from being trafficked, those women were more often — without denying the fact that certain “white” minors were indeed abused and exploited in the regulationist system — sexual migrants, who would try their luck in other countries since their national markets were already saturated and who for the most part had already been registered in their respective cities (as shown by their voluntary registration in customs records inside both Europe and North Africa). Additionally, the term “minor” did not obviously have the same significance during the time period. While the legal age in France had been 21 ever since the Revolution (with the Act of 20 September 1792), that age did not fit very well within nineteenth century society in which children worked from the age of 12, and sometimes even earlier, working long days for little pay (and, as is known, poverty is almost always the antechamber to prostitution). Admittedly, that argument becomes less acceptable for European women from the early twentieth century. It is still applicable, however, to the vast majority of the “indigenous” population. All those reasons might therefore ultimately explain, in fine, why the colonial Maghreb never experienced an event equivalent to the “scandal of the little English girls” (1879–1881) that shook Western Europe in the late nineteenth century and led, almost everywhere, to the strengthening of abolitionist positions.

## **Abolitionism and feminism in the Maghreb: the example of Algeria**

Another reason might also be found in the chronic weakness of feminism in the Maghreb. Even though some major French feminists went through North Africa — such as Hubertine Auclert who took advantage of her stay in Algeria between 1888 and 1892 to write her fiery indictment against the treatment and condition of “indigenous” women, *Les femmes arabes en Algérie* (published in



Paris in 1900) — and although some major associations had local offices such as the French Union for Women's Suffrage, created in France in 1909, and definitely even had, according to Guiard (2013), “a small group in Algiers before the First World War”, the impact of feminism was generally very poor until the 1930s. That probably explains why the question of regulationism — and its abolition — remained a peripheral issue in the Maghreb; and the fact that the “racial issue” certainly complicated the debate even further. It must also be considered here that France — which gave birth to modern regulationism — was far from the forefront of the fight for abolition even in the mother country where the French section of the International Abolitionist Federation was founded only in 1926 under the name, Temporary Union against Regulated Prostitution and Trafficking in Women, by the great feminist abolitionist Marcelle Legrand-Falco.

All that contributed to making the central abolitionist themes — including the fight against trafficking in women, popularized in France in 1886 with the publication of Dr. Lutaud's book *Prostitution and the Slave Trade of White Women in London and Paris* — much less productive than elsewhere; even despite a campaign by the Algiers section of the Temporary Union in the 1930s. Strongly opposed to the sex trade (and the importation of European women in a traffic created by “powerful sharks”) and severely criticizing the corruption in the system and its agents (police and doctors were often, rightly described, as “shameful pimps”), abolitionists in Algeria stumbled, however, when it came to mobilization and action, owing to its late consideration of the central place of “indigenous” women in the sex industry. Furthermore, the vast majority of voluntary or forced minors affected by colonial regulationism were precisely like the women illuminated by Germaine Aziz's imagery in the book recounting her own gripping experience in prostitution between the 1940s and 1960s, *Les Chambres closes* (published in Paris in 1981) that horrifically recites the story “of an innocent virgin sacrificed” in a slaughterhouse in Bône, Algeria. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that abolitionism would fully encapsulate that specific issue, as evidenced by the symbolically strong case of the military campaign brothels in Turenne, Algeria. Amidst the infernal sexual cadence that the girls commonly suffered, on 15 September 1960 a young (15 and half years old) “indigenous” prostitute faced a very serious and tragic accident: her womb was pierced and perforated. The event would give rise to an active campaign for the abolition of prostitution on the part of the Action Team against Trafficking in Women and Children led by Jean Scelle (who founded the organization in 1956 in Algeria) and Odette Philippon; but it would have to wait for the country's independence in 1962 before colonial regulationism was finally abolished.

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# Marseille

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## Historical overview

Prostitution in Marseille is indissociable from its history as a port city. Until 1748, the rebel city, which challenged royal power for the whole of the late sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century before it was conquered by Louis XIV, had a military role and was used as a penal colony which also held an important arsenal. Convicts, soldiers, sailors, apprentices, craftsmen and labourers working in the port represented a young and usually single workforce. The city offered job opportunities and attracted seasonal workers and migrants coming from the rural hinterland or from foreign countries which increased their sense of uprooting and the destructuring of their families. Those elements secured the early development of prostitution in the modern era on a large scale. After 1748 and the transfer of the penal colony to Toulon, the commercial role of the city became prominent while the seagoing population remained a potential sizeable clientele for prostitution that continued to grow.

After the industrial revolution, the city and the port expanded. Marseille gradually turned into a cosmopolitan crucible that opened as the colonial empire extended. The city still centred on commerce, but also became a transit place for travellers. Industry developed thanks to the soap and oil factories. Those characteristics turned Marseille into an immigration city in which the newcomers came from rural French regions such as Corsica, from nearby countries like Italy or Spain or from the colonies — notably from the Maghreb. It was a city where, despite the presence of large bourgeois families, which remained within the confines of their small local community, opportunities were numerous and social boundaries porous. Bourgeois neighbourhoods were adjacent to popular ones and the rue Impériale that connects the old port to the industrial one, did not transform the popular identity of the old town that was characterized by port activities.

Prostitution at that time was identified by the presence of prostitutes in shops, cafes, taverns or *guinguettes*, in furnished rooms, boutiques or in private homes.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

By the nineteenth century, France was affected by debates on prostitution as a regulatory and hygienist turn developed, not on moral grounds but rather on matters of public order. Prostitution was not understood as a misdemeanour, unlike public solicitation. The expanding bourgeoisie tolerated prostitution but it had to be discreet and restricted to dedicated places. Hygienist thought considered that the propagation of venereal disease was a danger for the entire social body, a threat to the health of the nation, and the only way to solve the problem lay in the strict control of prostitutes. A regulatory system grew in France and favoured the control of prostitutes, their confinement in asylums or jails. Brothels triumphed and frequent compulsory medical examinations for the “card-carrying” girls, those registered as prostitutes, became institutionalized. The sick were incarcerated in

medical institutes. The system was revealed to be more or less strict, depending on the time and place and increasingly tolerated the presence of *maisons de rendez-vous* along with the brothels as long as the medical examinations remained in place.

In Marseille by 1821, under the strict authority of the mayor, the marquis Jean-Baptiste de Mongrand, the vision of prostitution as a necessary evil that had to be supervised though not officially recognized, was coupled with sustained surveillance and the identification of prostitutes. Montgrand forbade bartenders from welcoming public girls as an attempt to contain prostitution in specific neighbourhoods. Brothels could settle in a delimited zone and the police had to prevent prostitution from expanding into nearby neighbourhoods.

That policy ended in 1864 with the creation by the prefect Maupas of a “dedicated area” by the Vieux-Port. Prostitution was allowed and regulated in between the rue de la Reynarde in the east, the rue Radeau in the west, the rue de la Loge and rue Lancerie in the south, and the rue Caisserie in the north. Such a situation was very rare in France except in certain port cities. Indeed, such specialization increased the visibility of those neighbourhoods, which the local authorities did not appreciate, for moral reasons and public order concerns. In a port, however, taking into account the particular shady deals with which sailors are identified, the authorities, in the person of its mayor, preferred to contain debauchery within the limits of a single area, which besides was mainly inhabited by sailors, labourers, migrants and other members of the lower classes. In 1882, the brothels in the dedicated area thus numbered 88, grouped in the same streets. For instance, 15 were located in rue Bouterie, one of the main prostitution streets. Though some brothels existed elsewhere, the upper classes in Marseille managed to contain the most visible forms of prostitution in the popular neighbourhood, by the port, developing a containment policy which also limited the number of independent prostitutes.

## Organization of the trade

That special area was the main place for prostitution in Marseille in 1925. Along the narrow streets, women stood in front of shop windows, soliciting passers-by. Prostitutes also flourished in bars, cafes where they usually lived in shabby “*garnis*” (cheap furnished apartment or hotel). They were part of the social life of the neighbourhood; they participated in the noisy liveliness of the streets. Elsewhere in the city there were brothels and rendezvous houses, discreet, located in very few streets or neighbourhoods. In some “chic” brothels, dance halls or cafes, the *cocottes*, which since the Second Empire had been the nickname given to luxury prostitutes famed for securing expensive gifts from their lovers, and demi-mondaines were not systematically under the authority of a procurer. But the borderline was sometimes tenuous. In September 1920, a prostitute was assassinated by a customer in an apartment she rented with a demi-mondaine, kept by a local gentleman in rue de la République, near the port and the dedicated area. That affair proved that prostitution had spilled over the limits of the reserved area and was not confined to specific social groups.

In the dedicated area, women were usually under the thumb of pimps. Procurers were young men from the lower classes, who, for the most part, had been sailors. The Second World War led to the reorganization of Marseille’s street hustling. Procurers from Corsica who had been numerous

before the Second World War, had been sent to the front and lost their status to the benefit of new procurers: white soldiers from the “Bar’ d’Af” (African battalions), disciplinary battalions stationed in Fort Saint-Jean near the port where shots had been fired in 1919;<sup>1</sup> or black sailors from the West Indies or the West African colonies. Unlike the United States of America, no racial segregation barred black procurers from ruling over white women, including Corsican ones. In *Banjo*, the African-American writer, Claude McKay, who lived in Marseille in the 1920s, wrote with nostalgia about the cosmopolitanism of the dedicated area where his main character strolled. But the many shootings recounted by the media and judiciary archives show that, by the end of the war, a tense atmosphere existed in the prostitution milieu in Marseille. Traditional pimps were challenged by new ones. The criminal underworld took advantage of its links with politicians, gained prominence again and took control of the sex trade. International prostitution networks might have existed by then. There were stories about prostitutes sent to brothels in Algiers or Buenos Aires.

The presence of French-born prostitutes in Algiers during that period has been attested as Bonaventure Carbone, from Corsica and one of the main chiefs of the French underground in the 1930s, had notoriously developed his procuring activities on the other side of the Mediterranean. Such geographical shifts in prostitution seemed to have been occasional, like those from Algeria to Morocco in the summer months.

Beyond the dedicated area, Corbin (1978) described the activities of 36 rendezvous houses to which only clientele from the upper and middle bourgeoisie went, unlike the sailors, workers and soldiers who had been the traditional customers for prostitutes in Marseille. Those houses of tolerance were officially held by women. Historians have related the activities of some of them that were held by married women, immediately before the First World War. Their husbands or partners were pimps whose *marmite*, slang for prostitutes who provided for their procurers’ living, was able to move up in the world after being a prostitute. Theoretically though, those madams did not depend on a procurer. The owners of the buildings were usually persons of private means or professionals.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

Though the front was far away, the war had an impact on prostitution. In 1917, the central commissioner of Marseille complained about the “current insecurity in the city”, symbolized by a growing number of assaults.<sup>2</sup> The situation was due to the increase in the “floating population” from 100,000 to 700,000 inhabitants. The expansion of prostitution contributed to the overall atmosphere. The commander-general of the 15th region feared for the health of young soldiers who arrived in Marseille. He attributed the development of syphilis to the “exodus of thousands of women from all social classes, abandoned, refugees from Belgium, from the north and east of France, flowing to big cities” and complained about the “poor behaviour of many, married or not”.<sup>3</sup> Reports on *filles soumises*, the name given to prostitutes who were registered in the administrative records, who underwent medical examinations increased from 2,039 in 1912 to 3,087 in 1916 and

<sup>1</sup> Le Petit Marseillais, 11 February 1919.

<sup>2</sup> France. Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (AD 13), 4 M 891, lettre du commissaire central de la ville de Marseille au préfet des Bouches-du-Rhône (23 December 1917).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., lettre du général commandant de la 15e région (9 November 1916).

“incidents in which the crowd regularly took sides with the women”<sup>4</sup> were recorded. A total of 700 *filles soumises* were in Marseille while the police counted 7,000 prostitutes including illegal ones. The influx of colonial soldiers and workers enlarged the clientele. Other effects of the war could explain the development of prostitution in Marseille: influx of refugees, increase in widows and orphans which had disrupted the family structures, reaffirmation of sexual hierarchy that hinged on gratitude to the men who had fought in the trenches.

Finding precise data on the prostitutes is quite difficult since most were illegal. By the end of the nineteenth century, most prostitutes stated that prostitution was their main activity. They came from all social classes though a majority came from craft, industrial, agricultural milieux or were social outcasts. One characteristic of prostitutes in Marseille was that a significant number were not born there; many came from a foreign country. Such diverse origins confirmed the identity of the city as a place of migration and the central role that geographical estrangement played in prostitution as a social condition. Again by the end of the nineteenth century, a fourth of the prostitutes counted (over 3,500) were born abroad while only 10 per cent were born in the city or in the suburbs. It is to be thought that those characteristics persisted when Paul Kinsie wrote his report.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., rapport sur la prostitution par le commissaire central de Marseille (20 August 1917).

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# Prostitution in Mexico City

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## Historical overview

Mexico adopted the system of state-regulated prostitution after the French army took the capital city in 1863. At first, the measure was meant to protect European soldiers from venereal disease during their military campaign, but even after the Republic's triumph in 1867, the government of Mexico maintained control over the sex trade. The Ministry of Health registered prostitutes, subjected them to periodical check-ups, and confined those with venereal disease to lock hospitals, following the rules of the so-called French system. Women were classified by categories according to their beauty, youth and the places in which they used to work. Brothels, assignation and rendezvous houses were categorized according to their location and amenities. Hotels that rented their rooms per hour were also included in the prostitution laws. Some bordellos operated outside the law, as unregistered women still wandered the streets. The same rules applied to the entire territory, but according to its geographic position each province followed its own dynamics with regard to prostitution. Cities such as Ciudad Juárez, Mexicali, Tampico and Tijuana had a major interaction with clients and sex workers coming from the United States of America owing to their proximity to the border.

The regulatory system was justified by the fear of syphilis. Society perceived venereal disease as a menace for humankind, that affected several generations, and prostitutes were seen as the principal means of contagion. Doctors played a decisive role — due to the medical nature of the sex-trade debates — in creating and administering laws and institutions that controlled, examined and sanitized prostitutes for the sake of children, “decent” women, families and therefore the nation. But the benefits of the regulatory system came into question at the beginning of the twentieth century. After decades of implementation, some doctors noticed that syphilis had not significantly decreased among the population for two main reasons: it was unmanageable to control every woman, and doctors had not discovered a cure. Abolitionists also thought the explicit tolerance of the French system had opened the door to social and moral contamination, thus it was imperative to root out prostitution from society. Owing to the political agitation that began at the turn of the century, those against state-regulated prostitution started to point at brothels as social centres that could be dangerous for the stability of the country. The outbreak of the civil war, on 20 November 1910, interrupted the debates on whether to maintain the French system, or to revoke it.

The armed stage of the Mexican revolution lasted a decade but a lasting pacification of the country would take more time. Regionalized conflicts such as the Cristero war affected the daily life of hundreds of Mexicans. Men and women fought against the anticlericalism of the revolutionary

government from 1926 to 1929. The Constitution of 1917 was aimed at diminishing the influence of Catholicism, and in 1926 the government violently persecuted both the Church and churchgoers, while limiting public demonstrations of faith.

Those who wanted to abolish the French system saw their hopes frustrated in those years. In 1926 the government issued the last set of laws that would regulate the sex trade in the twentieth century. The laws of the 1920s maintained some of the main ideas of the nineteenth century: registration, inspection and incarceration were all at the core of the prostitution control system. Unlike the points of view of policymakers during the nineteenth century, which condemned all women from the lower classes to vice and degradation, the revolutionary agenda sought to rescue workers and peasants' daughters from the poverty conditions that had led them to sell their bodies. According to the government programme of popular liberation, poor women could escape from prostitution through work.

In the capital city one of the main measures that complemented the laws of 1926 was the complete renovation of the hospital that treated sex workers with syphilis. New infrastructure included new floors, walls and medical equipment; also the building of classrooms and workshops, and hiring teachers that would provide prostitutes with basic skills to help them leave sex work behind after their treatment. With those measures, the government took into its hands the rehabilitation of prostitutes through work, and left behind Christian moral principles that sought rehabilitation of souls during the nineteenth century. Some of the large-scale renovations were announced in the press as definitive changes that would transform prostitutes' lives. Yet patients found some of the measures restrictive. There were not enough beds, their children could not stay with them, and health office inspectors used the hospital as a means of extortion and intimidation.

Doctors from the Ministry of Health tried to change how venereal disease had been fought in past decades by using the regulations approved in 1926. Along with the moral elevation of women, they broadened the catalogue of sexually transmitted diseases to be controlled, and toughened the measures that penalized both women and bordellos operating outside the law. In addition, the new regulations widened the definition of "clandestine brothels" to include restaurants, taverns, cafes and cabarets that allowed commercial sex. Penalties for the owners of those places ranged from fines, up to 15 days of arrest, and closing of the establishment, whereas clandestine prostitutes were sent for sanitary inspection or to an authorized clinic for examination. Proliferation of the illicit sex trade and an increase in the number of illegal streetwalkers was one of the consequences of the civil war. For some women, prostitution signified an opportunity to work, and to receive some of the plunder that military men and insurgents had obtained from battles. Other women were forced to work as prostitutes under threat or coercion. As a consequence, both indoor and outdoor prostitution increased considerably.

Not only prostitution grew during the 1920s, the general population of the city did too. Migration from other provinces had contributed half a million people since the outbreak of the 1910 revolution. Hundreds of unemployed Mexican citizens returned to the country during those years, as a result of the economic changes in the United States of America after the First World War. The government issued a migration law in 1926 in order to control foreign competition for

jobs. That was a turning point in Mexican migration policies, away from the open-door policy that allowed people from all nationalities and ethnicities to enter the country, and towards highly restrictive rules that selected citizens according to their place of origin. First, the main groups that Mexico restricted from entering into the territory were Arabs, Blacks, Chinese, Jews and Lebanese. Restriction of foreign migration became an issue of state interest at the beginning of the twentieth century with the laws that preceded those of 1926: the migration law of 1908 still accepted people from all over the world, unless their activities related to prostitution, vagrancy, crime and anarchism. Migration decrees seemed stricter than ever, but enforcement personnel were insufficient and poorly trained; hence corruption flourished and the legal constraints became a source of capital for several immigration officers.

Prostitution was on the list of activities that could impede foreigners seeking entry into the territory. Unlike some European or Latin American countries, however, Mexico did not take early measures to fight trafficking in women. There is some evidence of diplomatic exchanges on the topic in 1910, but the lack of political stability during the decade affected communications on the matter. During the consolidation of the revolutionary state in the 1920s, Mexico signed at least one international agreement relating to prostitution, particularly in favour of abolitionism: the resolutions of the Pan American Sanitary Conference approved in Havana in 1924. However, the government did not show much interest in revoking the French system. In fact, the 1926 prostitution laws would govern the sex trade in the capital city and the rest of the country for several more years. There is no evidence either of a federal campaign against procurers during those years. It was at the end of the decade, in 1929, that the federal legislature criminalized both procuring and trafficking in the penal code, citing the resolutions of the Pan American Sanitary Conference and reports from the League of Nations. Two years later, in 1931, Mexico became a formal member of the international organization. At the beginning of 1940, the state targeted brothels as part of its combat against sexual exploitation.

## Organization of the trade

From 1865 to 1940, commercial sex in the city followed the guidelines of the French system. The state tried to regulate the sex trade through the health inspection office. In order to control syphilis, the office registered prostitutes whether or not they were independent or working inside brothels or rendezvous houses. The process lasted a few minutes, and after some questions and a check-up, women received a notebook in which doctors would certify, after weekly check-ups, that the sex worker was free of venereal disease. The law banned the enrolment of virgins, women under 18 years old and the mentally ill. A group of inspectors were in charge of invigilating both the women and the places authorized by the government. They also had to inspect those women working outside the law and oblige them to register. Complaints of extortion, corruption and irregularities committed by the employees of the office were fairly common.

When necessary, women were interned in the Morelos hospital located downtown, and remained there for three or four weeks. For doctors, confinement was the only way they could verify that prostitutes would follow the treatment while avoiding sexual intercourse; for women, the hospital was the equivalent of jail; and for the authorities, it was the place they could use to rehabilitate sex workers physically and morally. Most of the patients were lower-class women, because madams of

high-class brothels usually arranged medical inspections inside their houses or bribed inspectors. Near the hospital, at the heart of the city, prostitutes could work inside or outside, and inside or outside the law. Brothels and rendezvous houses of all categories, cheap hotels, cabarets, bars, all coexisted in that area. There were also streets with small rooms along the sidewalk where women received their clients. The most famous of those streets was Cuauhtemotzín. Downtown was also the largest zone for streetwalkers. The avenue that crossed the centre was well known for its significant amount of clandestine prostitutes.

Just west of downtown, the elegant Roma neighbourhood housed the high-class bordellos of the city. While women that worked in the single rooms downtown had to share common bathrooms, in *la Roma*, houses of European-style architecture had space for several bedrooms and bathrooms, as well as bars and live orchestras. Whether they were working in those elegant houses or in the underprivileged places of the lesser category, women had to share their earnings with madams or landlords on a daily basis. Prostitutes who worked legally indirectly paid a fraction of their money to the state through the madams because, according to the law, they were the link between sex workers and the government. Bordellos and rendezvous houses had to pay taxes: in some cases, also fees for selling alcohol, as well as fines when they did not observe the law. Even women that worked unlawfully contributed to the earnings of cheap hotels registered with the health inspection office. Also, every patient of the Morelos hospital had to pay for treatment and accommodation fees for each day they spent there.

The laws of 1926 toughened some measures, and forced registered brothels to change bathroom furniture in order to fulfil hygienic requirements. Madams often complained that clandestine prostitutes and unofficial places of prostitution such as bars, restaurants or cabarets, did not pay taxes or fines. Streetwalkers working there were usually forced to give part or most of their money to pimps under duress of implied or actual violence. Women who solicited on the street almost never brought their pimps to justice.

## Social profiles and causes of prostitution

In 1918 the health inspection office reported that there were 65 brothels and rendezvous houses of all categories in the city, and 60 prostitutes that worked outside such places. First-class brothels had up to 15 bedrooms where around 30 women worked. At that time hundreds of women had migrated to the capital city from the countryside, as many families believed that the city was safer than the provinces devastated by civil war. However, young women faced poverty, unemployment or underpaid labour, the result of which was that prostitution offered more money than factories or domestic service.

Before the revolution, in 1905, when the health inspection office asked prostitutes about their former occupation, half the women declared they belonged to the working class or were in domestic service, and the other half declared no job or profession. Many of the prostitutes enrolled were illiterate, as many other women and men of the working class were at that time. The situation did not seem to have changed after the war. They were mostly young, with 717 out of 762 women declaring to be between 15 and 30 years old; 10 per cent were foreigners, mostly from the United States (30), Spain (16) and Cuba (14). Madams were predominantly Mexican, but there were also foreign women

in charge of brothels. The broad difference between locals and aliens mirrored national immigration statistics in some ways. Between 1910 and 1926 26,600 foreign citizens entered the country, but only 7,200 decided to stay for good. The national census of 1930 registered a population of 16.5 million inhabitants in the country. Of them, around 1.2 million lived in the capital city.

There are no consistent numbers on prostitution among indigenous women. The nationalistic discourse of the revolutionary state picked up the idea of a mixed race from the nineteenth century and made it one of its ideological supports. According to that idea, all Mexicans were a balanced mix of indigenous and Spanish backgrounds, regardless of actual physiognomy. Therefore, officers only registered women's place of origin, not their ethnicity. There is also a lack of numbers on local and foreign pimps owing to the fact that male procurers were not under the control of the health inspection office. They were usually arrested for vagrancy or other offences, only rarely for sexual exploitation. The latter was the case of a dozen foreign pimps, detained at the main police station in 1928. The Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered their undercover agents to research the pimps' general data in order to gather evidence that would prove they lived off the avails of prostitution, and build a case for deportation. The men were from France, Poland and Russia and they lived in the city with women from those same countries who worked as prostitutes in the tolerance zone downtown.

During the following decade internal migration made Mexico City the biggest city in the country. In 1938 the health inspection office reported 118 registered brothels of different categories, almost twice that recorded in 1918. In 1939 the need to build new roads and avenues led to the closure of some of the main streets of the tolerance zone, resulting in around 1,500 women evicted from the one-room places where they worked and lived. As a consequence of the end of almost 80 years of state-regulated prostitution in 1940, the authorities of the city focused on the closure of bordellos and the arrest of brothel keepers and their staff, which increased street soliciting and allowed pimps to dominate the administration of prostitution in subsequent years.

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## **Montreal Open City: Prostitution in the Metropolis in the 1920s**

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When League of Nations undercover investigator Paul Kinsie visited Montreal in 1926, his informers told him that the red-light district had been suppressed more than a year earlier. Yet he had no difficulty in finding madams to interview, or drawing up a list of the “better middle-class resorts” that he visited, all but one situated in what was known as the red-light district in Montreal. The metropolis had long had a reputation as a centre of prostitution and it made sense for Kinsie to add that Canadian city to his investigation of North American cities.

Like any other trade, prostitution relies on supply and demand. On the supply side, Montreal had a large proletariat, largely unskilled, and a constant influx of young people from the countryside. Young women, arriving in a strange city without the skills required to find work, did not go directly into prostitution; but the poor working conditions in domestic work and restaurants, and sometimes also the chance encounter with a seductive pimp or friendship with a sex worker, provided stepping-stones into prostitution. It was usually seen as a temporary occupation, yet it could last a number of years. It provided some economic security, but at the cost of personal independence since most women could not select their clients and often became tied down by debt. While many sex workers came from the countryside, some working-class women without employment chose to enter the trade, a few others were children of prostitutes who followed in their mothers’ footsteps, while a small number — precisely how many could never be ascertained — were somehow coerced into the sex trade.

It seems that whatever the season, there was never a shortage of demand. As a seaport, Montreal was already known in the nineteenth century for its brothels and its street prostitutes. When the United States of America adopted prohibition in 1920, Montreal became the prime destination for tourists wanting to enjoy the nightlife, the nightclubs, the jazz, and for the men, the brothels.

Prostitution took place either in disorderly houses or on the streets, that is to say in bars, railway stations and on street corners. Although the houses used for prostitution have been well documented, it is difficult to establish the proportion of women who worked outside the brothels, as street prostitution was in constant flux. Furthermore, prostitutes on the streets and in bars operated under a wide range of conditions: most of them for a procurer, but others only occasionally, in order to make ends meet at the end of the month.

### **Prostitution and the law**

Exchanging sexual acts for money was not in itself illegal, but the Criminal Code of Canada and the Statutes of Quebec had established the legal parameters of the sex trade. It was a criminal offence, in Canada, to be found in a bawdy house (sect. 228), to run such a place (sect. 229, subsection. 1), or



to be an owner who knew for what purpose the house was being used (sect. 228, subsection. 2). If the prostitutes were not directly targeted by the laws concerning owners, they often risked being found in the brothels and could therefore be apprehended according to the Criminal Code, or as a corrupt person “being habitually found in a house of ill repute” according to the law concerning police and order. Men were also liable to be arrested in such a house, but statistics show that they were seldom convicted for such offences.

Unlike major European cities, except for a brief period between 1907 and 1909, Montreal never adopted a system of regulation, with registration and compulsory medical examination of prostitutes. Infected women and men could nevertheless be arrested for knowingly communicating disease. During the anti-venereal disease campaign following the First World War, section 316 of the Criminal Code was amended so that: “Any person who is suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form, who knowingly or by culpable negligence communicates such venereal disease to any other person shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable upon summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or to imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment.”

Moreover, under the Public Hygiene Law of Quebec (1920), those same persons were liable to a fine of up to Can\$ 200 or imprisonment not exceeding three months. The provincial law mandated a medical examination for persons found in brothels, which provided the magistrate with an opportunity to round up the sick women and fine them each Can\$ 100. It is commonly assumed that women were the sole agents of contamination; as such, when following a medical examination, if the men were found to be infected with a venereal disease, they were never found guilty of infecting a prostitute.

Procuring was an offence under section 216 of the Criminal Code of Canada: “Every one guilty of an indictable offence and shall be liable to five years imprisonment and on any second or subsequent conviction shall also be liable to be whipped in addition to such imprisonment who (a) procures, or attempts to procure or solicits any girls or woman to have unlawful carnal connection, either within or without Canada, with any person or persons ...” Eight other clauses follow to cover every aspect of the crime. As for street prostitutes, they could be arrested for vagrancy.

Law enforcement was sporadic and sentencing was the responsibility of the city magistrates. One of them, Judge Weir, was an abolitionist, while the other, Judge Geoffrion, one of Quebec’s few regulationists, saw prostitution as a necessary evil and favoured the European model. Police sometimes complained that despite all their efforts, prostitutes benefited from his leniency.

## Organization of the brothel

In the mid-1920s, the chief of police stated that 60 to 75 per cent of prostitution took place in some 300 brothels that employed between 2,000 and 3,000 women. Those houses were part of the landscape on a number of side streets in downtown Montreal. About 70 per cent of the business was in the red-light district, south of Sherbrooke Street and north of Viger Avenue, east of De Bleury Street and west of Saint-Hubert Street.

The organization of brothels was clearly hierarchical. The building belonged to an owner who usually lived in another part of the city. If the purpose of the property was known, the rent would be much higher than the average elsewhere on the street. The “inside”, that is, the trade, belonged to a brothel keeper, or madam, who also lived elsewhere. She would pick up her cash every morning when she knew that the police were not around so as to avoid risking arrest. In the high-end houses, the madam would delegate the business to a manager known as the “housekeeper”.

The madam or the housekeeper, identified by the keys she kept on a long chain and her punching card for counting services rendered, watched over the prostitutes, kept order in the house, and was the one most at risk of being arrested for keeping a bawdy house. Yet the risk was well worth it, as she received 50 per cent of the prostitutes’ takings. In a “three dollar house”, for instance, which employed about eight prostitutes who averaged 20 clients a night five days a week, earnings could reach as much as Can\$ 1,200 a week, from which she would deduct overhead expenses: the manager’s wage, the rent, the running costs and the fines which included payments to the police to avoid being raided. At a time when the average male wage was less than Can\$ 1,000 a year in Quebec, the position of madam was much coveted. There was a big difference between the income of a madam and a male craftsman. As an example, A. H., three years after leaving “the life” in 1921, married a leather worker who earned Can\$ 26 a week. Brothel keepers and managers often lived with a pimp who sometimes owned the building.

The prostitutes worked at the base of the pyramid; there were on average a dozen per brothel in conditions that varied according to the quality of the place. Their services ranged from Can\$ 5 in the better houses to Can\$ 1 in the seediest. The women soon accumulated debts after paying Can\$ 1 or Can\$ 2 rent, and buying cigarettes, perfume, clothes and drugs on credit. Although some madams claimed to ban drugs on their premises, cocaine and heroin were common and drove their users into bottomless debt.

There was little indication of international traffic in women who worked in the Montreal brothels. Echoing the US press, newspapers ran sensational articles in the pre-war period, but there is no evidence in the judicial archives of any significant number of women coming from other countries. As Kinsie noted, some women arrived from Detroit in the summer, and probably from other US cities, but the vast majority of women working in brothels were French-Canadians, with a few anglophones. As for the madams, many were of European origin as their names suggest. This was also the case for procurers, a profession in which Eastern Europeans seemed to be overrepresented.

Since there were no official regulations, prostitutes worked in areas and under conditions that were determined not only by the madam and the manager but also by a host of agents ranging from doctors and lawyers to police and social reformers. Members of the Montreal police force were particularly prone to supplement their wages with various illegal practices. They were well aware of the locations of the brothels and knew their owners and their madams. The brothel keepers were sometimes in court, and thousands of arrests took place every year in brothels, but the trade itself was never in jeopardy. It was a lucrative business for the people who ran it and for the police officers who collected various payments to ensure the impunity of the houses. One pimp admitted, at a commission of enquiry into the police, to slipping between Can\$ 5 and Can\$ 10 a week to five

police officers to give him advance warning of raids on his bordellos on the rue Hôtel-de-Ville. Police officers also enjoyed fringe benefits, of which they took advantage during their searches. It was not uncommon for them to have a drink with the madam or to go upstairs with one of the girls before proceeding with an arrest. The practice seems to have been tolerated, and police officers mentioned it quite candidly when describing an arrest to the judge.

The police also used prostitutes as informers, in particular regarding the illegal sale of alcohol and drug trafficking. In return for their cooperation, the women would receive reduced fines or clemency from the judge. The police were often open to blackmail since they were so closely involved with the brothel keepers, but they were always protected by their accusers' lack of credibility. According to the captain of the Montreal police, the judge at the magistrate's court never accepted the testimony of a prostitute unless it was corroborated by a police officer. The prostitutes depended on the brothel keeper maintaining a good rapport with both the police and the girls. The attitude of the police was up to the chief of police, which explains the large fluctuation in the number of arrests from one year to another. The number of raids and of arrests in no way reflected the extent of prostitution in the city, but rather the zeal or the tolerance of the police.

## **The social reform movement and prostitution**

Progressivism came to Montreal at the beginning of the twentieth century and persisted until the mid-1920s. Social reformers concerned with the moral and physical health of cities set up organizations in major North American cities to control or eradicate prostitution. New York had its Committee of Fifteen in 1900, and Chicago had its Vice Commission in 1910; similarly, in Montreal the Committee of Sixteen was established in 1917, including in its number doctors, feminists, clergymen and social workers. The Committee included Catholics, Jews and Protestants; all but two of its members were anglophone in a city that was largely francophone. Some members were strictly motivated by questions of morality, others by a concern for the spread of venereal disease, a few by considerations of eugenics; many were convinced that a white slave trade existed in Montreal, and all wanted to eliminate the corruption associated with what they named "the vice trade". They were not alone in pressuring the authorities to take action against prostitution: the Montreal Local Council of Women and its French equivalent, the Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, also campaigned for the abolition of the sex trade.

The Committee of Sixteen's report in 1919 mapped out the extent of the sex trade, quantified the number of houses and women involved, and recommended the end of police protection of brothels and gambling dens. The recommendations did not, however, have any immediately results. The Committee went on lobbying the city to crack down on the trade and its fourth report, in 1923, brought some results: in March and April, about 50 prostitutes and housekeepers appeared in court every day. The maximum fine was Can\$ 100 for the madams and Can\$ 25 for the prostitutes, not a large sum given their weekly earnings. Demand also decreased, as many customers feared being arrested for being found in a brothel.

In 1924, a group of citizens successfully petitioned for an inquiry into police corruption. Judge Louis Coderre presided over the hearings and produced a damning report in March 1925. It

confirmed police corruption and incompetence, but its main historical value lies in the revelations of the witnesses called to testify. The testimonies of everyone concerned from the police officers and detectives to madams and even a piano player working in such a house, document the extent of prostitution in the mid-1920s. Following the Coderre report, the chief of police was immediately dismissed and replaced by someone better qualified and better paid, the number of arrests for keeping a house of ill repute or being found in one went up, and some houses temporarily stopped doing business — but the trade itself never came to a standstill. Not when the United States was living under prohibition and its citizens could go one hour north of the border to seek illicit pleasures. Neither the reformers nor judge Coderre looked into the causes of prostitution; while some did mention poverty, it was only in passing.

## Conclusion

Montreal's nightlife had a well-deserved reputation after the First World War and men's illicit pleasures such as prostitution and gambling contributed greatly to that reputation. Despite the law, a climate of tolerance prevailed with the collaboration of the police force and the wilful ignorance of municipal authorities. Their efforts to enforce the law produced sporadic results, but the sex trade went on unabated in Montreal until the end of the Second World War. The demand was steady and the supply, fluctuating with the economic climate, has persisted until today.

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# Prostitution in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague

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## Historical overview of prostitution in the Netherlands

Over the centuries, Dutch officials have developed what is referred to as *gedogen* towards prostitutes and spaces for prostitution, a type of attitude which “involves self-regulation, enforced if necessary through administrative rules, but always with the criminal law as a threat in the background”, as explained by Brants (1998). Before 2000 and the legalization of prostitutes and brothel keeping, prostitution in Dutch cities was neither forbidden nor officially allowed: solicitation practices in open spaces, brothels and even procuring (though legally forbidden since 1911) could be found on the streets and taverns of the main cities. Excess, however, was condemned: disorderly behaviour, drunkenness and forced prostitution of minors were periodically sought out and sentenced by the municipal or regional courts. That attitude towards prostitution combined the law and judicial practice with temperance: even when brothels became illegal after 1911, brothel-like establishments opened their doors and continued offering paid sexual transactions, with the police well aware of their existence.

Despite an early tentative to reduce prostitution during the rise of Protestantism, Dutch cities struggled to contain its development: the Golden Age of the Netherlands (circa 1588–1702) brought many migrants, both male and female, to the burgeoning cities. The attraction of the ports (Amsterdam, Haarlem) and the growth of academic cities such as Leiden, prompted the migration of numerous young men and women. Moreover, migration and international travel encouraged the development of the entertainment and lodging business, in parallel with prostitution: taverns renting rooms by the hour (or the time needed), inns doubling as brothels and streetwalking were different kinds of prostitution available in the Netherlands in the early modern period. Significant legislative changes and policing practices occurred with the arrival of the French troops on Dutch soil at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the annexation of the Dutch territories by France in 1811, a new penal code was implemented: the new criminal code did not condemn prostitution but prosecuted people living off the revenues of a minor forced into prostitution, a condemnation that had already existed in the *ancien régime*. At a municipal level, particularly in garrison towns, registration of prostitutes and regular medical checks for venereal disease became the norm under French rule. The municipal duty followed two principles introduced by the Napoleonic state: a more thorough bureaucratization of the administration (with the system of registration) and a greater control of the population. In parallel, medical check-ups were also organized with the intention of reducing the risks of infecting soldiers with syphilis. French control of the Netherlands, however, ended in 1813 and although the penal code was kept, many of the municipal policies were changed under the following regime.

An early organization against prostitution (*Vereeniging tot Opbeuring van Boetvaardige Gevallen Vrouwen*) was set up in 1848 by Reverend Otto Gerhard Heldring, to help prostitutes leave their trade. He also opened the first “rescue home” of the Netherlands in the countryside. In the second half of

the nineteenth century, 37 towns, of which Rotterdam and The Hague, decided to implement new forms of regulation, including at times registration and compulsory medical visits. The “problem” of prostitution in relation to pauperism was also discussed in other European countries and publications on the prostitution question were encouraged: for instance, Heldring wrote *Is er Slavernij in Nederland?* (Does slavery exist in the Netherlands?) in 1860, followed by a book by police commissioner Koentz, *De Openbare en Geheime Prostitutie in Nederland* (Public and hidden prostitution in the Netherlands). Law professors, doctors and hygienists followed that publishing trend.

In the meantime, the abolitionist movement gained support from the middle class and the evangelical associations: the Dutch abolitionist movement was founded in 1878–1879 by the Reverend Pierson and was continually fuelled by reports and meetings on the development of venereal disease and the inefficiency and immorality of the regulation laws. The movement actively condemned people living off the revenues of prostitutes and prompted debates in Parliament. Shocked by the sex scandal described in *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* (the sale of a young virgin for prostitution) in 1885, the Dutch abolitionist associations petitioned for a treaty with Belgium to prevent any cross-border trafficking, followed by a treaty with Austria-Hungary and later with Germany. In the penal code of 1886, article 452 forced brothel owners to explain clearly to any woman they were to employ, that their establishment was a brothel. The law was meant to prevent “honest women” from being duped into working in those premises: the success of the reform was deemed very limited.

The evangelical groups became very active in their fight against prostitution itself: in 1910 for instance, inspector de Graff, who would later give his name to an association advising on prostitution policies, published a report on the state of the different shelters in the country. Regular checks were carried out by Christian associations on those (repressive and preventative) premises in The Hague (the “Opstanding en Leven” shelter and the “Haagsche Doorganghuis”) and in Amsterdam (“Beth-san” and “Beth-Palet”). De Vries (1997) highlighted a shift in perception of prostitutes at the turn of the century, owing to the development of the image of the “white slave”: prostitutes became victims and owners of brothels were deemed responsible for encouraging trafficking of women. Large public demonstrations against brothel keeping occurred, first in Amsterdam in the last decade of the century, and petitions to prohibit brothels were sent to the Parliament. The demonstrations, covered by the newspapers of the time, prompted the municipalities to ban the keeping of brothels. Indeed, brothel keeping was designated as a source of evil by the Dutch abolitionist movement and their closure was aimed at lowering the number of prostitutes and preventing any form of trafficking. Studies by Kam (1983) in the Netherlands or Walkowitz (1980) in the United Kingdom have, however, shown that most of those women acted independently and were often working as prostitutes of their own free will.

Nevertheless, the Amsterdam initiative to ban brothels in 1897, gave other Dutch cities the impetus to ban brothel keeping and the government of the Netherlands extended the legislation to the national level in 1911. Other cities followed the capital’s example and their initiative was echoed in international debates: Dutch representatives went to Paris in 1902 to attend the international conference on the white slave trade. In 1904 the government signed the International Agreement for the Suppression of the “White Slave Traffic” alongside 20 other countries, to investigate the

traffic in women and take protective measures such as the surveillance of ports and train stations. The ban on brothels was added to the Penal Code under article 250b. Sometimes called the Regout law, from the name of the minister of justice of the time, the new law punished anyone who ran a brothel or encouraged prostitution with a year in jail or a fine of 10,000 guilders. Anyone who “intentionally causes or advances the debauchery of someone with a third party when this is done in a professional capacity or out of habit” would be punished. Article 250ter stated that the traffic of women was forbidden. Yet, far from putting an end to prostitution and pimping (or even the existence of brothels), the location and methods of prostitution shifted from one establishment to another: cigarette shops, *cafés-chantants* and hotels replaced the former live-in brothels, whilst women started standing in front of their buildings or at their windows.

## Organization of the trade

At the time Paul Kinsie was sent to the Netherlands, more than a decade had passed since the ban on brothels, but the geography and organization of the trade had shifted only to a relative extent. Brothels (understood as an establishment where prostitutes rented a room and were under the supervision of a landlord or landlady) still existed, but appeared under new denominations: hotels with cheap rooms became a common feature of the prostitution business while other shops offered back rooms where customers could meet prostitutes. Along with cigarette shops, the most common establishments to provide a transactional space for prostitutes were the beauty and hairdressing salons. Indeed, the post-First World War era saw an increase in cover-up shops facilitating paid sexual transactions. Prostitutes also generalized the use of newspapers to advertise erotic massage: massage salons boomed in the 1920s with women advertising foreign, exotic massages. To what extent those types of prostitution were dominated by male pimps and traffickers is difficult to know. Research in other countries, however, shows that men gradually took over the market of prostitution on a large scale. Some prostitutes continued their trade alone, working as independent women, but the use of private rooms could be facilitated by a third party, even though that was against the law. As mentioned above, Dutch culture often had an ambivalent attitude towards the law and judicial practice, which was reflected in its relationship with prostitution. Although brothels were officially forbidden, renting rooms to prostitutes was tolerated. The role of the police in that *laissez-faire* attitude is not to be minimized and can be seen in every large Dutch city where prostitution continued to exist. Interestingly, the geography of prostitution was not altered drastically by the 1911 ban on brothels. In Amsterdam, the main thoroughfares in which prostitution had occurred since the early modern period remained the principal spaces of prostitution: the De Wallen district, close to the train station and the former port, remained active, owing to the existence of other forms of entertainment in those streets. Prostitution also settled in the Pijp district, where social housing was built in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in houses near the canals and close to the station on the western side of the city. In The Hague, the streets near the stations continued to be spaces for prostitution whilst in Rotterdam, a certain concentration of prostitutes occurred on the Katendrecht polder, with the unofficial consent of the police.



## Amsterdam

Since the seventeenth century, Amsterdam has been famous for its music houses, where prostitutes could often be found, and its inns and cafes which sometimes doubled as brothels. Those establishments accommodated sailors and foreign visitors as well as the local population. The reputation of the city crossed borders and the municipal authorities tended to let prostitutes ply their trade, as long as public order was respected. Fights, insults and indecency in the streets were prosecuted and sexual intercourse outside marriage was a criminal offence (the exchange of money was not a decisive factor in the condemnation). Thanks to that relative leniency and a lack of police officers on the streets, prostitution in Amsterdam flourished. It responded to the increasing demand from male customers and the ease with which women could get in and out of prostitution. The arrival of the French army and the creation of the Kingdom of Holland in 1806 led to compulsory registration and medical check-ups, but in Amsterdam those practices were abolished shortly after the return of William I in 1813. Increasing concerns voiced by the elite over pauperization and working-class living conditions throughout the nineteenth century nevertheless had an impact on prostitution: women were “encouraged” by the police to give notice of their whereabouts and to comply with visits to the doctor. Amsterdam never officially regulated prostitution in the nineteenth century, but policing practices were similar to the work of the police in regulated cities. By the end of the century, fear of trafficking in women and forced prostitution, backed up with public concerns and demonstrations, motivated changes in municipal laws. Indeed, Amsterdam was a pioneer in its legislation against brothels whilst still encouraging voluntary medical check-ups. The ban on brothels was implemented in 1897, but the closing of Amsterdam brothels did not happen overnight. The most famous brothel, *Maison Weinthal*, which catered for rich customers, closed its doors in 1902, due in part to financial difficulties. The number of clandestine houses (brothels but also rented rooms and hotels) in 1902 was reported to be 204 with 489 women in total (Slobbe, 1937).

The women working in Amsterdam were on average 23 years old at the beginning of the twentieth century. From a working-class background, they tended to practise prostitution for a short time, usually before getting married. It is unclear whether they worked in prostitution out of sheer poverty, or to earn more money than in a factory. It is most likely that both situations existed. The economy of Amsterdam at the beginning of the twentieth century was thriving and women could obtain access to the job market relatively easily, but wage differences with men meant that their salaries were quite modest compared to the revenues of prostitution. Before the ban on brothels and the white slave scare, foreign women were easily found in the streets of Dutch cities: Belgian and German women being the most numerous, whilst French (or pretending to be French) women were the third largest group. With the 1911 legislation, however, prostitution by foreigners was forbidden and police were on the lookout for illegal immigrants. Although foreigners seemed to have left the Dutch streets, German and especially Belgian (Flemish) women could easily pass for Dutch and be left to work the streets. Jan Stachhouwer, a Dutch criminologist, calculated, based on the files from the vice police in Amsterdam that in 1918, 159 foreign prostitutes were mentioned in the police files. Between 1926 and 1935, 266 foreign women were recorded in Amsterdam, but clandestine prostitution might have become the only outlet for foreign women. Belgian and German prostitutes still appeared as the largest groups in the 1920s and 1930s, followed by Russians. A third of German prostitutes were first employed as domestic servants before becoming prostitutes, the others were either already prostitutes or had not found employment when they moved to Amsterdam.

Over 10 years, since the creation of the vice squad in 1826, the head of the vice police in Amsterdam, Jan Slobbe, had counted 1,900 prostitutes in total: street prostitutes were the most numerous (45 per cent), followed by prostitutes working from “their homes” or from a brothel (33 per cent) and then by café prostitutes and occasional prostitutes. Interestingly, he also mentioned a thousand *huizen van ontucht* or houses of prostitution (information collected over 10 years), divided into four categories: disguised brothels, private houses known to offer space for prostitution, rendezvous houses and mundane meeting places. Disguised brothels were defined as rented apartments under the supervision of the landlord or landlady, in which the prostitutes worked and sometimes lived. Over a 10-year period the police counted around 150 of those houses, mainly in the old centre of Amsterdam. In addition, there were reported to have been roughly 500 private houses or flats in the 1920s and 1930s. The rendezvous houses, around 115 hotels, rented rooms by the hour. Finally, the mundane establishments included cafés, bars, cabarets and other lunch rooms, where customers drank and entertained themselves with women (over 275 such places).

## The Hague

Prostitution in The Hague was until recently, relatively hidden from the eye of the non-local. The city only boomed at the beginning of the twentieth century and in a large urbanized area such as the Randstad, early modern The Hague had little to attract men and women compared to the likes of Amsterdam, Haarlem or Leiden. Nevertheless, The Hague municipality, strengthened by the establishment of many royal institutions, became in 1827 the first city in the Netherlands, after the French episode, to implement official regulation of brothels and prostitutes. Women were allowed to work only if they were checked weekly by a doctor for venereal disease. Records had to be made of the visits to the doctor in a small booklet that had to be kept readily available to the authorities. In the meantime, brothel owners had to pay a tax to the municipality according to the number of women who worked there and the price of the rent. In 1851, the municipality asserted its supervision of the *openbaar huizen van ontucht* (houses of prostitution) and again in 1857, in terms comparable to the regulation laws of 1827. The ineffectiveness of the 1827 regulation system became patent as brothels were opened clandestinely and many prostitutes did not submit to the doctor's visit, one reason being that women had to pay for the medical appointments themselves. In 1857, visits to the doctor became free and brothels were submitted to a licensing system, but were not allowed near churches, schools or concert halls. The visit of Judith Butler to The Hague in 1883 encouraged the population and especially middle-class women to act against prostitution and the “induced slavery of women”. Associations in favour of the abolition of prostitution and the signature of the International Agreement for the Suppression of the “White Slave Traffic” in 1904 led to closer supervision and multiple contacts with women working the streets in The Hague, whilst the regulation process declined as a police practice.

The extent of The Hague prostitution market in the first half of the twentieth century hardly compared with that of Amsterdam: “only” six to nine brothels were in existence and the number of streetwalkers was unknown, when the municipality officially forbade brothels in 1905. After the ban on brothels, hotels and massage salons supplanted the original brothels and streetwalking seemed to have increased: women spread over the city, moving partially from the Spui and closer to the stations, and to the de Bezuidehout park, which offered many hidden spots. Window prostitution

developed in the 1920s and 1930s on the Spui, the Zuidwal and the Paviljoensgracht. The main area where prostitutes could be found lay near both railway stations, The Hague Centraal and Holland Spoor. The absence of a significant port in The Hague, compared to Amsterdam or Rotterdam, led to a different geography of the spaces for prostitution, highlighting the importance of the localization of customers in spatial distribution of prostitutes: the districts near the train stations were taken over by prostitutes rather than the streets next to the seaport. The demography of prostitution, however, remained similar to that of Amsterdam and Rotterdam: young single women, usually from the Netherlands, though once again the possibility of misrepresenting one's identity must not be forgotten. The *Het Volk* newspaper claimed in 1919 that many prostitutes in The Hague were Catholic: that would support the fact that many Belgian Catholic women went to the Netherlands to become prostitutes, but pretended to be Dutch. Another explanation could be that migrant women during the interwar period tended to come from the Catholic, poorer Dutch countryside in the south and east of the country, and chose prostitution out of necessity, possibly because of a lack of contacts in the city to which they had moved.

## Rotterdam

The first regulation laws in Rotterdam were passed in 1847 and included compulsory visits to the doctor every week, but they found limited success. Prostitution was concentrated in the Zandstraat and Rodestraat districts in the old city centre (now the Oostplein) and close to the old port. The Scheepvaartkwartier, which is now the Nieuw Werk district, was in the nineteenth century a common place to find prostitutes, the district being populated by freshly landed sailors and low-paid workers: *uurhoteltjes* (one-hour hotels) and cafes were used by prostitutes to find customers. In 1889, the city counted 84 brothels and the most expensive brothels stood on Haringvliet Street. High-class brothels had their own servants, cooks and even seamstresses, as recorded in the population censuses. Prostitution in Rotterdam benefited from the international opening of the port and a booming demography at the turn of the century: from 210,000 inhabitants in 1890, it rose to 430,000 20 years later. In 1910, 1,200 prostitutes were mentioned in the files of the Rotterdam police, of which 787 were considered clandestine prostitutes. During the years leading to the war, the municipality tried to reduce the number and in 1910, brothels were forbidden. Legal actions against pimps were also enforced: in two years, almost 100 men were sent to prison for acting as procurers.

The city also expanded geographically at the turn of the century, creating socially uniform districts such as the Katendrecht polder, which catered almost exclusively for sailors and was the home of low-paid dock workers and their families. In addition, the multiplication of cruise ships with large crews and the international role of Rotterdam port led to the building of sailors' quarters in which to lodge and cater for them while they waited for a new departure. Foreigners from Asia and the Americas rubbed shoulders in Rotterdam and prostitution was rife in the district next to the sailors' quarters. The isolation of the district caused concern for the elite, even more so during the First World War: Rotterdam being a neutral port, foreign crews (notably Chinese and Indonesian) disembarked there and were often stuck in the port district for many months, much longer than usual. The Katendrecht polder, however, remained a sanctuary for prostitutes and even for their pimps: the police were indeed inclined to let prostitutes move to that specific location: the polder had limited access and could therefore be easily controlled. A silent consensus was reached by the

municipality and the police and by 1920, the number of condemnations for pimping dropped down to zero. Prostitutes, pimps and brothels flourished on the polder. The old district of Zandstraat, however, which stood near the old centre, suffered a different outcome: it was pulled down in 1912 in a bid to renovate the centre of Rotterdam. Prostitutes moved from there to the Katendrecht.

Owing to the compulsory visits to the doctor, Rotterdam kept registers of women infected by venereal disease until 1902, when the visits were abolished by municipal decree, after lengthy debates. Between 1852 and 1890, almost 9,000 women were treated for sexual disease and research shows that the number of women born outside Rotterdam increased significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The attraction of French women, for instance, did not diminish as the century wore on; brothel keepers (who could also be foreigners) kept advertising the presence of foreign-born prostitutes: Palais Oriental, the elitist brothel in Rotterdam, took advantage of foreign women working on its premises and two underage Parisian girls were caught working there. A branch of the *Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille* (International Union of Friends of Young Women) was created in 1892 to protect young urban single women: it took an active part in preventing and informing the population about the white slave trade by printing posters and leaflets to warn young maids of the risks of answering certain advertisements. It also met and greeted young women at the station with a recognizable armband and took them to safe addresses run by its bureau. Its philanthropic action revealed the general concerns of the population over trafficked women and prostitution. In 1895 the Rotterdam police, in collaboration with that of Antwerp, Berlin, Brussels and Riga, put a stop to the illegal migration and smuggling of Belgian women through the port of Rotterdam to Russia. The Rotterdam police also had regular contacts with the Parisian police at the end of the century, as proved by their knowledge of the illegal migration of women between France and the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the proximity of borders and the international connections of the people living in the port city facilitated the arrival of foreign women onto the streets of Rotterdam, most likely to a greater extent than in The Hague.

The post-First World War era and the ban on brothels did not limit the development of prostitution in Rotterdam. In 1925, Herman van Dijkhuizen, a reporter writing for a socialist journal, gave this title to his column: "Should we give up the 1911 ban on brothels?" He claimed that prostitution had become a criminal affair, with shops and slum dwellings owned by men being used as cover-up businesses. In Tweede Lombardstraat (now Binnenrotte) he counted 10 public houses or rented dens where men had been robbed by prostitutes' pimps. Dijkhuizen described the women he met as being in a system of debt bondage, being unable to leave prostitution or their pimp because of the money they owed. That situation was apparently repeated on other streets in the city, on Goudsesingel, Hoogstraat and Coolsingel. On Groenendaal, Houttuin and Schiestraat, prostitutes seemed to be in a better position than in Tweede Lombardstraat, some of them working in cafes. Although they were often working under a pimp, Dijkhuizen explained that they had more negotiating power and were more likely to complain to the police if they were maltreated. Finally the Schiedamsedijk and the Katendrecht appeared to be the most favourable place for prostitutes: a safe environment and the assent of the police meant that they were less likely to be under the harsh control of a pimp. Rotterdam prostitution, its extent and its link with the international port, is a good example of the multiple characteristics of prostitution and of the various labour relations that prostitutes could create.

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# Prostitution in New York City

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## Historical overview

The growth of prostitution in New York came about with the development of the city from the 1770s onwards. With the expansion of commercial activities and transport facilities in the nineteenth century, brothels flourished and turned into a common feature of metropolitan life. Highly concentrated in entertainment districts, commercial sex was by no means relegated to the margins of society. Landlords and managers of entertainment enterprises maximized their profits by allowing prostitutes to operate in their properties and businesses, while policemen, politicians, doctors and lawyers illegally shared the gains with madams and procurers.

Victorians did not approve of the sale of sexual services but did not perceive it as a criminal offence. In spite of unofficial harassment, prostitution was quietly tolerated as a “necessary evil”. Although laws against brothel keeping and streetwalking existed, they were seldom applied; prostitution as such was not illegal. After the civil war, several attempts were made to regulate prostitution. As in Europe and some Latin American countries, regulationists viewed prostitution as a social evil that could be controlled by the state. Whereas some American states experimented briefly with the regulation system, in the state of New York plans to regulate prostitution failed from the start.

The golden age of brothel prostitution came to an end by the late 1800s, as the growing fear of spreading crime, venereal disease and white slavery strengthened reform groups. A harsher societal reaction towards prostitution led to the introduction of new anti-prostitution laws. The new legal situation, alternative uses of real estate, the spread of the factory system and office buildings, as well as changing attitudes towards courtship proved vital for the undermining of brothel prostitution in the early twentieth century. As prostitution in hotels, saloons, tenement houses and furnished rooms flourished, along with police and municipal corruption, the increased involvement of civil society resulted in an impressive attack on prostitution from the end of the nineteenth century onwards.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

Prostitution in the United States of America underwent radical changes during the so-called Progressive Era (late 1800s–early 1900s). Preventive societies founded by social purity and abolitionist groups launched a frontal attack on the vice market and its ties with the municipal authorities and police forces. In New York City, Reverend Charles Parkhurst organized a famous anti-corruption and anti-vice campaign at the end of the nineteenth century. He was the first to use the methods of undercover enquiry to prove his assertions. Although his efforts to clean the city government and the police department failed, he succeeded in pursuing his campaign thanks to the support of Republican Party leaders and other clergymen.

In 1900, anti-vice crusaders established the Committee of Fifteen to investigate the situation. Contrary to the rather small basis of the previous reform groups, vice commissions of the twentieth century enjoyed much broader support among businessmen, philanthropists, medical groups, academics and women's organizations. Also the Jewish-American community became strongly involved in the fight against the engagement of Jewish men and women in the sex trade. They adopted a "moral-scientific" approach to prostitution. The wish for a systematic study of prostitution stimulated the creation of fact-finding enquiries that relied on field investigations, statistical data, the assessment of existing laws and interviews with the persons directly involved in the sex trade. Those methods were supported by a positivistic perspective: once "the truth" was revealed, the rational citizenry would join forces with the reformers to abolish prostitution.

The Committee of Fifteen was succeeded in 1905 by the Committee of Fourteen, which drew support from wealthy New Yorkers like John D. Rockefeller Jr. The Committee strove for the amendment and better enforcement of laws against disorderliness and immorality through the installation of clearer rules for the licensing of saloons, better screening of proprietors and customers, the use of undercover investigators and a partnership with liquor dealers and insurance companies to sever connections with unruly saloon and hotel owners. Rockefeller, who headed a grand-jury investigation on white slavery in 1910, provided financial support for the foundation of, among others, the Bureau of Social Hygiene. The Bureau commissioned George Kneeland and Katherine Bement Davis to conduct a thorough study of prostitution in New York City. That influential study, published in 1913, established a direct link between brothel prostitution and white slavery.

That elaborate system of research and repression of vice was successful. The Prentice Act of 1906 secured a careful inspection of hotels before a certificate could be issued to them; and the Injunction and Abatement Law of 1914 penalized property owners who tolerated prostitution. In 1907, night courts for men and for women were established to deal with persons arrested after courts had closed and to avoid detention of innocent ones in jail. The Women's Night Court rested upon the idea that females needed to be kept separate from men, that cases relating to prostitution required exclusive jurisdiction and that because of her gender, the prostitute deserved special attention. In theory, the Women's Court was meant to protect and to reform prostitutes by putting them on probation or by sending them to a reformatory or a workhouse. In practice, the new penal and judicial system operated punitively and ended up as an important step forward towards the outright criminalization of prostitution.

White slavery also figured prominently on the agenda of reformers. But contrary to the white slavery narratives from other countries where women were abducted and forced to practise prostitution abroad, the main worry in the United States was about the immigration of immoral women, pimps and procurers into its territory. That explains the growing importance accorded to both immigration law and state legislation to prevent trafficking. The federal Immigration Acts of 1903 and 1907 referred directly to prostitution. Furthermore, the acknowledgement that prostitution was not necessarily an imported evil but a local problem led to the passage of the Mann Act of 1910, in which international as well as domestic trafficking in women was addressed. With its imprecise terminology, the new legislation, along with the severe measures taken during the war



and the Immigration Acts of 1921, 1924 and 1929 contributed to a steady decrease in the influx of foreigners.

With the United States involvement in the First World War, an aggressive attack on prostitution was launched to reduce the incidence of venereal disease among the troops. Although New York City entered the war with strict prostitution laws, it faced tremendous problems owing to troop concentrations within its limits and thousands of soldiers visiting the city on leave. The War Department and the Committee of Fourteen joined forces to suppress prostitution further through tough enforcement of the new federal and state laws.

After the armed conflict, the authorities carried on their war against commercial sex. The Standard Vice Repression Act outlawed prostitution in the United States in 1919, after which every state enacted laws prohibiting prostitution. In that same year, amendments to existing laws and the creation of new ones also affected the sex trade. Section 887 4a of the Criminal Code characterized as vagrant any person who committed or offered to commit prostitution. The latter charge could be proved by a minimum of evidence. The Volstead Act prohibited the consumption of alcohol: henceforth bars, taverns, cabarets and saloons that served drinks and tolerated prostitution became doubly criminalized. All those measures did not abolish prostitution, but drew the trade further into the underground.

## Organization of the trade

Throughout the nineteenth century, brothel prostitution was increasingly visible and perceived as beneficial to the interests of men and women. Although brothel owners and madams trapped women in a system of financial exploitation, they offered them a familiar environment and protected them from aggressive clients and police harassment. Women could make good money in brothels, but they were forced to hand over part of their gains to madams. What was left, however, was still higher than the average earnings of working women in other branches of the economy. In 1896, state senator John Raines introduced the Liquor Tax Law in order to restrict drinking and to limit prostitution in saloons. But since the law required an annual fee for saloon licences and restricted the sale of alcohol on Sundays to hotels with at least 10 beds, saloons converted to hotels en masse to continue profiting from the daily sale of liquor. The mushrooming of “Raines law hotels” motivated women to forge alliances with proprietors and to establish themselves as an independent workforce. Women profited from the inexperience of saloon owners in the running of the sex trade and were able to negotiate terms for their own benefit.

Tenement house prostitution became more prevalent in the early 1900s. Overcrowded tenement houses saw the rise and integration of commercial sex in immigrant and working-class districts. Prostitutes solicited openly from the doors, windows or main entrances of tenements and were often seen as an integral part of the community. Women wishing to keep their activities hidden from family and friends preferred furnished rooms. Most women working in those rooms did so casually, using prostitution as a way to make extra money.

From the 1920s onwards, clandestine prostitution and increased linkages with third parties and organized crime, as well as ubiquitous corruption and violent oppression of prostitutes, became the norm. Whereas high levels of pimping were emphasized in the publications of progressive reformers,

evidence from undercover investigators' field reports of the Committee of Fifteen and the Committee of Fourteen indicated that pimps were not pervasive in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The more secretive commercial sex became, the more important role pimps played in the management of prostitution; protection of women from violent clients and undercover investigators, but at times also (the threat of) violence characterized the pimp-prostitute relationship.

Streetwalking did not disappear but became much more risky than before so that many women preferred the secrecy of speakeasies and apartments. The increased use of the telephone facilitated the operations of call girls and of male "bookies" who controlled, booked and moved women and madams to different houses and flats. Ironically, those measures also led to the expansion of adult entertainment. The new and legal sex industry included taxi dancing, hostessing, nude modelling and burlesque. Legal sex work, together with better wages and working conditions for (white) women, changing attitudes towards sex, earlier marriage and the availability of contraceptives, reduced the demand for prostitution.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

According to Timothy Gilfoyle (1992), probably 5–10 per cent of all young females in New York between 1816 and 1913 were involved in casual or full-time prostitution at some point in their lives. In his study of prostitution, Kneeland (1913) estimated that in 1912 Manhattan, there were some 15,000 women, or 4 per cent of all young women, involved in the trade (occasional prostitutes excluded). In 1922, the number of women convicted of offences relating to prostitution in the Women's Court of New York ranged between 1,200 and 1,400. That low figure might be explained by the nature of the source (convictions) and of the trade, as prostitution grew increasingly covert in the war and post-war periods.

A large majority of prostitutes in New York City came from the working class and were often undereducated. In economic terms, women profited from prostitution significantly more than from other jobs available to them. Abusive situations, particularly sexual harassment, at work or at home also explained the disillusionment of some women with conventional forms of work. Data on the nationality of prostitutes is inconclusive. Several reports and popular writings tended to inflate the share of foreign-born women in prostitution. More reliable statistics indicate that most New York prostitutes in the period under study were United States-born. Most data on the share of immigrants in prostitution during the first two decades of the twentieth-century fluctuate around 25 per cent, while foreigners represented 40 per cent of the New York population. Among the native prostitutes, the children of immigrants (in particular Austro-Hungarians, Eastern European Jews and the Irish) and African Americans were overrepresented in the statistics.

With regard to the foreign-born, Davis (1913) estimated that women coming from Austria-Hungary, England-Scotland, Germany, Ireland and Russia were the most represented in the sex trade. In 1922, a similar pattern existed. The proportion of Italian prostitutes did not match their share of the New York population, while French prostitutes were generally overrepresented as compared to the modest French migration to New York. Jewish prostitutes formed an important part of the German and Russian migrant groups, but were underrepresented in the prostitute population. According to the sources gathered by Davis, between 17 and 19 per cent of women sentenced for all

offences in New York's courts in 1912 were Jewish. Joseph (1986) states that the rate of foreign-born Jewish prostitutes in the docket books of the Women's Court increased in the first two decades of the twentieth century, but it could be that, as newcomers they had become involved in streetwalking or tenement house prostitution and attracted therefore more attention from the vice squad.

Although an almighty white slave conspiracy and trade have never been satisfactorily proven, evidence of forceful or deceptive recruitment for prostitution does exist. Cases of coercion seem to have been infrequent, though. In 1910, the grand jury charged with the investigation of white slavery in New York concluded that no evidence of an organized traffic in women was found, but it documented various cases proving that some females had been tricked or forced into prostitution. Rosen (1982) estimates that during the Progressive Era, less than 10 per cent of the whole prostitute population of the United States had experienced situations which fell under the white slavery label. Data for 2,363 New York prostitutes indicate that in 1912, 17 per cent of women cited white slavery, betrayal, deceit or seduction as the cause of their involvement in the trade. Reformers often identified foreigners (particularly Italians and Jews) as the main suppliers of white slaves and runners of brothels. As Rosen points out, however, of the men convicted under the Mann Act, 73 per cent were native-born United States citizens.

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## Sex Work on the Isthmus of Panama

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### Historical overview

Sexual commerce has occupied a central hallmark of the transit economy in Panama. During the Spanish colonial period, the isthmus became a strategic nexus for the Spanish commercial empire. Every year, sex workers joined merchants, sailors, soldiers and labourers at the annual Portobelo trade fair. That annual event transformed the isthmus from a sleepy backwater into a frenzied spectacle lasting a number of weeks. During that festive happening, drunken revellers filled makeshift brothels as Spanish merchants and bureaucrats oversaw the exchange of European manufactured goods and African slaves for Peruvian silver. Illicit contraband and attacks by rival foreign powers, however, eventually undermined the Spanish trade monopoly in the Americas. By the time of the wars of independence in Latin America, sex work had declined alongside the decreasing economic importance of the isthmus.

After the wars of independence, the demand for paid sex experienced a major boom during the 1850s when the California gold rush transformed the local economy. The cheapest and quickest way for people from the east coast of the United States of America to travel to the west coast consisted of taking a steamship first to Panama and then to California. As those travellers crossed the isthmus over a week-long journey, they spent money on local transportation, lodging, food, entertainment and sex. Brothels soon opened in Panama to meet the demands of California-bound North American men. As McGuinness (2008) has shown, United States magnates soon constructed the first transcontinental railroad across the isthmus, which reduced the length of time and money that travellers spent in Panama, and as a result sex workers experienced the contracting of the local economy.

A second infrastructure project in the 1880s, however, revived the demand for prostitution as the French attempted to build a canal across the isthmus. Caribbean migrants arrived by tens of thousands to find work as well as handfuls of French foremen. Migrant prostitutes from the Caribbean, Central America, Europe, North and South America arrived to meet the demands of an equally cosmopolitan workforce. Construction work abruptly ended in 1888 after top officials bankrupted the French Canal Company through graft and corruption. As the sex trade shrank, most migrant prostitutes moved elsewhere while a few remained on the isthmus.

During the early 1900s, the sex trade in Panama developed as a borderland phenomenon between a United States-controlled Canal Zone and the new Republic of Panama. After the Colombian senate rejected an offer to cede control over a strip of land across the isthmus for the United States to build a canal, the government of the United States backed a movement by local elites to secede from Gran Colombia. As a result, the Panamanian elite conceded a 10 by 50-mile strip of land controlled by the United States that divided the newly independent Republic in half.

From those new geopolitical boundaries emerged a borderland space consisting of the Canal Zone and the Republic's two largest cities at either end of the canal: Panama City on the Pacific and Colón on the Caribbean. As distinct and autonomous jurisdictions, the United States Canal Zone and the Republic frequently formulated contradictory laws with regard to leisure culture. Although both United States and Panamanian authorities agreed that the sex trade should be regulated in the cities, canal authorities outlawed prostitution and alcohol consumption in the Canal Zone. The Republic's urban elite also consistently adopted a more tolerant approach to alcohol and sex work in the cities from whose growing service economy they frequently profited. Those contrasting legal jurisdictions brought people into more intimate contact as men from the Canal Zone crossed the border on a daily basis in order to enjoy a more vibrant nightlife in the Republic's cities: Panama City and Colón.

As historian Julie Greene (2009) has highlighted, the Republic's entertainment districts provided an alternative to the more regimented world of the Canal Zone during the construction of the United States Panama Canal (1904–1914). Canal Zone workers fled to the cities in order to enjoy dancing, drinking, gambling and sex. Women from the Caribbean, Central America, Europe, North and South America migrated to find work in Panama's booming urban service economy that met the canal workers' demands for recreation and entertainment. As a result, the city streets of Panama bustled with migrant women searching to take part in the thriving economy and who found opportunities by opening saloons, boarding houses and brothels. Although the entertainment districts in the Republic fostered a degree of racial fluidity, European and North American women dominated the more prosperous establishments in the cosmopolitan brothel industry.

After the opening of the Panama Canal, the isthmus became a strategic military outpost for both the United States army and navy, which reshaped the sex trade and entertainment business in the Republic's cities between the First and Second World Wars. During the 1920s and 1930s, dance halls and cabarets rapidly expanded and catered to United States sailors on leave as naval warships arrived in larger numbers. The growth in bars, dance halls and high-end cabarets in the Panamanian port cities met the needs of an economy built around United States military tourism. The sex trade reached an apogee during the 1940s as mobilization for the Second World War increased the size of the garrison in the Canal Zone.

## **Societal reaction and legal situation**

Social attitudes towards sex work in Panama were derived from varying perspectives based on race and nationality. United States officials feared that building an empire in the "tropics" would lead to the racial degeneration of the "white" race due to interracial sexual contact. They blamed prostitution and venereal disease on the innate sexual promiscuousness of the local women while ignoring the complicity of the United States soldiers. Meanwhile, the Panamanian authorities were worried about the fact that North American men created a sexual demand that Panamanian women would fulfil. They therefore welcomed the arrival of foreign prostitutes as a buffer to protect Panamanian women.

A variety of social relationships developed out of the presence of United States soldiers in Panama. In order not to insult elite Panamanians, as historian Michael Donoghue has shown (2014), United States officials attempted to restrict soldiers' sexual encounters to foreign prostitutes and lower-class Panamanian women. Working-class United States soldiers and average Panamanian

women often formed complex relationships that blurred the lines between prostitution, concubinage, dating and marriage. Panamanian women risked social stigmatization simply by meeting newly arrived United States citizens out of curiosity or by forming long-term relationships with United States soldiers. Local girlfriends and wives of United States soldiers alike faced being scorned as “prostitutes”. Meanwhile North American men typically viewed local women in Panama as more passionate but also more sexually promiscuous than their North American counterparts. Panamanian women, however, also stereotyped North American men as more affluent, family-oriented and less domineering than Panamanian men.

The sex trade largely catered to the desires of North American men with money. Canal officials instituted a racialized payroll that paid white North Americans at higher rates in gold. In contrast, the majority of the 60,000 workers who built the canal consisted of black migrants from the Caribbean who were paid menial wages in silver. As various scholars have shown, some prostitutes scorned black men because of the racist cultural stereotypes the men represented. They believed that larger black penises would irrevocably stretch the prostitutes’ vaginas to the displeasure of non-black clients.

The red-light districts of Panama were often a site of social tension and conflict that reflected the unequal relations between Panama and the United States. As Greene has explored, between the years 1912 and 1915, a series of riots broke out in Panama City’s Cocoa Grove district between North Americans, local residents, and the Panamanian police. The riots left scores of civilians dead and injured. The United States blamed the Panamanian police force and disarmed it of its rifles, leaving many Panamanian men feeling emasculated.

Nevertheless, the Panamanian and United States authorities both agreed to regulate prostitution through legal codes when the canal construction began. Panamanian municipal governments took charge of the day-to-day enforcement while Canal Zone health officials oversaw the process as part of their public health and sanitation duties. Regulating prostitution consisted of licensing brothels, registering sex workers on an official list, demarcating a district where prostitutes would live, mandating medical examinations and forcing hospitalization if they were deemed “diseased”. Panamanian officials, however, inconsistently enforced the law. Often state crackdowns on illicit prostitution depended on the political whims of elite men in response to demands from local constituents. Moreover, legal codes often frequently changed as state officials negotiated with prostitutes who had power to make demands as part of a profession having legal rights.

Although both Canal Zone and Panamanian officials initially agreed on a regulatory approach, progressive-era moral reformers in the United States pushed for legal reforms to end prostitution. The Mann Act of 1911 aimed to stop the growing movement of North American women to Panama. Moral reform activists portrayed brothel districts in the “tropics” as seedy sites of sexual exploitation and racial degradation for white womanhood. Nevertheless, the Mann Act had limited impact because women found creative ways to evade the authorities. The legislation also created friction between the Panamanian and United States authorities. Panamanian authorities felt the legislation selectively targeted North American women, which meant that Panamanian women would have to replace them in the local sex trade.



Moral reform activists had a lasting impact on United States policy in Panama regarding prostitution. The United States embraced abolitionism and rejected the regulatory approach during the First World War. General Richard Blatchford, the acting Governor of the Canal Zone during the war, decried the Panamanian port cities as “Sodom and Gomorrah” and banned United States soldiers from entering the Republic. By that form of economic embargo he intended to pressure Panamanian officials to abandon regulating prostitution, but the insult ultimately upset everybody, including elite Panamanians, United States soldiers and residents in the cities. After the war, military officials allowed soldiers to visit the cities. However, they typically designated certain black and working-class neighbourhoods as “off-limits” for troops because of perceived immorality. Nevertheless, the red-light districts consistently avoided that designation. Although the United States continued to criticize Panama for not outlawing prostitution, military and canal officials in practice depended on the legalized sex trade and implicitly supported the more practical local approach of their Panamanian counterparts.

## Organization of the trade

The organization of the sex trade in Panama changed over time as the legal and social context shifted during the early twentieth century. During the United States construction era (1904–1914), the law recognized one brothel district for both Panama City and Colón. Brothels typically functioned as a saloon and dance hall where the first floor contained an open space with a bar, piano and tables where people ate, drank, played cards, listened to music and danced. Sex workers served drinks, talked and danced with customers, and if a potential client agreed to her terms she would take them upstairs to her private room for paid sex. During the First World War, the Republic of Panama adopted a series of legal reforms under pressure from the United States. The new legislation banned women from operating saloons, prohibited alcohol from the district, and forbade leaseholders from renting rooms to individuals in the red-light zones in Panama City and Colón. The reforms aimed at eliminating brothel madams and pimps from the regulated zone. As a result, sex workers no longer rented rooms from a brothel madam but instead from owners of property, who tended to be elite Panamanian men. Although many prostitutes became less dependent on brothel madams and pimps, some women also lost the opportunity of possessing their own establishments.

During the 1920s, the cabarets and dance halls flourished outside the red-light districts with varying levels of respectability. The most respectable cabarets included Kelley’s Cabaret and the Metropolitan, which entertained Canal Zone officials, elite Panamanians, foreign dignitaries, tourists and United States military officers. Those establishments often recruited North American performers for a period that typically lasted from a week to over six months. Other cabarets followed that model and imported performers from all over Latin America and the Caribbean to the isthmus. Meanwhile, less respectable dance halls, such as the Alamo and Imperial Rustic, entertained local Panamanians as well as working-class United States soldiers and sailors. All cabarets and dance halls, however, employed “blue moon girls”, who were named after the non-alcoholic drinks they consumed. Establishments hired the women to encourage patrons to drink more without getting the woman employee intoxicated.

Although officials attempted to contain the sex trade within the red-light districts, they consistently failed to achieve that goal. Although queues could extend for a hundred yards into the streets of the red-

light districts when the United States navy arrived, prostitutes also entered the military barracks and bachelor quarters in the Canal Zone. Women who worked in dance halls and cabarets were constantly suspected of taking clients to an establishment across the street for paid sex in collusion with the owners. That arrangement allowed the dance halls to avoid state regulation of the sex trade. Taxis also frequently functioned as movable clandestine brothels to the dismay of the authorities. Alleyways, cheap hotels, and individual residences became sites for illicit sexual encounters as well.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

No reliable evidence exists for an estimation of the percentage of the population that worked because the number of women who participated in the sex trade fluctuated seasonally and year to year. Nevertheless, various forms of sex work remained a staple of the urban service economy that privileged men with money. Women who worked as prostitutes remained a socially marginalized population constantly on the move. The geographic mobility of sex workers frequently caused headaches for the authorities that attempted to monitor and keep track of prostitutes' whereabouts. Many migrant women came from the Caribbean, Central America, South America, and the Panamanian countryside. Women from Europe and the United States also participated in both the regulated and clandestine sex trade in Panama's port cities. Although the law required registered women to be over 17 years old, the authorities consistently turned a blind eye to underage prostitutes if they were of African descent. Nevertheless, for most women, sex work remained a temporary vocation with an exceptional few who toiled in the profession for decades. After the process of applying to remove their names from the official registry of prostitutes, many women found work as domestic labourers or street vendors. Others found employment in restaurants, hotels and retail shopfronts. Nevertheless, due to their tarnished reputations many former prostitutes continued to face police harassment and social stigma after they had removed their names from the official registry.

The main causes of prostitution included a combination of factors, such as women's general socioeconomic marginalization and a lack of educational opportunities. Employment opportunities for women remained very limited and formal education remained out of reach for most of the working poor. While upper and middle-class women could occasionally secure vocations such as nurses, stenographers or journalists, working-class women frequently had to juggle working in multiple capacities as paid and unpaid labourers. Many women also found themselves as the sole financial providers in a family network, obliged to support elderly or widowed mothers as well as children with an absent father. Those burdens fell on working women during a period when the state did not provide social security for disabled or elderly citizens. Sex work remained one economic avenue that allowed working-class women to make ends meet. For many women prostitution provided an income as they creatively attempted to find other ways of making a living. Women labouring in wage-earning jobs associated with prostitution, such as working as a waitress in a restaurant or dance hall, were also provided with the opportunity of socializing and creating long-term relationships with men who could potentially provide financial support as a sweetheart, lover or husband.

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## Prostitution in Paris

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### Historical overview and the beginnings of “the French system”

Since the early medieval period when Paris was an urban centre and one of the crossroads in Western Europe, prostitution has been part of the fabric of Parisian society. Licensed brothels and bath houses were ubiquitous, although over the years, some restrictions had been placed on them. Except for a brief period of repression in the thirteenth century and again in the late seventeenth century, efforts to suppress prostitution were few. Prostitutes could be harassed, but generally they were viewed sympathetically as pitiful and “fallen” creatures in need of penitentiary reform, “easy women”, or part of the public order. From the end of the reign of Louis XIV until the Revolution nearly a century later, the message remained mixed. Prostitutes who were found in military encampments could have their ears clipped, and the police were given the authority to conduct substantial raids. Prostitution came more and more to be considered as a condition, not yet pathological, or as a state of being. Prostitutes had not yet been defined as a subculture. Rather, poor women passed in and out of the sex trade.

The end of the eighteenth century, however, brought significant change. While prostitution remained tolerated, its outward manifestations did not, in particular, because of the growing concern with sexually transmitted disease and disturbances of the public order. So, plans for regulation began to be published, including Nicholas Restif de Bretonne’s *Le Pornographe*. In the pamphlet, he proposed “houses of pleasure” where prostitutes would be secluded, their children raised, and sanitation carefully monitored. Lists of grievances to Louis XVI just prior to the Revolution also dealt with prostitution, but ultimately the key was that scandalous behaviour and notoriety be avoided and that innocent working women not be mistaken for prostitutes. According to writers and functionaries, there were underlying reasons for prostitution: male desire and female misery. Neither was going to be remedied in the short term. The discussion during the revolutionary years, therefore, dealt with individual liberty, public order, and public health. Prostitution was recognized again as a fact of life.

In 1791, the Paris police began what was tantamount to registration, and the process was regularized in 1799 under the Bureau Central de Police. Medical examinations were mandated by Napoleon in 1802, and dispensaries were established in 1805. By 1810, fortnightly medical inspections were required. What mattered was that the family be preserved, but there was also a place for prostitution as a means of social control. According to contemporary accounts, licensed brothels (*maisons de tolérance*) began springing up in Paris. By 1815, there were 180 of them. By mid-century, Paris had grown to over one million inhabitants, and the regulationist system had been formalized. Women engaged in the sex trade were categorized as either *soumises* (registered) or *insoumises* (unregistered). Those who were not registered, if arrested, could be subjected to harsh penalties in order to encourage them to register. The state took an active interest in prostitutes, as

nineteenth-century bureaucrats, doctors and physicians became obsessed with urban pathology. The obsession began with the nineteenth-century penchant for counting and studying everything, in particular with Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet's *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (1836). While Parent-Duchâtelet's study was nuanced, other writers and bureaucrats described prostitutes as fixtures of the urban landscape and pathologically inclined to ply their trade. The sense that prostitution might be a passage in life for poor women was eclipsed by its institutionalization and the prodigious work of the vice squad (*la police des mœurs*) that entrapped prostitutes whether or not they wanted to continue their livelihood.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

The end of the nineteenth century brought a new appeal to deal with prostitution. It was prompted by a number of events: the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in the United Kingdom, visits of international reformers like Josephine Butler who gave "Paris lectures", critiques of the "infamous" work of the vice squad, partisan politics along with unlikely coalitions, and the continuing spectre of sexually transmitted disease. The nineteenth-century "French system" of regulationism was deemed a failure, even though other countries had used it as a model. In fact, prostitutes were more visible and sexually transmitted disease had far from abated. Circumstances in France had changed as industrialization arrived; but, unlike the United Kingdom, the French economy did not experience significant growth. Men migrated to Paris where they were the most likely employees in larger factories that required some level of skill. As a result, Paris had more adult bachelors than any other city in France. Although women also migrated to Paris, salaries for young women remained debased, often forcing them into multiple jobs, including prostitution.

As was true elsewhere in Europe and in the United States of America, turn-of-the-century crusades included abolitionism, morality and concerns about the preservation of the bourgeois family. Boulevards had replaced narrow streets in some parts of Paris; gaslights had opened the evening hours; and many prostitutes had abandoned their *maisons de tolérance* to have a more public presence. It is not clear why regulated houses of prostitution lost their appeal, but the numbers of unregistered and isolated prostitutes increased substantially and the number of licensed brothels declined to 47 with only 387 inmates by 1914. The vice squad in Paris redoubled its efforts at surveillance when it was no longer able to sequester and regulate prostitutes, claiming that there were 50,000 to 60,000 prostitutes in the city. In the meantime, *la traite des blanches* or the "white slave traffic" made headlines. Writers and polemicists filled the news with somewhat unsubstantiated charges, for example, that significant numbers of procurers had established themselves in railway stations to waylay unsuspecting young women who had come to Paris to find their fortunes. According to press reports, sexually transmitted disease was an epidemic both in France and in the colonies, and it was being spread by unsuspecting spouses and infected mothers, as well as by prostitutes. Infant mortality was alarming, and the French race was in danger. It was speculated, albeit fleetingly, that the British were the culprits. They were promoting deregularization of prostitution to encourage the spread of syphilis, so that the French would be enfeebled and lose the colonial race.

When it came to prostitution within France, abolitionists and those who still supported governmental regulation (now called neoregulationists) lined up against each other to profess their

views. For abolitionists including feminists and some Protestants, the question was the preservation of individual liberty inherited from the Revolution of 1789, the abolition of the regulatory system that included *maisons de tolérance*, and the suppression of governmental control. Ultimately, the bourgeois family would be regenerated and, with it, would come the regeneration of morality. For neoregulationists, the issue was the intense danger of sexually transmitted disease which was portrayed as a contagion and a scourge on all of society. In the first decade of the twentieth century, abolitionists appeared to be gaining the upper hand with the creation in 1903 of the *Commission Extra-parlementaire du Régime des Mœurs* and the work of high-profile women like Ghénia Avril de Sainte-Croix. On the other hand, neoregulationists like Senator René Bérenger reframed governmental engagement to mean surveillance, including health inspections, and the more humane treatment of prostitutes. The old “French System”, which had placed prostitutes under the control of the vice squad by enclosing them and forcing unregistered prostitutes to be inscribed in police ledgers or face incarceration in the prison-infirmiry of Saint-Lazare, had not cleaned up the streets, purified public order or stopped the spread of sexually transmitted disease. Another approach had to be taken.

As the debates continued, international concern with the “white slave traffic” also gained momentum. Abolitionists correlated nineteenth-century regulationism with white slavery by arguing that procurers filled *maisons de tolérance* with young attractive women who were snatched from the streets. According to the press, any unsuspecting woman or girl could be seduced, raped and sold into sexual slavery. Moralists painted a picture of graft and corruption that tainted society and crossed even class lines. Women frankly could not fend for themselves; they lacked agency and had to be protected. Yet, during the first decade of the twentieth century, it was Bérenger, a neoregulationist (see above), who took the lead in framing the French response internationally by convening a conference in Paris in 1902 with 16 countries in attendance. When the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic was signed in Paris in 1910, public opinion had been so enflamed that signatures were a foregone conclusion. France had already passed the Law of 3 April 1903 which had established protocols for the repatriation of non-consenting women and underage girls; and functionally, the treaty confirmed those provisions and formally established a definition of trafficking that was so broad as not to concern independent states. Trafficking under the Convention was defined simply as a sex trade that crossed frontiers. In an annex to the treaty, called the Final Protocol, “the case of the retention of a woman or girl in a house of prostitution” was placed outside international law because “it [was] exclusively a question of internal legislation”. Neoregulationists triumphed at home, so that prostitution continued to be tolerated, albeit with prostitutes under stricter surveillance of the police, while at the same time, the government of France supported an international protocol for the abolition of the traffic in women and girls, a position with which no one could disagree.

## Organization of the trade

In Paris throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the authorities experimented with different methods of managing prostitution. Isolated prostitutes generally worked out of *cabinets noirs* (the back rooms of taverns and drinking establishments) or they plied their trade in furnished rooms. In both cases, they were often the subject of police raids, arrest, forced examinations which have

been described as “medical rape”, and substantial fines. By mid-century, the only place where they could find a haven was in the *maisons de tolérance* which had been exempted from the long-standing Ordinance of 1778 which forbade proprietors of boarding houses from renting to prostitutes. The law had not been changed; rather, the police released *maisons de tolérance* from its provisions in order to practise stricter control of prostitution. The regime of enclosure was formalized; the “French system,” as it came to be universally called, had been institutionalized.

*Maisons de tolérance* had to be inconspicuously shuttered and could not be situated near churches, schools or public buildings. Ultimately they had to be approved by the police and managed by a woman (typically a former prostitute) who maintained the register of her sex labourers, reported all residents and visitors, and oversaw the weekly medical examination of all prostitutes. Given the fear of lesbianism, the house also had to provide a bed for each woman. There is no question that the *maisons de tolérance* were businesses. In them, madams negotiated the price of supplies, contracts with prostitutes (if there were contracts), the cost of ancillaries like perfume, baths, laundering of linen, clothing appropriate to the clientele, and even candles. Because many prostitutes were illiterate and unschooled even in street life, they often accumulated substantial debts to the madams, which led to a life of exploitation.

By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, *maisons de tolérance* were gradually replaced by *maisons de rendez-vous* which were non-residential brothels where prostitutes took their clients for more spontaneous encounters. Owners monitored the women who worked there, photographed and registered them, allowed no alcohol or advertising, and required prostitutes to have their medical examinations. Cabarets, cafes and theatres also became places of solicitation (albeit as clandestinely as possible because of the threat of the police if a scandal ensued), and high-class *lupanars* (brothels) emerged in which clients could gamble, watch performances, dine extravagantly, and then satisfy their desires. By 1903, less than 1 per cent of prostitutes lived in the houses where they worked. Interestingly, in spite of the fact that the Penal Code of 1791 contained no reference to prostitution, the only national legislation that was passed before the 1920s was the Law of 11 April 1908 which dealt with the prostitution of minors. During the First World War, prostitutes left Paris briefly, fearing that they would be confined to work camps, and three-quarters of the brothels closed. By the time of the armistice, new *maisons de rendez-vous* had been established, some of them quite de luxe, aimed at tourists and upmarket clients. In the 1920s, as sexuality was less confined, dance halls, cinemas and theatres were combined with *maisons de rendez-vous* to draw clients into the establishments. Ultimately throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, neoregulationsim, toleration and increased surveillance characterized France’s position.

What was the face of prostitution? In nineteenth-century Paris, it had been centred in the narrow streets near Montmartre, along the rue Saint Denis, and in the city centre on both sides of the Seine. It also came to be a fixture of the 10th arrondissement where the Gare du Nord (train station) was located, and where newly arrived provincials looked for work and lodging. As more individual prostitutes practised their trade in Paris in the first few decades of the twentieth century, locations spread out, although traditional areas remained. Locales included the streets radiating from the Arc de Triomphe (the Étoile), near the Louvre and the Bibliothèque nationale (National Library), near the Opera, and south near Montparnasse. The best-known luxury *lupanars* were multistorey

establishments, often with themed rooms like the Chabanais (12, rue Chabanais), the One Two Two (122, rue de Provence) and the Rue des Moulins (24, rue des Moulins). They were, however, the exception rather than the rule.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

The first attempt at a scientific study of prostitution in Paris was launched by Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, a medical hygienist, whose eight years of research included the study of vast amounts of police records and interviews with Paris prostitutes. According to his posthumously published work in 1836, women who fell into prostitution or who were recruited into it were “constrained by economic need to practise [their] trade”. Young women became domestic servants or worked in the textile trade, neither of which paid well enough to live independently. Of the women whom Parent-Duchâtelet interviewed, over half were not literate or scarcely so and one fourth were illegitimate. In many cases, they had become prostitutes because they had been abandoned by lovers, soldiers or students, or they could not find work, were destitute, or had lost their home.

When Commenge published his study of clandestine prostitution (*insoumises* or unregistered prostitutes) in 1897, he added other causes of prostitution that included the open atmospheres of the cabarets and clubs where young people could experiment with intimacy, lack of parental guidance, being forced into prostitution by a member of the family, the proximity of the two sexes in factories, seduction and pregnancy, and a disposition to crime, as well as insufficient salaries and misery. Most of the women arrested had been born in Paris or the immediately surrounding departments, and most lived in furnished rooms in the capital, often owned by wine merchants. It was reported that 68 per cent of the women could read and write, although they had no manual skills. As Commenge pointed out, they could teach others to read and write, but there were woefully few jobs for all of them. While their educational level was certainly higher than the prostitutes whom Parent-Duchâtelet interviewed, their occupations were marginal: domestics (39 per cent), seamstresses, washerwomen and day labourers. Commenge’s 10-year study listed 27,007 unregistered prostitutes who had been arrested, 8,476 of whom were infected with venereal disease. To Commenge and other neoregulationists, the scourge was not prostitution; it was sexually transmitted disease. In the meantime, the Municipal Council of Paris entered the debate and other studies of prostitution were issued, generally focusing on the degenerative nature of sexually transmitted disease. In that way, the debate explicitly took on issues of class: the labouring classes were endangering the bourgeoisie by their penchant for immorality and potential to harbour toxic diseases. The number of *insoumises* (unregistered prostitutes) varied dramatically (see Richard’s *La prostitution à Paris*), depending on whether the author was a supporter of the vice squad (50,000-120,000 *insoumises*), a neoregulationist (30,000 *insoumises*) or abolitionist (~10,000 *insoumises*).

By 1927, when the *Report of the Special Body of Experts on the Traffic in Women and Children* was issued by the League of Nations, it chronicled 4,355 registered prostitutes in Paris (based on police reports), or those whom it designated as “in circulation”. The number of *maisons de tolérance* had declined to 30, with an increase in the number of *maisons de rendez-vous*, and the report stated that the number of residential prostitutes had remained generally unchanged, with the number of unregistered prostitutes at approximately 25,000, although no accurate measure could ever be



calculated. Caught between the media exposés and the language of trafficking, the government of France took action. Only native-born French women could enter houses of prostitution in France, and foreign-born women who stayed in France for more than two months had to obtain an identity card. In that context, the government began a more systematic review of legislation on procuring. Furthermore, it tightened its control of identity papers at port cities where single French or foreign-born women might be led into the “traffic in women and children” as the League had renamed it. There was little evidence that such was the case.

The League of Nations report also stated that only 4–5 per cent of prostitutes in France were born abroad. With quintessential French chauvinism, the authorities indicated that non-native prostitutes found it “difficult to compete with French prostitutes who are more attractive”. Nonetheless, Paul Kinsie’s undercover investigation in Paris, that was the basis of the League’s report, brought him into contact with alleged French and foreign procurers who forged papers, began liaisons with young women to lure them abroad, and feigned marriage to avoid surveillance. While there were constant comings and goings among the traffickers, the international traffic was deemed “almost negligible”. Nonetheless, France, which had been a leader in the fight against the “traffic in women and children”, continued its visibility among nations, while it practised toleration at home. By the mid-1920s, women solicited on the streets without repercussions, and a higher level of prostitute even accepted personal cheques. Old-fashioned brothels were dying out, and sex work took on many forms: from the *maisons d’abbatage* where prostitutes were hourly workers to opulent bordellos that attracted European royalty and United States celebrities. Prostitution had been transformed, and the police maintained strict sanitary control. Hygiene had become the order of the day.

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# Prostitution in Port Said

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## Historical overview

Port Said was founded in 1859 and named after the Governor of Egypt, Saʿid Pasha (1854–1863). Initially it housed foreign engineers and workers of the Suez Canal. Upon its inauguration in 1869, the Suez Canal was the main connection between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea — and further to India and South Asia — which replaced the long and costly trip around the south of Africa. Port Said thus became the Canal's main harbour and principal coal station. During the later decades of the nineteenth century, it attracted foreign consuls and representatives of foreign business operations, coal workers and service personnel. Like many other cities in the colonized world, it was a divided city, as Egyptians and Europeans inhabited different neighbourhoods. From a modest beginning of 10,000 inhabitants in 1869, it became a city of 100,000 in the interwar period.

Besides the permanent population, Port Said served as a stopover point for soldiers, suppliers, tradesmen, tourists and sailors. Among them were outlaws as well, who passed through the city or made it their long-term residence. Port Said was therefore often described as a cosmopolitan mixture of a lawless lot of “Arabs, Turks, Roumainians, Afrikanders, Greeks, French, Germans, Poles, Egyptians and Italians”,<sup>1</sup> whom the police were powerless to control. To cater to that largely male population, the city also attracted barkeepers and prostitutes, and became a home for bars, gambling dens and brothels. The frequent presence of soldiers and sailors made the city particularly attractive for prostitution. Like its residential areas, the city's brothel district was divided into Egyptian and European ones.<sup>2</sup>

## Societal reaction and legal situation

Prostitution was tolerated in Egypt before its 1882 British occupation, which meant that it was neither criminalized nor regulated. Prostitutes dealt with the police only when involved in crimes such as theft or murder; and then — as victims, perpetrators or witnesses. Shortly after the British occupation, new laws regulated the trade. Egyptian prostitutes had to register, submit to weekly medical examinations, and be treated if found diseased. Unlike Cairo, though, Port Said did not have its own venereal disease hospital for the confinement of diseased prostitutes. It was the police that had the authority to caution diseased prostitutes and revoke their licences. Without effective follow-up measures, however, most diseased prostitutes left licensed brothels and continued to practise prostitution elsewhere. Under the Capitulations — agreements already signed by the Ottoman Empire with foreign Powers in the sixteenth century and still in effect in Egypt until 1937 — foreign nationals were exempt from Egyptian law and were prosecuted only by their consuls. That arrangement meant that European prostitutes were

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> “Reviews”, *The Shield*, December 1919-January 1920, p. 225.

not regulated, and European keepers of unauthorized brothels could not be prosecuted without the consul's cooperation, which was not guaranteed.<sup>3</sup>

The question of “white slavery” and later “traffic in women and children” concentrated international attention on the city's port and its place in international trade. The city's location at the crossroads of the seas and between continents made it a favoured spot for international voluntary organizations, which set up surveillance bureaux next to the quays and in front of the passport office. The International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children operated a “home for women in moral danger” in Port Said. It assisted young women arriving alone, and offered a bed for a few days if necessary, until they could find employment. More frequently they assisted European employers whose servant had run away, usually with a soldier or a sailor. The main purpose of the intervention was presumably to prevent their “moral ruin”, and ultimately prostitution. The personnel at the refuge were particularly concerned with interracial or interreligious union. So, for example, the manager of Port Said's refuge helped the French consulate repatriate a Christian Syrian girl pursued by an Algerian Muslim soldier.<sup>4</sup>

In 1907, the Canal region's local governor, Moheb Pasha, had already conducted some “energetic police measures”, against the blooming prostitution in the two major cities of the Canal, Port Said and Suez, which were continued by his successors. The First World War and its immediate aftermath brought particular challenges to Port Said, owing to the presence of British troops and their soldiers from Australia, India and New Zealand. Port Said's prostitutes were more tightly controlled during the war. A total of 16 European houses were closed down when the war was declared, and one foreign brothel remained in Babel Street, under the protection of European consuls. Colonel Elgood, commander of the British troops in Port Said, had to negotiate the closure of foreign brothels with those foreign diplomats, some of whom had economic stakes in the houses. The houses in the Arab neighbourhoods, however, remained open. In 1916, Elgood banned his troops from the city's red-light districts.<sup>5</sup>

In 1919, the French medical service in Palestine reported that the military authorities in Port Said managed to keep brothels out of bounds to soldiers. Venereal infections, reportedly rampant among Algerian and Tunisian soldiers in the French army, had been reduced in number upon arrival in Port Said. All the prostitutes, according to the French medical officer, had been driven out of the European quarters, and were restricted to the indigenous ones. The British commander then decided to ban access to the reserved quarter for all his troops, and subsequently the syphilis cases reported under his command dropped to zero.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> “Report, December 1929: incorporated into the report of the international bureau laid before the League of Nations, C. McCall”, Women's Library, London (3AMS/D/13/01).

<sup>4</sup> “Egypt - commission of enquiry”, Women's Library, London (Box FL 113, 4/IBS, Egypt), “Our work at Port Said”, *The Vigilance Record* (March 1918), “Port Said”, *ibid.* (February 1918); “Work at Port Said”, *ibid.* (October 1919); “Work in Port Said”, *ibid.* (January 1930); “Our work at Port Said”, *ibid.* (May 1918).

<sup>5</sup> “The moral conditions of the British Army in Egypt”, *The Vigilance Record* (August 1919).

<sup>6</sup> Val de Grace archive, Rapports mensuels de l'armée du Levant (1919–1925) et de Palestine (1918), Box 778, Service de santé du Détachement français de Palestine), Rapport mensuel du médecin major de 1ère classe Chatinieres, undated, but attached to a letter from 1 April 1919.

In the 1920s, those regulations were no longer in effect. Although brothel districts were officially out of bounds for British troops, several houses allegedly received informal approval from the military authorities.<sup>7</sup> In 1924, Egypt signed the Brussels Agreement respecting Facilities to be given to Merchant Seamen for the Treatment of Venereal Diseases, and the following year founded its first clinic to treat venereal disease in Port Said.

## Demography and causes

The registered prostitutes reported for the year 1923/1924 reflected the city's largest immigrant communities. Out of 37 registered women, 43 per cent were Italian, 24 per cent were Greek, 16 per cent were Syrian, and the rest — Austrian, French, local Jewish and Russian.<sup>8</sup> Half of the Greek and Italian prostitutes were reportedly born in Port Said, and thus at least second-generation immigrants. According to French consulate correspondence from 1922 and 1923, French prostitutes arrived in Egypt mainly through the Messageries Maritimes company shipping lines, especially on the *Lotus* and the *Sphinx*, coming from Marseille. They travelled as stowaways, without passports or identity papers, with the assistance of sailors, and it is possible that they hid in places used for coal storage. They usually disembarked in Alexandria, the first port of call, which was more accessible than Port Said, but when they suspected trouble in Alexandria, they continued to Port Said.<sup>9</sup> Visiting Egypt in 1925, Paul Kinsie was told that French women were still smuggled regularly from Marseille to Alexandria concealed on board the Messageries Maritimes shipping lines.

In the 1920s, the Port Said branch of the International League for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children reported boarding hundreds of ships annually and lodging hundreds of women.<sup>10</sup> The demographic composition of the women again reflects the multinationality of Port Said's population, and since the League of Nations report on rescued women is composed of single ones — it might give some indication as to the composition of the clandestine, non-registered prostitutes as well. In 1923/1924, for example, 679 women were handled by the branch: about 25 per cent of those were Greek, 22 per cent Syrian, 14 per cent Armenian, and about 4–6 per cent of each of the following: British, French, Italian, Palestinian and Russian. Another 5 per cent were Egyptian, which is not surprising, given the immigrant and Christian focus of that voluntary organization.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "The British Army in Egypt", not dated, but attached to correspondence of 2 August 1934. Women's Library, London (3AMS/B/07/23–24, box 064).

<sup>8</sup> League of Nations, Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children: Part Two, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> Courneve (65CPCOM/83); for more on girls smuggled into Egypt, see, for example, "Cairo: miscellaneous correspondences", June 1929 report, "Egypt: Commission of enquiry"; "Egypt: Messageries Maritimes" (4/IBS, Egypt, Box FL 113).

<sup>10</sup> "First report of enquiry", League of Nations Archive, Box S173; International League for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, Port Said, "Report for March 1920–February 1921"; "Report for March 1923–February 1924"; Report for March 1921–February 1922"; "Report for March 1922–February 1923"; "Report for March 1924–February 1925".

<sup>11</sup> "Port Said: A report of the International League: numbers of ships surveyed, number of women and children protected, 1923–1924", Women's Library, London, Box FL114 (4IBS/6/053).

## Conclusion

In the early decades of the twentieth century Port Said served as a connection between continents, as well as between Europe and its colonies, the last stop before the journey further east. As such, it was also known as a refuge for all kinds of outlaws, including prostitutes and procurers of all nationalities. It thus further served as a meeting ground between foreign women and men in transit — soldiers, travellers and sailors. It was those interactions that both the British military and voluntary organizations were trying to contain.

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# Prostitution in Prague in the Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century

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## Historical overview and organization of trade

Prague has been a major centre for prostitution since the late sixteenth century, when Rudolf II moved the royal residence there from Vienna. Traditionally, prostitution establishments were located in the vicinity of the Castle in the Lesser Town. Attempts to control and prohibit prostitution, initiated in Vienna from the late eighteenth century, were made in Prague as well, although less rigidly. In Vienna under Maria Theresa, brothels were forbidden and prostitutes expelled; her successor, Joseph II, legalized them and brought them under medical control in consideration of public safety in view of the spread of venereal disease. The nine-volume work by the director of Vienna's General Hospital, Johann Peter Frank, *Complete System of Medical Policy* (*System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey*, first published in 1779) immensely influenced general views on prostitution. Frank advised strict control of brothels by the state and medical authorities and a simultaneous ruthless curbing of illegal prostitution. In Prague, prostitutes were never expelled, but the trend towards more medical and police regulation can be clearly observed. Between 1792 and 1827 a number of imperial and provincial decrees (such as the Bohemian decree of 14 November 1807) brought prostitutes under medical and police control throughout the entire territory of the Habsburg Empire, with offenders risking prison sentences. The decree of the provincial government of Bohemia of 12 July 1819 brought prostitutes under the direct control of the municipal police. From that point onwards the municipal governments registered prostitutes, issued identity cards for them and carried out medical examinations every other week.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the majority of Prague's brothels were concentrated in the city centre, the New Town and the Lesser Town, away from the main streets and thoroughfares. The brothel network was quite wide. In 1912, for example, the address book of the Czech Crownland compiled by Alois Chytil, a city guide, recorded 22 addresses in the Old, New and Lesser Town, while police reports speak of a number at least three times larger. There were cheaper brothels as well that catered mostly for the military in the outlying districts. Only the cheapest establishments needed to be identified by a red lantern (from 1862). Especially concentrated was the network in and near the Jewish district of Josefov (Josefstadt). Interestingly, that was the case both before and after the Jewish district was radically reconstructed with the creation of what eventually became Pařížská (Pariser Straße) and the accompanying removal of the poor and cramped Jewish residential quarters from the city centre in the early twentieth century (the so-called *asanace* or, more specifically, "Finis Ghetto" project). The policy of removing prostitution from the respectable areas in the city centre was not successful in Prague, where the main streets such as Na příkopě (Am Graben)

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\* I would like to thank Nancy M. Wingfield for her helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

were places of streetwalking all day and night. Numerous investigations conducted by the police as well as independent or external organizations confirmed the proliferation of street prostitution, in which prostitutes actively enticed their customers in the public space of the Bohemian capital city. Similarly, police permits were given to specific coffee houses and bars in the city centre to which both prostitutes and pimps were given official access — yet entry to other women was regulated or restricted — thereby providing highly controlled spaces where the trade was allowed to go on under the watchful eye of police detectives in plain clothes.

While accusations of the involvement of the Prague police in organized prostitution emerged during the infamous Regine Riehl trial in Vienna in 1906, no further investigation was made (in contrast, the authorities of Aussig/Ústí nad Labem, a town in north/north-eastern Bohemia, wrote a report in which they argued that a scheme similar to that of the Riehl Salon would not have been possible there). While in the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of registered prostitutes in Prague were operating in brothels, unsystematic attempts to limit their number as well as to bring further police control over the trade in the 1880s was partially successful and resulted in a drop from over 80 brothels in 1866 to 31 in 1907. By the early twentieth century, and as in Budapest and Vienna, Prague prostitution functioned in registered brothels as well as in police-approved dwellings. An additional matter of public concern was that flats in “respectable” houses were often rented for prostitution. That form of “discreet” prostitution proliferated especially as an increasing number of brothels were closed down by the police.

Regulation also involved the protection of public spaces from prostitutes and their removal from there to other areas. Prostitutes were forbidden from being seen in the vicinity of churches and schools, from walking the main streets, from entering regular bars, restaurants and dance halls, from actively attracting attention to themselves by clothes or behaviour, on the streets as well as from ground floor windows. The windows themselves needed to be non-transparent or completely blocked. Additionally, clandestine prostitution was a matter of increasingly strict police regulation and enforced penalties.

Socially, the majority of Prague prostitutes came from artisanal and worker families as well as from the countryside. By the early twentieth century they were largely literate. However, Milena Lenderová reports the predominance of the so-called “reanphabetism/reilliteracy” among many of them, meaning that basic education was eventually accomplished but was also soon forgotten. Male promiscuity in the working environment as well as the ambiguous attitude of the local middle class towards the existence of prostitution played an additional role. The living conditions that were offered to prostitutes within brothels were often unsatisfactory and made them dependent on the owners in a great number of ways. In order to leave, a prostitute would often need to agree to dispose of all of her belongings and leave them with the brothel. Many were cheated and subjected to a great number of abuses. Examples of such instances, which were numerous, only further prove the strong link that existed between urban poverty and prostitution. Municipal regulations as well as general rules on handling prostitution issued by the Bohemian governorship on 26 November 1916 explicitly forbade brothel owners from buying “lavish” clothes for prostitutes or “spoiling” them in any other way; however, evidence of the fact that the rules were never observed are numerous.

As the Prague municipal government attempted to counter the proliferation of brothels in the city centre in the late nineteenth century, it was brought to the public’s attention that the brothels

were regularly attended by representatives of the political elite, so that a press campaign was launched against the corruption blossoming there. Evidence exists that many clandestine prostitutes, as well as some registered ones, practised their trade during the evening hours or at night, while being employed at other professions during the daytime. While many of them actively engaged in streetwalking despite the prohibition to do so, some worked indoors, for example, in the wine cellars of Prague. Many others worked simultaneously as seamstresses and milliners, singers, actresses and dancers. The *Varieté*, *Arena* (Smichov) and *Rokoko* theatres even accepted girls through announcements in the conservative Czech newspaper *Národní politika*. The best journalists of the time, such as Jan Klepetář and Karel Ladislav Kukla, reported that many of them ended up as prostitutes. Contemporary moral crusaders had particular difficulties in grappling with the grey zone between prostitution and the more respectable professions that allowed for frequent transgressing of the borderline and thus contradicted bourgeois moral norms which understood prostitution as a trade strictly beyond respectability.

Medical cards issued to prostitutes as well as police records registered original places of birth and belonging which in turn pointed to great geographical mobility. Within Bohemia, Prague functioned as the strongest magnet but the northern, north-eastern and north-western border towns attracted the prostitution trade as well. Lenderová speaks of a significant overlap between worker migration between Bohemia and Moravia and migrant prostitutes. In contrast to Budapest, brothel prostitutes in Prague and other Bohemian and Moravian cities were on average younger than those who walked the streets, and the oldest category consisted of unregistered prostitutes. That is supported by a survey conducted in the early years of Czechoslovakia, which also showed that indeed almost three generations of women could be found walking the streets, with the youngest 17 and the oldest 50 years old. Most of them admitted to have had their first sexual encounter between 14 and 19 years old. Naturally, old prostitutes ended on average on the streets without any support from mainstream society.

## Societal reaction and legislation on prostitution

As elsewhere in Austria-Hungary, regulationism was the predominant ideology of the provincial and municipal governments, and therefore also of the police, in dealing with prostitution in large cities such as Prague. Regulated prostitution was tolerated and even protected to a degree by the authorities; registered and “discreet” prostitutes, however, were not allowed to call attention to themselves in public spaces. Regulation faced opposition from a number of quarters, from the critics of its inadequacy and the fact that only a segment of all prostitutes was eventually registered, to accusations of careless medical examinations, objections that regulation would result in the “reintegration” and hence legalization of prostitution and claims that prostitutes were subject to almost complete control and subordination of brothel owners.

The problem of rural girls’ “vulnerability” to being coerced into prostitution was actively discussed within the municipal government, charity, teachers’ and women’s organizations, and the feminist movement. In 1884 the Society of Czech Teachers (*Spolek českých učitelek*) established a committee to found an institution for the protection of neglected girls, the so-called *ochranovna*. Such an institution, which eventually also cared for girls sent from Prague, was established in 1885 in Černovice u Tábora, in southern Bohemia. Originally called “At a good shepherd” (U dobrého pastýře),

it was renamed in 1885 as Protection of Abandoned and Neglected Girls (Ochrana opuštěných a zanedbaných dívek), and existed until 1939. The institution functioned under the protection of the Society. In 1886, a similar institution was established in the village of Lobeč in central Bohemia. Books were sold and a series of readings for the benefit of those institutions were organized in Prague in the 1890s. A similar agenda lay behind the creation of the Philanthropic Company of the Former Pupils of the Gymnasium for Girls in Prague (Filantropická Družina bývalých žákyň vyšší dívčí školy v Praze). In 1893, a major institution, *Záštitá* (patronage) was established in Prague with the *purpose of caring and protecting girls who had come from the countryside to Prague in search of work*.

Venereal diseases, especially syphilis and gonorrhoea, had already been an issue of public concern before the First World War, but increased to catastrophic proportions during and especially after the war. Municipal health authorities, whose inability to control the situation was intensely debated in the press, often blamed prostitution and the returning soldiers and the “degradation” of sexual norms and hygiene. In connection with the need to tackle the spread of venereal disease, the war also saw the publication of the most comprehensive document to control prostitution for the entire Lands of the Bohemian Crown, issued by the Governor’s Administration in 1916 under the name Guidelines for the Regulation of Prostitution (*Základní pravidla k úpravě prostituce / Grundsätze für Prostitutionsregelung*), known thereafter as simply “prostitution regulations” (*Prostituční regulativ*). The guidelines were regulationist in nature and would have probably been passed through the Parliament as a law had the age of regulationism not come to an end with the fall of Austria-Hungary and the founding of Czechoslovakia in 1918. In effect they only strengthened existing regulations and the accompanying fears of venereal disease, made control over brothels even more comprehensive, and officially acknowledged the existing practice of issuing a medical card as a necessary element in the registration of a prostitute. Additionally, they legally recognized the existence of extramarital sexual relations and concubinage.

While abolitionism had been present in Austria-Hungary since the last decades of the nineteenth century, it became much stronger in the Czech lands after the First World War. Seeing prostitution solely as a sad outcome of social and economic ills, its proponents criticized regulationism for its double morals, and advocated the closure of brothels and the elimination of police registration. The first President of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, was among the advocates of abolition. Given that fact and that regulationism was increasingly seen as inadequate for tackling the problems associated with prostitution, as well as the changing attitudes to sexuality, love and marital relations among the post-war generation, it is surprising that the first years of the Czechoslovak state were marked by policies that actually often combined elements of abolitionism and neoregulationism. For example, a 14-member Council for the Campaign against Venereal Diseases and Prostitution, created in 1919, comprising among others socialist deputies, feminists, doctors and university professors, recommended the closing of all brothels, prohibition of clandestine prostitution and, at the same time, mandatory medical tests and treatment of venereal diseases.

The government of Czechoslovakia passed a Venereal Diseases Bill on 11 July 1922 (the so-called Bill No. 241), and two subsequent government directives were issued in connection with the law on 23 October 1923 and 21 January 1924. Medical treatment for venereal diseases and sex education (including teaching about “the dangers of prostitution”) became compulsory, and

the intentional transmission of a venereal disease became subject to severe fines and imprisonment. The law abolished the practice of registration and made the running of brothels illegal, equivalent to pimping and punishable by law. However, the law did not tackle street prostitution; on the contrary, control over it was somewhat relaxed. "Initiation of fornication" (*vyzývání ke smilstvu*) was punishable only in those cases where it constituted a public offence, was made in an "offending" manner or concerned persons younger than 16. What, in effect, constituted a public offence was left to the decision of the police. At the same time, section IV, paragraph 26, of the law explicitly cancelled out all previous regulations adopted from 1852 to 1916. While the new Czechoslovak legislation was an important step forward towards the emancipation of women, recognized their right to vote, eliminated the long-criticized requirement of celibacy for teachers, Bill No. 241 clearly reflected the abolitionist's optimistic belief that changing social and economic conditions, the new attitude to sexual norms and women's self-awareness would eventually make the double morals of bourgeois society obsolete, and therefore also prostitution. In practice, after the introduction of the Venereal Diseases Bill in 1916 the role of brothels was taken over by bars, wine cellars, coffee houses and hotels; street prostitution proliferated and intense press discussion about the issue during the entire interwar period further revealed the inadequacy of the new legislation. The Czech authorities' inability to come up with a comprehensive policy towards prostitution could best be exemplified by the statement by Antonín Trýb, an influential doctor and a regular contributor to the *Lidové noviny* newspaper and *Přítomnost* political magazine during the 1920s, who claimed that "prostitution either needs to be abolished or, if we cannot accomplish it, to be brought under strictest control".

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# Prostitution in Riga City

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## Historical overview

From 1710 to 1795 the area of present-day Latvia gradually passed into the Russian Empire as its Baltic Provinces (Provinces of Livland and Courland) and as a part of the Province of Vitebsk (Latgallia). Russia legalized prostitution in the nineteenth century and introduced an administrative system to regulate it, with the aim of restricting the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Riga had already become part of the Russian Empire in 1710 during the Great Northern War (1700–1721), fought between Russia and Sweden. In 1843 an instruction was issued establishing a Medical Police Committee in Riga. Prostitutes in brothels and those working alone were registered by the police, were issued “tickets” instead of a passport and were required to undergo a police medical check-up once a week. In 1847 there were five brothels in Riga; by the early 1880s there were nine, and by 1891 there were 35. In the 1890s the number of brothels in Riga decreased: there were 23 in 1899, only one of which was in the city centre. At the close of the nineteenth century brothels were officially recognized as institutions necessary to the residents of Riga and serving their welfare.

In 1899 the register of prostitutes working in brothels listed 768 women, along with 356 registered individually. In terms of background, they came from the lowest strata of the population: the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. All the different ethnic groups of Riga were represented among the prostitutes: in 1897, 35 per cent of them were German, 22 per cent Russian, 15 per cent Latvian, 14 per cent Polish, 7 per cent Estonian, 1 per cent Jewish and 6 per cent from other ethnic groups. More than half of the prostitutes in Riga, however, were foreigners, i.e. born outside the Baltic Provinces. The services of foreign prostitutes were more highly valued. When in 1898 the Riga Medical Police Committee issued a prohibition against hiring foreign prostitutes in the city's brothels, the numbers of people frequenting brothels fell and demand increased for foreign prostitutes working individually. A year later the committee rescinded the order. Right up to the First World War, Riga served as a point of transit for foreign prostitutes from France, Germany, Poland and other countries to the major cities of Russia.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Riga was, in terms of the number of workers, the third largest industrial city of the Russian Empire. Moreover, Riga was also a port city, which had the effect of increasing the scale of prostitution during the navigation season. On the eve of the First World War there were about 15 brothels in Riga, with about 2,000 registered prostitutes, working in brothels as well as independently. Warfare began in the territory of Latvia during the summer of 1915, when part of it was invaded by German forces; that meant that the brothels then served the needs of the soldiers, and military doctors were made responsible for sanitary policing. The remaining part of Latvia, including Riga, remained under Russian control. Starting from the autumn of 1915, the (tsarist) police tried to deport the registered prostitutes to Inner Russia, and closed all the brothels, thus driving prostitution underground.

After the Revolution of February 1917 in the Russian Empire the regulation on prostitution was revoked. Later in the year Riga was taken by the Germans, and their administration set up the “morality police”, re-establishing the regulation of prostitution. For some months in 1917, as well as in 1918 and 1919 a small part of Latvia was under Soviet rule, and in that area the regulation of prostitution was abolished and brothels prohibited.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

The residents of the Republic of Latvia, established after the First World War, had experienced a variety of legislative frameworks regulating prostitution. Up to 1921 (after the War for Independence, 1918–1920) there was a state of war in the country, and accordingly the first Regulations on the Suppression of Venereal Disease, in early 1920, were approved by the commander-in-chief of the Latvian army, continuing the regulation of prostitution that had existed in the former Russian Empire. Even though the title of the regulations laid emphasis on fighting venereal disease, it was essentially aimed at combating prostitution. Women engaged in prostitution were to register with a police authority and undergo a medical examination twice a week. Each time, the doctor would record the condition of the prostitute in a health control document, which had a photograph, but did not give her name. Women who engaged in prostitution and evaded the system were described as illegal, unregistered or secret prostitutes. According to the regulations, only a woman who had reached adulthood could open a brothel, subject to permission from the house owner, the local authority and the police. A brothel could employ prostitutes registered with the police from the age of 18. A prostitute not belonging to a brothel could only work in the flat in which she was registered as living. After the state of war was abolished, new temporary regulations were issued in the autumn of 1921 by the Minister of the Interior. Certain changes were introduced: in order to open a brothel, written permission from the owners of five immediately adjacent houses had to be submitted. The age of majority for prostitutes was changed from 18 to 21. The temporary regulations also set down in detail the rights of prostitutes: the madams running brothels were not allowed to charge the prostitutes more than 60 per cent of what they earned; prostitutes had the right to rent a flat individually; they were not permitted to live in hotels, serviced apartments or inns.

Under those regulations, municipal authorities had to decide on whether to permit brothels, but for several years the executive board of the City of Riga did not succeed in exercising that right. In the area around the brothels on Grāvju Street (present-day Valguma Street) there was public disorder and even brawling. For that reason, the City's Executive Board decided in autumn 1920 to close down the brothels in Riga, and requested the Riga Prefecture of Police to carry out that instruction up to the end of 1920. The Prefecture did not implement the decision, even though Grāvju Street became a problem zone. In early 1921 the owners of the brothels themselves asked the Prefecture to protect them against bands of soldiers, sailors and cavalymen who were instigating fights and robbing other clients. The Prefecture did not, however, close down the brothels. In the summer of 1922 there were still six brothels operating in Riga, all of them on Grāvju Street, employing about 30 to 40 prostitutes.

Disturbed neighbours, among whom were also pastors of surrounding churches and employees of educational institutions, demanded that the decision by the executive board to close the brothels



be implemented. A petition was signed by more than a thousand persons from the surrounding area. By the end of the summer of 1922 the Minister of the Interior decided to shut down the brothels, but they were actually abolished only in early 1923. The women resident in them were allowed to continue living as tenants in serviced apartments. They continued working, and the customers continued brawling.

At the beginning of 1924 residents and house owners reminded the Prime Minister that the brothels on Grāvju Street were still operating in secret, disturbing the peace of the residents at night. In a letter to the prefecture, the prostitutes asked for permission to continue earning money in the same place by engaging in “a profession that the law does not prohibit”.<sup>1</sup> The Department of Health of the Ministry of the Interior, however, instructed the Riga Prefecture of Police to resettle the prostitutes from the houses on Grāvju Street to the urban fringe by 1 June, with no more than two prostitutes in the same street. In order to obtain permission to continue living on Grāvju Street, a delegation from the prostitutes went to the Ministry, bringing a petition signed by a few dozen tenants. They explained that in other parts of the city they would be unable to rent flats, would not obtain other employment and would thus be forced to become “criminal vagrants”. At the same time, representatives of the house owners asked for the prostitutes to be evicted from their flats on Grāvju Street. That was carried out in accordance with the plan put forward by the Department of Health.

Prostitution was a legal activity in the Republic of Latvia if the regulations were complied with. Under the Punitive Laws of 22 March 1903 the penalty for breaking the regulations was imprisonment or a fine of up to 500 lati. The penalty for public indecency in the form of uncouth language or indecent behaviour was up to one month of imprisonment or a fine of up to 100 lati. If the indecent behaviour took the form of licentious or other immoral activity involving obscenity towards others, then the guilty person was to be punished by imprisonment for up to six months.

Public opinion condemned prostitution not only because it was regarded as the cause of venereal disease. Public communication of prostitutes with passers-by while looking for potential clients was unacceptable to the residents. From time to time the residents would express their dissatisfaction with the state of public order in the city centre, and anonymous experts would occasionally recommend that brothels be opened on the outskirts of Riga. No more brothels were, however, opened in Riga. In fact, in line with a recommendation from the League of Nations, from 1927 the Minister of the Interior prohibited brothels in all of Latvia, with the idea that that would also resolve the problem of trafficking in “white female slaves”.

The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children was adopted by the Latvian parliament in 1923, when it also signed the conventions of 1904 and 1910. The Board of Criminal Police functioned as the centre for the suppression of traffic in women and children in Latvia. Up to the beginning of the 1930s, however, the Board had not recorded a single case of trafficking in “white slaves”.

It was mainly information in the press about the activities of the League of Nations that maintained the narrative of white slavery in Latvia, from time to time stimulating people to look out for something of that kind “at home”. In the mid-1920s, Jews emigrating from Soviet Russia through

<sup>1</sup> “Netiklibas nami” (Brothels), *Jaunākās Ziņas* (The latest news), 21 January 1924.

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Latvia to Argentina and Brazil were cast in the role of enticers, luring women away, and it was asserted that they were placing their beautiful companions in brothels. Latvia's Board of Criminal Police had indicated that that was false, and moreover such cases of actual or attempted enticement had not taken place in Latvia for some time. When in 1926 the League of Nations organized a survey with the aim of collecting statistics on "enticers and seducers", the press wrote about purported attempts to entice white slaves. In 1928 the head of the Board reported that no cases had been recorded in Latvia relating to the international traffic in women and children. There was no change in the situation in the 1930s.

## Organization of the trade

A brothel functioned as a leisure establishment offering alcoholic drinks, music and dancing in the company of women, who also offered sexual relations for money. In addition, some of them had live music instead of a gramophone, as in a restaurant, showing that the madams running brothels were seeking to provide a milieu that men from particular social groups found attractive. The women running brothels were often dubbed in the press as "traders in living goods", exploiters of white slaves, madams, procurers or brothel keepers. Male procurers were only mentioned a few times, being referred to as "tomcats" or as "common-law husbands".

Brothel keepers had to maintain public order, i.e. they had to make sure that the prostitutes did not lean out of the windows, walk the streets in groups or invite passers-by to visit. Card games as well as the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks were banned in brothels, and juveniles were not allowed to enter them. Obtrusive, licentious or indecent behaviour in public by men or women was prohibited.

The brothels formed part of 1920s leisure culture, especially in the early 1920s, when they were frequented mainly by soldiers, testifying to a kind of "exit from the war". After the closing of Riga's brothels in 1924, the trade in sex relations became more conspicuous, because the prostitutes from the brothels then supplemented the sex workers already working in the city centre. A prostitute seeking customers on the street had to observe certain unwritten rules. Thus, she was allowed to walk down the street, but not to loiter. The first time a policeman met a prostitute in the street, he would warn her that she must not meet him again, and if she did, then her health control book would be confiscated and she would be taken to the police station. Prostitutes detained for loitering would be released the next morning. On weekday evenings a policeman might detain up to 30 prostitutes, but fewer on Saturday and Sunday evenings, because then they would seek out customers at various entertainment events. Prostitutes also made use of serviced apartments, inns, hotels, tea rooms, bars and suchlike establishments.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

Compared with the situation in 1914, before the outbreak of the First World War, when there were about 2,000 prostitutes registered in Riga, in the 1920s and 1930s the number of registered prostitutes was comparatively small, varying from 302 prostitutes in 1922 to 589 in 1932. The highest level — 589 registered prostitutes — refers to 1932, the year of greatest economic hardship during the interwar years in Latvia, which was hard hit by the world economic crisis. One of the reasons for the big fall in the number of registered prostitutes was the significant reduction in the

scale of industry in Riga: in 1915 about 90 per cent of machinery and power sources were evacuated to Russia, never to be regained by the Latvian state. Thus demand for prostitution fell significantly.

The prostitutes in Riga came from various ethnic groups. Judging from the data given in the preserved card index of Riga prostitutes (1920–1932) of 472 women, the majority were ethnic Latvians (55 per cent), in addition to which 15 per cent were Russian, 8 per cent Polish, 6 per cent German, 6 per cent Jewish and 4 per cent Lithuanian. They had, most commonly, previously been employed as workers (26 per cent), servants (13 per cent), seamstresses (9 per cent) or housekeepers (8 per cent). In the 1930s the majority of Riga prostitutes (59 per cent) had become involved in prostitution because of unemployment and hardship.

The First World War had brought about a change in the public's perception of prostitution, with the addition of the prostitute viewed as a victim of the revolution. Public opinion in the 1920s regarded prostitution as a serious social problem because of the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, which needed to be addressed by the new state and its administrative structures. A sociological approach dominated in the discourse on the causes of prostitution. The First Congress of Latvian Physicians in 1925 passed a resolution on the issue of prostitution, emphasizing its social origins. In 1923 the White Cross Society for the Suppression of Prostitution opened a hospice and workshop for "fallen women and women under moral threat" in Riga, unemployment being regarded as the main cause of prostitution.

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# Rio de Janeiro

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Rio, the big city. An anxious city. A city which, like Paris, consumes cocaine, smokes opium and indulges itself with ether. A city which, like New York, has its Chinese quarter and its secret smoking dens. A city which, like ancient Rome, voluptuous Rome with its bacchanalias, has famous public baths and spectacular orgies.

*Journalist Benjamin Costallat (1922)*

## Historical overview

Nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro was a city that had been shaped by two principle factors, one geographic and the other social. Squeezed between the mountains and the wetlands surrounding Guanabara Bay, building space in the city was at a premium, a fact which greatly increased population density. Rio was also a primary port for the African slave trade. Like similar Atlantic cities, its economy revolved around urbanized slavery, with African captives and those of African descent filling most labour, craft and commercial niches. Slaves were omnipresent in the cramped city, often living in the same buildings as free black, white and mixed cariocas. Rio was thus densely populated and ethnically diverse from the beginning. In the narrow, colonial streets of downtown (the *Centro*), African, European and American cultural and religious life intermixed promiscuously with economic activities of all sorts, including sexual commerce. By 1900, however, a decade after the proclamation of the Republic of Brazil, that had begun to change.

With the abolition of slavery in 1888 came new demands for social distinction, expressed by the increasing differentiation and segregation of urban space. Meanwhile, freed slaves and poor European immigrants poured into Rio: in the 50 years between 1870 and 1920, the city grew by more than 400 per cent, from 266,000 to 1,147,600 inhabitants. Republican elites responded by proposing sweeping urban reforms. Rio, the capital of Brazil, would become the “Paris of the tropics”, a city that would compete with Buenos Aires as an entrepôt for South America and showcase a modern, democratic, and “whitened” nation.

That transformation revolved around the rejection of the city’s colonial, slave state past. Under the rubric of “hygienization”, large swathes of the old downtown were demolished to make way for Haussmanian boulevards, parks and belle époque palaces. Lower-class housing suffered in particular during the process, with workers being pushed out of the *Centro* and into newly established suburbs. The poorest of the poor — particularly the recently liberated slaves, but also many newly arrived Europeans — were forced up into the hills surrounding downtown, establishing Rio’s first favelas, or shanty towns. Meanwhile, the middle and upper classes began their “march to the south”, colonizing the valleys of Botafogo and Laranjeiras and — later — the beachfront neighbourhoods of Copacabana and Ipanema.

The “clean-up” of Rio was moral as well as physical. With regards to sex work, prostitution came under the increased scrutiny of moral and social reformers during the half-century leading up to the tumultuous political crises of the 1920s and 1930s. Preoccupations with the sale of sex intensified as international pressure in favour of the abolition of prostitution mounted. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, it was apparent to the carioca elite that something had to be done about the city’s prostitutes ... but what?

## Societal reaction and legal structure

In the nineteenth century, prostitutes often shared houses in the Centro with small merchants and families. Brothels — big and small — abounded in Rio during the Victorian era, but there was no red-light district. Many of the carioca high society’s favourite theatres, cafes and restaurants were frequented — apparently relatively harmoniously — by families and prostitutes alike. On a practical, quotidian level, then, prostitution was more than tolerated in Rio de Janeiro: it could be said that it had been normalized. The lines between “public woman” and “whore”, “landlord” and “madam”, “husband” and “pimp” in the system were blurred and subject to multiple interpretations.

For many members of the new Republican elite, however, prostitution was understood to be analogous to slavery, sporting a clear-cut cast of heroes and villains. Unlike in Buenos Aires or Paris at the time, the regulation of prostitution was thus considered to be morally noxious — the equivalent of legalizing slavery. Unlike the situation in the United States of America, however, lawmakers were also loath to criminalize women they understood as victims. The new Republican legal code of 1890 thus marked a cautious and ambiguous paradigm shift. On the one hand, it subjected prostitution to legal restrictions for the first time in Brazilian history. On the other, it did not outlaw the sale of sex. Prostitutes and their clients were untouched by the new laws (at least directly), but intermediaries such as brothel owners, managers, madams and other agents were criminalized.

The Republican legal code understood “pimping” as giving “assistance, housing, or aid to prostitutes, on one’s own or through others, in order to profit, directly or indirectly, from this sort of speculation”. It placed the owners of places where prostitutes worked or lived under the gimlet eye of the law, but it meant prostitutes’ lovers, room-mates and family members could also be classified as “pimps”. Police enforcement of the new laws was typically exercised at the level of the precinct house, creating ample opportunities for discretionary and often arbitrary law enforcement.

As the final years of the nineteenth century passed, carioca police increasingly employed anti-pimping laws to drive women who worked in the sex trade out of the *Centro* under the rubric of repressing their exploitation. The particular targets of that campaign were the women involved in so-called “window” prostitution. That was a form of prostitution in which women would hang out of the windows of their townhouses and invite passers-by up to their rooms. “Window prostitution” had been the traditional form of prostitution in Rio, practised since colonial times and was thus particularly noxious to hygienizing reformers seeking to erase all traces of the colonial and imperial order from downtown. At the same time as window prostitution was being repressed, a series of people linked to those women — family members, boyfriends, husbands, landlords and landladies, hotel owners and gigolos (not to mention brothel owners, touts and recruiters) — came under police surveillance. Relationships of any sort with women working in the sex trade became open to interpretation as “pimping” and thus illegal.

Two populations of women and their associates were particularly subject to those new laws: Eastern European immigrants (largely Jewish) and African-Brazilians, particularly recent immigrants from the countryside, where the collapse of the slave economy had left Brazilian agriculture thoroughly disorganized. Both of those groups were considered to be exceptionally liable to prostitution.

## Organization of the trade

In 1912, the Chief of Police of Rio de Janeiro created a list of the city's prostitution venues. The categories he employed reveal contemporary perceptions regarding the social hierarchies of sex work. Thus the more elegant and expensive rendezvous houses (of which he found 32) were found to be set apart from the more popular *hospedarias* (52), even though both functioned in a similar fashion, as meeting spots for prostitutes and their clients. In the same way, there were *casas de tolerância*, or houses of tolerance (434), which seems to have been a generic label for places where prostitutes lived and worked, as separate from *pensões de prostitutas*, or prostitutes' boarding houses (29), although both were places where "madams" rented rooms to women who lived and sold sex on the premises.

These classifications indicate a growing and diversified range of sexual commerce in the city, which was replacing the old model of "window prostitution". The places in which prostitutes lived and worked (*pensões* and *casas*) were generally managed by women while the *hospedarias* (which took in all sorts of people) were run by men.

By the 1920s, police intervention had not succeeded in completely removing prostitution from downtown, but it had driven many prostitutes to "hide in plain sight" (according to the historian, Sueann Caulfield), working the streets, cafes, theatres and trolley stops in the *Centro*. A few *casas* and rendezvous hotels continued downtown, but house-based prostitution had largely been pushed into two exterior regions. The first district was the new nightlife and bohemian centre of Lapa, situated immediately to the north-east of downtown. The second was the "Mangue" (or Marsh), established in 1920 in a recently drained swamp several kilometres north of the city centre.

In Lapa, women operated out of a series of *pensões* and small *casas* or they frequented the district's bars, cafes and cabarets, taking clients to rendezvous hotels and *hospedarias*. Prostitution in Lapa was considered to be more chic than that on display in the Mangue. It was also more expensive, associated in the popular imagination with "French artists", who specialized in oral sex and other "exotic" sexual acts.

Meanwhile, the Mangue became Rio's "unofficially official" working-class red-light district. Its brothels operated under police supervision, with the women being registered and subjected to medical examination. The district had been created as the cumulative act of the Republican urban reforms. In 1920, King Albert of Belgium visited Rio in order to inaugurate the new National Theatre, the crown jewel of the urban reform project. In preparation for his visit, the police forcibly removed the city's prostitutes to the Mangue. The region became Rio's cheapest commercial sexual market and its clients were largely lower-class men such as soldiers, sailors and factory workers. In the popular imagination, the Mangue was associated with Eastern European and African Brazilian prostitutes, the second category of women being understood as specialists in anal sex.

The police were the final authorities in both districts and, indeed, in the city itself: women found selling sex in regions of Rio that were considered to be “off limits” to prostitutes or in manners considered to be illegitimate, were often forcibly removed to the Mangue and registered as prostitutes.

Of course a series of intermediaries and agents operated alongside the prostitutes. Club, cafe and theatre owners, madams, managers of *hospedarias*, recruiters, touts and *pensão* landladies were all potentially classifiable as “pimps”, as were prostitutes’ boyfriends and husbands, as all of those people could be seen as profiting, “directly or indirectly”, from the women’s sexual labour.

What, then, distinguished an agent accused as a “pimp” from another who was largely ignored by the police or who even ran a brothel under police supervision? Apparently, it was the particular agent’s connections to the police and to carioca high society, as well as their willingness and ability to share their profits with the authorities. That was particularly true in the case of “artistic” prostitution, typical of the *Centro* and Lapa in the 1920s and 1930s. As described by a United States consul in 1918, it involved showgirls or dancers who would frequent club bars and restaurants after shows, encouraging clients to spend money on food and drink and often turning tricks on the side, or even acquiring “patrons” who would set them up, temporarily, as kept lovers. The venues were often run by important local entrepreneurs, who could count on political support in the event of a conflict with the police.

## Demography and causes of prostitution

The sale of sex had long been part of the feminine world of labour in Rio. In 1870, a young medical researcher classified prostitutes as “theatre goers” and “women who live in hotels”, along with “flower vendors, fashion designers, seamstresses and cigar sellers”.<sup>1</sup> Many other women combined domestic work with what is now understood as sexual/affective labour, under varying degrees of coercion or liberty. It was common in colonial Brazil, for example, for female house slaves to become involved in sexual relationships with members of the household — sometimes of their own free will, but often forced. The general power dynamics sustaining domestic labour did not change much with the abolition of slavery: pregnant or infirm domestic labourers could easily be abandoned, generally with no severance pay. Evidence gleaned from literary and newspaper sources suggests that such “despoiled” women (to use the moral category then employed) would often make the transition directly to the sale of sex, combining it with piecework domestic labour (i.e. taking in washing) in a makeshift economy.

As the twentieth century dawned (and following the closure of Rio’s slave brothels,<sup>2</sup> some years before abolition), prostitution seems to have become increasingly more “professionalized” in the sense that more women were resorting to it as a full-time activity. Many of those women were new European immigrants.

<sup>1</sup> Soares, Rameiras, ilhoas e polacas, pp. 31–32.

<sup>2</sup> Late colonial and imperial Rio had several brothels entirely or almost entirely manned by women slaves, as well as hundreds (and perhaps thousands) of slave women who sold sex “independently” on the streets, remitting all or some of their earnings at the end of the day to their owners. Several years before abolition was finally confirmed, the imperial government made it illegal to use slaves in sexual work and, indeed, that was one of the threads of Brazilian public opinion and legal thought which contributed to the rejection of the regulation of prostitution in the late nineteenth century.



In 1923, a police census of the Mangue counted 674 prostitutes, living and working in 112 houses. The majority of the owners of those establishments were Russian (34) and Polish (27), followed by Brazilians (15). Many of the foreigners in the Mangue — both owners and prostitutes — were Jewish. Brazilian women were, however, the majority of the workers, with a tally of 421 of the district's prostitutes. In the same year, the police found that Lapa contained some 179 prostitution establishments and 423 sex workers. A total of 232 of those women were Brazilian and another 58 Portuguese. The remaining 133 prostitutes were a mix of other nationalities.

One particular figure whose presence featured in the media reports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the Jewish trafficker or pimp, who supposedly recruited virginal Eastern European girls to come to Brazil by promising to marry them. Once in Rio, those promises would be revealed to be false and, through a series of manipulations, the women would be “reduced” to prostitution, with the recruiter gaining the fruits of their labours.

Loud public tirades against Jewish pimps often appeared in the carioca press, accompanied by repressive operations of greater or lesser severity on the part of the police. At this remove, it is impossible to discover to what degree the men were guilty of the crimes of which they were accused, but modern historiography has shown that a large dose of anti-Semitism and xenophobia motivated most — if not all — of that moral panic .

Officially abolitionist, Rio de Janeiro thus contained many different practical regimes, all of which were ultimately administered through discretionary and selective policing at the level of the precinct house. In the Mangue, police and health officials ruled over what was, to all effects and purposes, an indirectly managed and unofficially regulated brothel district. Meanwhile, in Lapa, Bohemian cultural life mixed seamlessly with prostitution. There, the system was almost decriminalized in nature. Women who worked in ways or places considered to be “out of bounds”, however, operated under an effectively prohibitionist regime, subject to harassment and arrest. As the twentieth century progressed, the system would harden into what might be called “the Brazilian model of abolition” in which the regulation, abolition and even prohibition/criminalization of prostitution were all simultaneously operating at one and the same time.

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# Romania: Bucharest and Constanța

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## Historical overview

It is unclear when prostitution, defined as the exchange of money or goods for sexual services, began in Romania, but given the existence of slavery among the Roma population in the Romanian territories until the late nineteenth century, as well as documents that describe, define and regulate the activities of sex workers, it is safe to assume that in the eighteenth century the trade was already well established in the lands that would eventually become the state of Romania in the 1860s. Bucharest, as the largest and wealthiest city in Romania, was also the centre of most activity in terms of sex work. Constanța became part of Romania only after 1878, so the history of that town is addressed separately, with a focus on the post-1878 period.

Before 1859, Moldavia and Wallachia, two of the principalities that eventually became Romania, were under the vassalage of the Ottoman Empire, with Transylvania, the third major region of contemporary Romania, under Habsburg rule until 1919. In Moldavia and Wallachia, the cultural norms of the elites were more closely aligned with the expectations and ideas that were the trend in Istanbul rather than Vienna. That meant that, even among non-Muslim populations, the elites preferred the separation of women from men in living quarters and social space. Elite women also benefited from the services of either ethnic Romanian serfs or Roma slaves. There is not enough evidence to establish whether such services extended to sex, but homosociality was the norm.

In parallel, establishments trading in sex developed as a means to entertain or host men of the elite, and overall to take advantage of women's marginal economic and social status in those territories, both in Iași, the capital of Moldavia, and especially in Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia. In particular, with the Roma population being subjected to slavery, the practice of selling young women into sexual slavery was not uncommon, and it has been reported in a number of accounts across time and different parts of Romania. There is not enough evidence available to describe any specific trends in terms of same-sex prostitution, and in particular about male sex workers. The mythology around the propensity of Greek youth to engage in homosexual activities existed in Romania as well, where a sizable part of the economic elite was Greek or of Greek provenance. But there is no evidence of how those may or may not have been related to prostitution, rather than consensual activities without an exchange of goods for services.

In Transylvania, where all forms of serfdom and slavery had been abolished by 1848, before they had been in Moldavia and Wallachia, prostitution existed in a different cultural environment. There were more major urban centres and an earlier movement of young men and women from the countryside seeking employment there. Therefore, the dynamic of young poor women falling prey to the vicissitudes of employment as servants or in other industries, was prevalent earlier. Another purported particularity in Transylvania was the large proportion of Jewish women who engaged in

sex work. It is not clear whether such statements, which appear in a number of documents, are the result of anti-Semitic attitudes, or whether they are a real sociological particularity of sex work in the region.

Constanța was a port city on the Black Sea under Ottoman rule until 1878, when the region of which it was a part, Dobrogea, was acquired by the Romanian kingdom. The first administrative decree, put in place in Constanța in 1879, focused significantly on the regulation of prostitution as an important concern and activity in the city, which suggests that sex work was already widespread. As a port, Constanța attracted many temporary male workers — either those on ships coming from other places, or Romanians working in the city or port, as the summer months were always busier in that resort town. In addition to having a large sex trade of its own, Constanța also served as a port for ships that would transport women who engaged in sex work to Istanbul and other destinations further afield, from the Mediterranean to South America.

Urbanization and industrialization came later to Romania than in other European countries further west. As such, a population of young women, unaccompanied by their families and in search of work in the big city, did not become a major demographic phenomenon until after the First World War. Throughout the interwar period, the proportion of urban inhabitants did not surpass 15 per cent of the total population of the country, with Bucharest accounting for the lion's share. While Bucharest was already a relatively large city in 1831 (population 58,794), by the turn of the twentieth century it had reached over 283,000 inhabitants. The service sector, which often served as a gateway to sex work, also started to grow around the end of the nineteenth century. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century a large number of theatres, cabarets, cafes, hotels, tea rooms and restaurants opened their doors, and downtown Bucharest changed significantly into a place where many kinds of entertainment could be procured, and where young, attractive women working for low wages in the service industry, became a significant component of the local sex trade scene. In addition, with a significantly larger middle class by the turn of the twentieth century, the demand for servants and nannies expanded as well, attracting a growing number of young women without much experience of city life.

By most accounts, the most widespread practice of prostitution took place in the years after the First World War. The disruption brought by four years of war (Transylvania) and two years of war and military occupation (the Romanian kingdom), rendered the newly enlarged Greater Romania rife for social disruption, inclusive of more demand for sex work, as well as more supply. The wartime German occupation of Bucharest, in particular, created both extraordinary challenges for the population who lived there in precarious conditions (especially women), as well as some limited means of survival through offering sexual services to the occupying troops. The displacement of many families due to the occupation, and women's economic and personal vulnerability during the war owing to those problems as well as to legal constrictions against their ability to operate as autonomous economic agents, created a context in which prostitution became a way of obtaining a minimum of economic security for women and their families.

After the war, while many of the women who had engaged in cavorting with the occupying armies were publicly shamed, the sex trade flourished. The returning troops suffered from

psychological and other afflictions from the war, and seeking the services of a sex worker had become a common practice during their long years at the front. So brothels flourished, alongside other clandestine (meaning unregulated) establishments and individual sex workers, whose practices and clientele ranged from the young King Carol II to working-class men. Although in the early years after the First World War sex work slowed down somewhat in Constanța, owing to the disruptions of the war and the slow economic recovery of the port, by the late 1920s tourism flourished and the sex trade also grew.

## Societal reaction and legal situation

Several historical documents reveal a concern with the effects of prostitution on social stability and with the norms the rulers of the Romanian principalities wished to enforce. The earliest document to demonstrate a concern for public safety in relation to sexual slavery dates from 19 August 1472: it communicates the severe punishment to be handed out to members of gangs of men that were reported to practise the theft of young women from different parts of Moldova, to sell them in Istanbul as sex slaves.

Prostitution became defined as a public problem only in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the state of Romania was coming into being. The first official document to define and regulate the practice of sex work dates from 1862, and the first services for medical oversight of brothels began in 1884. A sanitary police corps was also established around the same time, with an approach similar to that of other European countries where regulation was still the accepted practice.

Sex workers were required to register and have a weekly check-up with a doctor who would certify her well-being or recommend treatment or hospitalization, depending on her condition. The police could request that the registration cards be presented at any time and had the authority to pick up the sex worker if her health check-ups were not up to date or if she had not been cleared by a doctor's office in terms of being a carrier of communicable diseases, from sexual transmitted diseases to tuberculosis. Brothels were tolerated and had to be operated by a female manager, with each sex worker occupying a room to which she brought clients. The manager was responsible for keeping the workers up to date on their health requirements and for not allowing minors into the establishment. The manager collected the sex workers' wages, and the law stipulated that 20 per cent of those earnings were supposed to be placed into individual savings accounts for each woman. The idea was to create the possibility for those women to leave the sex trade once they had saved enough.

According to the law, the brothels could not be placed in the vicinity of churches (other religious establishments, such as synagogues, were not cited in the law), schools, restaurants, hotels, cafes and other places that catered to a wide public and were part of the regular service industry. In Bucharest, most brothels were in a neighbourhood at the periphery of the city, but at least two other streets downtown were part of that red-light district. In Constanța, with a city plan focused primarily on tourism, the regulations, which were passed in 1879, resulted in the closing of some brothels downtown and the general move of the red-light district towards the periphery, where hotels and restaurants were not as prevalent.

Starting in the interwar period, a very vocal debate about prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, and the health of the Romanian nation began to take place, pitting abolitionists against reformists over

three laws concerning prostitution that were passed in 1922, 1930 and 1943. Doctors, feminist activists, politicians and lawyers all weighed in, and the pendulum swung briefly towards abolitionism (1930), only to return to the status quo of regulation during the Second World War. The most important voices in the debates were the eugenicists, whose focus was primarily on the intergenerational costs of such sexual practices and the attendant sexually transmitted diseases to the health of the nation as whole. In the 1920s, the eugenicist camp was overwhelmingly pro-regulation, arguing from a pragmatic position that men's sexuality was genetically predisposed towards multiple sexual partners and that prostitution provided a necessary outlet for that need. Interestingly, they also argued that the women engaged in sex work were not genetically depraved, but rather suffered from socially induced weaknesses, and therefore, with medical oversight and economic support, they could be moved to find other ways of making a living or possibly marrying, and thus return to respectable life.

The feminist movement argued similarly that prostitutes were women who needed support, rather than policing, for their rehabilitation. Feminists viewed the women as victims of the system and of the legal status of prostitution, which rendered them dependent on the vice police, pimps and madams. Feminists were also infuriated by the single-minded focus on the prostitutes as a threat to the health of the nation, and pointed towards the participation of men in the process as victimizers, rather than victims of the sex workers. The existing system only punished women and did not really end the propagation of sexually transmitted diseases. The conclusion drawn by Romanian feminists was that abolition, combined with a vigorous programme of education for women and young people in general, as well as the development of placement centres for young women who were recent arrivals in Bucharest, was the only way to end the sex trade. Their logic was that if the supply dried up, so would the demand and thus the spread of sexually transmitted diseases.

The abolitionist moral arguments presented by the feminists were based on the notion that men and women were to be subjected to the same sort of public scrutiny and also that all individuals who contributed to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases were to be held equally accountable. But that was not what most other participants in the debate about regulating versus abolishing prostitution held as basic convictions. To eugenicists, as well as other vocal proponents of regulating prostitution, women were both weaker than men and also less rational, and therefore needed to be controlled by men. Women's sexuality was either of no interest or was defined as passive or accommodating to men's needs, rather than having its own identifiable attributes. As a result, the regulationist arguments prevailed in the 1922 discussions and prostitution continued to flourish in both Bucharest and Constanța.

There were important changes, however, in how such regulation would take place. Many doctors, especially eugenicists, had come to see the role of the police as particularly negative, insofar as they were not successful (nor did the police seem particularly interested) in doing away with clandestine sex workers, and thus indirectly assisted the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. In addition, given the corruption in the police force, their role seemed more closely connected to the business interests of various operators and managers of public establishments, than with making sure that sex workers were both healthy and protected from the abuse of pimps and madams. The role played by the sanitary/vice police up to that point was to be largely replaced by the more direct involvement of doctors in how the registration cards of the sex workers would be issued and renewed.

The shift towards placing doctors in the role of enforcers of public order alongside principles of public health and eugenic threats to the health of the nation continued to grow throughout the 1920s. Still, in 1930, when Iuliu Moldovan, the leader of the eugenics movement, became Minister of Health and passed the most comprehensive public health law up to that point, he also included a volte-face regarding prostitution. The 1930 Moldovan law made all brothels illegal, ended the policy of registering sex workers, moving the entirety of the sex trade underground. It is not clear why that shift took place, though one possible explanation might be that Iuliu Maniu, the Prime Minister who had appointed Moldovan, was a morally upstanding and very austere individual, and he might have made the issue something he personally wanted to see resolved from the perspective of Christian morality, rather than public health concerns. An important clue to the fact that feminists might have also played a role in the alteration of prostitution legislation was the new provision to punish those who contributed to the sex workers' trade (pimps, madams, adults corrupting minors, as well as clients) with fines and, if the offence was repeated, tough prison sentences.

There is no evidence that making prostitution illegal actually had an impact on the sex trade. Since there had been no reform of the police force, the corruption that had existed before continued unabated. The police turned a blind eye to the activities, and both the supply and demand of sex services continued to thrive even through the years of the Great Depression. In 1943, the wartime government passed a new law that regulated prostitution, with a focus primarily on eliminating the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The details of the law were similar to those of the 1922 law, focusing on medical rather than police oversight. A new element was the strict rules about the need to seek immediate attention on the part of all who came into contact with carriers of sexually transmitted diseases, meaning the clients of the sex workers. The law went so far as to specify that both husband and wife in a marriage where one was suspected of a sexually transmitted disease had to seek the attention of a doctor. Punishment for non-compliance ranged from three months to two years in jail and a hefty fine. Prostitution was made illegal again with the arrival of the communist regime after the war.

## Organization of the trade and social profiles

Sex work initially operated from brothels and other group houses generally managed by women. Young women were recruited from among the slave population (Roma), foreigners (especially Austrian and Hungarian women), as well as poor ethnic Romanians who lived on the periphery of Bucharest, or who came to Bucharest or Constanța seeking economic opportunities either in the service industries or in entertainment. Many women were recruited at the train station, where the police also served as both cover and collaborator. Dancers travelling with foreign companies or in the local cabarets also engaged in sex work.

During the interwar period, the number of streetwalkers and individual sex workers who were registered far surpassed that of brothel workers in both Bucharest and Constanța. In Bucharest in particular, the entirety of the downtown area, from streets and parks to stores, hotels, cafes and tea houses, presented endless opportunities to both offer and solicit sex. The police seemed accommodating in its enforcement of the legislation, as did the proprietors of such establishments. In both cities the turnover seemed quite fast, though it is not clear whether abuses by pimps or the

police, abandonment of the trade for greener pastures, international trafficking or other factors were at play there.

The total number of sex workers and establishments where the sex industry developed reached well beyond the officially registered brothels. In fact, the brothels accounted for less than 20 per cent of the total number of sex workers in both Bucharest and Constanța. The financial disincentives of working in a brothel were clear — the women's earnings could not surpass 20 per cent of the fees taken in, because of the way in which the legislation was written, and the only in-kind benefit they received was room and board, as well as some basic protection from abuses by clients or the police. Thus, most sex workers operated individually in hotels situated all over the city, paying off the police in order to stay in business, and often working with pimps to attract customers. Cafes, restaurants, cabarets and other service businesses with a reputable facade often served as spaces where encounters were initiated, with hotel rooms as a follow-up to securing a customer. Some of the well-populated boulevards and parks close to the downtown area were other places where sex workers and their pimps operated individually. Such activities were tolerated, even if the workers were underage, or if they were not registered. The vice police were known for their grafting practices and no reforms against such corruption took place during the interwar period.



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## Prostitution in Spain in 1925 according to Reports by Paul Kinsie for the League of Nations

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### Introduction

In the second half of January and at the beginning of February 1925, during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship — a relatively favourable situation for Spain from the economic point of view — Paul Kinsie visited various Spanish cities (Barcelona, Cadiz, Madrid and Seville ) in order to gather information about the spaces and conditions in which prostitution was being practised and in particular about “trafficking” of women to South America.

Posing as a “trafficker” of women in search of new opportunities, he tried to gain contact with prostitutes, brothel madams and pimps who would provide him with specific details on the situation in Spain. As he was not familiar with the Castilian language, he had to have the help of bilingual intermediaries, which certainly turned out to be a hindrance. It must be highlighted, however, that when he arrived in Spain, Kinsie had ample experience with similar jobs, accumulated over many journeys made to Europe (Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom) as well as South America (Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Uruguay).

Kinsie was not the only person to undertake visits to Spain with the same objective on behalf of the League of Nations. Samuel Auerbach travelled to Barcelona (on 14 October 1924), Santander (from 22 to 25 January 1925), La Coruña (on 26 January 1925) and Vigo (between 27 and 29 January 1925) — thus visiting all the Spanish locations — essentially ports from where one could travel to South America — which Kinsie visited around the same time (except for his first short stay in Barcelona in 1924)

An attempt will be made to contextualise and evaluate Kinsie’s contributions (at times merely in the form of notes), first by providing some general details on the norms of prostitution in Spain and then moving on to analyse the content of his reports, locationwise. Comparisons will be made with various other materials, to the extent possible, of data provided by Kinsie, which are skewed owing to the aim of his survey (focused on “trafficking of women and children”).

### Regulation on prostitution in Spain

“In Spain, except for the highest government centres, this system [tolerance of prostitution with official regulation] is implemented in the capitals of provinces and in some municipalities in a non-uniform manner. There is no one law and in our health administration it is an autonomous branch that is solely and exclusively dependent on the competence of civil governors” was the complaint voiced by a doctor in the Special Hygiene Service of the province of Cadiz (Arturo Monje y Cuadrado) in 1900, before he went on to present a detailed draft regulation. Effectively, since the middle of the

nineteenth century, under pressure from hygienic networks and the police, regulationism had come to be progressively imposed in Spain after various centuries of prohibitionism. But those were local regulations, not a general norm applicable to the whole country.

The regulationist model seemed to clearly dominate in the beginning of the twentieth century, as can be inferred from the responses received by the Ministry of the Interior after its Royal Decree of December 1909. The large majority (82 per cent) of the reports submitted (only those corresponding to Barcelona, Granada, Murcia and Vizcaya were missing) were in favour of a regulation that would involve mandatory identification of prostitutes and almost all of them declared that the regulation must exclusively be a health control and that the task of technical supervision should be entrusted to the Health Inspector. On the other hand, 64 per cent agreed with the forced identification of prostitutes by official physicians and 58 per cent with the forced hospitalization of infected prostitutes.

Although various draft regulations saw the light of the day at the beginning of the twentieth century (such as the Regulatory Draft on Hygiene and Policing of Prostitution by Arturo Monje y Cuadrado in 1900, “drafted to standardize the services provided in provincial governments under the category special hygiene” or the one drafted in 1901 by former governors within the framework of its Basis for Reform of Provincial and Municipal Laws), it was only in 1907–1908 that Spain demonstrated a real intent to prepare a general and uniform regulation on prostitution within the scope of a reform in health regulations.

A first version of the said “Special regulation on hygiene services for prostitutes”, drafted in 1905 by the Royal Health Council, which had brought together relevant persons, those most knowledgeable of the topic, was issued — although without being published in the *Gaceta* — on 24 January 1907, a few days before the then Minister of the Interior, Count de Romanones (Álvaro de Figueroa y Torres) resigned from his post along with the entire government headed by Antonio Aguilar y Correa, Marqués de la Vega de Armijo. Owing to that turn of events, it was rescinded very soon afterwards, under the government headed by Maura y con Juan de la Cierva y Peñafiel, as head of the Interior Ministry, by Royal Decree dated 1 March 1908, with the announcement of a Provisional Regulation on Hygiene in Prostitution.

The regulatory provisions on prostitution adopted at the time once again declared that “the possibility of stamping out a social plague that is as deep-rooted as it is ancient and which, besides the aspect of immorality, also has a health dimension which is of highest importance, affecting as it does not only the existence of the individual and community, but also the conservation of the race, is an unrealistic target”, concluding with the need to tolerate and regulate prostitution, but with a “law of general nature that standardizes hygiene services for prostitution for all provinces, organizing it in the simplest possible manner”.

Its orientation influenced by regulationism, the Royal Decree of 28 September 1910 was drafted “ruling that a Hygiene Service on Prostitution must be set up, for protection of public health in the context of this social evil”. At the same time in Spain there were efforts to draft a harmonized legislation on prostitution and agreements and conventions were signed at the international level, within an abolitionist framework, in order to “make as effective as possible the curbing of trafficking

known as “white slave trafficking”, in particular through the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic signed in Paris in May 1910, but ratified by Spain only in August 1912.

Pimping, which had not been taken into consideration in earlier Spanish laws (or in very specific cases such as that covered by the Criminal Code of 1870), was then going to figure as a crime, which to a certain extent countered regulationism. The law of July 1904, modifying articles 456, 459 and 466 of the Criminal Code of 1870, covered subsequently in the Criminal Code of 1928, thus incorporated various articles in the chapter dedicated to “Crimes relating to prostitution” to make it compatible with international legislation.

The promulgation in 1918 of the Basis for Regulations on Public Prophylaxis of Venereal-Syphilitic Diseases, under preparation since 1913, signified a new decisive phase in the administration and organization of the old hygiene in prostitution system and therefore in its legalization as well. A team of medical officials was set up in the state health administration, not only with the regular functions of a physician attending to hygiene in prostitution, but the provincial health inspectors were also in charge of hygiene services for prostitutes, in terms of the health aspects, as well as the economic aspects; the governors were in charge of the registration and police control of prostitutes.

The 1918 legislation, although framed within the regulationist project, also laid the foundations for the development of programmes for anti-venereal disease dispensaries, the need for which had already been voiced at the end of the nineteenth century by Juan de Azúa. The favourable economic situation in Spain after the First World War, along with other factors, permitted an increase in the resources for combating venereal diseases and also the execution of the reforms required. But the evolution of sexual demand, the crisis faced by the traditional brothels that were tolerated (with permanent pupils/prostitutes) and the importance of multifaceted clandestine prostitutes who occupied a number of spaces in the urban framework, including live music cafes or “bars served by waitresses” are to be highlighted.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Spanish authorities were no longer able to officially remain on the sidelines of the abolitionist movement, which was then attempting to establish itself with relative cohesion and force at the international level. The abolitionist movement was increasingly finding itself linked to the fight against pornography and “obscene” publications, which was also taken up without any real success in Spain. A number of publications denounced the “trafficking” of women between Europe and South America through the so-called “Buenos Aires route”, according to the title of the celebrated report by Albert Londres, and whether myth or reality, towards the end of the nineteenth and in the first quarter of the twentieth century, “white slave trafficking” came to be a literary theme.

The Royal Foundation for curbing human trafficking, founded in 1902 under the Ministry of Justice, attempted to be that instrument and window for Spain, based on the official commitments made at the Conference of Amsterdam in 1899 and in other international conferences and congresses on the topic, which were being held with increasing frequency, towards the end of the nineteenth century and one of which was held in Spain in 1910. But the time of complete social acceptance

— not even at the state level — of abolitionism had not yet arrived and the regulationist doctrine was still predominant, especially in the medical field. The term “white slave trade”, however, became increasingly popular at that time and was frequently associated with “prostitution”.

In 1921, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children made that new definition official, by replacing the term “white slave trade”, which was very simplistic and had a somewhat racist connotation, with the broader and more explicit term “traffic in women and children”. It motivated the creation in April 1923 within the Spanish Ministry of Grace and Justice, of a Central Commission for Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, an official body formed by members of the Royal Foundation and the Higher Council for Protection of Children.

For feminists and abolitionists, only the new and long-awaited Republic could bring about the desired changes, by laying the foundation for legal equality between the sexes (such as the right to vote and divorce). But the path to abolitionism was not as immediate as the suppression of the old political institutions inherited from the Monarchy, and the abolitionist decree of June 1935 — 10 years after Kinsie’s visit to Spain — which finally introduced abolitionism, did not have the expected consequences in the end.

## Prostitution in Barcelona

From the reports written by Kinsie during his visit to Spain at the beginning of 1925, the most extensive and detailed report is on the city of Barcelona, the Catalan capital situated to the north-east of the Iberian peninsula, a major Mediterranean port and an important industrial city, which then had a population of more than 800,000 inhabitants. Besides its civil and religious monuments that could attract national or foreign tourists, Barcelona was known in particular for its significant concentration of prostitutes, which could be observed in its “*barrio chino*”, or Chinatown, located in the old and popular part of the city, where various marginalized people cohabited.

It was precisely in 1925 that the journalist, Francisco Madrid, baptized the Raval neighbourhood with the toponym “*barrio chino*” in a series of articles on the “Underbelly of Barcelona” published in the weekly *El Escándalo*; the term is now commonly used in Spanish to designate an area where people engage in prostitution and other nefarious activities, according to the definition of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language. The big “business” of the Raval district (or “District V” according to administrative terminology), located at the end and to the right of Las Ramblas (behind the Teatro Principal (Main Theatre) as Kinsie pointed out), was traditionally prostitution.

After multiple rules that had been in force since the middle of the nineteenth century and the reign of Isabel II, the last regulation on prostitution which is on record for the city of Barcelona and which must have been in effect in 1925, dates back to May 1919. That rule was based on the Guidelines for Regulation of Public Prophylaxis of Venereal-Syphilitic Diseases to which allusion has already been made. Drafted by the then Provincial Health Inspector (Miguel Trallero Sanz) and approved by the civil governor on duty, the Regulation on Hygiene in Prostitution for the City of Barcelona, adapted to the Guidelines approved by the Royal Health Council, for the Regulation and Defence of Public Prophylaxis of Venereal-Syphilitic Diseases, followed the traditional patterns

of regulationism in its 74 articles: registration (“voluntary or ex-officio”) of prostitutes in a file and periodic health check-ups — to detect venereal diseases — in addition to charging the tolerated brothels with a fee based on their importance (nine categories of them), from 25 to 250 pesetas monthly)

In order to be able to compare the various observations made directly or indirectly by Kinsie, apart from some testimonials from that period, there are very valuable *Guías nocturnas* or “nightlife guides”, some of which were published in France as an addition to the classic travel guides. The nightlife guides, “only for gentlemen”, provide a more or less exhaustive list of Barcelona’s brothels (around 400 in total if information in all the guides is combined), their location as well as the prices charged by the prostitutes for their services. Evidently those documents — which included, for example, advertisements for condoms and “hygienic rubbers” or collections of erotica — did not refer to clandestine prostitution, which escaped regulation and which manifested itself in different forms and in different spaces, from brothels and pleasure houses or motels to cabarets or live-music cafes.

During Kinsie’s visit to Barcelona (recorded between 16 and 22 January 1925) and thanks to a taxi driver who acted as an intermediary — which was usually the case with tourists as the nightlife guides included a section on bordellos that gave tips to taxi drivers — pretending to be a pimp engaged in “trafficking” of women, he tried to identify all those spaces where low-class prostitutes (mainly providing services to labourers and sailors) plied their trade, such as pleasure houses, cafes and other spaces for recreation and where men socialized, in addition naturally to the authorized brothels. In fact, his real “obsessions” (reflected continuously in the questions he posed and the answers he transcribed in his reports), deriving directly from the basis of his mission, were two: minors and foreigners working as prostitutes.

Among other elements, Kinsie also highlighted the importance of street prostitution and he found it noteworthy that prostitutes rarely approached men/potential clients directly, in order to avoid problems with the police. Apart from low-class prostitution, and therefore the most accessible form of it, Kinsie further pointed to the existence of a more luxurious variant (with prices ranging from 100 to 200 pesetas, although in another paragraph he stated that it was between 25 to 100 pesetas), operating from well-furnished apartments located in the “business” districts of the city, that is to say in the Eixample area and in the upper town (in the Muntaner streets or the Consejo de Ciento area and even in Gracia in a “tower”, according to the addresses provided in a nightlife guide). Unlike in other cheaper brothels, where prices varied between 5 and 10 pesetas and where the pupils (prostitutes) — who were quite mature in age — went semi-naked, in those luxury houses, young prostitutes (of at least 21 years of age) were well dressed. Except for some foreigners (specifically French and Italian), the majority of prostitutes present there were Spanish. Prostitutes of French origin were mostly found in the streets, where their pimps believed they could achieve better profitability.

Kinsie’s testimony coincides essentially with what can be learned about Barcelona prostitution from other sources. Regarding the tariffs of the prostitutes, for example, it must be pointed out that according to the nightlife guides available, they ranged from 0.5 to one peseta for the lowest category up to 25 pesetas (and even 50 in a few cases) for the highest class, which does not correspond completely with the prices, somewhat higher, indicated in the Kinsie’s report. It seems that the more

generalized price for a sexual service was in the range of 5 pesetas, as recorded in the registers of Barcelona brothels (such as “Madame Petit”). Use of tokens helped them prevent money being circulated inside the brothel and control the number of services that a prostitute provided.

To gain an idea of prostitution practised outside the brothels, Kinsie visited the majority of cabarets, live-music cafes and music halls in Barcelona — many of which were situated in the Paralelo Avenue (then called the Marqués del Duero Avenue), which had opened at the end of the nineteenth century and which figured, for example, in the *General Guide to Barcelona* by Juan Prats Vázquez, but also in other nightlife guides, such as *Apolo*, *La Buena Sombra*, the *Lion d’Or* or *La Guinda*.

Kinsie stated that in each of those places he found about 10 to 15 clandestine prostitutes — that is to say unregistered as such for specialized services and who therefore were not subject to the required health checks— in general older than 21 years (but to Kinsie they seemed to be aged between 17 and 19 years) and most of them Spanish, who invited single men to have “immoral relations” in nearby apartments. To circumvent the law, they had false birth certificates stating that they were older than they obtained from the owner of the establishment. That was also the case with foreign women whose real age could be up to nine years more than the age stated in the passport.

Thanks to an man from Aragon who had lived for a while in France and the United States, a certain James De Villa, alias Hyman, who made a living from prostitution, Kinsie learned of that and other non-public information, of the laws on prostitution, as well as ways to circumvent them. He was also informed of police action against clandestine prostitutes — which it seems was relatively strict and implemented with the help of watchmen and civil guards (whom Kinsie termed as “watchdogs”).

In reality, the authorities persecuted visible street prostitution, stating that it could lead to social unrest, and even prohibited prostitutes from walking the street to practise their trade before 12 at night or 1 a.m., as reported by Kinsie, although that order was practically impossible to implement. The clandestine prostitutes could be found in “cafes served by waitresses” such as the Café Catalán (and not Catalana, as Kinsie wrote), located in La Rambla de Santa Mónica. There, for seven pesetas a night, they would dance with their clients, in principle “properly”, but testimonies show that those were authentic brothels in which there were scenes that could reveal themselves to be tremendously erotic.

Kinsie also made ample reference to “trafficking” of women from Spain — by French or Spanish pimps with French prostitutes — to various Latin American countries (such as Cuba or Mexico) from various ports in the north (La Coruña or Santander) or from Barcelona itself, receiving details on that from his informant, De Villa, a well-known figure in Barcelona. All that is stated in the report published by the League of Nations in 1927, citing sentences from Kinsie’s report.

Finally, Kinsie dedicated some lines to “indecent literature”, of which Barcelona was an important centre of production and distribution and even mentions Paris as a supplier of pornographic illustrations for Havana and later the United States.

## Prostitution in Madrid

After his stay in Barcelona, Kinsie made a somewhat quick visit (between 24 and 26 January 1925) to the Spanish capital. The city of Madrid, situated in the centre of the country and which did not have any major industrial activity, had a population of around 770,000 inhabitants, according to the 1925 census.

The last known regulation on prostitution in Madrid was published in 1909. The Provincial Health Inspector and the Secretary of the Provincial Health Council, Dr. José Call, had presented a study on hygiene regulations for prostitution, before the Permanent Commission of the Provincial Health Council, which would inspire the regulation approved on 20 March 1908 by the Permanent Commission of the Provincial Health Council of Madrid presided by Marqués del Vadillo. Comprising 30 articles and five chapters (“On registration of prostitutes”, “Obligations of registered women and madams”, “On optional services”, “Inspection of service”, “Responsibilities”), the regulation represented a synthesis of previous texts, but in general contained a uniform law. In that regulationist framework, women who were engaged in prostitution — older than 21 years of age — had to be registered beforehand in a special administrative register and were subjected to periodic (weekly) health checks.

In his report, Kinsie showed interest in the forms of prostitution and the spaces in which it was practised: authorized brothels, pleasure houses, hotels and street prostitution. With regard to its location in the urban space, he indicated that lower-class prostitution was concentrated in the heart of the capital, specifically in the San Bernardo streets — in the lower part — Silva and Ceres — a street that disappeared after the works on the third stretch of the Gran Vía had been initiated, precisely in 1925. All testimonies mentioned, however, the high density of prostitutes in that and adjacent streets. At the end of the nineteenth century, Bernaldo de Quirós calculated that the population of prostitutes in Madrid — including the clandestine ones — was around 17,000 women.

In the lower-class prostitution setting, prostitutes would stand at the doorways of homes or congregate on the street, and that would provide them with an opportunity to approach passers-by with the intention of attracting them towards their homes. At night, they invaded the streets of the centre, even the ones with more traffic, around Gran Vía, Calle Alcalá and Puerta del Sol. Those were mainly Spanish women. Almost all the ones that Kinsie met were older than 21 years but some minors were found to engage in prostitution clandestinely, without being registered.

As was the case with maidservants, many dressmakers or fashion apprentices and seamstresses or embroiderers ended up being prostitutes to complement their modest salaries. That is what the Jesuit Antonio Castro Calpe stated in his report on around 200 prostitutes, who had been admitted to the San Juan de Dios hospital (which was the venereal disease hospital of the capital). That was also the reason for a significant number of women becoming prostitutes at a young age (68 per cent before the age of 21), among other factors owing to their early loss of virginity (29 per cent between the age of 10 and 15 years). On the other hand, Castro Calpe provided some indication of the remuneration received for their services: 70 per cent charged between 2 and 5 pesetas.

Kinsie also referred to around 18 “first-class houses” located in residential districts of the capital, but about which he did not provide any concrete information except that they each had about 10



girls who were from Madrid or other areas of Spain. As they did not have any external signboards, in accordance with the law, they could only be known about through taxi drivers or security guards, whom Kinsie must have certainly approached as he stated that he visited them all.

The *Guía Madrid de noche* (Madrid nightlife guide) published by a certain Antonio Aullón Gallego, complements Kinsie's report — over a somewhat later period though — with the details of the names and addresses of the authorized *maisons meublés* (pleasure homes) and *casas discretas* (discreet houses). Thus in the Salamanca district, among high-class establishments are mentioned the “Villa Angelita”, a chalet in Naciones Street, next to Alcántara Street, where a “very discreet hotel” or the “Villa Paca” could also be found. More centrally, mention was made of the “Madame Teddy Maison française” in Gravina Street, “La casa más reservada de Madrid” in Chinchilla Street, in front of “Almacenes Madrid-París”, the first organized departmental stores that opened in the capital, inaugurated in 1924, at number 32 Gran Vía, or the “Casa Discreta” in Calle Pizarro with its advertisement in various languages: “If you wish to find what you are looking for ...” (“One visit, 10 pesetas”).

In a clandestine house (which also figures in the *Madrid Nightlife Guide*) in Calle Hileras (between the Opera and Puerta del Sol), Kinsie came into contact with the madam of the brothel, a certain Paulina Ramos, with whom he could talk about traffic in women to South America as she confessed to having sent — for a commission — a pair of adult women to go and work in a house in Montevideo run by a friend of hers, who had taken care of all the expenses.

Finally, Kinsie indicated that he spent a lot of time during his stay in Madrid in cafes —special mention should be made of the live-music cafes around which many prostitutes would circulate — and music halls — some of which appeared in the *Madrid Nightlife Guide*, as well as the “Pelikán Kursaal” or the “Bataclán” — as well as in the Hotel Palace, one of the most luxurious hotels in the country. He affirmed that in all the prostitution establishments he found women of Spanish origin. In spite of that, Kinsie managed to connect with some French prostitutes, who confessed to being very few, because of the weakness of the peseta in comparison to the French franc and the high cost of living.

## Prostitution in Andalucía (Seville and Cadiz)

In February 1925, after a stay in Lisbon (from 28 January to 3 February) and before moving on to Tangiers (from 7 to 10 February), Kinsie made two very short trips to two Andalusian cities, to the south-west of Spain — Seville (on 4 February), which at that time had a few more than 200,000 inhabitants and Cadiz (on 6 February), with less than 70,000 inhabitants, both of which played an extremely significant role in the political, social and cultural history of Spain and the Atlantic ports (via the Guadalquivir river in the case of Seville).

In both places which were situated at a distance of about 120 kilometres from each other, and as in the rest of Spain, regulationism — implemented from the middle of the nineteenth century — continued to be practised at that point in time, although it was increasingly coming under criticism. The Cadiz regulation of July 1918 (Special Regulation on Public Prophylaxis of Venereal-Syphilitic Diseases in Cadiz), drafted by Dr. Leonardo Rodrigo Lavín, was considered to have followed the guidelines of the general law approved a few months earlier. The increase in funding for treatment

of venereal-syphilitic diseases permitted the creation of a network of “syphilis hospitals”, as provided for in the law, in which all medical checks were carried out.

Kinsie’s mission was as always to visit the prostitution areas, to see for himself and check for the presence of minors working as prostitutes and the possibility of trafficking of women. In Seville, he had the help of an English-speaking guide, who took him to the high-class houses. He did not specify but they must have included “La Lollia”, in Calle Rosario, an establishment that was the only one that figured in the French nightlife guides of that time. Each of those establishments, which must have been located in the urban centre, had around five to eight girls, all Spanish and apparently older than 23 years of age. Kinsie also visited four clandestine houses, where all the women were Spanish. One of the madams assured him that she could provide 15-year-old girls, not registered as prostitutes, who were living with their fathers. One of them whom Kinsie managed to see worked during the day and could not stay in the brothel after 10 at night.

In Cadiz, Kinsie made contact with an Italian, who spoke English and who acted as his guide in the city. Somewhat more detailed than the previous report, that one indicated the location of the prostitute houses along a street that is thought to be Enrique de las Marinas (“de la Manua” in the text) and the adjacent streets (Calle Plata, Hércules, Navas), very close to the Plaza del Mentidero. Accompanied by his guide, Kinsie visited no less than 17 authorized brothels, 5 clandestine ones and around 20 houses, which were almost doll-like (“crib-like houses”, according to Kinsie). If the health conditions of the more expensive establishments were satisfactory, those houses were not at all fit for human beings to reside in them. According to what he saw, all women were older than 21 years of age and of Spanish nationality, which was a conclusion he arrived at upon talking to prostitutes in various cafes and hotels in Cadiz.

If, according to the law, it was women who were officially supposed to run brothels (the “madams”), the reality was that there were men behind them. One of them talked for the first time of the Spanish political situation in the material on Spain — the Primo Rivera dictatorship — and its consequences for prostitution activities, that is to say greater police pressure for street prostitution, a certain severity with regard to the birth certificates of prostitutes and the closing of the game parlours and live-music cafes (such as Kursaal in Cadiz). That informant of Kinsie’s also told him that the clientele very much depended on the ships coming into the port. Near the port, Kinsie could observe some clandestine prostitutes — Spanish from the look of it — who were approaching the men directly.

## Conclusion

Although Kinsie did not visit all of Spain (for example, information on Bilbao and Valencia is missing), his reports provide first-hand data obtained from direct contacts made in the heart of the world of prostitution. They give an idea of the methods chosen to “infiltrate” that world. Owing to the type of contacts and intermediaries and also to the time spent in each of the four cities he visited, the nature, extent and content of the reports are very varied. For one city there is information (regarding the topography of prostitution or the tariffs in the brothels), which in the case of another is unavailable.

But in all that, taking as a basis the international investigation into traffic in women and children, Kinsie tried to answer two questions: are there minor prostitutes (younger than 21); are there non-Spanish prostitutes? In general, the responses were negative. For a modern-day historian, the usefulness of the reports prepared by Kinsie is very relative as they represent nuggets of information regarding the prostitution situation in some Spanish cities and not a real, complete sociological study, which would have required much more time. But the perspective that Kinsie gave is certainly interesting.

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## Prostitution in Switzerland: Geneva, Lausanne and Bern

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### Historical overview

After the Protestant Reformation prostitution was strictly forbidden in the Swiss territories and prostitutes were imprisoned. That changed in the Helvetic Republic at the turn of the nineteenth century when, under the influence of the presence of Napoleonic troops, state regulation of prostitution was introduced in some cities. In addition, growing industrialization in the nineteenth century attracted numerous young persons to the cities in order to find work in newly built factories. Poverty in rural areas increased that trend and led not only to migration within Switzerland, but also to emigration to the “New World”, in order to find better economic possibilities. Local authorities encouraged overseas emigration, because they were responsible for looking after individuals who lacked means of subsistence.

On the one hand, young male workers as well as bourgeois men built a growing demand for prostitution in the urban areas. On the other hand, female domestic servants and female workers struggled with significantly lower incomes than their male counterparts. They saw in prostitution a possibility to improve their income in times of need.

Geneva, situated at the extreme west on the Swiss border with France, turned in the twentieth century from an industrial city into a city characterized by the tertiary sector, consisting notably of private banking. When the League of Nations established its seat in Geneva in 1920, the city was already known as the location of the International Red Cross. The establishment of other international organizations increased the development of tourism, leisure and international fairs. In the national census of 1920, Geneva had a population of 135,000 inhabitants and thus was the third largest city in Switzerland with approximately 30 per cent of foreigners among its population.

Lausanne, the main city of the Canton (region) of Vaud, is situated about 50 kilometres north-east of Geneva. Like Geneva it is part of the French-speaking area of Switzerland and thus culturally oriented towards France. In the interwar years, trade, the hotel industry, banks and insurance grew in economic importance, while the construction sector decreased and industries settled on the peripheries. In 1920 Lausanne had a population of 68,500 inhabitants and belonged to the 10 largest cities of Switzerland.

In the nineteenth century Bern, situated in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, became the capital of the new Swiss Federation. Accordingly, the city grew and the tertiary sector increased. By 1910 nearly half of the employment was in the tertiary sector (services) and the other half in the secondary one (industry). In 1920 Bern was, after a period of rapid growth and the incorporation of its neighbouring community, the fourth largest city of Switzerland and had a population of 104,600

inhabitants. Throughout the 1920s the growth of the population stagnated and the social situation calmed down.

The majority of the population of all three cities was of the Protestant faith. Moral issues were controlled by local authorities and local law. Since the end of the nineteenth century, the federal parliament had worked on a Swiss Penal Code that would also unify local laws concerning the regulation of sexuality and morality. After extended parliamentary discussion, it would only enter into force in 1942.

Switzerland had been spared the First World War and was therefore not faced with devastation like its neighbouring countries. Nevertheless, the war led to a deterioration in the living standards of the working class and reinforced social tensions culminating in a national strike in 1918.

## **Societal reaction towards prostitution and legal situation at the time of the inquiry**

In 1875 Josephine Butler founded the International Abolitionist Federation in Geneva with the aim of promoting the abolitionist view on prostitution beyond the borders of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Federation was supported by representatives of the Swiss upper class. They founded several organizations in Switzerland inspired by the Federation and also supported it to a certain degree financially by collecting money by going from door to door. One of those organizations was the International Federation of Friends of Young Women, “*Amies de la jeune fille*”, an organization aiming at protecting young migrating female domestic servants on their journey and in their new workplace. Representatives of that organization and its Catholic counterpart, *Association Catholique Internationale des Oeuvres de Protection de la Jeune Fille*, each obtained the status of assessor in the League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children. Several women’s associations for the promotion of morality established homes and asylums for the education of so-called morally endangered girls. They lobbied for the closing of brothels and for higher morality throughout society, for example by reporting book shops that displayed erotic literature in their showcases. By the interwar period most of those organizations had relocated their focus onto rehabilitation work in the social sphere, not least because state-regulated prostitution had been abolished.

As prostitution was legislated upon in the respective cantons of Switzerland and not on a national level, the dense network of moral purity and women’s organizations combated state-regulated or state-tolerated brothels on a cantonal level. In Geneva (regulation system since 1802), a group of abolitionists was founded in 1877. It combated brothels by the publication of pamphlets and by petitioning. Thanks to the abolitionists, matters came to a vote on the preservation of state-regulated prostitution in Geneva in 1896. By connecting state regulation with progress and modernity, regulationists were able to win the vote. The clear result of the voting made it possible to maintain regulation in Geneva for almost another 30 years. After the First World War nearly all the cantons had prohibited procuring and thereby also brothels. The last canton to abolish state-regulated prostitution was the canton of Geneva. It closed the nine remaining brothels in 1925.

At the end of the First World War the Swiss Society for the Suppression of Venereal Diseases, a national union with representatives from the university hospitals, physicians, psychiatrists and associations for the promotion of morality, appeared as a new player in discussions about prostitution. It conceived of venereal disease as an illness that was not limited to prostitutes, but concerned everyone. The aim of the society was, therefore, the suppression of venereal disease through information campaigns in order to prevent infections. In 1922 the Society together with physicians issued an enquiry about the spread of venereal disease in Switzerland. The enquiry generally saw higher rates of infection in cities than in rural areas. Bern had — contrary to Geneva and Lausanne — an infection rate of less than 100 per 10,000 citizens. Most of the infected were 20 to 30-year-old bachelors. That corresponded to the age at which young men had not yet had the opportunity to marry, because of lack of money for maintaining a family. The enquiry showed that prostitutes were only the source of infection for approximately half of the men. But it also mentioned that the abolition of state-regulated prostitution in all cantons except Geneva had rendered the term “prostitute” blurry and it was therefore rather unclear what the physician who gave the answers to the survey meant when mentioning “prostitute” as the source of infection.

In the interwar period, the federal parliament legislated at the national level on the suppression of international traffic in women and children. In order to ratify the international conventions for the suppression of traffic in women and children of 1910 and 1921, a law on the suppression of traffic was drawn up. The law made international procuring liable to prosecution and complied with the two aforementioned international conventions as well as with the 1933 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age. But it had no influence on the legislation of prostitution in the cantons. Nevertheless, the federal parliament discussed moral and sexual issues during the aforementioned debates about the Swiss Penal Code that contained, *inter alia*, legislation on sexual offences including prostitution. Being excluded from the vote, women’s organizations took an active part in the discussions on moral issues and lobbied for a strict anti-trafficking law.

In Bern the Women’s Association for the Promotion of Morality was one of the most active abolitionist organizations. In 1887, the Association submitted a petition requesting the government to abolish the illegal brothels in the canton of Bern. Legal regulation had already been abolished in Bern in 1828 after the French period. Following the petition, the government of the canton released a corresponding directive and the city of Bern additionally prohibited prostitution and procuring in the streets. Women who were repeatedly noticed by the police were arrested, examined for venereal disease and fined. Until 1941 both prostitution and procuring remained liable to prosecution in the city of Bern.

In Lausanne prostitution was not prohibited, but considered analogous to vagrancy or begging as a vice. The act of prostitution as such, therefore, was not liable to prosecution, but the acts leading to prostitution like attracting clients were. The central aim of the local penal code from 1896 was to hinder all public manifestation of prostitution. In the 1890s Lausanne had on a provisional basis requested the regular medical examination of prostitutes and had thereby inserted a kind of regulation of prostitution. The campaign of the abolitionists against that quasi-regulation had prevented the definitive introduction of the regulation system and resulted in the termination of the medical examinations.



## Organization of the trade

In the cities where brothels were not allowed, prostitutes worked as streetwalkers or in bars and cabarets. The prohibition of prostitution put prostitutes in a vulnerable position because their acts were punishable and they had no possibility of suing their clients in case they did not pay for their services or abused them. Furthermore the prohibition of soliciting generated a general suspicion against women in public spaces.

Clandestine prostitutes were in cafes, cabarets or on the street, looking for clients. The women or their pimps rented a room or an apartment close to notorious locations and brought the clients there. Some of the prostitutes attracted their clients directly from within those rooms. They stood at the window, presented themselves that way and called potential clients who were walking down the street. Renting rooms caused difficulties when neighbours felt disturbed by the side effects of prostitution. They complained because of the noise and the indecent looks of prostitutes.

Prostitutes also went with their clients to public parks, the home of the clients or their own homes. In the home of the client the prostitute had to hide her identity. The safest way was probably when the prostitute brought the client to her home because relatives were there in case the client turned violent. The latter type of prostitution usually occurred with the knowledge and consent of the relatives and in order to guarantee the family income in times of economic shortage.

A minority of the prostitutes could be considered as courtesans or *femmes galantes* who had exclusive clients. They arranged meetings with their clients by sending messages and not by street soliciting.

Pimps either just passively lived from the gains of the prostitute without being further involved in the trade. Most of the pimps were relatives or persons for whom the prostitute had a personal affection. Other pimps warned prostitutes and helped them when they were in contact with the police and therefore claimed a part of the gains. Many prostitutes were married to their pimp. The possibility of expelling foreign citizens because of prostitution made it more secure for foreign prostitutes to marry their Swiss pimps.

In Geneva there were two categories of state-regulated prostitution: brothel prostitution and prostitution by “isolated girls” who were allowed to practise prostitution in a designated room, keeping their gains for themselves except for the rent of the room. Women of both categories were examined for venereal disease once a week and their freedom of movement was restricted. They were only allowed to leave the brothel or their room in company of the madam or the owner of their room and they were prohibited from walking the streets after sunset. Besides that state-regulated prostitution, there were clandestine prostitutes who escaped the state medical controls. Non-state-regulated procuring and prostitution were forbidden. In Geneva, prostitution was not legally restricted to certain areas. Most brothels and prostitutes were found in the working-class districts, after the turn of the twentieth century particularly in the ones close to hotels and thus close to customers who stayed in Geneva as tourists.

Brothel prostitution, room renting and the dependence on pimps often drove prostitutes into massive debt. Many of them were charged overpriced expenses for dresses, food, lodging and other

expenses. The debts kept prostitutes subjected to those who profited from their work. For prostitutes in such situations of dependence it was hard to free themselves from debt and even harder to gain a little fortune in order to quit prostitution.

Campaigns against state-regulated prostitution made a connection between brothels and trafficking. But an organized trade of women from abroad to Swiss cities is hard to find in Swiss documents. The federal prosecutor in charge of cases of international trafficking found only very few cases of international trafficking on Swiss territory in the interwar period. Most of the few suspected cases of international trafficking from Switzerland that the federal prosecutor investigated were dissolved as having no real foundation. Although the federal prosecutor stated that Switzerland could at the most be considered as a transitory country for international trafficking, it stated that Switzerland needed to comply with international law in order to avoid becoming a source of trafficking.

## Social profiles and causes of prostitution

Generally the lower income of women and bad working conditions in comparison with those of male workers made women more vulnerable. Women were the first to be dismissed in an economic crisis and therefore had generally less stable working conditions. Being employed in businesses with differing workloads during the year like tourism, they often suffered financial shortages when work was scarce. In Switzerland, there was no social security like unemployment insurance that could have helped in those periods.

Analysis of the persons convicted for prostitution in the city of Bern at the end of the 1920s shows that many of the women had previously worked as domestic servants, in the hotel or restaurant business or as laundresses or seamstresses — all low-paid jobs performed nearly exclusively by women. It is safe to assume that many of them occasionally worked as prostitutes to enhance their income or to overcome a period of temporary unemployment. From mid-1927 to the end of the year 1930 a total of 51 lawsuits against prostitutes were filed in the city of Bern.

In Lausanne the professions of convicted prostitutes were similar to the ones in Bern, domestic servants or working in similar domestic professions such as seamstresses, laundresses or cooks. Many of them had not been born in Lausanne, but had migrated to the city in order to find work. Those women were particularly vulnerable because they lacked a network of native citizens. In the historical research on Lausanne, women having given birth to children out of wedlock are mentioned as more vulnerable to searching for an income in prostitution. In their case it is important to report that the authorities tended sometimes to term women with illegitimate children as prostitutes in order to avoid paying alimony for the children.

In Geneva an overproportional percentage of the prostitutes was from other Swiss cantons or from abroad. It was mostly young women under 30 years of age who were working as prostitutes in Geneva. Many worked or had worked either as textile workers or as domestic servants.

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## Prostitution in Tunis

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Throughout the interwar years, a public debate took place in Tunis on the subject of prostitution. In the mid-1930s the municipality's plan to restructure the Hara, the Jewish quarter, also home to the city's prostitution zone, its *quartier réservé*, led to a series of proposals over what to do with Tunis' prostitutes. Some of the options included relocating the *quartier réservé* to the city's medina, or even to transfer it to the outskirts of Tunis in order to create a satellite city overflowing with prostitutes, modelled entirely on Casablanca's Bousbir. The impending resettlement of the *quartier réservé* sparked intense public discussion in literature, the press and in municipal meetings over the very nature, and indeed existence, of regulated prostitution in the protectorate. While some people sought to maintain the existing system of regulation in place, others, especially leading figures of the Socialist party (namely Dr. Elie Cohen-Hadria and Serge Moati), were outspoken critics of the system and sought an immediate ban on prostitution.

The modernization programmes of the 1930s did not, however, mark the first occasion whereupon the future of prostitution was openly discussed. The occupation of Tunisia by French forces in 1881 and the swift increase in the European population signalled a drastic change in the way in which prostitution was conducted. That the colonial authorities sought the uniformity, and indeed the professionalization of the sex trade in Tunis, is apparent from the introduction of the first *maison de tolérance* (brothel) in 1882. A regulatory system was first introduced in 1889 that aimed to counter venereal disease and control the movement of women. The system obliged prostitutes, defined as women between the ages of 18 and 60, to sign an official register and laid out a system of sanitary surveillance. Women who signed the register were given an official card that was to be presented to the police, medical and military authorities for inspection. They were not permitted to change their address without seeking permission from the "morality police" (whose powers increased in 1927) and the centre for public health. From the mid-1880s onwards, the state's involvement in the sex trade was frequently commented upon. Caught up in a first wave of nationalist and anti-colonial fever, the French protectorate of Tunisia was experiencing profound social change at the very moment that Paul Kinsie was carrying out his investigations. As was the case elsewhere, the League of Nations did not write its reports in a vacuum. Rather, questions relating to regulated prostitution and trafficking permeated contemporary discussions that aimed to change the nature of the colonial system.

While the late 1880s brought in a first wave of regulation, the period 1920–1950 was marked by a period of what historian Christelle Teraud has termed neo-regulation, which rebalanced the tasks of the morality police and the medical profession. At the time of Kinsie's report, there were on average 400 registered prostitutes in Tunis, though that number constantly fluctuated during the course of the interwar years.<sup>1</sup> Most of the prostitutes resided in one of the city's five *quartiers réservés*

<sup>1</sup> Tunisia (SG12, 76, 11). A report from 1935 revealed the following figures for Tunis: 1918–393 prostitutes, 1931–529, 1933–436, 1934–348, 1935–366. A breakdown of the 1935 figures is as follows: 151 Europeans and 215 indigenous (of which 203 Muslims and 12 Jews).

(Abdallah-Guèche, Sidi-Baïan, Persan, rue Mahjoub and rue Ben-Othman). The majority of those that remained worked in one of the city's *maisons de tolérance*. While women in the *quartiers réservés* had a public presence, the creation of six *maisons de tolérance* gradually introduced a hidden, clandestine, element to sex work. Those *maisons* were modelled on and furnished according to the Parisian system and further emulated brothels in Paris by taking similar names (e.g. *Le Sphinx*).

Prostitutes outside the *quartiers réservés* or registered in brothels were usually streetwalkers, or worked in other professions (dancers, singers, waitresses). Besides those women, who endured strict surveillance by the morality police — that took the form of biweekly medical check-ups — a further 100 women were not registered and therefore circumvented the controls.

The Abdallah-Guèche zone was — and remains to this day — the most notorious of Tunis' *quartiers réservés*. At the time, more than 100 women, who were European (and who dressed in European clothing), were crammed into tiny “shops” and bedrooms, located in the same building as Italian and Jewish families. There women waited outside their doors to attract passers-by on the street. Such scenes were vividly brought to life in a series of photographs taken by Ré Soupault at the end of the 1930s. The buildings in the Abdallah-Guèche zone belonged to 16 landlords, who paid little attention to the alarming living conditions: there was a scarcity of running water and no regard for hygiene. Women were expected to pay FF35 daily for their rooms, which included lighting and a monthly cleaning of bedlinen. All other costs were at the personal expense of the women, who had an average daily outgoing of FF60 to FF70. The French journalist, Roger Salardenne, reported in 1932 that the European women in Abdallah-Guèche charged FF7 per client, thereby requiring them to have 10 clients per day in order just to break even. The tariffs varied according to a number of factors. According to Salardenne, women in the adjoining rue des Oies and rue Ed-Drina were also Europeans, but were “not as good-looking” and thus charged FF5. Muslim prostitutes were legally bound to accept Muslim clients only. Their tariffs also varied. In the Quartier Sidi-Baïan, Muslim prostitutes could charge up to FF20, in the rue Mahjoub they charged FF10, while those in the rue du Chapeau charged as little as FF3.

Initial reports from the late nineteenth century suggested that those in charge of taking women to Tunis for sex work were predominantly Italian whose population in the Regency was higher than any other at the time of the invasion. Pimps of Maltese origin also played an important role at that time. By the 1920s, however, there was a change in the origin of pimps, who were of Corsican or southern French origin and who, working with contacts in Paris, had successfully broken the Italian-Maltese monopoly. That the origin of most of the girls and women brought to Tunis for sex work were French was not insignificant. Women from across France went to Marseille before boarding a ship for Tunis. Tunisia's status as a French protectorate ensured that neither visas nor passports were required for the crossing. What is more, Taraud (2003) has shown that between 1920 and 1930, there was a marked increase in the number of indigenous pimps, both Jewish and Muslim, who for the first time began to trespass on what had previously been a European vocation. Later, during the Second World War, the Vichy authorities in Tunis maintained that the forcing of women into slavery was entirely in Jewish hands.<sup>2</sup> Such exaggerations aside, Jewish and Muslim pimps, who conducted their business almost entirely in the city's cafes, were significantly present in Tunis.

<sup>2</sup> France. Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (1 TU 701, 33), Renseignements Généraux, Affaires Juives. Police note (23 September 1942).

The nineteenth century expansion of French feminism and of movements to advance women's causes paid marginal attention to the situation of prostitutes in France's overseas empire. It was only in the 1920s that French abolitionist or anti-regulationist movements began to integrate colonial prostitutes within their broader arguments for an end to the trade. Yet campaigns that were conceived in France centred mainly on European women as victims of the trade. Only on occasion — such as Marcelle Legrand-Falco's speech in Tunis in March 1932 — are found direct references from the French anti-trade movement and its literature, towards the banning of non-European prostitutes in the colonies. In Tunis, organized opposition to sex work began later than in Paris, with a local division of the Union Temporaire contre la Prostitution Réglementée et la Traite des Femmes founded only in the early 1930s. Dr. Elie Cohen-Hadria and his wife Laetitia, both leading members of the Socialist party, were outspoken opponents of the trade. Writing in *Tunis Socialiste*, both were heavily critical of what they saw as a uniquely French system of regulation. In seeking outright abolition, Cohen-Hadria explicitly drew on the examples and language of campaigners who had achieved abolition in Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Alongside *Tunis Socialiste*, other left-leaning newspapers that campaigned for abolition included *L'Égalité*, *La Justice*, *Tunis Soir* and *La Cravache*.

Finally, there is a need to mention that male prostitution, as commented on in a number of sources, was far from invisible in interwar Tunis. A report from the mid-1930s stated that about 15 men, predominantly Jews, though also some French and Italian men, all of whom displayed “severely low levels of intelligence”, were known to the authorities as sex workers. The report suggested that homosexual prostitution was a thriving trade that functioned both in hotels and in family homes.<sup>3</sup> A house for male prostitution, Étage Ouaki, existed in the medina and closed its doors upon Tunisian independence. The notion of male prostitution did not exist in French law and the men, following their arrest, could only be detained for 24 hours.

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<sup>3</sup> Tunisia. Archives Nationales de Tunisie (M5, 11, 773), “La Prostitution et le Contrôle Sanitaire des Moeurs à Tunis, à Alger, et à Casablanca en 1935”.

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## Prostitution in Vienna in the Nineteenth Century

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### Historical background

Vienna, the Habsburg capital and a Catholic stronghold, has a long history of measures against prostitution which, apart from serving as a model for other regions of the Empire, were also strongly shaped by the imperial court and the clerical elite. The first systematic — though unsuccessful — attempts to eradicate prostitution date back to the late eighteenth century and the rule of Empress Maria Theresa. In 1752, the empress established what would become known as the Chastity Committee (*Keuschheitskommission*, also *Keuschheitsgericht* and *Zuchtgericht*), an institution that was dedicated exclusively to issues of prostitution, extramarital sex, objectionable behaviour and homosexuality among the citizens of Vienna. At that time, particularly tough measures were introduced that dealt with prostitutes in tandem with other undesired groups such as tramps, vagabonds and women living in common-law marriage. The story of the expulsion of all the prostitutes apprehended in Vienna (some estimates spoke of as many as 3,000 women) and their deportation down the Danube to Temesvár in the Banat region in the Balkans between 1744 and 1768 is legendary and often cited in literature on the history of prostitution in Central Europe. The result of such harsh measures was the opposite of that desired: prostitution continued to thrive. While her son, Emperor Joseph II, abolished the Chastity Committee along with a number of other historic public punishments for prostitutes such as public shaming, wearing of chains and the cutting of hair, the majority of the earlier laws forbidding prostitution remained in force and, until the middle of the nineteenth century, prostitution remained within the jurisdiction of criminal law.

Josef Schrank, author of *Die Prostitution in Wien in historischer, administrativer und hygienischer Beziehung* (Prostitution in Vienna from the historical, administrative and hygienic perspective, 1886) reported an unprecedented spread of prostitution during the 1848 revolution and particularly drastic measures against it that were introduced in the years of the follow-up reaction in the 1850s–1870s. The ministerial decree of 30 December 1850, for example, requested the police not only to take prostitution into consideration, but also to tackle public health concerns that were connected to it. In 1873, the first comprehensive regulatory legislation was introduced and, consequently, prostitution became the prerogative of the morality police (*Sittenpolizei*). From that time onwards prostitutes were legally requested to register and undergo regular medical examinations. Practically until 1911, when the first attempts to reform the regulatory system were introduced, the general tendency had been to maintain strict control over registered prostitutes operating in brothels and other tolerated establishments and ruthless elimination of the illicit sex trade via police action, detention and expulsion. It took another 10 years until the prohibition of brothels was finally passed in 1921.

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\* I would like to thank Nancy M. Wingfield for her useful comments on the earlier draft of this article.



Prostitution traditionally thrived in the city centre, along the Gürtel (outer ring), the banks of the Vienna canal and the Danube, in the Prater as well as in the suburbs. New areas for the sex trade developed in the late nineteenth century in more upper-class spaces and in the immediate proximity of the bourgeois residential districts. Of particular alarm was the Prater promenade, a place for Sunday strolling amongst respectable society, analogous to the Ringstrasse in the inner city, as well as the section of the Gürtel linking the middle-class inner suburb Mariahilf (Mariahilfer Gürtel) with a particularly notorious section of the 15th district, the so-called Schmelz. A military exercise ground used only occasionally, Schmelz became an area for criminal gangs and the prostitution networks that they ran. Outside the Old Town, the Prater and the Schmelz, particularly dense were the areas of Spittelberg and Getreidemarkt. Other locations in the suburbs, in particular Favoriten, Simmering and Laaerberg, the so-called *Fünfkreuzertanzlocale* or 5-kreutzer dance halls existed, too, but it is clear that most of them were very central and that the policy for the removal of prostitution from central districts was unsuccessful. In 1904, 430 women were convicted of “covert” prostitution in Vienna, whereas some estimates spoke of as many as 30,000 covert prostitutes.

Owing to the proximity of the imperial court and traditional presence of the aristocracy, Vienna also had socially much more diverse prostitution networks that were not limited to the poor and the underclass. The local dialect used a number of terms to distinguish between different groups involved in the sex trade in distinct locations, from the exclusive *Kokotte* (cocotte) to the lowest *niedere Dirne* (lowly whore). While cocottes (also known as *Lorettes* and *Demimondäne*) operated in prestigious theatres, bars, balls and the races, *Besseren* (the better ones) were to be found in coffee houses, transient hotels and only rarely on the street. One of the most exclusive open-air locations was Volksgarten, the public park. By contrast, the majority of the rest worked on the street and catered for socially distinct groups of men from the middle and the working class. The latter were further distinguished by additional names such as *Prodahure* (Prater whore), *blade Nelli* (fat Nelly), *Asphalttschwalbe* (asphalt swallow), *Randsteinschwalbe* (curbstone swallow), *Benzingretl* (petrol Gretel) and finally *Nafke* (from the Yiddish, defining both a prostitute and a female card player) in Jewish and *Kurva* in Slavic neighbourhoods. Pimps were usually referred to as *Strizzi* (from the Czech *stryc*, uncle), but also *Peitscherlbub* (whip boy). Another commonly used term was *Deckl* (cover) meaning the identity card of a prostitute.

Between 1900 and 1911, there existed another, less stigmatized form of prostitution, the so-called *Diskreten* (discreet prostitutes, also called *Geheimen* (secret) and *Winkeldirnen* (corner whores)). Among those were also many dancers and waitresses, who practised the sex trade largely invisible to the public eye. They did not have permission to roam the streets, were not required to register for an identity health card, but were obliged to undergo regular medical checks. Sex could be bought “discreetly” in select dance establishments (dance schools as well as dance pubs), transient hotels and dosshouses (so-called *Absteige* and *Stundenhotels*), shops that functioned as fronts (especially the first ground-floor tenants of the recently constructed tenement houses); baths, art studios and theatres, and finally on the street. It was common for flower girls, or *Blumenmädchen*, who were equally the subject of great works of fin-de-siècle literature and of ridicule, to be involved in some aspect of the sex trade, as well. Many of Vienna’s famous suburban wine taverns, *Heurigen*, were also prostitution locations.

Within the “discreets”, Schrank distinguished between “gallant ladies” (*gallante Frauen*), women in manual work, female factory employees and domestic servants as those who were involved in the sex

trade in addition to their regular employment — usually to compensate for meagre earnings in their main professions. Domestic labour, especially domestic servants, constituted a significant number of the urban labour force in late nineteenth-century Vienna and a large migrant female labour force (especially many Czech and Jewish women) was employed at home, either as domestic servants or in the city's large garment industry. The fact that a large proportion of prostitutes specifically came from domestic service is repeatedly stressed in the literature. At the same time, given that it is difficult to trace their activity in the sources available, there is little evidence of their topographical distribution on the map of the turn-of-the-century metropolis.

In Vienna, there was also a significant overlap of sex trade territories into ghetto areas and other places notorious for poor migrant residents at the turn of the century. The district of Leopoldstadt in Vienna, traditionally a place of concentrated Jewish residence and poverty, was notorious for the proliferation of both prostitution and petty criminality. Similarly, there was Neulerchenfeld and its surroundings, traditionally a place of extremely mixed residence, poverty and cheap bars, where prostitution thrived especially along Lerchenfelderstrasse and Thaliastrasse. Yet it is significant that major areas in the inner city that were traditionally associated with prostitution in the medieval and early modern period remained remarkably enduring. Even after the major restructuring of Vienna that brought into existence the circular street Ringstrasse and significantly altered residential patterns in the city, most of the inner city locations for the sex trade were still there in the early twentieth century. As Nancy M. Wingfield (2007) has recently demonstrated, the scandal around the 1906 Regine Riehl trial revealed that “respectable” bourgeois areas such as Alsergrund were also locations of highly secretive and, at the same time, prosperous brothels, which were protected by connections within the police and the political elite. It also revealed the dark underworld lurking behind respectable facades that involved severe maltreatment of prostitutes by the madams, as well as a number of issues pertinent to nationalism and the “Jewish question” in the imperial capital city.

## **Societal reaction and legislation against prostitution**

Vienna as an intellectual centre had historically strong traditions of misogyny, which were clearly manifested in the ideas of the two leading figures of the fin de siècle, Sigmund Freud and Otto Weininger. The latter went as far as to claim that “great men” (presumably like himself) had always “preferred women of the prostitute type”. Strongly influenced by the work of Italian criminologist and psychiatrist, Cesare Lombroso, on the now discredited theory of the hereditary nature of criminality and by consequence also of prostitution, Weininger distinguished between the two “types” of women, the mother and the prostitute, at the same time removing, however, the historically positive connotation of the mother. For Weininger, any woman who enjoyed sex for its own sake rather than for reproduction was essentially a prostitute. Such ideas were very persuasive in fin-de-siècle Vienna, and the increasing presence of women in the public sphere seemed to only have strengthened them. At the same time, the spread of prostitution in Vienna as a consequence of urbanization resulted in an entirely new genre, or cult, of prostitute (*Dirnenkult*) at the turn of the century that derided the supposed asexuality of “normal” middle-class women. In addition to the profound discord in the degree of sexual experience expected from men and women before marriage in a bourgeois society, and Freud and others' belief in men's much stronger sexual desires and needs, the social and ideological preconditions for the blossoming of prostitution were thus in place even in the early twentieth century.

In Vienna, attempts at introducing regulatory norms and legislation against prostitution were for decades strongly opposed by the clerical elite that saw it as a policy “legalizing the whores”. As a consequence of urbanization, the turnover of prostitutes between different establishments and cities within the Monarchy and beyond was also comparatively high. In that situation, prostitutes remained one of the most heterogeneous and elusive urban groups. Prostitution was very actively discussed; at the same time, regulationism clearly predominated as a policy within government circles. The police regulation of 6 February 1873, for example, clearly delineated under which conditions prostitution would be tolerated in comparison with the earlier 1850 decree: in it were specified definitions of the tolerated sex trade, registration mechanisms, health certificates as well as the jurisdiction of the morality police. Only prostitutes in possession of health cards who would undergo regular (every third day) examinations would be hitherto tolerated. Those found to carry venereal diseases would be dispossessed of their health cards and stationed in one of Vienna’s three hospitals — or expelled from the city. The so-called “vagabond law” (*Vagabundengesetz*) of 1885 introduced tougher punishments for illegal prostitution, up to forced labour in specifically designed establishments. Specific areas of the central First District were set to be controlled by detectives of the morality police operating in plain clothes.

A further 1894 police decree forbade prostitutes from enticing their clients through shop doors in the side streets, which had the simple consequence of bringing prostitution onto the street. Further restrictions included prohibition of the practising of the sex trade in several districts at the same time (1896); the establishment of further forced labour institutions for those convicted of covert prostitution (1898); police surveillance and medical inspection of all women suspected of working as prostitutes including dancers and waitresses and official recognition — and regulation thereof — of tolerated brothels (1900); setting limits on the number of women to be inspected per police doctor and the establishment of the Central Office for Tackling the Trafficking of Women (*Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels*) and the so-called “Office of the agents of the morality police” within it (*Büro für sittenpolizeiliche Agenten*, 1905–1907); setting limits to the minimal age of 18 and curbing the jurisdiction of the morality police (1911).

Whereas the number of controlled prostitutes significantly increased before and especially during the First World War, it is also clear that clandestine prostitution proliferated owing to a complex set of economic and social issues accentuated by the war. By the last years of the First World War and influenced by developments in Germany, a new consciousness of “social dangers” associated with prostitution especially in terms of the spread of infectious and venereal diseases in the army developed in Austria-Hungary. That resulted in renewed vigour in attempting to eliminate prostitution in the immediate aftermath of the war. The health cards were replaced by special identity cards in 1920 and brothels were finally prohibited in 1921. At the same time, however, women were obliged by the conditions of the post-war social contract to give place to returning veterans in the job market, which resulted in the unprecedented spread of female unemployment in Central Europe and elsewhere. As a consequence, many more women than before became involved part-time in the sex trade. A 1923 report by the government of Austria states, for example, that more than 51 per cent of covert prostitutes in Vienna were unemployed.

Attempts to understand prostitution from the social perspective and to deal with it in a more complex and comprehensive manner were in Vienna largely limited to the feminist movement. In 1892, social democratic feminist writer and journalist, Adelheid Popp, founded the *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* (female worker) newspaper that argued for the right of women to work as well as their free choice in family,

lifestyle and their role in the public sphere. A year later, in 1893, feminist social reformers, Auguste Fickert and Rosa Mayreder, founded the *Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein* (Austrian women's association), which published its own pro-reform biweekly *Dokumente der Frauen* between 1899 and 1902 that positioned itself strongly against the prevailing misogyny. Like many of their generation, Mayreder and other Viennese feminists were propagating full emancipation of women which the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 seemed to be promising. Strongly opposing prostitution, they refused, however, to condemn it on moral grounds and advocated, instead, for the reformulation of sexual and family relations to conform to new modern standards as well as for full sexual education for both boys and girls, which they somewhat naively believed would make prostitution obsolete.

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## CITY MAPS

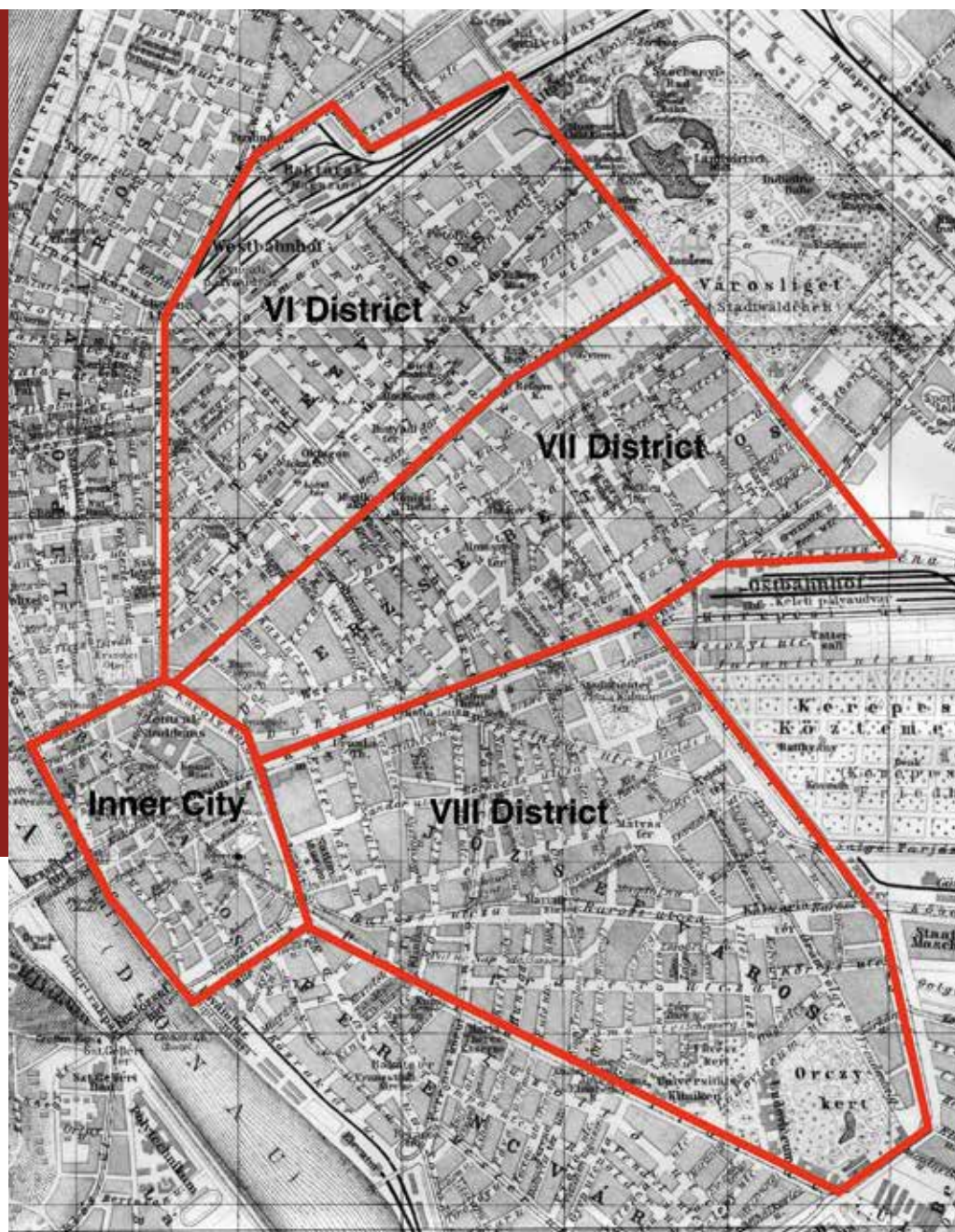


## Alexandria

*Alexandria's red light districts as of May 1915 on a 1960 map.*

*Map based on an edict issued by the Egyptian government in the Journal Officiel du Gouvernement Egyptien on May 20 1915.*

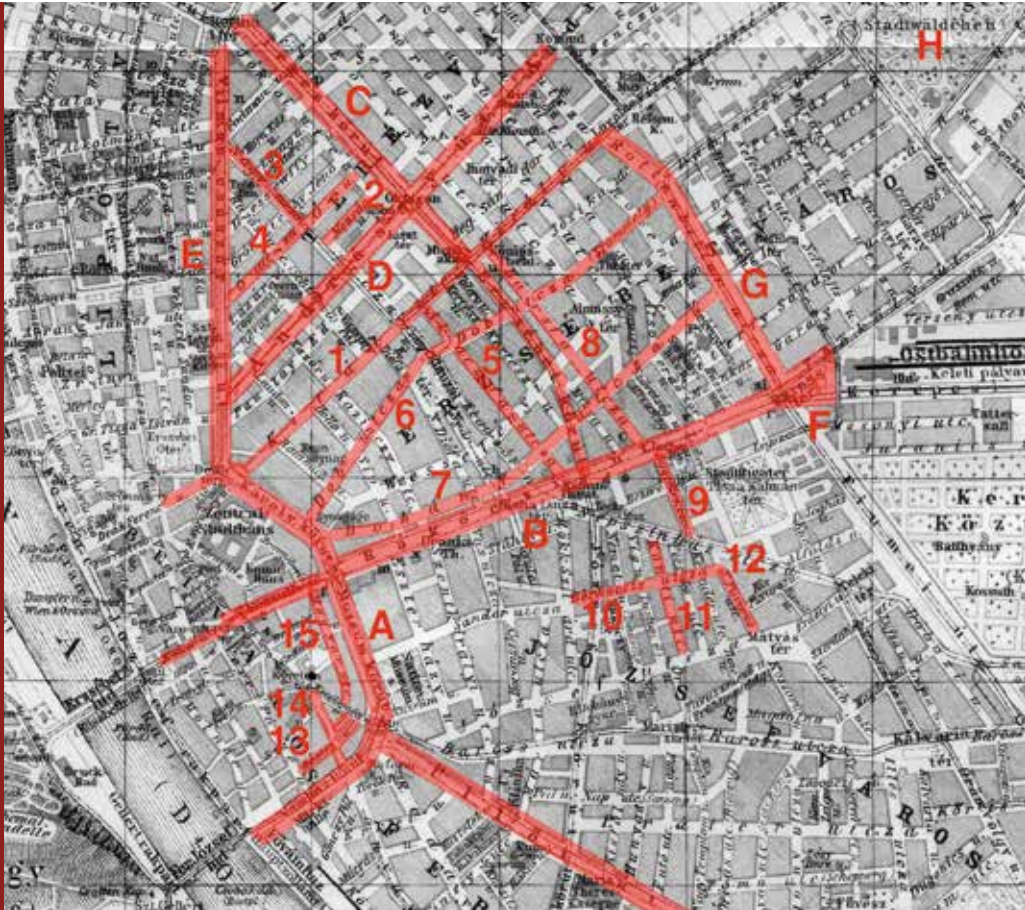




## Budapest

*Budapest's central districts with recorded prostitution until 1930, on a 1929 map.*





*Recorded locations of prostitution trade in Budapest in the early 20th century, on a 1929 map.*

**VI District  
(Terézváros):**

1. Király utca.
2. Mozsár utca.
3. Nagymező utca.
4. Ó utca.

**VII District of  
Erzsébetváros:**

5. Akácfa utca.
6. Dob utca.
7. Dohány utca.
8. Hársfa utca.

**VIII District  
(Józsefváros):**

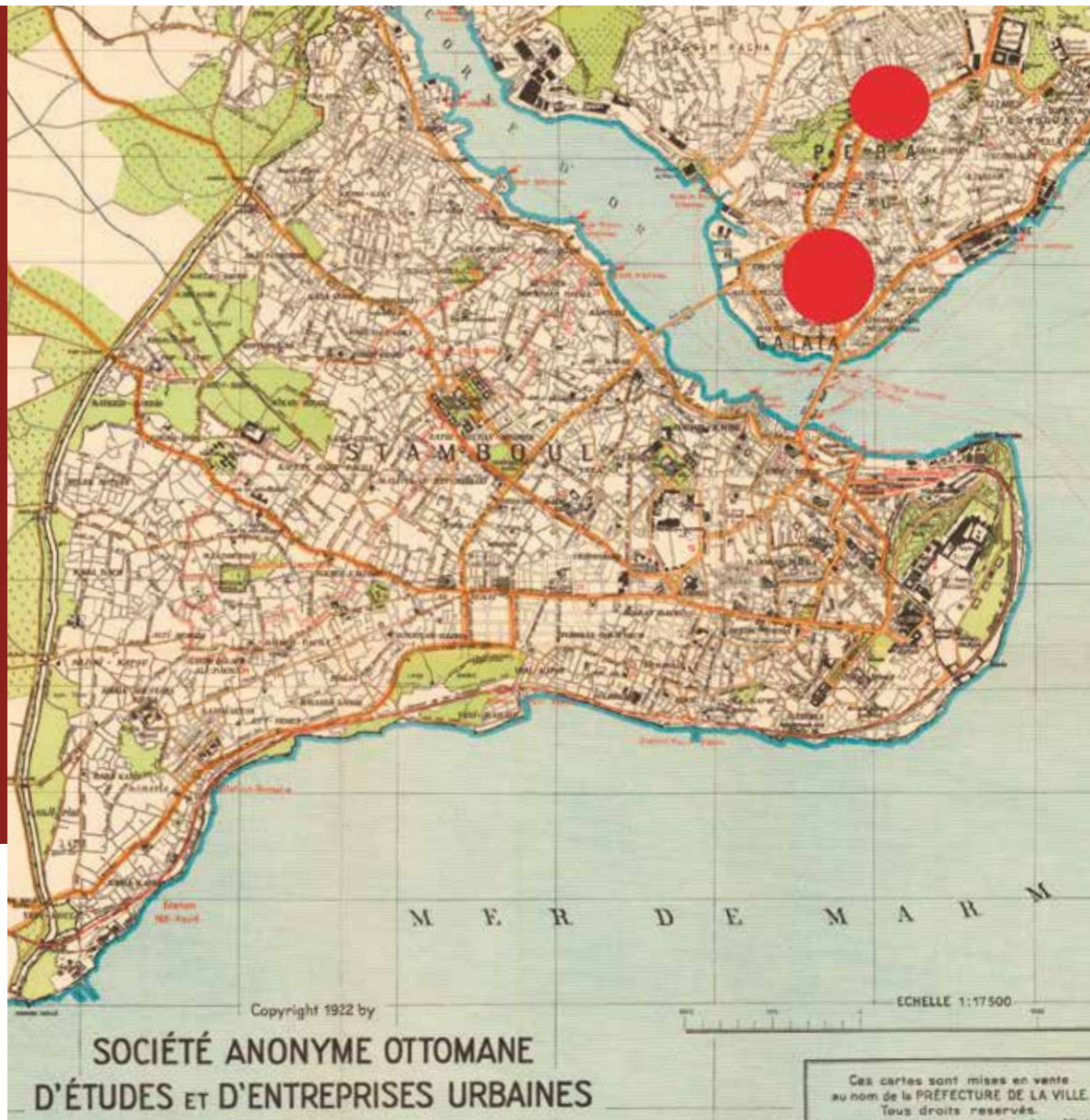
9. Aggteleki utca.
10. Bérkocsis utca.
11. Konti utca (today Tolnai Lajos utca).
12. Nagy Fuvaros utca.

**Inner City District  
(Belváros):**

13. Bastya utca.
14. Királyi Pál utca.
15. Magyar utca.

**Major areas of street prostitution:**

- |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| A. Inner ring road (Károly körút – Múzeum körút – Vámbáz körút). | C. Outer ring road (Téréz körút – Erzsébet körút). | F. Baross tér.   | H. City park (Városliget, mostly homosexual prostitution). |
| B. Rákóczy út and Kossuth Lajos út.                              | D. Andrássy út.                                    | G. Rottenbiller utca (mostly homosexual prostitution). |  |
|  | E. Váci körút (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky út).              |  |  |



## Constantinople

*Istanbul with the locations of brothels as of 1922, on a map dated from the same year.*

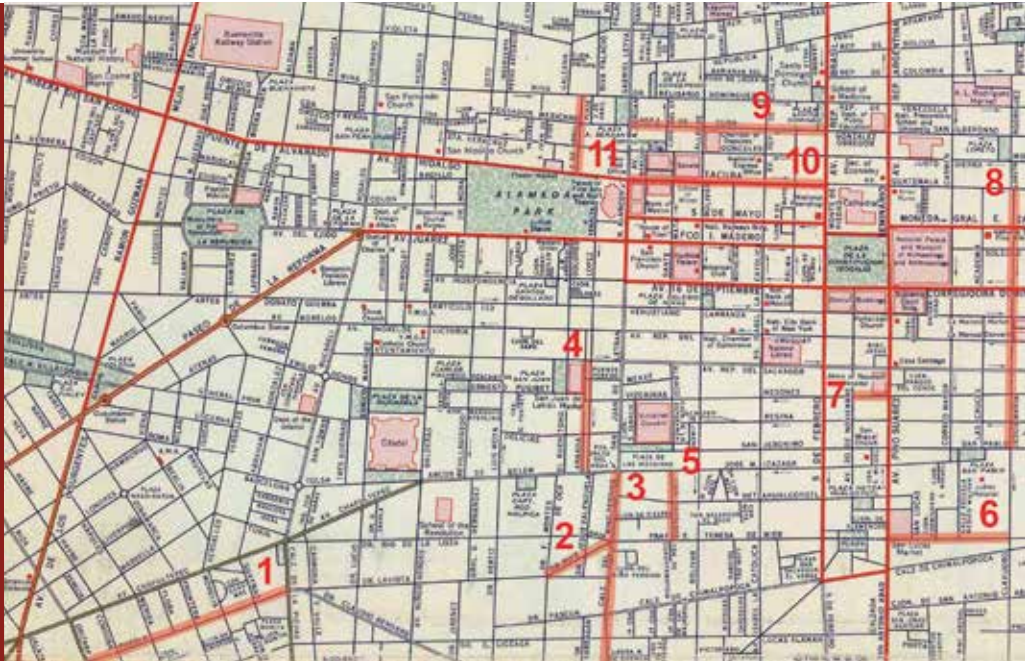






## Mexico

*Prostitution areas in Mexico as of the 16th century (downtown) on a 1943 map*



*Prostitution areas in Mexico at the beginning of the twentieth century (Roma neighborhood) on a 1943 map.*

**In red, streets visited by Kinsie:**

1. Puebla (Roma neighborhood)
2. Dr. Daniel Ruiz
3. Niño Perdido
4. Aranda
5. Igualdad
6. Cuauhtemotzín
7. Cuarta de Mesones
8. Jesús María
9. República de Cuba
10. Tacuba
11. Dos de Abril





## Rotterdam

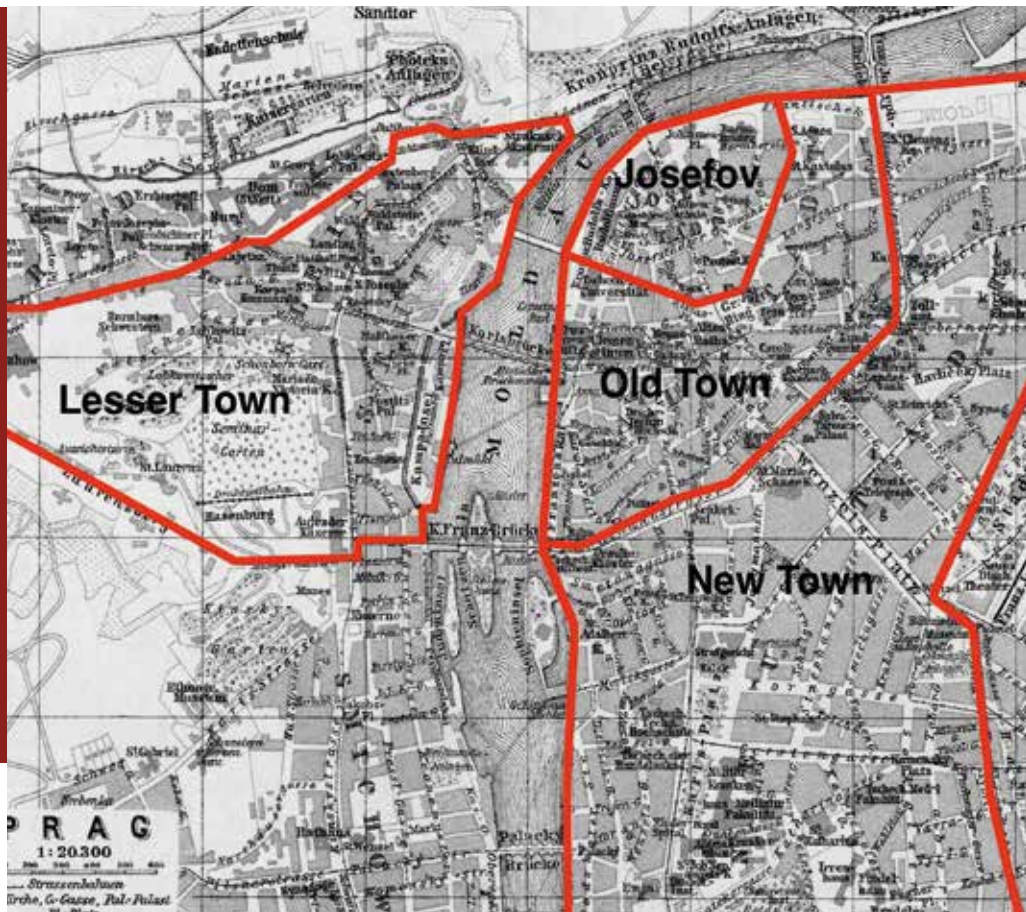
*Prostitution in Rotterdam in the first half of the 20th Century on a 1920 map. In red, places reported by Kinsie, in yellow other places of prostitution. (Source: Stadarchief – cat. N° 1979-130)*



## The Hague

*Prostitution in The Hague in the first half of the 20th Century on a 1927 map.*

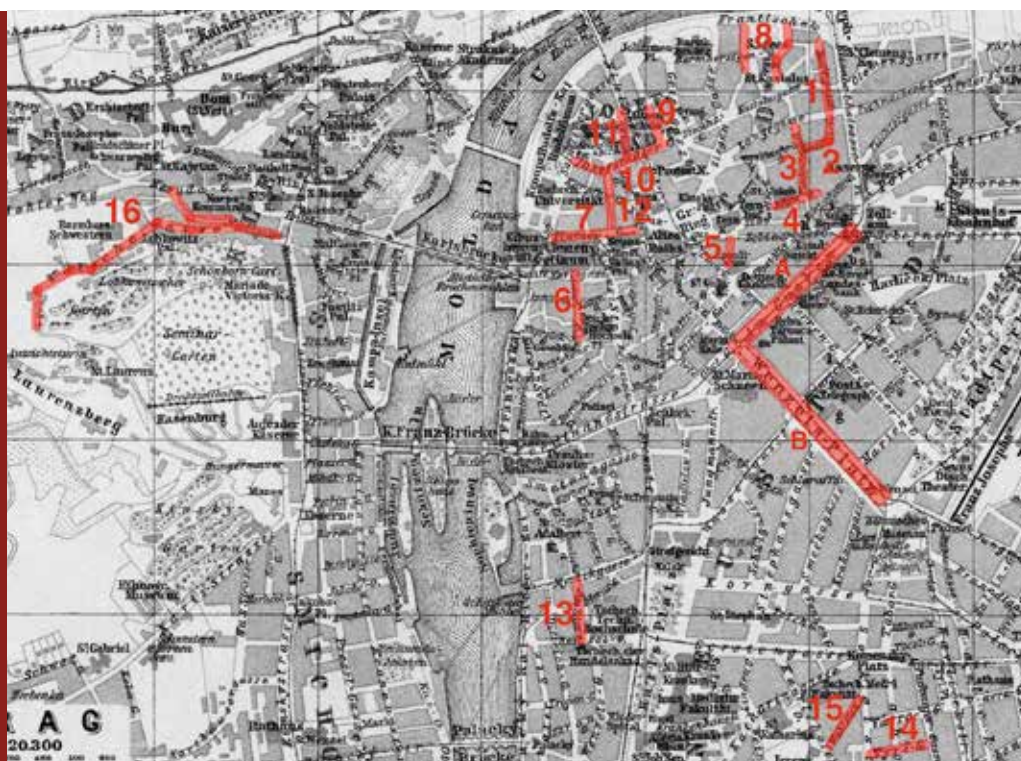
*In red, places reported by Kinsie, in yellow other places of prostitution. (Source: Haags Gemeneearchief HGA003026603)*



## Prague

*Prague's central districts with recorded prostitution on a 1911 map.*





Recorded locations of prostitution trade in Prague in the early 20th century on a 1911 map.

### Major areas of street prostitution:

- A. Am Graben (Na příkopě).
- B. Wenceslas Square (Wenzelplatz / Václavské náměstí)

### Streets with existing brothels until 1922:

#### Old Town:

1. Basteigasse (today Hradební).
2. Benediktsgasse (Benediktská, today Královská).
3. Fischmarktsgasse (Rybná).
4. Jacobsgasse (Jakubská).
5. Kamzíkova.
6. Liliengasse (Liliová).
7. Platnergasse (Platněřská).

#### Josefov:

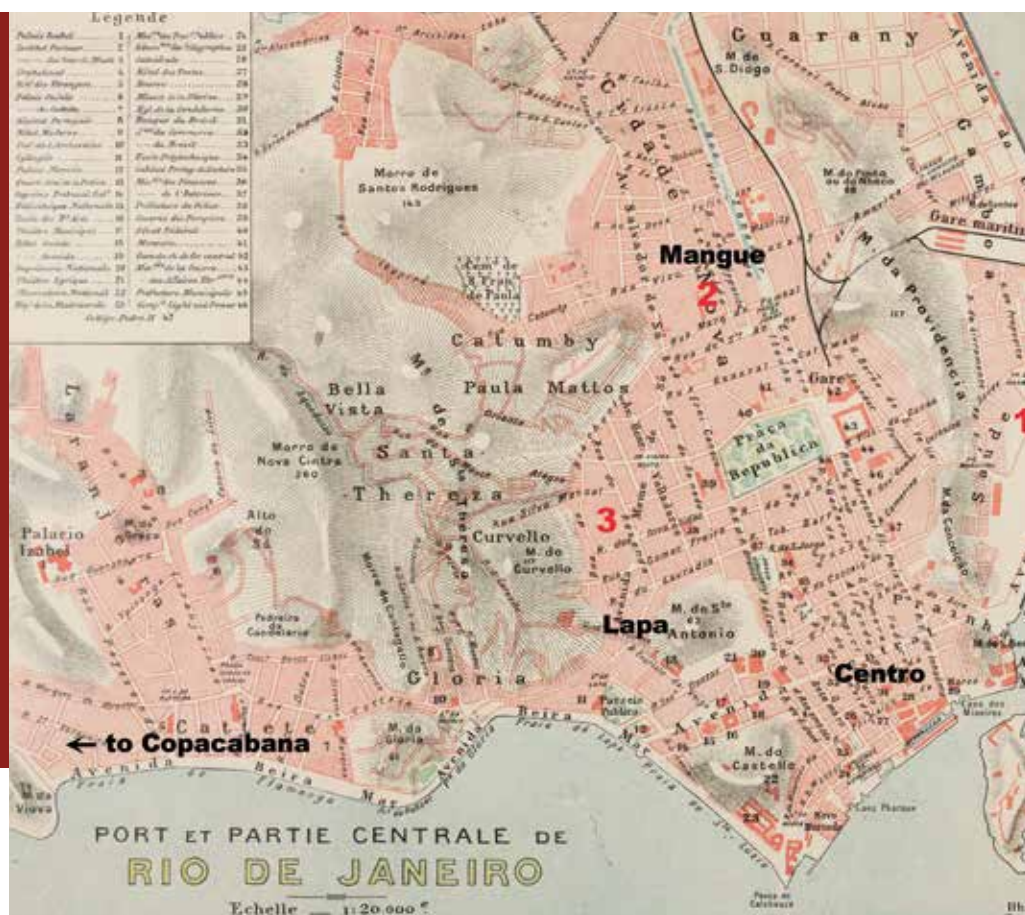
8. Area around St Agnes Convent.
9. Elišky Krásnohorské (until 1910 Zigeunergasse / Cikánska).
10. Josefstädtergasse (Josefovská, today Široká).
11. Rabbinergasse (Rabínská, today Maiselová).
12. Saazer Gasse (Žatečka).

#### New Town:

13. Am Zdera (Na Zderaze).
14. Tyršgasse (Tyršová).
15. Wahlstattgasse (Na Bojišti).

#### Lesser Town

16. Wälschergasse and Marktsgasse  
(today Vlašská, Tržiště and Bretislavová).

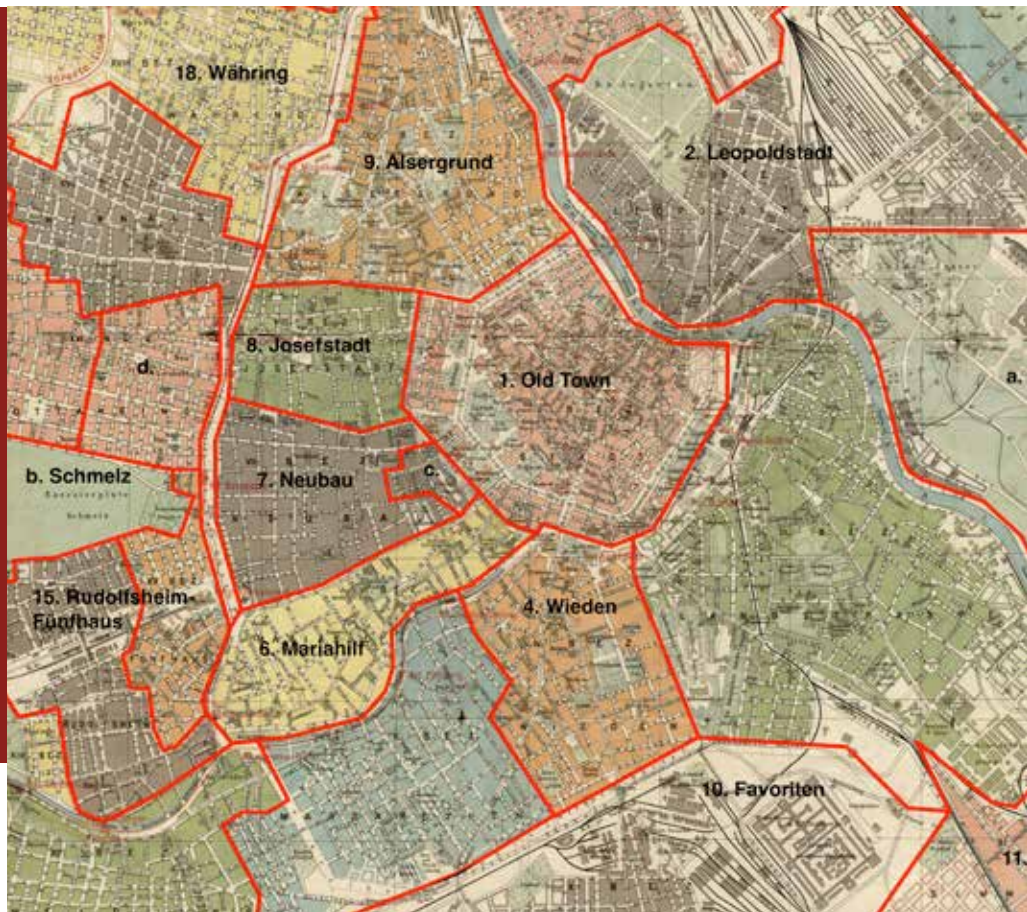


## Rio de Janeiro

*Rio de Janeiro with prostitution areas on a 1930s map.*





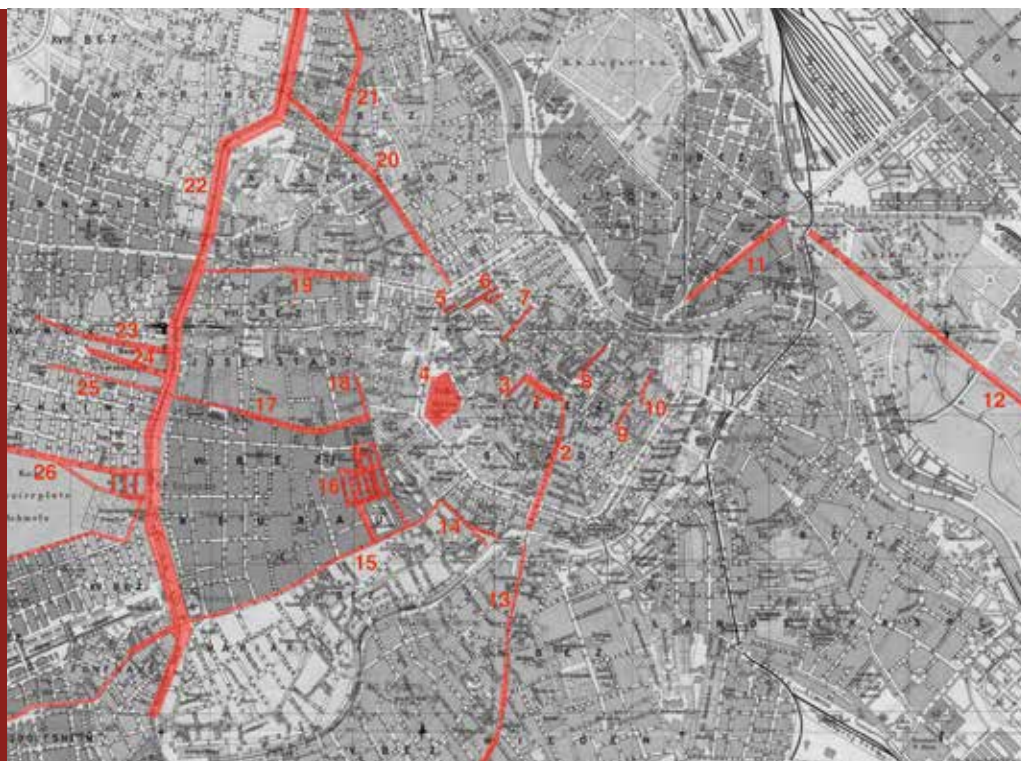


## Vienna

*Vienna Districts at the Turn of the Twentieth Century on a 1912 map.*

- a. Prater*
- b. Schmelz*
- c. Spittelberg*
- d. Neulerchenfeld*





*Prostitution locations in Vienna in the Late Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century on a 1912 map.*

**First District (Old Town):**

1. Graben
2. Kärntner Straße
3. Kohlmarkt
4. Volksgarten
5. Mülker- and Schottenbastei
6. Schottensteig (from 1880 Helferstorferstraße and Rockhgassee)
7. Tiefer Graben
8. Rotenturmstraße
9. Riemergasse
10. Postgasse

**Second District (Leopoldstadt):**

11. Prater Straße
12. Hauptpromenade

**Fourth District (Wieden):**

13. Wiener Hauptstraße

**Sixth District (Mariahilf):**

14. Getreidemarkt
15. Mariahilfer Straße

**Seventh District (Neubau):**

16. Spittelberg

**Eighth District (Josefstadt):**

17. Lerchenfelder Straße
18. Auerspergstraße
19. Alser Straße

**Ninth District (Alsergrund):**

20. Währinger Straße
21. Nußdorfer Straße
22. Gürtel

**Sixteenth District (Ottakring):**

23. Neulerchenfelder Straße
24. Grundsteingasse
25. Thalia Straße
26. Schmelz

## **ANNEX I**

### **Kinsie's Code Book**

# Cities

Symbol	Definition	See Report on
<b>A</b>	New York City, N.Y. U.S.A.	Buenos Aires
<b>B</b>	Johannesburg, South Africa	"
<b>C</b>	Philadelphia, Pa. U.S.A.	Rio de Janeiro
<b>D</b>	Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	Havana, Cuba
<b>E</b>	New Orleans, La., U.S.A	"

Symbol	Cities (and states)	See Report on
<b>G</b>	San Antonio, Texas	
<b>H</b>	Tampico, Mexico	
<b>I</b>	Brownsville, Texas	
<b>J</b>	Matamoras, Mexico	
<b>K</b>	Nueva Laredo, Mexico	
<b>L</b>	Kansas City, Missouri	
<b>M</b>	St. Louis	
<b>N</b>	Chicago, Illinois	
<b>O</b>	Mexico City, D. F., Mexico (District Federal)	
<b>P</b>	Vera Cruz, Mexico	
<b>Q</b>	Progreso, Yucatan	
<b>R</b>	Havana, Cuba	
<b>S</b>	Merida, (Capital of) Yucatan	
<b>T</b>	Miami, Florida	
<b>U</b>	Santiago de Cuba, Cuba	
<b>V</b>	Cienfuegos	
<b>W</b>	Key West, Florida	
<b>X</b>	Nassau, British Bahamas	
<b>Y</b>	Tulsa, Oklahoma	
<b>Z</b>	Yucatan (State of)	
<b>F</b>	Montevideo, Uruguay, S. America	Paris

Index	Cities (and states)	See Report on
<b>z-2</b>	Buffalo, N.Y.	New York City
<b>z-3</b>	Atlantic City N.J.	"
<b>z-4</b>	Detroit, Michigan	"
<b>z-5</b>	Denver, Colorado	"
<b>z-10</b>	Czernowitch	Mexico City
<b>z-11</b>	Panama City	New York City
<b>z-12</b>	Buenos Aires	"

## Disorderly-House Keepers

Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
<b>1-DH</b>	Motche Goldberg, 1709 Sarmiento Street,	Buenos Aires
<b>2-DH</b>	_____ Tucherman,	"
<b>3-DH</b>	Joseph Timble, 351 Corrientes Street	"
<b>4-DH</b>	_____ Zimmerman, 1987 Laval Street	"
<b>5-DH</b>	Jake Zucherman, 1987 Laval Street	"
<b>6-DH</b>	Hymie Goldstein, 1709 Sarmiento Street	"
<b>7-DH</b>	Mrs Lena Hyman, Toledo, Ohio, U. S. A.	"
<b>8-DH</b>	Mr. Hillis, 1061 Corrientes Street, (see also: 1-M, Mrs. Hillis)	"
<b>9-DH</b>	Abel Bolicaux, Manager, Europe Hotel	Montevideo
<b>10-DH</b>	Madame Alice, #14 rue Bonrepox, Toulouse, France	"
<b>11-DH</b>	Mr. Waltens, chemist, 2 & 4 Joaquim Silva Rua	Rio de Janeiro
<b>12-DH</b>	Morris Gold, 5, 7 & 9 Joaquim Silva Rua	"
<b>13-DH</b>	Hans Gelder, 10 Nieuwburgstraat, Amsterdam	Amsterdam
<b>14-DH</b>	Madame Ronde, Owner, 88 rue Merciere	Lyon
<b>15-DH</b>	Petits	Barcelona
<b>16-DH</b>	Hanna	Constantinople
<b>17-DH</b>	H. Springer, #1 Junkerstrasse	Berlin
<b>18-DH</b>	Abraham Fridman, Rosario, Argentine	Buenos Aires
<b>19-DH</b>	Bust	"
<b>20-DH</b>	Dina Sarina alias Sarina Glaser, Sherbet Hane Sokak (Stree)	Constantinople
<b>21-DH</b>	Kate Cellaghia, Abanoz Sokak	"
<b>22-DH</b>	Hanna, Sherbet Hane Sokak (Same as 16-DH?)	"
<b>23-DH</b>	Jeannette Bardach, Ada Sokak	"
<b>24-DH</b>	Malka Botche	Saloniki
<b>1-DHZ</b>	Motche Goslin, (Demon), Buenos Aires, Argentine...	New York City
<b>25-DH</b>	Feige die Amerikanerien, #10 Beysade Sokak	Constantinople



Disorderly-House Keepers		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
26-DH	Angelo Ricci, Dervish Sokak	"
27-DH	Lisa Betkoff alias Lisa de Meshigene (The Lunatic) alias Lisa Pogonilina, Glavani Sokak	"
28-DH	Yankel Perlman alias Yankel der Reuter (The Red)	Constantinople
29-DH	Sara Altheim, Calle Jose Marti 31, Flores	Buenos Aires & Czernowitch

## Prostitutes

Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
1-G	Miss Eloise Braun, Rio de Janeiro	S. S. Valdivia
2-G	Lotte Haidt Belgrano, Cabildo St. 2308	Buenos Aires
3-G	Mrs. Regina Goldberg, 22 W. 60 th St., New York City, U.S.A.	"
4-G	Helen, 1061 Corrientes Street	"
5-G	Olga Radami, Larrea 1329	"
6-G	Lorita, 379 Uruguay Calle, Piso 3	"
7-G	Fanny, 1709 Sarmiento Street	"
8-G	Dolly ) (See also 16-G): - 817 Canelones (Mme Raymondo's)	Montevideo, U.
9-G	Mignon)	
10-G	Nene, Juneal 1266	"
11-G	Eva, Casino	Buenos Aires
12-G	Graciolo, 552 Yerbál Calle	Montevideo
13-G	Suzanne (German), 1225 B. Mitre Calle	"
14-G	Yvonne, 817 Soriano Calle	"
15-G	Annette, 817 Soriano Calle	"
16-G	Dottie, 817 Canelones Calle (Probably same as 8-G)	"
17-G	Louisa, 186 Dos Invalidos Rua	Rio de Janeiro
18-G	Josephina, 13 Arcis Rua	"
19-G	Mignon, 9 Joaquim Silva Rua	"
21-G	Adelaide Augusto, 280 Riachula Rua	"
22-G	Adeteta Ramos, 50 Frei Caneca Rua	"
23-G	Maria Angelo, 16 Reyenda Rua	"
24-G	Analiade Juin, 241 Benedito Hipolite Rua	"
25-G	Dolores Esteres, 408 Riachula Rua (#A, #410)	"
26-G	Rosita Steinman, 32 Marracas Rua	"
27-G	Luisa de Brito, 28 Maiaes y Valle Rua	"
28-G	Fanny Rodoshik, 2 Joaquim Silva Rua	"

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Prostitutes		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
29-G	Irene Argilasse Coch, 58 Piece de Lapa ("A,"Lapa Rua")	"
30-G	Libania Dias, 33 Callille Rua	"
31-G	Marguet Meloni, 44 Santa Amaro Rua	"
32-G	Marussia Camick, 171 Avenida Central	Panama City
33-G	Gloria Hollis )	Panama City
34-G	Edna Lee - )	
35-G	Betty Melrose : - Metropole Hotel Revue	
36-G	Molly O'Brien	
37-G	May, Kelly's Cabaret	"
38-G	Paulette, Imperial Cabaret	"
39-G	Genevieve, 31 Officer Calle (Street)	Havana
40-G	Marya Biatocka, 9 Bernal Calle	"
41-G	Lonya Varvionsha, 9 Bernal "	"
42-G	Fanny Levy, London	London
43-G	Mary, Italian prostitute, 197 Ruysdaelkade	Amsterdam
44-G	Suzie, #6 St. Laurent Rue	Brussels
45-G	Dolly	St. Nazaire
46-G	Marinette, Cafe Coq D'Or	Bordeaux
47-G	Helena	"
48-G	Gaby, 2 rue Turpin	Lyon
49-G	Jeannette, 2 rue Turpin	"
50-G	Alyce, 88 rue Merciere	"
51-G	Elaine (Same as 201-X)	"
52-G	Louissetta, 8 rue Nationale	Marseille
53-G	Jeannette Jones	"
54-G	Mlle. Germaine, 40 rue Serrao(c?)	"
55-G	Marcella --	"
56-G	Marguerita	Marseille(s)
57-G	Ginette La Parisienne, Virtudes 63	Havana
58-G	Miss Eva, Animas 32	"
59-G	Georgette	Barcelona
60-G	Lucrecia, 4 Calle de la Estrella 83, Telephone Eric 92-92	Mexico City
61-G	Carmen, 20 Calle San Miguel	"
62-G	Maria	"
63-G	Almeida	Madrid
64-G	Jeanne, inmate #93 Rua do Norte	Lisbon

Prostitutes		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
65-G	Maggie (Margaret?), inmate, #63 Rua do Gloria	"
66-G	Alice Belliot	Marseille
67-G	Jeanne Berthon	"
68-G	Jeanne Billon	"
69-G	Louise Camard	"
70-G	Jeanne Demeillers	"
71-G	Marie Morvan	"
72-G	Francine Dubuis	"
73-G	Huguette Soniat	"
74-G	Lucille Marchand	"
75-G	Antoinette David	"
76-G	Regina Fletterman	Havana
77-G	Liebes Prishwald	"
78-G	Camille (Olympia Cabaret)	Tangier
79-G	Juanita (Olympia Cabaret)	"
80-G	Rosie (#1 rue du Caftan)	Algiers
81-G	Josi Rodriguez	"
82-G	Maria Spanelli	"
83-G	Maria (#10 rue des Oise)	Tunis
84-G	Emilie (#24 rue el Meiktar)	"
85-G	Anna (#6 rue des Oise)	"
86-G	Jeanne (Mme. Alice's house, rue el Meiktar)	"
87-G	Elsie (#10 Vico Salvaghi)	Genoa
88-G	Marie (#6 Vico di Cosimo)	"
89-G	Danetta Tagliaferri (#2 Vico Lavezzi)	"
90-G	Yvonne (#3 Solita S. Anna Palazzo)	Naples
90-GA	Maria Teresa Waeltile, alias «Yvonne» (90-G)	Palermo
91-G	Titika Borelli (Bijou Cabaret)	Athens
92-G	Anna Gallio (Bijou Cabaret)	"
93-G	Marie (prostitute of a Cairo pimp)	Athens-Cairo
94-G	Fanny (A Bombay, India, prostitute)	Cairo
95-G	Mignon (Lynis Cabaret)	Alexandria
96-G	Marcella (Athens Pastry Shop)	"
97-G	Julia (Mme. Victoria's house, River Frontà)	"
98-G	Alyce (Maison Lucette)	Cairo
99-G	Louise (Chat Noir)	"
100-G	Eva	"

Prostitutes		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
I01-G	Charlotte Matignon	Port Said
I02-G	Chiffonette (Pension Français)	"
I02-GA	Carmen Muller (Alias Chiffonette, above)	"
I03-G	Lilly (Russian prostitute, Hanna's house)	Constantinople
I04-G	Reba	Constantinople
I05-G	Miss Girendos	Bucharest
I06-G	Anna Getler, Czernowitch	"
I07-G	Rosizca	Buda-Pest
I08-G	Loretta Haims	Vienna
I09-G	Lena Fisher	"
I10-G	Fritzi Rothbart	"
I11-G	Helene, #1 Junker Strasse	Berlin
I12-G	Kitty, #85 Markgrafenstrasse	"
I13-G	Fredda (Charlie-the-Baker's wife)	Hamburg
I14-G	Vera Auster	Prague
I15-G	Louise Schellenberger	Strasbourg
I16-G	Claudine Doron	"
I17-G	Hortense, #15 rue Grand St. Jean	Geneva
I18-G	Anna Jachan	Buenos Aires & Rio
I18-G	Bertha Clayton, New York City	New York City
I19-G	Rachel Ludwig, #19 Zurafa Sokak	Constantinople
I20-G	Gustave Mahler, #1 Sherbet Sokak	"
I21-G	Lillie (Former inmate of Kate Cellaghia'z)	"
I22-G	Nechume): Israel Katz 'woman	Constantinople & Alexandria
I23-G	Amalia )	
I24-G	Rosa	Constantinople
I25-G	Charlotte	"
I26-G	Zoa Nokole	"
I27-G	Micula Anastassia	"
I28-G	Anna, Dergish Sokak	"
I29-G	Sonia Zaluczna	Constantinople & Czernowitch
I30-G	Nechama Tuchelman	Constantinople
I31-G	Roza Sohn	"
I32-G	Matteo's woman	"
I33-G	Kate Cellaghia (Formely Abanoz Sokak)	"
I36-G	Nody (Pitts Bar, or Shamrook Bar, 12 Rue Molière	

Prostitutes		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
I37-G	Marguerite (?)	
I42-G	Amy, Hotel Republic, republica de Cuba Calle	Mexico City
I43-G	Lucille, Hotel Republic, "	"
I44-G	Gittel Melgut (Wife of Abraham Melgut)	"
I45-G	Mendel, 32-D Calle Canhtomotzin	"
I46-G	Beckie, 32-H Calle "	"
I47-G	Big May (Tony Sianno's wife, an ex-prostitute)	New York City
I48-G	Fernanda, 450 Guy Street	Montréal
I49-G	Rosette, Apt#5, 202 City Hall Avenue	Montréal

## League of Nations Officials

LC-1	Dr. William F. Snow
LC-2	Princess Dona Christine Bandini
LC-3	Dr. Pauline Luisi
LC-4	Mr. S.W. Harris
LC-5	M. F. Hennequin
LC-6	M. Maus
LC-7	M. de Meuron
LC-8	M. Suzuki

## Madames of Disorderly Houses

Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
1-M	Mrs. Hillis, 1061 Corrientes Street	Buenos Aires
2-M	Mrs. Motche Goldberg, 1709 Sarmiento Street	"
3-M	Madame Raymondo, Montevideo	Montevideo
4-M	Mlle. Mignon Darville, Soriano 824	"
3-MD	Dottie, madame Raymonde's sister	"
5-M	Rosita (Russian madame) 1225 B. Mitre Calle	"
6-M	Jeanne, Paris, France	"
7-M	Sophie, 186 Dos Invalidos Rua	Rio de Janeiro
8-M	Helen, "	"
9-M	Fanny, Pensao International, 2 & 4 Joaquim Silva Rua	"
10-M	Emilia Minter, 13 Arcos Rua	"
11-M	Blanche Wheeler, 32 Annanias St. Havana, Cuba	Havana
12-M	Lulu White, Basin St., New Orleans, La., U.S.A.	"

Madames of Disorderly Houses		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
13-M	Mrs. Arlington, Mariannao, Cuba	"
14-M	Anna Griff Seiman, 9 Bernal Calle	"
15-M	Madame Leonore, rue Nueve de Molard 4	Geneva
16-M	Madame Yvonne, 56 rue de Laitbart (?), Paris	Paris
17-M	Madame Marguerite, 56 rue de Laitbart, Paris	"
18-M	Madame Dinar, Paris, France	"
19-M	Mrs. C. C. Hoogsberg, 195 Ruysdaelkade	Amsterdam
20-M	Mme. Ady, #25 rue Ste Appolline	Paris
21-M(?)	Camille (44-P's girl or housekeeper?)	"
22-M	Madame Renne	St. Nazaire
23-M	Madame Bertha, 88 rue Merciere	Lyon
24-M	Madame Aline, 2 rue de la Reynarde	Marseille
25-M	Madame Mano, 40 rue Serrao	"
26-M	Madame Maria La Mora, Merced 21, Pral	Barcelona
27-M	Jessie Rice, Colon 36	Havana
28-M	Lucille Houston, New Orleans, La.	"
29-M	Mildred Ward, Colon 34	"
30-M	Pauline Ramos, #11 Helera	Madrid
31-M	Madame Flora, #93 Rua do Norte	Lisbon
32-M	Madame Blanche, #63 Rua do Gloria	"
33-M	Mrs. Riva, Plaza Hotel, New York City	United States & Mexico
34-M	Madeleine, Maison a la Luni, #1 rue du Caftan	Algiers
35-M	Madame Alice, rue el Meiktar	Tunis
36-M	Madame Victoria, House of Clandestine Prostitution, River Front	Alexandria
37-M	Mme Rose, Pension Français	Port Said
38-M	Madame Doree	Beyrut
39-M	Mme Ella, Buzoiano Street	Bucharest
40-M	Madame Helena, #29 Magiar Strasse	Buda-Pest
41-M	Miss Cooper, #85 Markgrafen Strasse	Berlin
42-M	Madame Zimmerman, Peterstrasse	Hamburg
43-M	Madame Alice, #7 rue du Marchi	Geneva
44-M	Madame Waliska, "	"
45-M	Madame Annette, 46 rue du Rhone	"
46-M	Madame Lenore, 4 rue Nueve du Molard	"
47-M	Madame Adele, 4 rue Nueve du Molard	"
48-M	Madame Helene, 5 rue de Perron	"
49-M	Madame Jeanne, 7 rue de Perron	"
50-M	Madame Farcy, 9 rue de Perron	"
51-M	Lena Hoberg (Club Hoberg), 165 West 49th Street N.Y.C.	New York City

Madames of Disorderly Houses		
Symbol	Name and Address	See Report on
52-M	Lena Hyman, Toledo, Ohio	"
53-M	Sadie Harris, Denver, Colorado	"
54-M	Lena Kleinfeld, Rosario, Argentine	Buenos Aires
55-M	Mde. Malvina Borscoli, alias Melonia Davis, 19 Zurafa Sokak	Constantinople
57-M	Madame Senegal 578 Cadieux St (Old Number) 2024 (New Number)	Montréal

## Municipal and other Government Officials

O-1	A. Borelli, Commissaire Special des ports et de l'émigration	Marseille
O-1-A	Commissaire de l'émigration (Same as O-1 & A-C)	"
O-1-A-C	"	"
O-2	Ministère des Affaires étrangères	"
O-3	Commissaire central de police, M. Mathieu	"
O-4	Mr. Cohen	?
O-5	M. Felix Larçon, Sous-Chief de la Sureté et Chief du Service des Mœurs	"
O-6	«Commissaires» Spécial (Plural use)	"
O-7	Sr. Alfredo L. Veja, Mexican Immigration Inspector, Progreso, Yacatan.	
O-8	Mr. Fletcher Warren, American Consul, Havana, Cuba	
O-9	Dr. Francisco Hernandez, Cuban Commissioner of Immigration, Havana, Cuba	
O-10	Mr. Thom R. Owens, American Consul, Havana, Cuba	
O-11	Ambassador Crowder, Havana, Cuba	
O-12	Secretary of State of the United States	
O-13	American Consulate, Mexico – Tampico	
O-14	Department of Justice, U.S. A.	
O-15	Immigration Department, U. S. A.	
O-16	M. Alliez, Prefect of Algiers	Algiers
O-17	M. Masse, commissaire central	"
O-18	M. Compte, Chief, Service des Mœurs	"
O-19	Morals Service	"
O-20	M. Jonssen, commissaire du Port	"
O-21	Commissaire central	Tunis
O-22	Prefect of Police	"
O-23	Governor General	"
O-24	M. Pierre Catat, 2d Attache, Staff of Governor Genaral	"

Municipal and other Government Officials		
O-25	M. Ristelbuecher, directeur général a la Interieur	"
O-26	M. Canpanna, Chief of Police	"
O-27	French State Department	"
O-28	Chief of Service des Mœurs	"
O-29	Police of Tunis	"
O-30	Inspector of Immigration, (2 of them)	Genoa
O-31	Major Travis	Cairo
O-32	Tuell Bey, Commandant of Police	Port Said
O-33-X	The Secretary of: the Ligue International pour la Repression de la Traite des blanches et la protection des jeunes filles et femmes (O-34, Sec'y)	Port Said
O-33		
O-34	Madame Del Bruno	"
O-35	M. Del Bruno, Chief of the Secret Police	"
O-35-X	Treasurer	"
O-36	Greek Consul	"
O-37	Mrs. Bohn's Organization in London, England	"
O-38	American Consul	Bucharest
O-39	American Legation	"
O-40	American Consul, Berlin	Berlin
O-41	Mr. Burt, in charge Visas Dept., American Consulate	"
O-42	Minister of Foreign Affairs , Old Police	Prague
O-43	Committee of Experts (Dr. Snow)	"
O-44	Dr. Hub, in charge of League matters	"
O-45	M. Ladislav Drasner, Chief of Police at	"
O-46	Dr. Pelz, member of the Dept. Of Health	"
O-47	Dr. Schneider, Social Welfare Branch, Police Dept.	"
O-48	Zachiana, Organisation for protection of Youths	"
O-49	Commander of Salvation Army	"
O-50	National Police	"
O-51	M. Tishnappski, Control Officer, Immigration Station	"
O-52	Mme Zahasova	"
O-52-A	Chief Instructress, University of Social Welfare	"
O-53	House of Education, Sternbach, Czecho Slevakia	"
O-54	Marsyrich, President of Czecho Slovakia	"
O-55	Prefecture, #11 rue de la Muse Bleue	Strasbourg
O-55-A	Com. M. Embry, Prefecture	"
O-56	M. Chabert, Chief of Secret Police (Chef de la Sureté)	"
O-57	Nousret Bey, Delegate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Constantinople
O-58	Raghib Bey, Chief Clerk, Governor's Office	"



Municipal and other Government Officials		
O-59	Mohid Bey, Chief 3d Police Div. (In charge of Criminal Investigations)	„
O-60	Massar Bey, Chief, Moral Police	„
O-61	Chukry Bey, Chief, Passport Bureau, 4th Police Div.	„
O-62	Osman Bey, Night Supt. , Detective Div. ex-Chief of Morals Squad	„
O-63	Dr. Ibrahim Bey, Chief, Health Dept (of Prostitution Matters)	„
O-64	Dr. Irfan Bey, Physician, Stamboul Dispensary	„
O-65	Ali Riza Bey, Chief, Physician, Constantinople Dispensaries	„
O-66	Hassan Bey, Physician in charge, Galata Dispensary	Constantinople
O-67	Dr. Osman Bey, Chief, Pera Dispensary	„
O-68	Enver Bey, Chief, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Police Division	„
O-69	Hassan Bey, 2d Police Commissaire, 2d Division	„
O-70	Capt. John Fleischer, British Embassy (ex-Inter-Allied Police Forces) Italian	„
O-71	Cav. Giovanni Batisto Gaurnaschelli, Vice Consul	„
O-72	Arif. Bey, ex-Governor of Constantinople	„
O-73	Tahir Bey, ex-Chamberlain to ex-Sultan, Abdul Hamid	„
O-74	Ambassador Henry Morgenthau (of United States)	„
O-75	Governor of Vilayet of Constantinople	„
O-76	Minister of Police	„
O-77	Judge of Instructions	„
O-78	Mexican Consulate	„
O-107	Immigration Officer	St. Nazaire-Havana
O-108	Chief of Police, Vera Cruz	„
O-109	Sr. Enrique Guival, Secretary, Bureau of League of Nations, Havana, Cuba	Havana
O-110	Department of Immigration, Cuba	„
O-111	Chief of Secret Police, Cuba	„
O-112	Dr. Robert, new Commissioner of Immigration, Cuba	„
O-113	President Calles	Mexico City
O-114	Lic Aaron Saenz, Secretary of Foreign Affairs	„
O-115	Commissioner of Health, Federal District	„
O-116	Police Commissioner, „	„
O-117	Immigration Commissioner, ‘	„
O-118	Dr. Alvarez, Sanitary Bureau	„
O-119	Police Department, Mexico City	„
O-120	Sr. Guerra Real, Secretary to Police Commissioner, Federal District	„
O-121	Immigration Department	„

## Pimps

Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
1-P	Moe Schwartz	Buenos Aires
2-P	French Max	"
3-P	Jake Zuckerman, 1987 Lavalle Street, (see also: 5-DH)	"
4-P	Harry Kratzenbloom (?), 1709 Sarmiento Street	"
5-P	Julius Friedman	"
6-P	Harry Benjamin, Rodriguez Pena 688	"
7-P	Bert Benjamin, London	"
8-P	François (Also a Disorderly-House Keeper)	Montevideo
9-P	Henri, Toulouse, France	"
10-P	Ike Rosen, 9 Joaquim Silva Rua	"
11-P	Carlos, waiter, 186 Dos Invalidos Rua	"
12-P	Walter, 2 Joaquim Silva Rua (See also 11-DH)	Rio de Janeiro
13-P	Herschel (Hirsch), 2 Joaquim Silva Rua	"
14-P	«Al» Fernandez, Cosmopolitan Hotel	Panama City
15-P	«Andre» (Right name, Emilie Lucat)	Havana
15-P I	Emilio Lucat	"
16-P	Lattanzio Raphael, 63 Picat Calle	"
17-P	Gaston Barathan, 40 Cuarteles Calle	"
18-P	Joaquim Venuche, 32 Picata Calle	"
19-P	Fernando Gilvan Solares, 64 Lamparella Calle	"
20-P	Jorge Rossi, 38 Obispo Calle ( ?)	"
21-P	Isidoro Gautriand, 193 Havana Calle	"
22-P	Alberto Ragozzino Gardilo, 56 Damas Calle	"
23-P	Max, hangs out at 15 rue des Rivoli	Paris
24-P	Michel Solal, 41 Quai de l'Hôtel de Ville	"
25-P	Harry, The Chauffeur	"
26-P	Little Kauffman, Oxford St. London	"
27-P	Yankel, 15 rue de Rivoli	"
28-P	Chaim Chalotker (A. Pimp (?)) associated with Chaim Leiser (S-T)	Warsaw
29-P	Sam Hosser («Pig»), associated with Leiser	"
30-P	Abie Goniff («Thief»), associated with Leiser	"
31-P	Aron Kaplan, alias aronsnich, Hotel du	Paris
31-Pa	Midi, Paris, France	
32-P	Hirsch, jewelry store, same street as Port Said Hotel, Cairo, Egypt	"
33-P	Aron Lani, Cairo, Egypt	Paris
34-P	Abie Schleser (Abie the Shooter), a Buenos Aires pimp	"
35-P	Abram Napolian, Buenos Aires pimp,	"

Pimps		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
36-P	Lewis or Louis, Paris	"
37-P	I. Goldenberg, Poste restante, London	"
	Correction	
32-P	Sherman Hirsh (Same as previous 32-P) (Darb elbabidadi)	Cairo
38-P	Morris Benjamin, London (see 7-P)	London
39-P	Joekane, London	"
40-P	Al Stein, London	"
41-P	Jean Toebosch	Antwerp
42-P	Georg	"
43-P	Adolph Brettin, #6 St. Laurent rue,	Brussels
44-P	Jules, #7 rue du Pelican	Paris
45-P	Yankel Goldstein, Paris	Paris
46-P	Andre	Paris
47-P	Jones	Marseille(s)
48-P	Joe Armand	"
49-P	George	"
50-P	Jacques Laimler, Buenos Aires, S.A.	"
51-P	Jacque Bandits (The Bandit)	"
52-P	James De Villa alias «Hyman» 52-A	
52-A	«Hyman»	Barcelona
53-P	De la Mattres	Lisbon
54-P	Alban Rubens	Marseille
55-P	Sebal Haim	"
56-P	Guido Orizon	"
57-P	Jean Dutto	"
58-P	Leger Bourrioux	"
59-P	Louis Perriot	"
60-P	Antoine Bertie	"
61-P	Roch Poggi	"
62-P	Jose Buchwald	Cuba
63-P	Jose Fletterman	"
64-P	Jean Taubert	Algiers
65-P	Bernard	"
66-P	Henri	"
67-P	Luigi Cunioso	Tunis
68-P	Alfredo	Genoa
69-P	Frank di Paola	Palermo
70-P	Nikko, alias Nick	Athens
70-PA	Nick	"

Pimps		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
71-P	Charlie Spirados, Cairo, Egypt	Athens-Cairo
72-P	Joe Youriat (?), (Russie Bar)	Cairo
73-P	Aronsnick (ex-pimp)	
74-P	Yanishe (Jacob) Goldenberg (Real name, John Paull)	
75-P	Julius Aroule, (Russie Bar)	
76-P	Raphael	
77-P	Morris	Alexandria & Cairo
78-P	Erron (New Criterion Bar, Charek Wagh el Barha)	Cairo
79-P	Mayer	"
80-P	Leon	"
81-P	Gallal Bey	"
82-P	Z. Zalman (Gahabaldi Cafe, rue Anastassi; home address, #39 ruelle Zweit el etten, 2d floor, Alexandria, Egypt)	"
83-P	«The Baron»	Alexandria
84-P	Levi	"
85-P	Maurice	"
86-P	Gaston	"
87-P	Bloch	"
88-P	Antoine	"
89-P	Albo	"
90-P	Paipai	"
91-P	Guillume Reville	Port Said
92-P	Alexander	"
93-P	Joseph Fournier (#22 rue el Mutanerie)	Beyruit
94-P	Nathan	Constantinople
95-P	Aaron Cocotte	"
96-P	Moescher Becuvet (Comfortable)	"
97-P	Sam Goldstein	"
98-P	Izaak	Constantinople
99-P	Joseph Britaux, (French pimp & chauffeur)	Bucharest
100-P	Ludwig Blöch	Vienna
101-P	Salvatore Szeigers, Raigvay Strasse #9, Care Walde	Berlin
102-P	Carl Walter, Care Jäger Casino, Jägerstrasse 13-14	"
103-P	Jan Spiegel	Hamburg
104-P	Robert (Rowbutt) Kriebel Obscene picture photographer Weissen see by Berlin Streu Str. No. 42III	Berlin
105-P	Joe Sekullski (?)	Prague
106-P	Yankel Grossman, Strasbourg	Strasbourg
107-P	Napoleon	"

Pimps		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
I08-P	Yanish Yanoway	"
I09-P	Charles – The Blonde	"
I10-P	Emile	"
I11-P	Argaud Dominic	"
I12-P	Louis Martin	"
I13-P	Charles Thiollier	"
I16-P	Abie Schicker (Drunkard), Buffalo, N.Y.	New York City
I17-P	Big Alec, Buffalo, N.Y.	"
I18-P	Dutchie Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa., & Atlantic City, N.J.	
I19-P	Abie Fleminger, Toledo, Ohio	"
I14-P	Adolf Sohlaiferstein, B.A. & Rio	Buenos Aires & Rio
I15-P	Pigne der Pusht (The Sodomist), ex Benedict Sokak	Constantinople
I19-P1 (I16-P)	Mechel Sheetomerer	Constantinople & Vera Cruz
I19-P2 (I17-P)	Pinki Naboytshik	"
I19-P3 (I18-P)	Valodin ---	"
I19-P4 (I19-P)	Label der Schneider (The Tailor)	Constantinople & Egypt
I20-P	Solomon der Roumanischer	"
I21-P	Pigne Lemberger	"
I22-P	Solomon der Yesser	"
I23-P	Arala Gitsi [s barred]	"
I24-P	Möriz Spiegel	"
I25-P	Motel Heinstock	Constantinople & Saloniki
I26-P	Moishe der Galech (The Priest)	"
I27-P	Grische, Co'sple, Egypt & Russia	Constantinople
I28-P	Mesche Resnikoff, Romania & Syria	"
I29-P	Israël Katz, Egypt	"
I30-P	Meyer der Frouzevete (The Syphilitic), Beyrut	"
I31-P	Salvatore Aranjó	"
I32-P	Moishe Chaim Hevremán, South America	"
I33-P	Sholem Frishfish, South America	"
I34-P	Mechel der Blinder (The Blind One), South America	"
I35-P	Frederick Filip Hölzel, Czernowitch	"
I36-P	Leib Baron	Buenos Aires
I37-P	Samuel Wasser	"
I38-P	KATZ	
I39 P	MORRIS GOLDBERG	
I40 P	MAX DIAMONTON (DIAMOND MAX)	
I41 P	LITTLE MAX	

Pimps		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
<b>142-P</b>	ISSY	
<b>143-P</b>	M. Pitts, proprietor of Shamrock or Pitts Bar, 12 rue Molière (Havre)	
<b>147-P</b>	Izach der Coszach (Isaac the Cossack)	
<b>148-P</b>	Seeker	
<b>149-P</b>	Fancy Boy	
<b>150-P</b>	Stuch-Luch	
<b>151-P</b>	Hyme David	
<b>152-P</b>	Bibi, Mexico	
	Corrections Go-Betweens and Pimps	
<b>152-P</b>	Bibi, should read: Bébé	Mexico City
<b>153-P</b>	Abram Schustser	
<b>154-P</b>	Goldstein, The Schneider (The Tailor)	
<b>155-P-A</b>	Scholom der Roumanisher (The Romanian)	Mexico City
<b>156-P-A</b>	Kleiner Abie (Small Abie) Morganstein	"
<b>156-P</b>	Abe Morgenstein	St. Nazaire-Havana
<b>157-P</b>	Rex Nicola	Havana
<b>158-P</b>	Welfky Russ	Mexico City
<b>159-P</b>	Hersche (Hirsh)	"
<b>31-P-A</b>	Aaronschick (Aaron Kaplan, see 31-P)	"
<b>160-P</b>	Motche Mexicaine (Morris, the Mexican)	"
<b>161-P</b>	Karl	"
<b>162-P</b>	Schloymer Boychick (The Boy)	"
<b>163-P</b>	Der Lehmer (The Lame One)	"
<b>164-P</b>	"Red" (French-Canadian)	Montréal
<b>165-P</b>	Lemieux	Montréal
<b>166-P</b>	Sammy Seaman	Montréal

## Respectable Individuals

Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
<b>1-R</b>	Dr. ....Standard, Broad Street, (X-Ray Office)	Barbadoes, B.W. I.
<b>2-R</b>	Capt. De Basile, Dakar, French Africa	S. S. Valdivia
<b>3-R</b>	Capt. Dr. Signori, Italian Royal Commissionner, Immigration Dept.	"
<b>4-R*</b>	Roger Weill, Banque François-Italienne, rue Quitenda Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	"

Respectable Individuals		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
5-R*	Mme Mathilde Lauze, 39 Uruguayanna, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil-----	"
6-R*	Miss Marie Biagioni, alias	
6-RA*	Ivonne Francois, Pencion Janne, rue Dona Luiza, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	
7-R	Mme Matilde De Zori	"
8-R	Dr. Pierre, assistant to purser	"
9-R	Boris Thomasheffski, noted Jewish actor, New York City, U.S.A.	Montevideo & Buenos Aires
10-R	William Dobbs, Montevideo	Montevideo
11-R	James Smith, ex-District Attorney, New York City, U. S.A.	Buenos Aires
12-R	William J. Lahey, Chief Inspector, Police Department, New York City	"
13-R	Richard E. Enright, Police Commissioner, New York City, U. S.A.	"
14-R	Ex-Mayor James J. Gaynor, New York City	"
15-R	Arthur Anderson, Supt., «All American» Cable Co., Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro
16-R	«Oudainski», Famous Russian Dancer	Panama City
17-R	Gus Hill, Theatrical Agent, New York City	"
18-R	Harry Walker, Theatrical Agent, 51st & B'way (New York)	"

Notes (\*) Accuracy of this classification is questionable, due to lack of positive evidence.

19-R	Jack Reid, Banjo player, Metropole Hotel Revue	Panama City
20-R	Symphony Six Orchestra, Kursaal Dance Hall	Geneva
21-R	Agnes Schnewby, a hostess, Kursaal Dance Hall	"
22-R	Nella Fevier, a hostess, Kursaal Dance Hall	"
23-R	Nora Fevier, a hostess, Kursaal Dance Hall	"
24-R	Mr. Beck, Head of	Paris
25-R	Bond & Co, Ceylon, India	Paris
26-R	Bola Pasha, South Africa	London
27-R	Duke of Westminster, London	"
28-R	Senor Corujedo	Havana
29-R	Jose G. Tomas, Taxi driver, stand near Plaza Hotel	"
30-R	Mr. Walker	Barcelona
31-R	Mr. Erby E. Swift, Apartado 886, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico City	Tampico
32-R	Mr. James B. Stewart, American Consul, Tampico	"
33-R	Mr. Walter Tschuden, Apartado 241, Tampico, (Representing Mexican-Sinclair Petroleum Corporation)	"
34-R	Ed Needham, Vera Cruz, Mexico	

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Respectable Individuals		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
35-R	Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr.	
36-R	Ex-President Roosevelt	
43-R1	Fred Miller (Clerk, Levine's Auto Stand, 45th St. Near Broadway, New York City)	
44-R2	James Walker (Democratic nominee for Mayor of New York City), New York City	
45-R3	Bobbie Mc Culloh, formerly chief investigator for the Parkhurst Society, N.Y. C. New York City	
37-R	Harry Cohen	Tunis
38-R	Anthony Rizzo (English-speaking Italian guide)	Palermo
39-R	Mrs. Warren, Portsmouth, Virginia, U. S. A.	Athens
40-R	Charlie Leibberman (Informant-Guide)	Haiffa
41-R	James Cristea, American Legation Attache, - messenger	Bucharest
42-R	Professor Blum, Civil Hospital	Strasbourg
43-R	Joseph Schwartz	Constantinople
44-R	Mendel Beckerman	"
45-R	George der Deutsch (The German), Galata	
46-R	Capt. Perlman (S. S. Pilot)	"
47-R	Leon Bey	"
50-R	Frank Schorr (ex-pimp)	New York City
51-R	Tony Sianno (Bootlegger), 331 W. 27th St.	
52-R	Pinkus Morgenstern, 157 Forsythe St.	"

## Traffickers

Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
1-T	Carl Charlot, Europe Hotel, Montevideo	Montevideo & Buenos Aires
2-T	Schloymer de Laker (Sam the Doll-face), Jules Restaurant, Paris, France	Buenos Aires
3-T (?)	Benjamin Morte, 60 (50?) Correos Dutros Rua, (Masseur, ex-actor; pseudo-doctor; a «fixer»)	Rio de Janeiro
X-T	«Charlotte», wife of 1-T	Montevideo
X-Y-Z	«Romanian Jew»	"
1-TX	Henry Lataillade alias Carl Charlot, (same as 1-T above)	"
4-T	Mons. S. Silverblatt, 15 rue de Rivoli, (Residence, 6 rue du Figuier)	Paris
5-T	Edward Emanuel, Oxford St. London	Paris
6-T	Chaim Leiser, Ogradowa 27, Warsaw, Poland	"
	Correction In code:	



Traffickers		
Symbol	Name and address	See Report on
6-T	Chaim Leiner; «Leiner» should be spelled «Leiser» (in Warsaw reports)	
7-T	Pin Vincent	Havana
8-T	Emile Jean Viola	"
9-T	Antoine Francois Chevallier	"
10-T	Canton Felix Marius	"
11-T	Jules Alexis Quille	"
12-T	Francois Ruiz	"
13-T	Marie Rouselle (Majer de Luis Courtet)	"
14-T	Charles Negre	"
15-T	Gaston Felix Marius (Fingerprint attached to photo)	"
16-T	Violette Poirier (Fingerprint attached to photo)	"
17-T	Manager, Royal Hotel, Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico City	"
18-T	Walter A. Cruice	Tampico
19-T	A.W.Turner	"
20-T	Roy Terry	"
21-T	«Irene», Alexandria, Egypt	"
22-T	Mrs. Nixon	U. S. Mexico & Cuba
23-T	«Doc» Turner (Same as 19-T)	"
23-T	Pierre Le Renard, or	Tunis
23-TA	Paul the Fox (Marseille, France)	"
24-T	Angelo (#12 Lungarini, Palermo)	Naples
25-T	Gamberini (#41 Via Sergente Maggiore, 3d fl)	"
26-T	R. C. Howell, Hudson Car #479099, Texas, 1923	Mexico City
27-T	Charlie-the-Baker (also a pimp); alleged residence: Hamburg-	Vienna
28-TA	Solomon Goldstein (Alias: see 2-T)	Strasbourg
29-T	Chana Gaist	Buenos Aires
30-T	Jose Eussenik	"
31-T	Berl Fishel Mehler, Czernowitz	Constantinople
32-T	Chaim Blum, Ozernowitz, Egypt, etc...	"
33-T	Matteo Mustachi, 32 Yeni Tsharshi Sokak	"
34-T	Eugenio Voster, ex-27 Brousa Sokak	"
35-T	Mishelum, alias Michel alias Mishelum Pasha	"
36-T	Abraham Pungatsh (The Jail-Bird)	"
37-T	Berl Miger alias Chaim Luttinger or 37-T-A, Czernowitch	"
37-TA	see Berl Miger	"
38-T	Hamerstook Samuel Maier, Czernowitch	"
39-T	Adolf Altheim, General Delivery, Czerbowitch	Buenos Aires & Czerno'tch
41-TA	Abram Bucher (The wise Guy) alias Abraham Melgut (see 41-T)	Mexico City

## Miscellaneous

Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
1-X	Europe Hotel, Carl Charlet, prop. , 718 Rincon Dalle Montevideo	Montevideo
2-X	Jules Restaurant (Pimp's hangout), Paris, France	Montevideo & Buenos Aires
3-X	#80 rue Lafayette, Paris, France	Buenos Aires
4-X	Concordia Hotel, Salto	Montevideo
5-X	Grand Hotel	"
6-X	Gustave Rice, hotel porter	"
7-X	La Rat Mort, Paris (The same as 2-X above, i. e. , Jules Errol's Restaurant) France	"
1-XA	Paris Hotel (Now the Europe Hotel, same as 1-X above)	"
8-X	Place de la Bastille, Paris, France	Rio de Janeiro
9-X	Mr. Continho, Lawyer, 24 Carioca Rua	"
10-X	Mr. Kelly, manager, Kelly's Cabaret, Avenida Central, Panama City	Panama City
10-X-C	Kelly's Cabaret, Panama City	"
11-X	Hotel Metropole, Panama City	"
12-X	Clintona Apts. , 340 W. 57th St. , N.Y. City	"
13-X	International Hotel, Panama City	"
14-X	Imperial Rustic Cabaret, Avenida Central, P. C.	"
15-X	Sylvester's Cabaret, Calle K. , Panama City	"
16-X	Alamo Cabaret, Celle B. , Panama City	"
17-X	Cosmopolitan Hotel, Avenida Central, P. C.	"
18-X	Italiano Restaurant, Cor. Calle 16 West & Calle H, P. C.	"
19-X	Mr. Bang, Havana, Cuba	Havana, Cuba
20-X	Cuban-American Corporation, 8 Neptune St. , Havana, Cuba	"
21-X	Koenig (German proprietor)	"
22-X	Polish Restaurant, 40 rue du Roi de Sicile,	Paris
23-X	Cafe, 15 rue des Rivoli	"
24-X	Cafe, corner rue de Rivoli and rue Veiller du Templi	"
25-X	Joe Ross's Hangout, Oxford St. near Dean St. , London, England	"
26-X	Goldstein, rue de Rivoli 17, Paris, France	"
27-X	Kursaal Dance Hall, Quai de Mont Blanc	Geneva
27-X-A	First violinist, Kursaal Dance Hall; a Romanian, one Gordon	"
28-X	Palmier Cabaret, Lucerne	"
29-X	Memis Cafe, #42 rue de Rivoli, Paris (Same as 24-X ?)	Paris
30-X	Port Said Hotel, Cairo, Egypt	"
31-X	Market, Cairo, Egypt	"
32-X	Joe Baker, photographer —obscene picture dealer, Paris	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
33-X	Irving Levy, C/o Brown University, Providence, B. I. (Son of Judge Levy)	"
34-X	Mr. Milgrim (H. Milgrim & Bros, Ladies Tailors) 74th St. & Broadway, New York	"
35-X	15 Bis Place Gambetta, Le Havre, France	"
36-X	Hotel du Midi, Paris	"
37-X	116 Oberkamp rue, Paris	"
38-X	Joe Ross's Restaurant at	
39-X	#62 Tottenham Court Place, London (See 25-X for first reference, without exact address)	London
40-X	Coffee Shop, 11 Dunnan Street	"
41-X	"Cinads"	"
41-XA	"Mr. A. Sydney, Cinads Lmt. A World's Service. Holborn 2485-6 el ad. Pliers, London Bank Bldg., 20 Kingsway, London, W. C. 2"	"
42-X	Edinburgh Café, Liverpool	Liverpool
42-XI	London Wine House, Lime Street	"
43-X	American Bar, Lime Street	"
44-X	Leeland's Bar, Deane Street	"
45-X	Creedon's Bar, Deane Street	"
46-X	Christensen Bar, Deane Street	"
47-X	Yates Bar, Deane Street	"
48-X	Higson's Bar, Cases Street	"
49-X	Wilson's Bar, Cases Street	"
50-X	Wine House, Cases Street	"
51-X	Royal Court Hotel, Great Charlotte Street	"
52-X	Ree Buck Hotel, "	"
53-X	Vine Hotel, "	"
54-X	Burts (?) Bar, "	"
55-X	Rigby's Bar, Ligne Street	"
56-X	S.T. B. Bar, Roe Street	"
57-X	Old Royal Bar, Roe Street	"
58-X	Cafe Kromeit, #43 Raanstraat, The Hague	The Hague
59-X	Eden Cabaret	"
60-X	The House of Lords	"
61-X	American Bar	"
62-X	Atlantic Bar	"
63-X	Hollandais	"
64-X	Fledermann's	"
65-X	Victoria Hotel	"
66-X	Shiestraat, Rotterdam	Rotterdam

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
67-X	I-A, I-B, I-C	"
68-X	I5-A, I5-B, I5-C	"
69-X	I I-A, Shiestraat	"
70-X	New American Bar - 49-B Hang	"
71-X	Coolsingelstraat - 82-a Hang	"
72-X	Centum Hotel - 89 Hang	"
73-X	Kroon Hotel	"
74-X	I2B, Hang	"
75-X	Nation - 25 Hang	"
76-X	Centram - 27a Hang	"
77-X	Sport - 47a Hang	"
78-X	Nico - 5 Ia Hang	"
79-X	195 Ruysdaelkade	Amsterdam
80-X	Casino Bar, The Hague	"
81-X	Ruysdaelkade	"
82-X	Dusartstraat	"
83-X	Centumboamstraat	"
84-X	Van Olstadatastraat	"
85-X	197 Ruysdaelkade	"
86-X	Nieuwburgstraat	"
87-X	Prinz Hendrij Kade	"
88-X	Lint Olafsteeg	"
89-X	Onderzijds Achlerburgval	"
90-X	Viedenburgeristeeg	"
91-X	Oude Doelinstraat	"
92-X	I0 Nieuwburgstraat	"
93-X	Trocadero - Regulier Divarstraat	"
94-X	Tavernn - "	"
95-X	Di Binige Lamp - "	"
96-X	Eureka - "	"
97-X	City Bar - "	"
98-X	Tavern Bar - "	"
99-X	Bio Bar - "	"
100-X	Olympia Bar - "	"
101-X	Bumsum Bar - "	"
102-X	Carlton - "	"
103-X	American Bar - Thorbeck Plein	Amsterdam
104-X	Onevtal Bar - "	"
105-X	Gaston's Cabaret - "	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
<b>I06-X</b>	Palace Cabaret - "	"
<b>I07-X</b>	Willy's Cabaret - "	"
<b>I08-X</b>	Boccaccio's Cabaret - Rembrandt Plein	"
<b>I09-X</b>	Berend Bar - "	"
<b>I10-X</b>	Mille Collone's Cabaret - "	"
<b>I11-X</b>	Shiller's Hotel - "	"
<b>I12-X</b>	Rembrand 's Hotel - "	"
<b>I13-X</b>	Regulier's Hotel - "	"
<b>I14-X</b>	Amstel	"
<b>I15-X</b>	Kalverstraat	"
<b>I16-X</b>	Rakin Danmak	"
<b>I17-X</b>	New York Bar, #1 rue du Saucier	Antwerp
<b>I18-X</b>	Rue L'Ecluse	"
<b>I19-X</b>	Crystal Palace	"
<b>I20-X</b>	Fossi du Bourg	"
<b>I21-X</b>	Rue du Saucier	"
<b>I22-X</b>	Rue des Crabes	"
<b>I23-X</b>	Pont du Anguilles	"
<b>I24-X</b>	Quai Jourdaïs	"
<b>I25-X</b>	Meer	"
<b>I26-X</b>	Rue du Pelican	"
<b>I27-X</b>	Boulevard Adolph Max	Brussels
<b>I28-X</b>	Rue Neuve	"
<b>I29-X</b>	Taverne Canada, rue de Francis	"
<b>I30-X</b>	Place des Martyrs	"
<b>I31-X</b>	Rue d'Argent	"
<b>I32-X</b>	Rue Fossi du Loops	"
<b>I33-X</b>	Rue St. Laurent	"
<b>I34-X</b>	Rue du Pelican	Paris
<b>I35-X</b>	House of All Nations	"
<b>I36-X</b>	Bal Tabarin	"
<b>I37-X</b>	Moulin Rouge	"
<b>I38-X</b>	Place Pigall	"
<b>I39-X</b>	38 rue Rosier	"
<b>I40-X</b>	40 rue Rosier	"
<b>I41-X</b>	44 rue Rosier	"
<b>I42-X</b>	10 rue des Escauffles	"
<b>I43-X</b>	7 rue du Pelican	"
<b>I44-X</b>	36 rue Manconseil	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
I45-X	9 rue Jean Jacques Rousseau	"
I46-X	4 rue de Hanover	Paris
I47-X	7 rue de Hanover	"
I48-X	9 rue de Hanover	"
I49-X	7 rue de la Grange Battaliere	"
I50-X	9 rue de Navain	"
I51-X	92 rue Province	"
I52-X	56 rue Laitbart	"
I53-X	43 rue de la Lune	"
I54-X	93 rue Clery	"
I55-X	32 rue Blondell	"
I56-X	24 rue Ste Foy	"
I57-X	13 St Augustine	"
I58-X	9 rue de Bucharest	"
I59-X	Hanover St. , Paris	"
I60-X	7 rue de Hanover	"
I61-X	Gare Ste Lazare	"
I62-X	25 rue Ste Appolline	"
I63-X	10 or 12 rue Sainte Foy	"
I64-X	46 rue Beauregard	"
I65-X	21 rue Ste Foy	"
I66-X	56 rue Beauregard	"
I67-X	16 rue Blondell	"
I68-X	6 rue de Tracy	"
I69-X	12 rue de Tracy	"
I70-X	4 rue Blondell	"
I71-X	10 rue Beauregard	"
I72-X	14 rue Beauregard	"
I73-X	13 rue Moliere	"
I74-X	68 rue du Château d'Eau (Louise Holland)	"
I75-X	146 Faub. Saint Martin (Carmen Italia)	"
I76-X	59 rue du Château d'Eau	"
I77-X	Rue d'Aubri (Spanish girl & Italian girl)	"
I78-X	Les Trois Rats, Corner Volta et Vert Bois rue	"
I79-X	11 Au Maire rue	"
I80-X	22 "	"
I81-X	39 "	"
I82-X	Rue Ville Aubry	St. Nazaire
I83-X	Grand Cafe	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
184-X	Rue des Galles	Bordeaux
185-X	Rue Rougier	"
186-X	Rue des Glaciers	"
187-X	Rue Château Beau	"
188-X	Au Perron, 52 rue des Glaciers	"
189-X	Red Lion Cabaret	"
190-X	Royal's Tea Cabaret	"
191-X	Coq D'Or Cafe	Bordeaux
192-X	Grand Cafe	"
193-X	Rue Lucerne Faubre	"
194-X	Quai Balacon	"
195-X	52-4 rue des Glaciers	"
196-X	Gare St. Jean	"
197-X	Rue Lucien Faubre	"
198-X	Cafe, corner Quai Balacon and rue Lucien Faubre	"
199-X	88 rue Merciere	Lyon
200-X	Au Vieux Japonese, 2 rue Turpin	"
201-X	"Elaine"	"
202-X	Cafe Richi	"
203-X	Vieux Port	Marseilles
204-X	Rue de la Reynarde	"
205-X	Fredericks, 15 rue Thurmaneaux	"
206-X	8 rue Nationale	"
207-X	Grand Cafe de Novilles, corner Cannebiere and boulevard Garibaldi	"
208-X	40 rue Serrac	"
209-X	Cabaret Maxims, Madrid, Spain	"
210-X	Cours Belsuisse (?) near rue de la Aix	"
211-X	Cabaret Maccoli	"
212-X	Cabaret Merle Blanche	"
213-X	Cannebiere (Street)	"
214-X	Regina American Bar	"
215-X	Place de la Bourse	"
216-X	Hotel Belannie et Aix, rue de l'Aix	"
217-X	Principal Palace Theatre, Rambla Capucines	Barcelona
218-X	Gloria Calla, Rio de Janeiro	"
219-X	Cabaret Lion D'Or, Rambla	"
220-X	Grand Cafe Catalana, Rambla	"
221-X	Cabaret Buena Sombra, Rambla	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
222-X	Cabaret Gunda, Rambla	⁴⁹
223-X	Cabaret Criterion, Rambla	⁴⁹
224-X	Cabaret Excelsior, Rambla	⁴⁹
225-X	Cafe Glacier, Rambla	⁴⁹
226-X	Rambla Capucines	⁴⁹
227-X	Au Moulin Rouge, Blanco 11	Havana
228-X	Blanco 13	⁴⁹
229-X	Blanco 15	⁴⁹
230-X	Blanco 17	⁴⁹
231-X	Blanco 21	⁴⁹
232-X	Blanco 27	⁴⁹
233-X	Blanco 29	Havana
234-X	Blanco 31	⁴⁹
235-X	Blanco 37	⁴⁹
236-X	Blanco 49	⁴⁹
237-X	Blanco 34	⁴⁹
238-X	Blanco 82	⁴⁹
239-X	Blanco 50	⁴⁹
240-X	Blanco 48	⁴⁹
241-X	Blanco 46	⁴⁹
242-X	Blanco 44	⁴⁹
243-X	Blanco 36	⁴⁹
244-X	Blanco 30	⁴⁹
245-X	Blanco 28	⁴⁹
246-X	Blanco 26	⁴⁹
247-X	Blanco 20	⁴⁹
248-X	Colon 36, Madame Jessie Rice	⁴⁹
249-X	Colon 34, Madame Ward	⁴⁹
250-X	Aries 14	⁴⁹
251-X	Virtudes 63	⁴⁹
252-X	Bernal 9	⁴⁹
253-X	Bernal 15	⁴⁹
254-X	Animas 32	⁴⁹
255-X	Animas 41	⁴⁹
256-X	Animas 49	⁴⁹
257-X	Animas 55	⁴⁹
258-X	Crespo 53	⁴⁹
259-X	Damas 49	⁴⁹
260-X	Sol 36	⁴⁹



Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
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254-A	"American House" (See 254-X)	"
254-B	"House of All Nations" (See 254-X)	"
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261-X	Blanco Street	"
262-X	Plaza Hotel, Park Central	"
263-X	Apola Music Hall	Barcelona
264-X	Pompeya Music Hall	"
265-X	Folies Bergere Music Hall	"
266-X	Seville Music Hall	"
267-X	Seville Cabaret Music Hall	"
268-X	Teatro Nueva Music Hall	"
269-X	Canton Martini Music Hall	"
270-X	Marque el Duera	"
271-X	Royal Hotel	Mexico City
272-X	"La Casa Grande"	Tampico, Mex.
273-X	J. Garcia Gomez, Representative of Buick Auto-mobile Co., Garage Altamira, S.A., Calle Altamira 53-55, Tampico, Mexico	"
274-X	Dr. Hector Reyes, Consul of Honduras	"
275-X	Suize Cabaret	"
276-X	Louisiana Cabaret (Nixon Case, Dept. of Justice)	"
277-X	Opera Bar	"
278-X	Calle Lopez	Mexico City
279-X	Charles Delaye (French Chauffeur driving Hudson Touring Hudson Touring car for hire, stands near Regis Hotel)	"
280-X	Casa Marina, 4 Calle de la Estrella, (Opposite #83)	"
281-X	#4 Calle de la Estrella 83	"
282-X	20 Calle San Miguel	"
283-X	Hotel Regis, Passo de la Reforma	"
284-X	6-a De La Rosa 149, Sta. Maria La Ribera; Telephone Eric 91-78	"
285-X	Calle Ceres	Madrid
286-X	Calle Silva	"
287-X	Calle San Bernardo	"
288-X	Grand Via	"
289-X	Calle Alcola	"
290-X	Puerto del Sol	"
291-X	#3 Calle Barras	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
292-X	#11 Heleras	"
293-X	#91 Macini Pocitos, Montevideo Uruguay	"
294-X	Palace Hotel	"
295-X	American Bar	Lisbon
296-X	Joe (Guide) Habitue of American Bar)	"
297-X	#93 Rua do Norte	"
298-X	Maxim's Club	"
299-X	Monumento Club	"
300-X	Bristol Club	"
301-X	#63 Rua do Gloria	"
302-X	Caso dos Portales, #118 Rua do Arsenal	"
303-X	Manuel Roque	"
304-X	Arcamona Liberato	Marseille
305-X	Rue Mission de France, 1st floor, Alexandria, Egypt	"
306-X	"Au Clou", Dakar, Senegal	"
307-X	"La Union", segregated district of Tampico, Mexico	
308-X	49 Obrapia St., Havana, Cuba	
309-X	Calle Aduana, Tampico, Mexico	
310-X	Larry Conley, Tampico, Mexico	
311-X	New Manhattan Cabaret, Tampico, Mexico	
312-X	Old Manhattan Cabaret, Tampico, Mexico	
313-X	The Club Cantina, Calle Comercio, Tampico	
314-X	File No. 811.1152/61, Dept. of Justice	
315-X	Ship Chandler	
316-X	Post Card Shop, rue San Francisco	Cadiz
317-XA	Calle Enrique de la Manua	"
317-X	#30 Calle Enrique de la Manua	?
318-X	Continental Hotel	Tangier
319-X	Olympia Cabaret	"
320-X	Moorish Hotel Moderne	"
321-X	#1 rue du Caftan	Algiers
322-X	Maison a la Luni	"
323-X	Cafe des Artistes, rue D'Isly	"
324-X	Cafe Suisse, rue de Liberte	"
325-X	Alhambra Casino	"
326-X	Kursaal	"
327-X	Rue des Oise	Tunis
328-X	#10 rue des Oise	"
329-X	Rue (Abd ?) el Agechi	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
330-X	Rue Sidi Bayame	"
331-X	#16 rue Sidi Bayame	"
332-X	Rue de Persan	"
333-X	La Grande Maison, #24 rue el Meiktat	"
334-X	Cytheria (House of Prost), rue el Meiktat	"
335-X	#25 rue Appollinaire, Paris (See 165-X; same place ?)	"
336-X	Paris Hotel, Marseille, (rear of the Bourse)	"
337-X	Casino Cafe	"
337-XA	Festa Cabaret	"
338-X	Hotel Salambo	"
339-X	Hotel de Residence	"
340-X	Maison Dorie	"
341-X	#6 rue des Oise	"
342-X	Rue el Meiktat	"
343-X	Chabonnaires (House of Prost)	"
344-X	Palmieres (House of Prost)	"
345-X	XX of September (Street or ?)	Genoa
346-X	Porto del Sorpano	"
347-X	#10 Vico Salvaghi (Elsi, German (Rena, Swiss	"
348-X	#6 Vico di Cosimo	"
349-X	#2 Vico Lavezzi (Danetta, U.S.A. ( ? , Swiss ( ? , French	"
350-X	Cafe Bellini, (XX of September Via & Borsa)	"
351-X	S. S. Re Victoria	"
352-X	S. S. Mendoza	"
353-X	Immigration Department	"
354-X	Vico Bella Frigine (Suzane, French (Louise, French	"
355-X	Vico Cilso #16 (Felicita, French)	"
356-X	Vico Pera #4 (Louise, Swiss	"
357-X	Via Regazzi #2 (Gracia, Hungarian (Laura, German	"
358-X	Vico Spada #5 (Anna, Austrian	"
359-X	Vico Lavezzi #4 (Juanita, Spanish	"
360-X	Vico Stoppini #2 (Laura, German	"
361-X	Vico Castagna #4 (Margaret, Belgian (Anna, German (Yvetta, French	"
362-X	Vico Carabaghi (Maria, Hungarian	"
363-X	#77 Via Vittoria	Rome
364-X	# (ilisible) Solita S. Anna Palazzo	Naples
365-X	Supreme House, Genoa (Formerly Mme Charlotte's, I-T's wife)	"
366-X	#12 Lungarini, Palermo	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
367-X	#41 Via Sergente Maggiore, 3d floor	"
368-X	Via Roma	"
369-X	Via Chiaia	"
370-X	Cafe Trinadoria Romares (Corner Ruggerio VII & Via Stabile)	Palermo
371-X	#15 Via Roma	"
372-X	Municipal Offices (Or City Hall)	Palermo
373-X	Des Palms Hotel	"
374-X	#10 S. Oliva	"
375-X	#8 Vicola Paterno	"
376-X	Guissippi (Passport forger and fixer)	"
377-X	Bijou Palace Cabaret, (in basement, Grand Hotel)	Athens
378-X	Grand Hotel	"
379-X	San Souci Cabaret	"
380-X	Trocadero Cabaret	"
381-X	Giffon Cabaret	"
382-X	Café-Bar de Russie, #5 Charek Wagh el Berha	Cairo
383-X	L. Feldman (proprietor of Bar de Russie)	"
384-X	The Governorate	"
385-X	Groppi Tea Room	"
386-X	Sault Tea Room	"
386-XA	Rue Fuad Ist	"
387-X	New Romanian Bar (On Charek Wagh el Berha)	"
388-X	Yarmouth Bar (On Charek Wagh el Berha)	"
389-X	New Criterion Bar (On Charek Wagh el Berha)	"
390-X	Messagieres Maritime Line (From Marseille)	"
391-X	Bologna Restaurant (Haut Chalabi)	"
392-X	Haut Chalabi (Street)	"
393-X	Au Moulin Rouge (Haut Chalabi)	"
394-X	Bar Internationale (Haut Chalabi)	"
395-X	Sheik el Hara (i.e. Mitrovdooff) (see 397-X; the same)	"
396-X	Hotel Apollo, rue des Soeurs, Alexandria	"
397-X	Mitrovdooff (i.e. Sheik el Hara)	"
398-X	Cafe Garibaldi (Rue Anastassi)	Alexandria
399-X	Hotel Appollone (rue des Soeurs)	"
400-X	S. S. Lotus	"
401-X	S. S. General Metzinger	"
402-X	Minerva Restaurant (#3 rue Alexanda)	"
403-X	Au Petit Trianon Tea Room	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
404-X	Rue Cleopatra	"
405-X	Secretary to Greek Consul	"
406-X	Au Perçon Parisien Bar (#13 rue de la Gare Ramble)	"
407-X	Lynis Cabaret (Rue Averdoff)	"
408-X	S. S. Canada (Fabre Line)	"
409-X	Fabre Line	"
410-X	S. S. Sphinx	"
411-X	Litmar (S. S. Line ?)	"
412-X	Lloyd Triestino (S. S. Line)	"
413-X	Francois (Seaman – go-between)	"
414-X	#24-26 or #28 rue Bab el Karzata	"
415-X	Le Bazar Navigateurs Francaise (A general Merchandise store)	Alexandria
416-X	Louis (Proprietor of Le Bazar Nav. Fr)	"
417-X	Police Sergeant	"
418-X	rue D'Anastassi	"
419-X	Rue de Hamamin	"
420-X	Romanian Cafe (Rue de Hamamin)	"
421-X	Russie Bar (#14 rue de Hamamin)	"
422-X	Greek S. S. Lines	"
423-X	Athens Pastry Shop	"
424-X	Mme Victoria's Clandestine House of Prostitution, River Front	"
425-X	Charek Wagh el Berha	Cairo
426-X	Maison Chat Noir	"
427-X	Maison Dora	"
428-X	Maison Lucette	"
429-X	Constantinople House	"
430-X	Lily House	"
431-X	Wagh el Bergka (Same as 425-X ?)	"
432-X	Cafe du Nil	Port Said
433-X	Secret Police	"
434-X	Black Cat	"
435-X	Moulin Rouge	"
436-X	Pension Francais	"
437-X	Maison Iris	"
438-X	Golden House	"
439-X	Constantinople House	"
440-X	Internationale House	"
441-X	Giranda Bar (Rue Fuad First)	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
442-X	Continental Bar (Rue Fuad First)	"
443-X	Splendid New Bar (Rue Fuad First)	"
444-X	Internationale Bar (Rue Fuad First)	"
445-X	Camel Restaurant	Haiffa
446-X	Cafe du Point	"
447-X	#22 rue el Mutanerie	Beyruit
448-X	Rue el Mutanerie	"
449-X	Maison Doree	"
450-X	Chez Minon Danceland (Rue el Mutanerie)	"
451-X	Bar du Clarion (Rue el Mutanerie)	"
452-X	Belge Dancing Palace (Rue el Mutanerie)	"
453-X	Kursaal Cafe	"
454-X	Alphonse Cafe	"
455-X	Orient Hotel (River Front)	"
456-X	Hanna's House of Prostitution, on second Street of Galata district, directly opposite old Galata Dispensary	Constantinople
457-X	Khedivial Mail Line	"
458-X	Cafe, #12 rue? (First street parallel with rue Bayrand, back of Tocatlion Hotel)	"
459-X	Pastry Shop, #2 rue Petit Champ	"
460-X	Trokatlion Hotel	"
461-X	Pera Palace Hotel	"
462-X	Grand Rue Pera	"
463-X	Berlin Hotel	"
464-X	Majestic Hotel	"
465-X	Brazil Hotel	"
466-X	Tunis Hotel	"
467-X	National Hotel	"
468-X	Rio Hotel	"
469-X	Atlantic Hotel	"
470-X	Trocadero	"
471-X	Rose Noire	"
472-X	Bijou	"
473-X	Zum Amstel	"
474-X	Weiner Pirscl	"
475-X	White Rose	"
476-X	Dutch American	"
477-X	Champ Elysee	"
478-X	Maximo	"
479-X	Italian Degustatori	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
480-X	Strata Guza Vada	Constantza
481-X	Strata Stephan Mehaileani (?)	"
482-X	Bristol Cafe (Main Street)	"
483-X	Abraham Feldman (money changer and loan shark)	"
484-X	#57 Strata Guza Vada	"
485-X	3 Strata Stephan Mehaileani	"
486-X	#4 Strata Stephan	"
487-X	5 Strata Stephan	"
488-X	8 Strata Stephan	"
489-X	Regina Hotel	"
490-X	Grand Hotel	"
491-X	Boulevard Hotel	"
492-X	Metropole Hotel	"
493-X	Central Hotel	"
494-X	Transylvania Hotel	"
495-X	Bristol Cabaret	"
496-X	Britannia Cabaret	"
497-X	Cabaret next to Metropole Hotel	"
498-X	Alcazar Cabaret (Summer all-night cabaret in suburbs)	Bucharest
499-X	Au Chat Noir Cabaret	"
500-X	Maxim's Cabaret	"
501-X	Cantimir and Crucia di Piatra Streets	"
502-X	Diamond, ( New York City bootlegger, Amsterdam Ave & 106th St., N.Y. C.)	"
503-X	Buzoiano Street	"
504-X	Calea Victoriei (Main Street)	"
505-X	Metropole Hotel (Calea Victoriei)	"
506-X	Union Hotel (Poincare St. near Bis Enei)	"
507-X	Regal Hotel ( " )	"
508-X	Muses Hotel ( " )	"
509-X	Kiriaz Hotel (Blvd. Elizabetha)	"
510-X	Izbano Hotel (Belvidere St.)	"
511-X	Princair Hotel (Blvd. Elizabetha)	"
511-X-A	Princair Hotel Cafe (Blvd. Elizabetha)	"
512-X	Alhambra Cafe (Lorindar Street)	"
513-X	Jardin, Wein	"
514-X	Str. Impremiere	"
515-X	#6 Str. Impremiere	"
516-X	#8 or 10 Str. Peeveri	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
517-X	Str. Gravetei	"
518-X	Hotel Roma	"
519-X	Hotel Paradim	"
520-X	Hotel Europa	"
521-X	Hotel Papadopol	"
522-X	Hotel Moscova	"
523-X	Hotel Cazua	"
524-X	Hotel Azuga	"
525-X	Hotel Funzete	"
526-X	Cantimir St.	"
527-X	Poincare St.	"
528-X	Post Office	"
529-X	Gara Norte	"
530-X	El Globo Cabaret (Avenida Madero)	Mexico City
531-X	#13 Calle Meave	"
532-X	#16 Calle Meave (Telephone Eric 36-45)	"
533-X	#20 Callejon Tizapan	"
534-X	#23 Callejon Tizapan	"
535-X	Cabaret at San Juan de Letran, #10 Altos	"
536-X	Crisoforo Eragoso, (Taxi chauffeur)	"
537-X	Astoria Hotel	"
538-X	#8 Kepiro	"
539-X	#29 Magjar	"
540-X	#18 Bastye	"
541-X	#20 Bastye	"
542-X	#70 Razca Vit	Mexico City
543-X	#93 Razca Vit	"
544-X	Jardin D'Hevir	"
545-X	Maxims	"
546-X	Alcazar Cabaret	"
547-X	Raksczi Ter (Street)	"
548-X	Baross Ter	"
549-X	Karolly Karelly	"
550-X	Andrassy Ter	"
551-X	Moulin Rouge Cabaret	"
552-X	101-03 Rozsa Nr.	"
553-X	Museum Strasse	"
554-X	Magjar Strasse	"
555-X	Anna Bar (Anna Gasse)	Vienna



Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
556-X	Fred (Waiter)	⁴⁹
557-X	Karntner Strasse	⁴⁹
558-X	City Hotel	⁴⁹
559-X	Tabarin Cabaret	⁴⁹
560-X	Parisien Cabaret	⁴⁹
561-X	Pavillon Cabaret	⁴⁹
562-X	Cafe Bristol	⁴⁹
563-X	Cafe Carlton (Coffee House) (Maysider Gasse)	⁴⁹
564-X	Mary Bar	⁴⁹
565-X	Capna Cabaret	⁴⁹
566-X	City Bar	⁴⁹
567-X	Moulin Rouge Cabaret	⁴⁹
568-X	Casino Theatre, Buenos Aires	⁴⁹
569-X	125 Street and Lenox Ave., New York City	⁴⁹
570-X	Geselahof Cafe (Bosendorfer Strasse)	⁴⁹
571-X	Atlantic Cafe (Adjacent to Imperial Hotel)	⁴⁹
572-X	Opera Ring	⁴⁹
573-X	Karntner Ring (Same as Karntner Strasse ?)	⁴⁹
574-X	Franz Josef Kai	⁴⁹
575-X	Wassiche Strasse	⁴⁹
576-X	Kruger Strasse	⁴⁹
577-X	Johannes Strasse	⁴⁹
578-X	Anna Strasse	⁴⁹
579-X	Hummelfort Strasse	⁴⁹
580-X	Donner Strasse	⁴⁹
581-X	Fleischmarkt Strasse	⁴⁹
582-X	Modern Hotel	⁴⁹
583-X	Prater Strasse	⁴⁹
584-X	Hune Gasse	⁴⁹
585-X	Metro Park	⁴⁹
586-X	Cafe Pochhocher	⁴⁹
587-X	Sacher Cafe	⁴⁹
588-X	Kaiser Bar	Vienna
589-X	Hapsburg Cafe	⁴⁹
590-X	Cafe Splendide	⁴⁹
591-X	Cafe Stocher	⁴⁹
592-X	Cafe de L'Europe	⁴⁹
593-X	Cafe de la Paix	⁴⁹
594-X	San Souci Bar	⁴⁹

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
595-X	American Bar	"
596-X	"Adlon"	Berlin
597-X	#1 Junker Strasse	"
598-X	#85 Markgrafen Strasse	"
599-X	#36 Koch Strasse	"
600-X	#17 Junker Strasse	"
601-X	#18 Junker Strasse	"
602-X	#20 Junker Strasse	"
603-X	#21 Junker Strasse	"
604-X	#24 Zimmer Strasse	"
605-X	#43 Zimmer Strasse	"
606-X	#45 Zimmer Strasse	"
607-X	51 Zimmer Strasse	"
608-X	#52 Zimmer Strasse	"
609-X	#46 Zimmer Strasse	"
610-X	#47 Zimmer Strasse	"
611-X	#62 Jerusalaum Strasse	"
612-X	48 Koch Strasse	"
613-X	#86 Markgrafen Strasse	"
614-X	#88 Charlotten Strasse	"
615-X	#14 Puttkamer Strasse	"
616-X	Hotel Barussia, Konigstrasse	"
617-X	Hotel West End Konigstrasse	"
618-X	Ashembefhof Hotel 21 Konigstrasse	"
619-X	Mikado Cabaret #15 Puttkamer Strasse	"
620-X	Corner of Enche Platz & Bessel Platz	"
621-XA	Hotel ? #22 Bessel Strasse	"
621-X	Bellevue, Leipsiger Platz	"
622-X	Vaterland, Leipsiger Platz	"
623-X	Jostys, Leipsiger Platz	"
624-X	Jäger Strasse	"
625-X	Jäger and Friedrich Strasses	"
626-X	Jäger Casino, #14 Jäger Strasse	"
627-X	Holstein Bierstube, cor. Grosse Freibert and Reichner Strasses	Hamburg
628-X	Mona Lisa Bar, Riefebahn Strasse	"
629-X	G. Roland's Bar, Riefebahn Strasse	"
630-X	Hardman's Bar, Riefebahn Strasse	"
631-X	Clarsen Cabaret, Riefebahn Strasse	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
632-X	Palast Cabaret, Riefebahn Strasse	Hamburg
633-X	Apollo Cabaret, Riefebahn Strasse	"
634-X	Alcazar Cabaret, Riefebahn Strasse	"
635-X	Hyppo – Hamburg Cabaret, Riefebahn Strasse	"
636-X	Morocco Bar, Riefebahn Strasse	"
637-X	Cafe Morstein, Reichner Strasse	"
638-X	City Bar, Grosse Freitbert Strasse	"
639-X	Honolulu Bar, Grosse Freitbert Strasse	"
640-X	Casino Cabaret, Grosse Freitbert Strasse	"
641-X	Eldorado Cabaret, Grosse Freitbert Strasse	"
642-X	Gerold Koffee, Jaeger, near Friedrich Strasse	Berlin
643-X	83 Friedrich Strasse	"
644-X	Samuel Krause	Prague
645-X	Kellner	"
646-X	K. Begkova	"
647-X	Kotapisova	"
648-X	Boston Bar	"
649-X	Alhambra Cabaret	"
650-X	Au Chat Noir	"
651-X	Au Bonboniere Cabaret	"
652-X	Sport Bar	"
653-X	Select Palace Cabaret	"
654-X	Residence Cabaret	"
655-X	Bar Fan Faire	"
656-X	Rue des Picheurs	Strasbourg
657-X	#1 rue des Boeuf	"
658-X	#5A rue des Picheurs	"
659-X	#5B rue des Picheurs	"
660-X	6B rue des Picheurs	"
661-X	#5C rue des Picheurs	"
662-X	#14 rue des Picheurs	"
663-X	#16 rue des Picheurs	"
664-X	#18 rue des Picheurs	"
665-X	#11 rue des Picheurs	"
666-X	#15 rue des Picheurs	"
667-X	#17 rue des Picheurs	"
668-X	#19 rue des Picheurs	"
669-X	#21 rue des Picheurs	"
670-X	Cafe de la Paix	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
671-X	Maison Rouge	"
672-X	Cafe de France, Place Kleber	"
673-X	Louis Tuchband, 50 Allee de la Robertsau	"
674-X	Rue Barosse, (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)	"
675-X	Rue du Marchi (Mme Alice)	Geneva
676-X	Gillet, on rue de Rive (Corner Cours de Rive)	"
677-X	Maxims Cabaret	"
678-X	Eldorado Cabaret	"
679-X	#46 rue du Rhone	"
680-X	7 rue du Marchi	"
681-X	4 rue Neuve du Molard	"
682-X	4 rue Neuve du Molard	"
683-X	5 rue de Perron	"
684-X	7 rue de Perron	"
685-X	9 rue de Perron	"
686-X	Rue de Perron	"
687-X	Hotel du Cerf, #19 rue Grand St. Jean	Lausanne
688-X	Leman Hotel	"
689-X	Cafe du Moritin, #2 rue du Pre	"
690-X	Cafe Grandveaux, #33 rue du Pre	"
691-X	Cafe, #21 rue du Pre	"
692-X	Cafe Central, rue Central	"
693-X	Cafe Siecle (Near Cafe Central)	"
694-X	Cafe du Grand Pont, rue Grand Pont	"
695-X	Old India Tea Room and Cafe (next door to Cafe Grand Pont)	"
697-X	Hotel Aster, N.Y. C.	New York City
698-X	152 West 45th Street, N.Y. C.	"
699-X	Lexington and Third Avenue, N.Y. C.	"
700-X	Sam Peruvnick (Sam Levine), 22 West 60th Street, N. Y. C.	"
701-X	Little Charlie (Charles Dubillier), N.Y. C.	"
702-X	Whitney Lewis, N.Y. C.	"
703-X	Ike, The Blood, N.Y. C.	"
704-X	Club Hoberg, 165 West 49th Street, N.Y. C.	"
705-X	Circle Hotel, 22 West 60th Street, N.Y. C.	"
706-X	Poland	"
707-X	Warsaw, Poland	"
708-X	Agrodova Street, Warsaw	"
709-X	Parkhurst Society, N.Y. C.	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
710-X	Harry Morton, N.Y. C.	"
711-X	Tiger Saloon, Seventh Avenue and 27th Street, N.Y. C.	"
712-X	Pennsylvania Railroad, N.Y. C.	"
696-X	Sabina Blumenfeld	Buenos Aires
697-X	Sara Waiselfich, Warsaw	"
698-X	Ruchia Bonach, Warsaw & Rosario, Argentine	"
699-X	Ruza Fabricant, Warsaw	"
700-X	Rose Haker, Poland	"
701-X	Clara Haker, Poland	"
702-X	Frymeta Berliner, Poland	Buenos Aires
703-X	Dvoire Ollejevsky, Poland	"
704-X	Sicel Ollejevsky, Poland	"
705-X	Samuel Yukelson alias Don Samuel alias Leser Tsernowitch alias Elias Davidowitch, Grito de Ascencion 325 Salto	Uruguay
706-X	Moises Yair, Salto	"
707-X	Mortche Glaser alias Mortche Big (Husband of Dina Sarina, 20-DH)	Constantinople
708-X	Mischeelin (Deceased; a disorderly-house keeper & trafficker)	"
709-X	Gurdji Ali	"
710-X	Karolina, Czernowitch	"
711-X	Elias Krachtel	"
712-X	Mendel Bondon alias Mendel Gonef (Thief), Maison de Rendezvous, Pera	"
713-X	Velvel Lutwig, a "Dummy" for Hassan Bey, Pera	"
714-X	Kotchos Cafe, Kemer Altin	"
715-X	Cafe de Gustation, Grand rue de Pera	"
716-X	Servicin Maritime Ruman (Romanian Government Mail Line)	"
717-X	Mme Bellina, Restaurant, Kemer Altin, Galata	"
718-X	Mme Amalia, Yeni Tsharschi	"
719-X	House of Angelo Ricci	"
720-X	Dervish Sokak	"
721-X	"Bob", an Englishman, Bombay	"
722-X	19 Zurafa Sokak (Malvina Bouskoli)	"
723-X	House owned jointly by Hassan Bey and Hanna Sherbet Hana Sokak	"
732-X à 750-X		
733-X	Sahmrock Bar, 12 rue Molière	Havre
794-X	Assistant Purser, S. S. Espagne	St. Nazaire-Havana

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
795-X	S. S. Cuba, compagnie General Transatlantique (French line)	"
796-X	Poste Restante (General Mail Delivery) Mexico City	"
797-X	75 Officios Calle	Havana
798-X	Inferno Cabaret	"
799-X	Tokio Cabaret	"
800-X	Canton Cabaret	"
801-X	Restaurant, A-la Calle Jesus Marie	Mexico City
802-X	Calle Cauhtlotzin	"
803-X	Cuarto Messines (Crib District)	"
804-X	Niffo Perdido Calle (Street)	"
805-X	Dr. Daniel Ruiz Calle	"
806-X	Igualidad Calle	"
807-X	Puebla Calle	"
808-X	Alta Manana (?) Calle	"
809-X	Republica de Cuba Calle	"
810-X	Aranda Calle	"
811-X	Corrientes Calle, Buenos Aires	"
812-X	Calle Dos Avril	"
813-X	Pananma Calle	"
814-X	Harry Walker (Theatrical booking Agency, 1674 Broadway, Room #205	New York City
815-X	Harry richman's Night Club, NewYork City	"
816-X	Ritz Cabaret, Panama City	"
817-X	Bill Grey, Panama City	"
818-X	450 Guy Street	Montréal
819-X	2501 Park Avenue Detroit, Mich., Hattie Miler	"
820-X	2442 Brush Street, Detroit, Mich., Bella McKensie	"
821-X	91 Cadieux St (Pimps's hangout, -cigar store)	"
822-X	122 Cadieux St (Old Number) 964 (New number)	"
823-X	202 Cuty Hall Ave., Apt #5 (Old number) 1150 Hotel de Ville Street (New Number)	"
824-X	1628, Cadieux Street, Jeannette	"
825-X	1671, St. Denis, Yvonne	"
826-X	1713, St. Denis	"
827-X	705, St. Denis	"
828-X	4, St. Agathe	"
829-X	6, St. Agathe	"
830-X	1227, Cadieux	"
831-X	1225, Cadieux	"

Miscellaneous		
Symbol Code No	Definition	See Report on
<b>832-X</b>	1209, Cadieux	"
<b>833-X</b>	1434 City Hall Ave. (Cigar Store) (Bebe, Prostitute)	"
<b>834-X</b>	209 Mountain	"
<b>835-X</b>	1170 City Hall Avenue.	"
<b>836-X</b>	1560 Sanguinet	"
<b>837-X</b>	475 St. Laurent	"
<b>838-X</b>	1445 Bleury Street	"
<b>839-X</b>	965 Hotel de Ville Street	"
<b>840-X</b>	1088 Hotel de Ville	"
<b>841-X</b>	1096 Hotel de Ville	"
<b>842-X</b>	2024 Cadieux (Madame Senegal, 57-M)	"
<b>843-X</b>	2015 "	"
<b>844-X</b>	2011 "	"
<i>696-I</i>	<i>Estados Indos Calle, Buenos Aires</i>	<i>Paris</i>

**ANNEX II**  
**Personal Descriptions by City as prepared by Kinsie**



## Buenos Aires

**Olga Radami:** 5'4" tall; weighs 150 lbs; admittedly 23 years of age; brown eyes; brown hair; large mouth; gold crowns, upper jaw front; olive complexion; wore a short moleskin coat; large black velvet hat; speaks *Yiddish* and Turkish; Turkish nationality.

**Lorita:** 5'6" tall; 150 lbs; 25 years of age; jet black hair; light olive complexion; dark eyes; round full face; pearly white teeth; wore a black turban; silver evening cape; blue velvet dress; is an Italian.

**Joseph Timble:** #351 Corrientes Street, Buenos Aires; 5'4" tall; 140 lbs; 50 years of age; looks older; gray hair; head bald on top; blue eyes, heavy bags thereunder; yellow complexion; straight wide nose; uneven yellow teeth; carries head forward; squints when talking; dresses neatly, always wearing white shirts, grey suits and a black Derby. Speaks good English; had four houses in 351 Corrientes Street in the city of New York in 1912; operated in South Africa; and now has two houses of prostitution in Buenos Aires. Was born in Riga, Russia.

**Harry Benjamin:** #688 Rodrigues Pena Calle, Buenos Aires; 5'8" tall; 160 lbs; 42 years of age; black hair; head bald on top; long face; dark eyes; dark olive complexion; heavy smooth-shaven black beard; yellow teeth; large mouth; a neat dresser. Born in London; came to Buenos Aires 13 years ago; is part owner in 6 or more houses of prostitution here; and acts as financial backer of pimps and disorderly-house keepers. Has never been in the United States.

**Harry Krutzenbloom(?):** #1709 Sarmiento Street, Buenos Aires; 5'11" tall; 170 lbs; 44 years of age; blonde hair; head partly bald on top; high forehead; blue eyes; fair complexion; yellow teeth, several gold caps upper jaw; stoop shouldered; speaks Spanish, *Yiddish* and Polish. Born in Warsaw. Has been in Buenos Aires for 18 years. Three years ago he brought a charity girl named Fanny to Buenos Aires from Warsaw and made a prostitute of her. He has never been in the United States. He has operated as a pimp in London, Berlin and Paris.

**Julius Friedman:** #1709 Sarmiento Street, Buenos Aires; 5'3" tall; 120 lbs; 57 years of age; jet black hair; dark eyes; small nose; olive complexion; smooth-shaven dark beard; small face; yellow teeth, gold crowns on side, upper jaw; walks erect; wears dark clothing; Derby Hat. Has a prostitute residing here who hustles (solicits) at the Casino. He was born in Russia; has been in Buenos Aires for 10 years.

**Jake Zucherman alias Jake Zuckerman:** #1987 Lavalle Street; 5'7" tall; 150 lbs; 60 years of age; gray hair; black and gray eyes; teeth missing; always carries a cane; has been in Buenos Aires for 20 years; operated houses of prostitution on the east side of the city of New York 25 years ago. Now acts as broker in Buenos Aires in getting sites for prospective disorderly-house keepers; also supplies local inmates and housekeepers. Was born in Russia.

**Zimmerman:** #1987 Lavalle Street, Buenos Aires; 5'4" tall; 150 lbs; 50 years [of age]; gray hair; blue eyes; full face; large mouth; teeth missing; olive complexion; long gray moustache. Was born in Romania. Has never been in the United States; is interested in houses of prostitution on Junin Street, Buenos Aires.

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**Moe Schwartz:** 5'3" tall; 140 lbs; 50 years [of age]; black hair; head bald on top; white complexion; dark eyes; small mouth; wears dark clothes. Has a prostitute, Eva who solicits at the Casino. He was born in Russia; has never been in the United States; has been in Buenos Aires for 7 years.

**Hymie Goldstein:** #1709 Sarmiento Street, Buenos Aires; 5'8" tall; 160 lbs; 40 years [of age]; thin black hair; square face; dark eyes; olive complexion; walks erect; wears dark clothes; high-crown black soft hat; box coat; has never been in the United States; was born in Poland; has been in Buenos Aires for 18 years.

**Mr. Hillis:** #1061 Corrientes Street, Buenos Aires; 5'9" tall; 160 lbs; 60 years [of age]; black and gray hair; blue eyes; white skin; black and gray moustache; aquiline nose; large mouth; born in London; has been in Buenos Aires for 15 years. Conducts a combination pension, assignation house and disorderly resort at this address. Has never been in the United States.

**Motche Goldberg:** # 1709 Sarmiento Street, Buenos Aires; 5'5" tall; 170 lbs; 56 years of age; head flat in the back; dark brown hair, partially bald on top; round full face; brown eyes; bags under the eyes; black closely-cut moustache extending past the corners of the mouth; heavy lips; yellow teeth; thick straight nose; large stomach; always wears a blue suit, black wide-brimmed soft hat; was born in Warsaw, Poland; conducted 22 houses in the city of New York until 1912, also operated in the city of Johannesburg, and now has four houses of prostitution in Buenos Aires.

## Uruguay, Montevideo

**Mlle. Mignon Darville:** 5'2" tall; 150 lbs.; 30 years of age; light brown hair; dark eyes; round face; olive complexion; nice teeth; eyes heavily mascaraed; wore a silver-cloth dress.

**Madame Raymondo:** 5'5" tall; 140 lbs.; 40 years of age; long brown hair worn in pompadore style; brown eyes; olive complexion; even and white teeth: nicely formed; wore a knitted brown wool suit; came to Montevideo two years ago from Buenos Aires.

**Mlle. Nene:** 5'7" tall; 120 lbs.; 18 years of age; black hair bobbed, curled and parted on left side; dark olive complexion; even and white teeth; wore a gray low-out silk dress.

**Graciolo:** 5'5" tall; 120 lbs.; admittedly 19 years of age; black hair bobbed, parted on left side and naturally wavy; dark olive complexion; dark eyes; white teeth; wide nose; wore a greenish-blue flannel kimono.

**She (Suzanne)** is 5'6" tall; weighs about 130 lbs.; admittedly 24 years of age; light brown hair, bobbed and parted on left side, and marcelled; blue eyes; fair complexion; even spaced yellow teeth; wore a blue fur-trimmed kimono.

**Suzanne:** 5'7" tall; weighs about 150 lbs.; 22 years of age; brown hair, bobbed, marcelled, and parted on left side; oval face; even yellow teeth; sallow complexion; blue eyes; born in Berlin, Germany; has been in Montevideo for 7 months.

**Yvonne:** 5'6" tall; 120 lbs.; 21 years; black hair, bobbed and straight, parted on left side; huge dark eyes; straight nose; large mouth; even white teeth; index finger of right hand is missing; born in Argentine.

**Dottie:** 5'5" tall; 120 lbs.; 24 years; brown hair, bobbed; large brown eyes; fair complexion; even & white teeth; born in France; in Montevideo 2 months.

**Annette:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 24 years; black hair, bobbed & curled; oval face; olive complexion; dark eyes; large mouth; even and yellow teeth; born in France; has been in Montevideo 4 months.

**Dottie:** 5'8" tall; 130 lbs; 20 years; black & kinky bobbed hair; dark olive complexion; straight nose; even & white teeth; claims to be a Brazilian.

## Brazil, Rio

**Josephina:** 5'5" tall; 110 lbs.; 19 or 20 years of age; bobbed hair, curled and bushy; light brown in color, parted in center; small face; brown eyes; fair complexion; white uneven teeth; very small features.

**Madame Helen:** 5'4" tall; 130lbs; 31 years of age; jet black hair; dark eyes; high cheek bones; yellowish complexion.

**Madame Sophie:** 5'6" tall; 170 lbs.; 50 years of age; jet black hair; dark eyes; high cheek bones; dark olive complexion; uneven yellow teeth.

**Rosita Steinman:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 20 years of age; bleached blonde bobbed hair; dark eyes; sallow complexion; uneven teeth.

## Panama City, Central America

**Marussia Camick:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 21 years of age (appears older); brown hair, bobbed; brown eyes; wide face; even white teeth; wore a black dress with white brocade; dark straw hat.

## Panama, Colon

**Lena Estella:** 5' 6" tall; 120 lbs.; 18 years; black hair; dark eyes; fair complexion; straight nose; large mouth; wore a blue linen dress.

**Lyvain Martzolf:** 5' 4" tall; 110 lbs; 19 years; black air; olive complexion; brown eyes; yellow complexion; wore a black dress.

**Rosa Tolimina:** 5'2" tall; 120 lbs.; 19 years of age; jet black curly & bobbed hair; yellow-sallow complexion; dark eyes; wore only a silk kimono.

**Elena Barrantes:** 5'2" tall; 90 lbs; 21 years of age; brown hair; brown eyes; thin face; high cheek bones; uneven yellow teeth; appears consumptive; wore a red kimono.

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**Geogina Lobos:** 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 19 years of age; black bobbed hair, parted in center; yellow complexion; dark eyes; high cheekbones.

**Del Mira Osoria:** 5'2" tall; 100 lbs.; 21 years of age; yellow complexion; high cheekbones; could be mistaken for a Chinese woman.

**Helene Ollier:** 5'6" tall; 130 lbs; 21 years of age; black hair; dark eyes; round face; weak chin; receding white teeth.

## Habana, Cuba

**Blanche Wheeler:** 5'8" tall; 160 lbs; 40 years of age; jet black hair; parted in center and worn over the ears; dark eyes; olive complexion, even white teeth; speaks English; wore a blue wash dress; white silk stockings; black pumps.

## Paris, France

**S. Silverblatt:** 5'3" tall; 110 lbs.; 55 years of age; white hair; small face; roman nose; white pointed beard; stooped shoulders; wore a black Derby and long black overcoat; speaks Yiddish, Russian, Romanian, French and English.

**Max:** 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 40 years of age; jet black hair; dark eyes; round face; olive complexion; black moustache; wore a black Derby; dark box coat; dark suit; an English Hebrew.

**Michel Solal:** 5'5" tall; 140 lbs.; 35 years; black hair; dark eyes, wide face; stubby black moustache; wore a wide-brimmed soft hat; dark brown suit; is a French Hebrew.

**Schloymer de Lalker:** 5'8" tall; 170 lbs.; 55 years of age; hair slightly gray; ruddy full face; stubby blonde and gray moustache; brown eyes; large elephantine ears; wide nose; yellow teeth, tobacco stained; entire upper left side missing; walks with a slight limp; wears a broad-brimmed soft black hat; dark brown suit; black shoes; carries a tan heavy cane; has the appearance of a business man. Speaks French, Russian, Polish, German, Yiddish and English.

**Harry:** 5'9" tall; 150 lbs.; 25 years of age; black hair; dark eyes; dark skin; smooth-shaven; prominent nose; thin face; yellow even teeth; wore a black Derby; dark suit; carried a cane; is stoop-shouldered; speaks English and Yiddish; has a decided English accent.

## Poland, Warsaw

**Chaim Leiser:** 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 50 years of age; closely-cropped black hair, partly bald on top; deep-set small dark eyes; wide concave nose; smooth-shaven heavy beard; olive complexion; wide mouth; teeth tobacco-stained and several missing; short neck; head carried forward; round shouldered; breathes so heavy that he can be heard in the next room; wore a dark blue suit; wide brimmed black felt hat; Oxford overcoat.

**Mrs. Chaim Leiser:** 5'5" tall; 170 lbs.; 35 years; black hair; dark eyes; round face; fair complexion; gold teeth, upper jaw; usually wear a with waist and skirt.

**Little Kauffman:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 50 years; brown hair; brown eyes; olive complexion; brown stubby moustache, curled at ends; wore a broad-brimmed black soft hat; long dark overcoat.

**Servant girl:** 5'4" tall; 120 lbs.; 18 years; dark blonde hair; thin face; high cheek bones; blue eyes; wore a blue house dress.

**Aron Kaplan:** 5'8" tall; 140 lbs.; 40 years of age; dark hair; dark eyes; olive complexion; prominent nose; stained teeth; wore a gray cap; gray overcoat; ring on left-hand ring-finger with a diamond letter R on it.

**Abie Schlessner (Abie the Shooter):** 5'8" Tall; 160 lbs.; 45 years of age; jet black hair worn in pompadour style; dark eyes; olive complexion; gold tooth, upper jaw; dark smooth-shaven beard; wore a dark stripped black derby.

**Mrs. Abie Schlessner (Abie the Shooter):** 5'4" tall; 180 lbs.; 40 years [of age]; black hair; round face, olive complexion; uneven yellow teeth; wore huge diamond ear-rings in ears; four or five diamond rings; white silk shirt waist; plaid skirt.

**Joe Baker:** 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 28 years; blonde hair; blue eyes; prominent nose; high cheek bones; discolored teeth; wore a black Derby; blue suit; tan shoes with black uppers.

## London, United Kingdom

**Little Kauffman:** 5'4" tall; 116 lbs.; 35 years of age; black hair; partly bald; olive complexion; humped nose; wore a dark suit; pearl grey hat.

**1-C:** 5'5" tall; 140 lbs.; 40 years of age; bleached blonde hair and parted in center and knotted over ears; dark eyes; fair complexion; straight nose; white and even teeth; wore an orchid Georgette dress trimmed with ostrich; silk stockings and satin pumps to match; sliver-cloth evening cape lined with ostrich.

## Brussels, Belgium

**Adolph Brettin:** 5'7" tall; 140lbs.; 35 years of age; black hair; small dark eyes; olive complexion; stubby black moustache; yellow teeth; wore a wide-brimmed black Fedora hat; dark suit and overcast.

**Suzie:** 5'4" tall; 110 lbs.; 21 years [of age]; bobbed blonde hair, fair complexion; blue eyes; even and white teeth.

## Paris, France

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**Andre:** 5'4" tall; 140 lbs.; 30 years [of age]; curly and black hair, parted on left side; small dark eyes; yellow teeth; light complexion; round shouldered; wore a blue serge suit; black wide-brimmed sort hat.

## **Bordeaux, France**

**Helena:** Belgian, born 1904; 5'3 tall; 110 lbs; 20 years; light brown hair; brown eyes; ruddy complexion; prominent nose; wore a blue dress; blue coat; black felt hat; bow on top of it.

## **Lyon, France**

**Jeannette:** Swiss; 5'5" tall; 115 lbs.; 18 years [of age]; black hair, bobbed and parted on left side; olive complexion; dark eyes; thin face; even and white teeth; straight nose; very pretty; wore a blue twill suit; beige silk stockings; satin pumps.

## **Marseilles, France**

**Louissetta:** 5'6" tall; 120 lbs.; 19 years [of age]; black hair worn in pompadour style and over ears; dark eyes; oily olive complexion; white teeth; wore a dark tan suit; no hat; usually solicits on Cours Belsuisse.

**Jeannette Jones:** 5'4" tall; 100 lbs.; 31 years [of age]; black bobbed hair; blue eyes; olive complexion; large mouth; even & white teeth, gold crown, upper left side; wore a black velvet cape, black velvet hat.

**Marguerita:** Italian; 5'2" tall; 140 lbs.; 20 years [of age]; black bobbed hair short on sides, long in back; brown eyes; olive pimply complexion; even white teeth; round face; high cheek bones; black felt hat; blue dress.

## **Tangiers, Morocco**

**Daughter:** 5'5" tall; 115 lbs; 15 years of age; black bobbed hair parted on right side; long thin face; dark eyes; olive complexion; thin nose; may be seen any night in front of this house, directly opposite the 320-X.

**Mother:** 5'4" tall; 180 lbs; 55 years of age; thin grayish-black hair pulled tightly over scalp; large round bloated face, scarlet colored; large busts; heavy red arms and hands.

**Prostitute:** 5'2" tall; 100 lbs.; 16 years of age; bobbed blonde hair, apparently bleached; dark eyes; olive complexion; even and white teeth; wore a brown silk dress.

**Spanish pimp:** 5'3" tall; 125 lbs.; 45 years of age; black hair; head bald on top; round face; small moustache; dark eyes; olive complexion; wore a blue serge suit.

**Camille:** 5'6" tall; 120 lbs; 19 years of age; jet black hair pulled tightly over head; dark eyes; olive complexion; wore a black velvet dress.

## Geno, Italy

**Alfredo:** 5'4" tall; 120 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair; dark eyes; olive complexion; wide mouth; large wide nose; stoop shouldered; slightly pigeon-toed; wore a wide-brimmed felt hat; blue suit; tan Oxfords; gray spats.

**Danetta Tagliaferri:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 28 years of age; black bobbed hair; dark eyes; olive complexion; two gold teeth, upper jaw; wore a blue dress; blue felt hat.

## Naples, Italy

**Gamberini:** 5'7" tall; 150 lbs.; 42 years [of age]; black hair parted on left side; dark eyes; olive complexion; heavy smooth-shaven beard; rather prominent nose; speaks English like an Englishman; is, however, an Italian; may always be found at #41 Via Sergente Maggiore, 3d floor, a house of prostitution operated by his wife.

## Palermo, Italy

**Unknown man:** 5'10" tall; 160 lbs.; 45 years old; black hair; black eyes; straight nose; olive complexion; smooth-shaven beard; long black moustache; wore a blue suit; wide-brimmed black soft hat

## Athens-Cairo

**Nikko alias Nick:** 5'8" tall; 160 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair, parted on left side; high forehead; dark eyes; olive complexion; heavy black smooth-shaven beard; even and white teeth; head flat at back; wore a blue suit; tan shoes; pearl-gray soft hat.

## Cairo, Egypt

**Hirsch:** Russian; 5'6" tall; 130 lbs.; 50 years old; black hair mixed with grey, bold on top; stubby black moustache mixed with grey; dark eyes; olive skin; yellow teeth, several missing upper left jaw; round shouldered; wears palm-beach suit and straw hat. Can be located at his shop.

**Yanishe (Jacob) Goldenberg:** Romanian; 5'4" tall; 140 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair; dark eyes; a pallid complexion; scar under left temple and left ear; wide nose; wears pearl-grey suit; white brim straw hat; can be found at pimps' hangout Café-Bar de Russie or at Hirsch's store.

**L. Feldman:** Russian; 5'2" tall; 120 lbs.; 50 years old; black hair; small hat, pock marks on forehead; teeth in upper jaw missing.

**Joe Youria:** Bulgarian; 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 34 years old; brown eyes; dark brown hair; worn in pompadour style; brown "Chaplin" moustache; wide nose; gold tooth, upper front; neat dresser; hangout Café-Bar de Russie.

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**Julius Aroule:** Romanian; 5'7" tall; 160 lbs.; 40 years old; dark eyes; pallid complexion; black hair side, bald on top; white nose; white teeth; prominent ears; wears blue suit; hangout Café-Bar de Russie.

**Morris:** Russian; 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 45 years old; dark eyes; dark complexion; thin face; even yellow teeth; wears silk skirts, collar to match, usually extremely loud patterns; hangout Café-Bar de Russie.

**Leon:** 5'7" tall; 150 lbs.; 22 years old; black hair; brown eyes; small nose; clear complexion; spaced teeth, 2 gold front bottom; wears a blue suit; black hat with white brim.

**Mayer:** 5'8" tall; 140 lbs.; 40 years old; black hair, blue eyes, yellow complexion; yellow teeth; small brown moustache.

**Raphael:** 5'11" tall; 160 lbs.; 30 years old; brown hair, brown eyes, straight nose, white even teeth, stooped shouldered; wears brown suit, straw hat.

**Morris:** Romanian; 5'6" tall; 145 lbs.; 45 years old; dark red hair; brown eyes; straight nose; sandy complexion; yellow teeth; wears pince nez glasses; stubby red moustache; blue suit; straw hat; can always be located at Hirsch's shop.

## Egypt, Alexandria

**Z. Zalman:** Russian; 5'10"; 160 lbs.; 34 years old; black hair, combed in pompadour; dark eyes; slightly hooked nose; small mouth; gold caps upper left back and lower left side; small scar over nose on forehead. Erect in posture; wears white flannel trousers; blue coat; white shoes; silk shirt, blue stripes; straw hat.

**"The Baron":** French; 5'10" tall; 150 lbs.; 35 years old; brown hair; brown eyes; straight nose; olive complexion; wears tan tweed suit; tan shirt; straw hat. Nightly frequenter of Minerva Restaurant.

**Mignon:** 5'2" tall; 110 lbs.; 19 years old; black bobbed hair; small dark eyes; straight nose; small face, nose and mouth. Wore a blue dress trimmed in red; blue ribbon hat with rose on top; mink stole.

**Maurice:** 5'6" tall; 130 lbs.; 30 years old; brown hair; brown eyes, cast [*sic*] in right eye; swarthy complexion; yellow even teeth; brown sweater; brown shoes; straw hat with a brown band.

**Gaston:** 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 40 years old; red hair; brown eyes; sandy complexion; long red moustache; blue suit; straw hat.

**Antoine:** 5'3" tall; 110 lbs.; 32 years old; black hair; dark eyes; dark skin; small face; moles on right and left cheeks near nose; gray suit; heavy-braid straw hat.

**Paipai:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair; thin on top and combed back; olive complexion, teeth all gold upper right side; aquiline nose; wore a blue suit and straw hat.

**Albo:** 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 30 years old; brown hair; brown eyes; high cheek bones; sunken cheeks; yellow and even teeth; wore a grey suit; gray soft hat.



**Bloch:** 5'6" tall; 175 lbs.; 35 years old; brown hair; combed back; brown eyes; thin face; sallow complexion; white teeth with several gold crowns; blue suit; straw hat.

**Louis:** 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 40 years old; black hair, partly bald in front; blue eyes; fair complexion; straight thick nose; slightly long face; always can be located at his store.

## Egypt, Port Saïd

**Chiffonette:** 5'4" tall; 110 lbs.; 19 ½ years old; black straight bobbed hair; huge brown eyes; small face; skin olive complexion; small nose and mouth.

**Guillienne Reville:** 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair; brown eyes; olive complexion; straight nose; small brown moustache; wears a grey suit; straw hat. May always be seen in front of the Cafe du Nil.

## Syrie, Beirut

**Joseph Fournier:** 5'10" tall; 150 lbs.; 38 years old; black hair, combed back; dark eyes; small head; olive skin; uneven yellow teeth; small scar in left corner of mouth; stoop shouldered; wore a black suit with thin white strips; straw hat; patent leather shoes. Always at #22 rue el Mutanerie.

**Madame Victoria:** 5'4" tall; 160 lbs.; 40 years old; bleached blonde; blue eyes; full bloated face; gold teeth, upper front; is madam of house of prostitutes at Maison Doree.

## Romania, Bucharest

**Miss Girendos** (see exhibits in writing): 5'6" tall; 130 lbs.; 19 years of age; black hair, bobbed straight; dark eyes; olive skin; white even teeth; concave nose; wore a yellow hat; yellow plaid sport coat; terra-cotta dress

## Germany, Berlin

**Carl Walter:** 5'4" tall; 160 lbs.; 40 years old; brown hair; brown eyes; broad face; sandy complexion; one stained tooth, upper front; small brown, stubby moustache; very broad shoulders; wears a grey felt hat and grey overcoat; always can be found Jäger and Friedrich Strasses or Jäger Casino.

**Carl Walter:** 5'4" tall; 155 lbs.; 40 years old; brown hair; brown eyes; sandy complexion; stubby, brown moustache; teeth missing upper front and side; wears straw hat; brown or tan box coat; blue suit. May always be found at Jäger Casino.

## Germany, Hamburg

**Jan Spiegel:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 30 years old.; black hair, combed back; black eyebrows and lashes; dark eyes; swarthy complexion; mole at bridge of nose; wore grey whipcord suit; straw hat; tan shoes; may be located at the Holstein Bierstube, cor. Grosse Freibert and Reichner Strasses.

## Germany, Berlin

**Robert (Rowbutt) Kriebel:** 5'10" tall; 160 lbs.; 35 years old; dark brown hair; dark eyes; stubby, brown moustache; olive complexion; wears blue suit; straw hat. May be located through Carl Walter or Gerold Joffe.

## France, Strasbourg

**Louis Tuchband:** 5'8" tall; 150 lbs.; 30 years old; black hair, pompadour style; dark eyes; dark skin; black moustache; long face; wore blue suit; straw hat. May be located at Cafe de France, Cafe de la Paix, or his place of business.

**Charles the Blonde:** 5'6" tall; 140 lbs.; 32 years old; blonde hair; fair complexion; blue eyes; blonde moustache; small face and head; wore blue suit; straw hat. Daily at Cafe de France.

**Emile:** 5'8" tall; 145 lbs.; 35 years old; black hair; pompadour style; dark eyes; pallid complexion; smooth shaven, heavy beard; straight nose; discolored teeth. Wore blue suit; straw hat. Can be found nightly at the Cafe de France.

## Paris, France

**134-G:** 5'7" tall; 140 lbs.; 30 years [of age]; black, bobbed hair; dark eyes; olive complexion; concave nose; false teeth, upper jaw; large mouth; wore a blue coat suit; no hat. May be found afternoons and evenings at X--(724-X).

**Katz:** Romanian; 5'11" tall; 170 lbs.; 40 years [of age]; mixed black and grey hair; small, dark eyes; large wide nose; olive complexion; tobacco-stained teeth; two large scars on upper lip, right side near corner of mouth. About to return to Buenos Aires with a victim secured in Romania.

**Max Diamonton:** Polish; 5'9" tall; 150 lbs.; 45 years [of age]; round head, shaved bald on top; dark eyes, heavy dark bags thereunder; swarthy complexion; wide nose; upper and lower teeth gold; very loud talker; speaks English, Spanish, Yiddish, and Polish. Wore a very gaudy striped silk shirt; blue suit; straw hat. Hangs out at 731-X.

**Little Max:** Romanian; 5'5" tall; 120 lbs.; 35 years; black hair; brown eyes; long face; olive complexion; tobacco-stained teeth; long nose; wore blue suit; straw hat; speaks English, Yiddish, Spanish and Romanian. Hangs out at 731-X.

**Issy:** English; 5'6" tall; 120 lbs.; 35 years [of age]; black hair; dark eyes; pallid complexion; thin face; long nose; sunken cheeks; speaks English, French, and Yiddish. Hangs out at 731-X.

## France, Le Havre

**Nody:** French nationality; 5'5" tall; 140 lbs.; 23 years of age; bleached blonde, mannish bobbed hair, parted on left side; blue eyes; olive complexion; small, round face; medium-sized mouth; even and white teeth; wore a blue silk dress.

**M. Pitts:** Belgian; 5'8"; 160 lbs.; 40 years [of age]; brown hair; brown eyes; olive complexion; wide nose; tobacco-stained teeth; wore a blue suit.

**Marguerite (?):** Belgian; 5'; 90 lbs.; 18 years [of age]; bobbed, brown hair; blue eyes; small nose; small mouth; even and white teeth; wore blue & white striped dress.

**Unknown prostitute:** Belgian; 5'3"; 120 lbs.; 21 years [of age]; black hair; dark eyes; white complexion; aquiline nose; wore a red dress.

**Unknown prostitute:** (at 750-X); Belgian; 5'2"; 100 lbs.; 20 years; black, bobbed hair; brown eyes; swarthy complexion; yellow teeth; wore a white silk shirtwaist; black skirt.

## Montréal, Canada

**Fernanda:** American; 5'7" tall; 145 lbs.; 30 years of age; black bobbed hair parted in center; large brown eyes; olive complexion; even and white teeth; high cheek bones; wore a gray velvet hat; seal dolmin; blue dress; red-enameled ball watch on neck; beige silk stockings; black patent leather pumps; galoshes.

**Madame Senegal:** French-Canadian; 5'4" tall; 170 lbs.; 45-50 years of age; black bobbed hair; very round bloated face; dark eyes; olive complexion; very small mouth; upper teeth false; wore a blue checked gingham house dress.

## St Nazaire-Havana

**Abe Morgenstein:** Polish; 5'2" tall; 110 lbs.; 35 years [of age]; black hair, partly bald; round head; round face; dark eyes; fair complexion; yellow teeth; natty dresser; poses as a silk salesman.

## Mexico City, Mexico

**Scholom:** Polish; 5'5" tall; 130 lbs.; 42 years; mixed grey hair, parted on side; thick nose; olive complexion; small, grey eyes; yellow teeth; very stern and worried expression; poses as a jewelry salesman.

**Prostitute #1:** Polish; 5'8" tall; 160 lbs.; 30 years [of age]; black, bobbed hair; black eyes; high cheek bones; olive complexion; gold tooth, center upper jaw; small scar on chin; dresses gaudily.

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**Prostitute #2:** Polish; 5'6" tall; 130 lbs.; 27 years [of age]; bleached blonde, bobbed hair; blue eyes; thin face, always highly powdered and rouged; aquiline nose; even and white teeth; usually wears black dresses.

## **Budapest, Hungary**

**Rosizca:** 5'4" tall; 120 lbs.; 17 years old; black hair, bobbed and frizzled; large black eyes; high cheek bones; even and white teeth; olive complexion; wore a red silk sweater; brown dress; tan silk stockings; no hat.

## **Panama city**

**Harry Walker:** American; 5'5" tall; 140 lbs.; 37 years; dirty blonde hair, parted on left side; oval face; straight nose; crooked teeth, tobacco-stained; olive complexion; wore a blue vest; trousers; no coat; is a very fast and loud talker; of the ballyhoo type encountered at a cheap side-show.



## **ANNEX III**

### **List of Contents of Archival Inventory**

**Editors' note:** page numbers refer to the inventory list's numbering as found in the archives in Geneva (dossier S171).

## p. I

Algiers – P.K. reports

Argentine

Buenos Aires

Three lists of theaters, cabarets etc.

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P.K. report May 28th, 1924.

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Special report to Miss Grace Abbott, Part II, by Ruth Walkinshaw, Feb. 1925.

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League docs.

Statutes of Argentine Assoc. For L. of N. (1920)

C.O.61 1924.IV Annex. (Questionnaire)

Letter from S.G. 16th June 1923 to Argentine Republic.

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Clippings.

Copy of Newspaper article in N.Y. Evening World, Sept. 8, 1924. (Passport Fraud)

Newspaper cutting – White Slave Traffic in Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires Herald – Oct. 12, 1919)

Emigration Congress work Finished. (newspaper cutting) Rome May 31?

Cutting from N.Y. Times Aug. 1st, 1924 – 'Chase at Washington presses Firpo case.'

Cutting from N.Y. Times Dec. 13? Russian girls sold in S. America.

“ State-aided Immigrants

“ Bronx Home News – Dec. 1924 – Cafes of Buenos Aires Range from Slums to Gilded

Dens with the Veneer of Culture.

Cutting N.Y. Times Dec. 5. 1924 – Davis explains urging S. American Quota.

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Miscellaneous.

Cedula de Identidad.

Programme of Casino Theatre.

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Pros. Forms, booklet, etc,

2 specimen Health booklets.

Prostitution forms.

Form for monthly statistics.

Form of Treatment given by date.

- 312 • Table giving nationalities of Women registered at Health Dept. Disp. In B.A. 1889 to 1915.  
Newspaper report of 26 caftans rounded up in B.A.

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Immigration Forms & notes.

Passport.

Immigration form.

Table of immigrants for 1923.

Form of – Certificado de Buena Conducta.

Various declaration forms for Director of Immigration.

Note on Emigration and Immigration North & South America.

Interviews of June 3rd and 7th 1924 with Senor Tomkinson, B. Aires.

Police Dept. B.A.

Pedido de Trabajadores (form)

Ley de Inmigracion No. 817.

## p. 2

Auerbach's Reports on Visas – Paris & Montevideo

Passport visas – July 3rd, 1924.

In re Argentinian Visas at Paris. Nov. 8, 1924.

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Jewish Assoc. report & 6 appendices.

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Johnson's report and exhibits.

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Auerbach's Report. June 15th, 1924.

National Vigilance Assoc. 10th annual report for year ending 1923.

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Prostitution ordinances and decrees:

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National laws, decrees & proposed laws; and

Table giving Nationality of new registered prostitutes in B.A. 1910/1923.

Article from the Vigilance Record April 1924 – Ex. C – 1 (Ex. B.

Index (Law Books, Reports, Pamphlets).

Extracts from S. American Police Conference Feb. 20-29, 1920.

B.A. Police Department, June 1924.

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Austria

Passport rules, regulations and statistics: including  
 Official Austrian Passport Supplement  
 Passport Rules and regulations.  
 Application form.  
 Emigration tables.

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Vienna

Protection of Girls: Caritas Socialis  
 Descriptive pamphlets  
 P.K.'s report.

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Police Dept. Questionnaire & Answers on Traffic Laws etc:  
 Prostitution statistics in Vienna.

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Social Service Bulletins – Protection of Girls.

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V.D. Statistics from Klosterneuberg Hospital.

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Barbadoes B.W.I.

P.K.'s report.

Belgium

Brussels – P.K.'s report.

Antwerp – P.K. report

Copy of questionnaire for enquiry in Brussels, Antwerp, Liege & Ghent.

Instructions to captains of boats sailing from Ostend & Antwerp (sent sometime before the war).

Law of 26th May 1914 on the Traffic.

Feuille de Route (specimens)

“Ezra” (Society for the Protection of Emigrants)

Memorandum on Immigration (U.S. Dept. of Labor) Agent Brussels.

Règlement en vue d’assurer la santé, la moralité et la tranquillité publiques contre les conséquences de la débauche. (Belgium 1926)

Dr. Brunet’s report on V.D. control – Belgium.

**p. 3**Brazil

PK.'s reports – Rio de Janeiro.

History of Traffic at Rio de Janeiro from 1845

6 tables of prostitution statistics – Rio.

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Memo from Ministry of Foreign Affairs re Laws on minors etc. (not dated) (in Portuguese) (2) on index  
List of names and addresses of persons in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo having pertinent information.  
From Ministry of Foreign Affairs (No date) (in Portuguese) (3)  
Copy of statement from 2d Police Delegado Auxiliare, Rio de Janeiro, July 21, 1921, in re Traffic  
(in Portuguese). (4)  
Report of Mrs. Rice on the Lapa District of Rio, Aug. 1923 (in Portuguese).  
Statistics of Women and Men who applied for treatment for V.D. in Rio, Jan. 1, 1921 – June 30,  
1922 (in Portuguese).  
List of foreign prostitutes (12) alleged to be under 21 years of age; given to -- 70 in Rio.  
Newspaper clippings re Major Johnson's Visit to Rio.  
Printed Report presented in Chamber of Deputies re Traffic Law, and the President's veto thereof.  
No. 37, 1913 (in Portuguese).  
Copy of Law appearing in Diario Official re Traffic (Lenocinio), Dec. 25, 1915 (in Portuguese).  
Printed copy, Report and Presentation of Bill in re Repression of Traffic in Women, in House of  
Deputies of Brazil, No. 515 of 1912; by Deputy Alberto Sarmento (in Portuguese).  
Brazilian Law on Repression of Traffic in Women (No. 515-B, 1912) (in Portuguese) (As passed by  
House of Deputies).  
Law for Repression of Traffic, as finally adopted by Senate of Brazil, No. 33, 1913 (Final) (in  
Portuguese).  
Mrs. Rice's letter Aug. 6th, 1924, sending 1923 reports on Prostitution work in Rio.  
Laws – (in Portuguese)  
--30 France – Brazil. Report on visa question.  
Narrative report – Nov. 1925 – Mangue district.  
Constitution laws and decrees dealing with the rights of foreigners in Brazil  
Decree No. 9,081 Nov. 3rd, 1911 regulating service of Immigration and Colonization.  
Laws and regulations in force in Brazil regarding the Traffic.  
Copy of letter in Portuguese to Major Johnson giving exposé and suggestions from Dr. Faria Souto ?  
Rio de Janeiro – Auerback report.  
3 identity cards.  
Admission & exclusion of undersirables, Rio, July 1924.

#### Burma

Traffic in Burma – Article published in "White Cross" Jan. 1926.

#### Canada

G.E.W. reports – St. John N.B., Halifax, Victoria B.C., Canada Ottawa.

Extracts from Records in Commissioner Starne's office, Ottawa.

Newspaper clippings: Montreal is bared as vice don in Court (The World – Nov. 30th, 1924), Police  
called to banish crowds (emigrants) from U.S. offices (?), Corporal's Guard directs an Empire (re  
Canadian Mounted Police) (N.Y. Times March 30, 1924). Rottenest town full of vice (Montreal  
Oct. 10), Story of orgy of debauch and lewdness (Montreal Oct. 9), More disclosures in Montreal  
proble (Montreal Oct. 10).

Montreal – Worthington's notes (Chisholm et alios)

Places of interest and map of shopping and financial centre Montreal.

Form – Safety first.  
 Windsor Canada and Detroit Mich. unofficial reports.  
 G.E.W. report – Quebec.

## **p. 4**

China  
 Notes from conference between Mr. Johnson, Rev. Heningar, Japan, and Mr. Albert J. Brace, Sec. Y.M.C.A., China.  
 Letter of Dr. Peter M.D., Director, Council on Health Education, re Crusade against kidnapping in China, Oct. 26/1925.

Colombia  
 P.K. report – Puerto.

Cuba  
 Law of Oct. 23, 1913 – No. 964.  
 S.M.A.'s report on visas etc. (Paris Consulate)  
 Report Havana, Cuba – August 27-28, 1924.  
 Report St. Nazaire, France – Havana, Cuba – Sept. 21-23, 1926.  
 P.K.'s report Havana.  
 G.E.W. report Havana.  
 Havana exhibits – Various cards.  
 Sheet of photographs (Rimes Illus. Co.)  
 Cuba – Collection of cards (underworld)  
 Laws, decrees etc.

Czechoslovakia  
 Laws.  
 Form of Health Card (?)  
 Prague – P.K. report July 3,4,5 – 1925.

## **p. 5**

Egypt  
 P.K. reports – Cairo – Port Said.  
 Alexandria police reports.  
 List – Places and foreign owners.  
 Reports of Ligue Internationale pour la Repression de la Traite des Blanches a Port-Said – 1921 to 1925.

Cairo:  
 List of registered foreign prostitutes – 27/IV/1925  
 Clippings – N.Y. Times July 19-1924 “15 Near East orphans get married in Cairo”; Chicago Daily

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News May 12.1926 "egyptian Notes on traffic – Cairo 4/05/25  
Note on traffic of French women from France to Egypt with connivance of crew.  
Photographs of letter and card of Sch. Scherman & Jacob Goldenberg

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Egypt – Names of responsible persons

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Passport application forms.

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Alexandria:

Report of Unions Nationales des Amies de la Jeune Fille (1924).

Annual reports of Alexandria City Police for 1919-1920, 1920-1921, 1921-1922, 1923.

P.K. report April 19, 1926 and appendix May 13, 1926.

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England

Deportation statistics of foreign prostitutes for 1922.

Newspaper cuttings re marriages of foreign prostitutes to Englishman to obtain British nationality.

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Immigration forms, passports, labour permits etc.

Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919.

Aliens Restriction Acts 1914 and 1919. (Aliens Order 1920) Statistics.

" " Statutory Rules and Orders.

Bill amending Merchant Shipping Acts (concerning Venereal disease).

Cutting from "Yorkshire Post" Nov. 26/1924 – "The Control of Alien Immigration".

Letter from Etty Rout on "Venereal Prophylaxis" (April 2 – 1925)

Pamphlet 'Women Police in Great Britain'

Extract from "John Bull" Aug. 15.1925 re White Salvers.

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Imperial Social Hygiene Conference papers.

Copy of letter of Josephine E. Butler to Attorney J. Mundella, of April 19, 1871.

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Fitzroy case from "Times" Law Reports.

Copy of resolution passed on Sept. 5th 1925 by members of Assemblée Générale of the International Abolitionist Federation at Geneva.

Extract of letter to Miss Anna Gordon, President national Women's Christian Temperance Union, from Mrs. C.T. Gauntlett, Tokyo, Japan, Sept. 25, 1925. and resolution.

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Travellers' Aid (for women and girls) 1924.

Travellers' Aid Society Report for 1923.

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Port and Station work (Liverpool Soc. for Prevention of Internl. W.S. Traffic Reports 1923 and 1924.  
 Auerbach's report re T.W. & C. -, Liverpool, Officials. L'pool P.K. Summary.  
 London – P.K. report.  
 Police Conferences and statistics.  
 Children (Employment Abroad) Act 1913.

Esthonia  
 Extract from Penal Code regarding traffic in W. & C.

Falkland Islands  
 Ordinance No. 3 of 1924.  
 Ordinance No. 3 of 1889

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France  
 (Copy) Report Paris June 30 – July 1/2, 1926.  
 Exhibits II Division, Prefecture Paris.  
 P.K. report Paris – Sept. 27 and Exh. 5, Paris Sept. 1/25 (Warsaw)  
 Galitzi report Marseilles.  
 (France) Pays avec lesques juoe la suppression du passport. (Exige seulement un pièce d'identité avec photographie).  
 Auerbach's reports.  
 Prophylaxie et Administration (La Réglementation de la Prostitution à Paris). (Paris Medical 4 Mars 1922).  
 Re Obscene Literature (Paris Oct. 29th, 1924 & Oct. 30, 1924).

Marseilles reports and official conferences (Auerbach).  
 Chart furnished by Commissaire Central of Marseilles of Women practising prostitution in Marseilles sometime in 1924.  
 List of s.s. Cos. With lines to North America, Central America, S. America, Egypt.  
 List dated 25 Dec. 1924 of foreigners resident in Marseilles.  
 Questionnaire of Commissariat Central for woman making first application for registration as prostitute.  
 List of arrests in connection with Traffic made at Marseilles in 1921/1924.  
 P.K. report Marseilles.

Case of Karakashian, Elise (International Migration Service, Paris).  
 Note from Ministry of Interior re two suspected traffickers.  
 Copy of letter from French Government regarding French Morocco, Algeria & Tunis.

The Morals Bureau, Paris.

Newspaper clippings: 'France plans bar to aliens strict as U.S.' (Evening World, Oct. 1, 1924); 'French start war on boulevard pest' (Paris N.Y. Herald 2/1/25); 'Arrest alleged chief of passport forgers' (N.Y. Yimes Dec. 8/1924); 'France plans drive on foreign criminals' (N.Y. Times, Sept.

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23/1925); Paris Times Dec. 8/1924 – ‘Passport Dive too raw to let live’ (Evening World, Nov 10, 1924); ‘Hold American as passport seller’ (Paris Herald Tribune Dec. 8/1924).

“Revue Municipale” – Dr. Robin’s article on V.D. Law of 1902.

P.K. report – Bordeaux.

P.K. report – Havre.

Kinsie report – Havre.

P.K. report – Lyon.

Auerbach report – St. Nazaire.

P.K. report – St. Nazaire.

Nantes – Réglementation et Controle de la Prostitution (3 books)

Note on Carnet Individuel de Traitement (Veu déposé au Congrès des Maires 16/X/1924).

Interview with Officials, Nantes.

P.K. report – Strasbourg.

Letter giving details regarding arrest of Argaud, with photographs.

Auerbach report – Bordeaux.

Auerbach report – Lyon.

Pamphlet – ‘La collaboration de l’Accoucheur et du Syphiligraphe dans la lutte contre la mortinatalité d’origin syphilitique.’

Article ‘Sur la Syphilis héréditaire’ (Le Journal de Médecine de Lyon).

List of foreign prostitutes – Province.

Pamphlet – ‘L’abolition de la réglementation de la prostitution à Colmar’

Pamphlet – ‘L’immoralité péril pour la race’

Charts showing fluctuations of V.D. in ‘L’armée de l’intérieur anglaise’ during half century with and without regulation.

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Germany

Confidential (Translation) Brothels in the Palatinate.

Confidential Extract from shorthand report Reichstag Dec. 12, 1922, re order by British military authorities reference brothels.

Confidential Brothels in occupied territory of Hesse.

Letter from Mrs. Annie Baker 10th March, 1925, re French troops in Germany, establishment of bordells (Confidential).

Letter from Dr. Arthur Weil, Berlin April 27th/25 to Mrs. Parker re V.D.

Letter from Dr. Snow to Mr. Bascom Johnson re Houses of ill-fame in occupied area.

Pamphlet in German “A Voice in the Desert” by Josephine Butler (Berlin 1883)

Letter to International Vigilance Com. From German National Com. for Repression of Traffic in Young Women (re occupied areas).

Clippings: 'Emigration frauds charged in Germany' (Oct. 14, 1924, World); 'Germans present a Sarre protest' (N.Y. Times June 12/1924); Extract from Berliner Tageblatts May 1925...

German official documents: including statement of German National Com. on compulsory establishments of licensed houses in German territory held by the French.

Letters from Sister Agnes Karll and cases of traffic.

Regulation of prostitution in Hamburg – A Forward Movement by the Women Members of the Council (Health & Empire, London – Oct/Nov. 1925).

P.K.'s report – Berlin.

do. Hamburg.

Bueffner case correspondence.

Greece

Law 3032 Chapter A (in Greek).

Galitzi report – Athens.

Extract from 'Journal d'Athenes', 14th April 1925. Case of Marica Papodopoulou.

List of public houses, Athens.

List of foreign prostitutes in public houses in Athens. Summary of article on the traffic and state regulation in the "Women's Campaign".

Auerbach report – Athens.

Poster regarding Prophylactic advice – Athens.

Pamphlet of Central Commission.

Law 2475 – re "Emigration and leaving the country".

Summary of a circular addressed by the Direction of the inspection of clubs etc. to the officers under his jurisdiction.

Public regulations for licensed houses.

Public regulations for "free" prostitutes.

Public regulations for Common prostitutes.

Prostitution book.

Prostitution inscription form.

Poster – Demand the booklet of the woman in order to know whether she has been examined and found O.K.

Form for women sent to hospital for treatment.

Statistical report.

Femmes en carte – examen medical une fois par semaine.

Femmes publique – examen medical 2 fois par semaine.

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Greece cont:

Application of woman who desires to enter house of prostitution in Athens.

Application of woman who desires to work in cabarets or streets.

Demand of change of place by prostitutes in houses.

Advice to men to be posted in each room of maisons de tolérances.

List of persons accused of being souteneurs, traffickers, all Greeks.

Persons suspected of being souteneurs (nationa)

Ordinance regulating prostitution in Salonica.

Prostitution card.

1920-1925 – List of prostitutes newly inscribed during past five years.

Proprietors of houses.

List of houses of rendez-vous.

Investigation T.W.C. Greece (Salonica).

Tables showing offences in 1923 and 1924 connected with infringements of the penal Code in respect of T. in Women.

List of prosecutions in last 5 years in Athens and Piraeus.

Letter from Inspector General of Clubs etc. to Special Security Section, Athens, Dec 5th, 1924. – re measures to combat traffic.

P.K.'s report – Athens.

Réglementation "Vourla" Piraeus.

Auerbach report – Piraeus.

Holland

P.K. report – Amsterdam.

V.D. paper by Dr. Veldhuysen.

P.K. report – Hague.

P.K. report – Rotterdam.

Hungary

Extract from London "Observer" Aug. 22nd, 1926: "Child Market in Hungary" and correspondence with the Royal Hungarian Central Department of Public Morals.

Summary of the report of the Moral Police for 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921.

Extract N.Y. Times: Budapest Dec. 10 – "Fight for Traffic to Latin America".

Translation of Note sent by Mme. Latinovitz, Sec. Hungarian National Committee (received from South America).

Decree issued by Hungarian Gov. Concerning passports of women and girls to foreign countries.

P.K.'s report – Budapest.

India

Letter from Mrs. Whitehead, wide of the ex-Bishop of Madras, to Dame Katherine Furse, 10th July, 1925, re moral conditions of British troops in India.



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## Italy

List of houses of tolerance – Milan.

Milan – Auerbach's reports.

"Bandini" Diary and correspondence.

Rome – P.K.'s report.

Genoa – various forms for passports, registration of prostitutes etc.

Genoa – Bandini's report.

Genoa P.K.'s report.

List of houses of tolerance – Palermo

Report dated Palermo March 21st, 1925 from ?

Bandini's report – Florence

Memorandum – (Reply given by Commissariat General for Emigration to the "Questionnaire" of the Director of Enquiries concerning the traffic in women and children).

Various emigration forms.

Brindisi – Auerbach's report.

Circular from Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Safety, Police Division, dated Feb. 27th, 1924, to Prefects, regarding the transmission of descriptions of international criminals.

From Prefecture of Florence (Italy) – List of traffickers and interrogatory of two prostitutes.

Memo. from Consulat d'Italia a Barcelone (Spain) re international trafficker – Curti Cesare.

Translation of circular from Secretary of the Interior, General Direc- of Police (Central Office for the fight against T. in W. & C. Rome Feb. 4/1924).

Examples of telegrams concerning the fortnightly exchange of personnel from one brothel to another in Italy.

Circular – Istruzioni di profilassi celtica.

Note by Princess Bandini regarding importation (Latin America) and exportation by Italy.

List of Laws and decrees from Princess Bandini's notes April 11, 1924.

Cutting from N.Y. Tribune 3/12/26 re Italy's Alien regulations.

Trieste – 5 identity cards, and photo.

Trieste – Report (March 4th – 9th, 1925)

Catania – Bandini's report April 2nd, 1925.

Syracuse – Report March 31st

Trapani – Report March 27th, 1925.

Tripoli – List of Italian prostitutes who have lived in Tripoli during the period 1923 to 1924 (From Princess Bandini April 1926.

Tripoli – List dated 25th May 1925.

List of houses of tolerance Florence.

Letter to Princess Bandini from Ministry of Interior, Rome July 14th 1925 relative "Abdulla Club" Buenos Aires.

Extracts from Report – Naples March 15th, 1925

Questions put to foreign prostitutes – Milan.

Summary of article in "La Nazione" Milan Dec. 16th, 1924. Police investigation of Traffic.

Summary of Annual report on the execution of Royal Decree No. 1207 of March 25th, 1923 –

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Central Police Office, Milan.

Province of Milan – Annual return (Sept. 1923 to Dec. 1924) of proceedings taken under Royal Decree No. 1207 for suppression of Traffic.

Milan – Form of registration for hotel guests (brothel);

Milan – Form of notification of entry of prostitute into a brothel.

Milan – Form of notification of departure of prostitute from brothel.

List of known souteneurs in the province of Milan.

Naples – Memorandum re Passports.

Rome April 23rd, 1924 – Memorandum on emigration.

Rome November 29th, 1924 – Notice to Prefects etc. reference emigration to Argentine.

? List of prosecutions for traffic in various provinces.

Rome – Cards for use for information against traffickers.

Rome – Forms of arrival and departure.

Rome – Information sheet issued by Police office.

R. decreto-legge 25 marzo 1923, n. 1207.

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Classification of the files of the Scientific Police School and various identity forms.

List copied from the records of Central Bureau, in Ministry of Interior Rome, showing work (statistical) done in Italy in 1924 as a result of circulars sent out. (Copied in Rome Feb. 1925)

Examples of finger prints. on identity papers.

Report – Rome Feb. 17 to 26th, 1925 (Interviews with officials of Central Bureau of Ministry of Interior, Central Identification Bureau etc.)

Statistics copied from records of Ministry of Interior showing work done by Central Bureau through Police Depts. since creation of that Bureau by Royal Decree n. 1207 in March 25th 1923 or Dec. 31, 1924.

List of 'houses' of Rome.

List of registered houses Rome 1925 ?

Forms showing the action taken for the suppression of traffic in W. & C. (Italian Central Office for ....)

Bandini report April 29th, 1924 Rome.

Annual return of action taken under Royal Decree No. 1207

List of laws, decrees and circulars.

Ministerial decree Oct. 27th, 1891, No. 605. Regarding regulations on prostitution.

Penal Code.

Royal Decree of March 29th 1923 No. 1021 authorising execution of agreements reached by the general Conference on International Organisation of Labour of L. Of N. 1st session 1919 (Washington).

No. 7. Only test of Emmigration Law. (memorandum)

Notice to prefects etc. regarding Royal Decree March 25, 1923 No. 1207 for suppression of traffic (Rome September 1923)

Police regulation for declaration of place as house of prostitution . (Rome September 21, 1923)

Japan

Speech by Japanese representative on Com. of Experts, July 31st, 1925 .

Proof copy (confidential) Particulars concerning Prostitution and the traffic in Women and Children in Various Asiatic Countries and Colonies.

Extract of letter from O. Williams , Tokyo, to Miss Cloe Owings, ASHA. regarding prostitution in Japan.

Clipping – ‘Japanese open war on licensed vice’(Phila Public Ledger – Dec.23/ 1923)

Latvia

Extract from Journal “Die Stunde” (“The Hour”) Vienna Dec 22, 1925 translated by Auerbach ‘Russian pseudo-emigrants practise white slave traffic’

Extract “Bronx Home News” Jan 7th 1925 ‘Latvian Police discover sale of hundreds of girls from Russia to South America’

And correspondance relating thereto.

Riga- Report August 22-25 , 1926. & Government reply to Questionnaire.

Luxembourg

Copy of Law of February 20 1923 concerning the change of Art. 379 to 382 inclusive of the Penal Law (Traffic in Women and Children).

Government reply to Questionnaire.

Mauritius

Extracts from Penal Code regarding traffic in women (Ordinance No. 6 of 1838)

Morocco

Tangier – P.K.’s report Feb 7-10-1925

**p. II**Mexico

P.K. report – Mexico City. (official) Oct. 14 -21 1926

ditto (unofficial) Oct. 14- 21 1926

ditto (unofficial)Oct. 17-22 ,1926

Tia Juana, Mexico- report Aug. 30, 1924.

4 Newspaper cuttings – reconditions and “Shame Suicides” (Peetets).

Clippings:

“Mexico and U.S. Draft Pacto end border vice” (N.Y. Herald- Tribune May 3, 1925)

“Wickedest Spot in America”(American Weekly) etc.

G.E.W.’s report – Mexicala, Mexico.

Clippings: ‘Mexicala resorts ordered to close’ (Washington Star 3/28/1925)

‘Alleged Vice conditions in Imperial county to county to be investigated by state officer next week’.

‘The Rounder July. 12/1924

Mexico City – G.E.W. reports.

Tampico, Mexico. G.E.W report & exhibits.

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## Panama

Bird's eye view of the Panama Canal and map of Panama.

Correspondance and photographs regarding Panama Railroad and Colon.

Note to Dr. Snow from Mrs. Parker – 7/2/24 re transport of prostitutes from Spain to Havana by the Canal zone.

Map of capital of Panama.

Appendices – PANAMA: Panama Colon, Cristobal

Reply to questionnaire 16 Feb. 1921.

Lists of women practising prostitution in cabarets (3)

P.K.'s report – COLON.

P.K. report and appendix – Panama City.

Report Panama City and Colon – Aug. 23-24-1924

## Palestine

P.K.'s report – Haiffa and Jaffa.

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### Poland

Record of prostitutes (form) Kiakow.

Notice. (List of requirements for prostitutes registered) (written)

Answer to questionnaire of International Bureau of Combat W.S., Traff.

Statutes of the Polish Committee of T. In W.&C. (Resumé contained on page 14 of the doc. C.T.F.E. 254).

Clipping: '18,000 Jewish women in Poland seek mates lost since War' (Graphic Monday April 26, 1926) (American)

Résultat général du plébiscite.

Bulletin Statistique du Ministère des Finances., Warsovie, Avril 1925. (République Polonaise).

Status (in Polish) (2)

Kolomeja (Exh. E) Form.

Act of Parliament recast of Passports.

Regulation under Oct of Parliament re cost of passports.

Warsaw, June ,/23, - List of 200 suspected Traffickers- furnished by Madame Silvermic of Jewish Organisation.

Plan of organisation of Polish Nat. Committee to combat W.S.T.

Extract from 'Kurjer Warszawski' headed – Sosnowiec (in Polish)

Suspected W.S.T. Warsaw (given by Dr. Macko.)

Map of Poland.

Resumé activities Central Authority Warsaw Poland, 1925.

Rzeczpospolita – Warsaw June 12, 1925- 'Wolna posada czy wabik na dziewczeta' (clipping)

Polonia 6/2/25 – 'Handel żywym towarem w Zabrze' (clipping)

Circulaire No. 95 de Ministère de l'Intérieur, Varsovie, à MM. les Palatins, le Délégué du Gouvernement à Vilno et le Commissaire du Gouvernement pour la ville de Varsovie.

Sujet: Passeports étrangers pour jeunes femmes.

Cases of two traffickers. Nov. 1923 and July 1924.

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 Warsaw, Poland, - P.K.'s report Oct 18-21 , 1924.  
 Polish emigration through Danzig – Aug 20-21, 1926 – Report.  
 P.K. Report – Warsaw Poland Oct 17-21, 1924.  
 Original negative – Schloymer letter to Chaim Leiser at Warsaw.  
 Translation of above sent by P.K. Dr. Snow Sept. 4th , 1925.  
 Project of Law for prevention T.W. & C.  
 Extract of Register of Properties of Public Houses.  
 Proposed new legislation against W.S.T. June 14th , 1925.  
 Polish Venereal Disease Bill. 1922

Auerbach report Lemberg (Lwow) Poland. June 23 and 24th , 1925.  
 General regulations for control of Prostitutes & report Sanitary service (Exh. C)  
 (Form) Application of woman to become prostitute .  
 Exh. B. (photographs)  
 Exh. D. Ministry of Public Health (Sanitary Commission).  
 Note concernant les migrations des femmes en Pologne (June 13, 1925).  
 (Form) Probation (of criminals in general) Krakow.  
 (Form) Deportation from district Krakow to other portions of Poland.  
 (Form) Dyreckja Policji we Lwowie (Arkusz ewidencyjny)  
 Identity card Lwow. Exh. E.  
 Copies of fingerprints and descriptions of Solomon Goldszajd and Leonard Bitanowicz, alleged traffickers.

Auerbach's report - Stanislaw, Poland. June 19th, 1924. With Exhs. A.B.C. and D. (Photos and fingerprints)  
 Questionnaire for meeting June 12, Warsaw. President Dr. Chodko.

Poland – correspondence.  
 Clipping from Polish newspaper Dec. 27th, 1923 regarding two girls taken from Warsaw to Berlin.  
 Kolomey, Poland : SMA Exh. -/-B portion thereof ) Jan. 22, 1926  
 Falsification of passports . Case of Joseph Hoff et alios.

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Poland cont:  
 Pamphlet: 'Emigracja Polska a Handle zywym towarem' podal Dr. L. Wernic (Com. for Traffic – Presentation of various faiths. No workers except Warsaw. Difficulties in Danzig anti – Polish).  
 Exhibit A – Crakow (Identity Card)

## Portugal

Exhibit D. Lisbon Civic Police. (Administrative Inspectorate) (form)  
 “ E. (Summary) On State Service. (Lisbon Administrative Police)  
 Enquiry by Director as to genuineness of birth certificate etc presented by applicant for registration.  
 Exhibit A. (Summary) Number & Nationality of Licensed prostitutes in Lisbon 1924 (furnished by

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Director of Lisbon Police Adm. ) and particulars.

Exhibit G. Table of registrations for year 1924 (furnished by Director of Lisbon Police Adm. Police, Lisbon).

Exhibit A. Booklet given to prostitutes at time of registration by Authorities at Lisbon containing also laws, decrees, and regulations concerning them. Feb. 1925.

Exhibit E. Form or application f passport in Lisbon. Feb. 1925.

Exhibit F. Project of Law (Decree) prepared by Direc. Of Adm. Police relating to registration and expulsion of Foreign Prostitutes etc. given by him SMA in Lisbon, Feb. 1925.

Form used in Lisbon for registering prostitutes (same source).

Codigo Penal (Lisbon 1920).

P.K.'s report Lisbon – Jan 28-29 1925.

Auerbach's report Lisbon – Feb 6- 12th, 1925.

“ ”note re rumors of Portuguese girls brought to U.S. for immoral purposes

Romania

Exh. E – Registration form, Bucharest.

Exh. D.- Tables (Prostitutes registered 1919-1924, and List of names and nationality)

Exh. C – Bucharest – Medical Booklet of Prostitutes. at Situatuiune – Form giving particulars of numbers xxx May 1925.

Copy of Vagrancy laws and regulations. (Bucharest 1921)

Card of Nicholas E. Lahovary, Conseiller de Legation de Roi de Romania, telling Auerbach to apply to Mr. Budulesco, Sec. Of Dept. of Labor for information for mission.

Exh. C. Bucharest – Reglement of prostitutes.

Booklet: Ancheta la domicili (Ministerul Munch si Ocrotirilor Sociale)

Vagrancy forms – Bucharest (various)

Blank form headed – Process – verbal.

Auerbach report Bucharest June 1-9th, 1925.

Law of July 4th, 1921 for the Repressions of Vagabondage

Report 70 – Bucharest -/-1, - May 30-31 1925.

List of questions dated Bucharest June 3, 1925 with answers.

Czernowitch – Auerbach's report June 10 to 16th, 1925.

Exh. A. – Interrogator (Stabilires identitati individuli)

Exh. B. – Photograph of letter in 6 parts addressed Adolf Atham.

Exh. F – List giving names, towns, countries of prostitutes in 1919/1923.

Exh. H – List of certificates etc. ?

Exh. ? – Photo of Romanian trafficker – Berl Fischel Mehler.

Exh. G. – Blank form- Tabloul prostituatelor (Cernauti)

Exh. No. ? – Photographs of Chaim Blum and fingerprints.

Copy of interrogator of Berl Miger (photo attached)

Ditto Tuchelman Nechana, ----- and one with photo.

Ditto (Zatucna Sonia, Rosa Sohn, Samuel Mayer Hanevstock, Holzel, Friedrich, Filip.)

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Romania cont:

List of names relating to foregoing.

Translation of letter by Auerbach rom Jewish Assoc. For protec. Of girls regarding SARA ALTHEIM (keeper of Prostitution house at B.A.)

Form (blank) headed : Process-verbal

Nrl. 5. Legitimate (Stamped Prefectura Politiei) with signature and date 7/11, 1925.

Blank form: Serviciul Sanitar al Orasului (Foae de observatie) .

Blank form : ditto. (Domnule Medic)

Blank form: Questionnaire. (Health)

Doc. No. 5165 April 4th, 1923, issued by Inspectorate General of Police – re Berl Miger.

Doc. No. 5164 April 4th , 1923 re Berl Miger.

Doc No. 2343/23- Summary of criminal dossier

Doc. Dated March 2nd, 1923, issued by the Special Service of Secret Ministerium de Inern – Form L.I – FRAGEBOGEN

List of questions (in Romanian) dated Bucharesti, in 3 Iunie 1925.

Typewritten copy of Prostitute's File (Blank)

Grigoro-Chiga-Woda –Auerbach's report June 17th, 1925. Exh. A attached-

-/- 30 Poland-Romania-U.S.A.- Fraudulant passports and smuggling of persons across frontiers.

Newspaper clipping: Opere de ocrotiri sociale (? Date)

P.K.'s report Bucharest

P.K.'s report Constantza – May 28-29 1925.

Copy of letter summarising Romanian Law relative to Traffic in W.&C.

(Original in League dossier 12/55002X/28438)

Russia

Book containing lists and photographs of Traffickers.

Typewritten notes on measures of Soviet Government to protect children. (no date)

Correspondence between Chloe Owings, Amer. Coc. Hyg. Assoc. and Miss S.M.H. Young, International Institute for Foreign-Born women , N.Y.

Translation of pamphlet: The Campaign against Venereal diseases in Soviet Russia, by Hans Haustein, Berlin.

Siam

National Laws and regulations regarding Traffic in Women and Children in Siam. (Typewritten extract).

Spain

Collection of cards (Barcelona) officials etc.

Poster: Gobierno Civil de la Provincia. Signed by El Jefe de la Seccion de Higiene y de Vigilancia.

Re Liberato case – Photos of Liberato etc and girls, also passports without picture.

Blank form – medical certificate.

Blank form for inscription.

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Form for signature of captain of ship re debarkation of passengers and crew. Auerbach translation of anonymous letter re Traffic from France into Spain, and thence to Americas.  
 Letter from Central Authority regarding disappearance of three young girls, addressed to M. Bernard, Comité national belge, 30 Aout 1924.  
 Translation of extract from "El Problema de la Emigracion"  
 P.K. report Seville. Feb. 4th, 1925.  
 P.K. report Cadiz, Feb. 6th, 1925.  
 P.K. report Barcelona Jan. 16 and 17 1925.  
 P.K. report Madrid Jan. 24-25-26, 1925.  
 Cutting announcing M. Samuel Auerbach at Santander (sent to him by M. Martinez Gomez)  
 Auerbach's report VIGO – Jan. 27 to 29, 1925.

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Spain cont:

Card of identity attached to report.

List of licensed houses of prostitution in Vigo. -1/29/25.

Auerbach's report La Coruna – Jan 26, 1925.

Two pamphlets attached to report – Profilaxis Venerea en La Coruna- and – Reglamento de la Profilaxis en La Coruna de las enfermedades Venereo-Sifiliticas.

Auerbach's report Santander – Jan 22 to 25 1925.

List of Gomez of passengers embarked for Cuban Ports during the year 1924 (from Santander)

List of passenger traffic from Santander to Havana, Santander to Vera Cruz and Tampico, Santander to New Orleans, to West Coast of South America via Panama Canal, -to Rover plate- and total outward passenger traffic from Santander to American Ports, embarkations for Mexican Ports (all during 1924)

Various letters of introduction for Morocco.

Two newspaper clippings re traffic from El Jefe Superior de Policia, Barcelona.

Translation clipping from A.B.C. Madrid 24th Oct. 1924 – Case of Utges Margenal and Rosario Valois.

Pamphlet – "Cursos de perfeccionamiento y trabajos de investigacion en el Laboratorio del Dispensario Azua.

Two blank dispensary cards.

Translation re arrest of three traffickers at Café Catalan, Barcelona. 20/9/24

Loi du 25 Novembre 1918 – Tribunaux pour enfants (Madrid)

Note on traffic (in Spanish)

Boletin del Patronato Real para la Represion de la Trata de Blancas.

Translation of communication to Director Public Welfare re arrest of traffickers of Barcelona (1st Sept. 1924)

2 Health cards (blank).

Conseil superieur de protection de l'enfance. (Madrid) Dispositions législatives

2 specimen health reforms.

Some particulars regarding The Patronage Royale pour la Represion de la traite des Blanches.

Cards (Barcelona and Madrid)



List in Spanish of traffickers, prostitutes etc.

Case of Curti Cesare (Barcelona 1925).

Spanish amendment of Article 456, 459, and 466 of Penal Code (Law dated July 21st, 1924)

### Sweden

### Switzerland

Kursaal – Contract, and letter from M. De Mueron re lease conditions.

Swiss National Organisation for prevention (Report for the International Conference in London Oct. 11 and 12, 1925)

Extracts from Federal Law (Appendix I in report)

P.K. report on Geneva with card of a madame and pamphlet against prostitution.

P.K. report Berne.

P.K. report Laussane. Bulletin No. 2 of March 29, 1926 of the “Swiss Roman Cartel of Social Hygiene and Morals of Laussane.”

Clipping from N.Y. World Dec. 13th, 1925 re closing of houses and suicide of Chief of Police (Geneva)

Cutting – “Prudence, jeunes filles.” (Gazette de Lausanne 3 May 1926)

Loi concernent les délits contre la moralité publique – du 30 Mai 1925.

Description of interviews at Département politique and M. Motta (B.J.)

Letter from Swiss Government 4th Nov. 1924 re visit of Dr. Snow to Switzerland.

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### Syria.

P.K.’s report Beyrout, May 12, 13 -1925

Survey of social agencies in Beyrout.

### Trinidad

P.K. reports – Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

### Tunis, Tunisia

P.K. report ????

Page of writing (French) re traffic in Tunis ( no heading or signature)

Pamphlet – Arrêté Type réglementant la police sanitaire spéciale.

### Turkey

Auerbach’s report – Constantinople, May 5th, 1925.

“ letter to Jos. Schwartz (copy) Feb. 2 1926 re “Vanda” and Russian Cossack in Constantinople.

Clipping from (?) re Conditions in Turkey (passports etc)

Copy of letter to Mr. B.J. from Jewish Assoc. re Sara Altheim

Clippings – Bronx Home News Jan 20/1926

N.Y. Tribune May 7th , 1926

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N.Y. World May 6th, 1926. All regarding status of Turkish women.  
 Lists of prostitutes etc. (2) marked Exh. Iv and Exh. IX  
 Copy of form in Turkish () Application for Passport, Investigations, and Permit de Sejour. (Ehs. F,G,I)  
 Extract of letter from Miss Jeppe re two Armenian girls at Hassidge sold to brothel in Baghdad.  
 Plan of Constantinople.  
 Ex. L – House of Prostitution report (blank)  
 Ex. A – Prostitution Booklet  
 Ex. J – Form for disease examination .  
 Scenes in the red light district “Pera” and “Galata” (Constantinople)  
 Penal Code, Turkey.  
 Article on Turkish Law from “The Current History” July 1926  
 P.K.’s report Constantinople.  
 Maps showing hospitals and clinics in Constantinople, and institutions  
 Survey of the Social Agencies in the Near East August 1925.

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United States.

P.K. report New York City Nov. 24, 1926 including digest of statements verified by S.M.A. re issuance of passports.  
 Information of photographs re William Silverstein Oct. 9th, 1926 (from Auerbach)  
 Various questions and answers (date Nov. 23, 1926) re traffic in U.S.  
 Public - No. 277 ) (Ex. A.) – An act of no further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation therein for immoral purposes of women and girls, and for other purposes.  
 Public - No. 129 – 68th Congress ) - an Act to limit immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes.  
 Executive order – Rules governing the granting and issuing of passports in the U.S.  
 Notice to bearers of passports.  
 Passports for American citizens in other countries.  
 The General Committee of Immigrant Aid –at Ellis Island, N.Y. Harbour.  
 Dept. of Justice Investigations – Table from Auerbach showing result of examination of 37 cases.  
 Exh. C. – Note from Auerbach to J.B. in re Immoral Aliens, May 22, 1922.  
 XXXXXXXXXX  
 Report of activities of Federal Government re Immigration, etc.  
 Exh. D. – Immigration Laws- Rules of May 1, 1917.  
 Clipping from Valeria H. Parker – “Mexico seeks Abductors” N.Y. Times 9/9/26  
 Table of alien immigrants and emigrants from June 1924, and during fiscal year ended June 30, 1924, by races or peoples.  
 Table of increase or decrease of population by arrival and departure of aliens during the fiscal years ended June 30, 1923 and 1924 by months.  
 List of cases pending with the American S.H. Assoc (undated)  
 3 Cuttings – N.Y. Globe Nov. 1, 1926 ‘White Slave Plot discovered in Berlin’. N.Y. Times Oct. 12.

1923 'Catch two white slavers' (Traffic from England to Holland ). N.Y. Times Oct. 16, 1923 'Get three white salvers'.

Cutting - (?) Detroit Mayor asks Rockefeller aid.

List – N.Y. City Feb. 9th , 1925. White Slave Traffickers (and possible traffickers) From detailed report on file.

Confidential note from S.M Auerbach to Mr. Worthington, Oct. 5, 1925: re Adverse decision regarding Deportation of Aliens convicted under Article 887 Subd. 4A, in the Woman's Court.

Memo. to Dr. Snow from Chloe Owings re Russian women and girls alleged to be illegally imported. Auerbach Sept. 30, 1925 re Morris Goldstein alias Max Stack ( N.Y. City)

Scott – July 2nd, 1925 to Mr. Worthington – re Alleged "Ring" of Italian procurers.

Auerbach to B.J. March 10, 1922 re – clipping attached "Plan to deport Criminal Aliens"

Twenty-seven of the Bulletins published y the Executive Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement of Atlanta, Georgia in the campaign against protected vice in the city.

Report by Miss Owings to Dr. Snow on Policewomen (Boston)

Burnham, III Speedway Inn Case.

The Women's Protective Legion – Its objects and its work. (Chicago).

Detroit, Mich. March 14th , 1925 –report

Windsor, Canada. March 16th, 1925 “

Owings – Detroit notes.

Memo. to Dr. Snow & Mr. Johnson from Mr. Worthington re Alleged white slave ring in Los Angeles, Cali . Oct. 30th, 1925.

Johnson report Los Angeles, Calif.

Case of James Dickson , Wisconsin. (Milwaukee) .

Mobile, Ala. – Johnson report May 5-6 , 1925

Seattle, Washington Aug. 15-17 & 21 Johnson report interviews with officials. Also interviews with traffickers.

Steelton, Pa. Dept. Of Justice case – 1/12/24

P.K. report New York City. Sept. 11, 1925 (Law Enforcement, Police.)

Johnson report Aug. 24/27 -1924 San Francisco, Calif. Commercialized prostitution and immigration.

Friedlander case - correspondence .

Dallas, Texas. Dept. of Justice Cases.

New Orleans, La. May 3-4, 1925 – Johnson report.

New Orleans, Louisiana , 11/22/1923 – Procuring for prostitution, D. of J. cases.

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United States cont:

New Orleans, La. May 3-4 1925 – Commercialized Amusement.

El Paso, Texas, Dept. of J. cases. 9/3/24.

Tampa, Florida. 6/20/22. Dept. of Justice case.

Nogales, Arizona 4/3/22 Dept. of Justice cases.

San Antonio, Texas and Brownsville Texas 5/19/23 – D. of J. cases.

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Calexico, Calif. U.S.A. Aug. 31, 1924 - report.  
 U.S., Mexico and Cuba Nov. 30 Dec. 24 ,1924 – Summary of trip to New Vera Cruz, Vera Cruz; Progreso, Yucatan; Havana, Cuba; Miami and Key West , Florida.  
 Clipping – “Davis would widen immigration ban”( N.Y. Times Dec 4/1924.  
 Auerbach to B.J. June 20, 1922 : Deportation of Immoral Aliens.  
 Memo. of Law on cases decided under he Mann and Bennet Acts.  
 Clipping – Ev. World. Feb. 27-1922: Deportation of Immoral Aliens.  
 Memo. of law on cases decided under the Mann and Bennet Acts.  
 Clipping Ev.- World. Feb 27 – 1922 “Must Deport Guilty”  
 Memo. of Worthington in case of – City of San Antonio vs Beula Mae Brumfield and Billy Fallon.  
 Letter from Dept. of State Washington o Mr. J.J. Jusserand, Ambassador of the French Republic, Oct. 30th, 1909 (copy) re U.S. signature to International Convention projected by Intern. Conference at Paris 1902.  
 Immigration service – cases and correspondence.  
 Laredo, Texas- report July 21 – 1925.  
 Pensacloa, Fla. Report May 2-3 , 1925.  
 San Diego, Calif. Report Aug. 29 and 30, 1924.  
 Passport data.  
 Abbott Correspondence . U.S. Depts. Letters of Introduction.  
 U.S. newspaper clippings.  
 Prison Commission (N.Y.) corres.  
 Dept. of Justice- Cases and Corres.  
 Report of investigation of prostitution in New York City 6/30/1922.  
 Exh. E. Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.

### Uruguay

Certificado de Inmigracion (Appendix VII in report.) (blank form)  
 Leyes y decretos sobre inmigracion (Appendix IX in report)  
 (Articulo 254 del Reglamento)  
 Ex. K. Certificado de Inmigracion(filled in)  
 Various blank forms relative o immigration.  
 Registro de inmigrantes (blank form)  
 Préstamos sobre tierras destinadas a la agricultura - Ley de 20 de Junio de 1921.  
 Ley de 22 de Enero de 1913. (Colonisation)  
 Auerbach report Paris and Uruguay Nov. 26th , 1924 ( re issuance of Visas)  
 P.K. report Montevideo – May 24th, 1924.  
 Various Police Dept. forms and records of two prostitutes.  
 Report on Salto, Uruguay and Concordia, Argentine. – June 28th, 1924.  
 Ejercicio Profesional (taken from publication f laws, decrees, regulations, ordinances, resolutions “de caractère sanitaire”)  
 Codigo Penal – Mensaje y proyecto de ley sobre proxentismo (Montevideo Octubre 15 de 1913) .  
 Law for the Protection of Minors of Feb. 24th, 1911.  
 Ley 20 de Junio 1921 (3 copies)  
 “ 10 de Septiembre 1923 (3 copies)

Eanco Hipotecario del Uruguay – Fomento rural y colonizacion – Préstamos para adquisición de tierras . (9 copies)

Decreto 18 February 1915.

“

Codigo Penal – Article 297.

## **p. 19**

Uruguay cont.:

Civil Code, Book 1, Title VII, Chapter III. (in English)

Translation of section 4 of Article 297 of the Penal Code of Uruguay and the proposed Section 5.

List of questions to Police by B.J.

Account of Red Light district in Montevideo – 11/27/25 with photographs.

Memo to Major Johnson Montevideo July 3rd, 1924 – re “Cap Polonia” and Copy of letter of Jewish Assoc. regarding Max Rosenberg (May 27 1924)

Memo to Major Johnson re Prostitues under age (July 5, 1924)

Copies of photos of red light district in Montevideo.

Names of societies doing protective immigrant work in Montevideo.

Montevideo 8/11/24 (from Auerbach) Advice received from Secretary of State through American Legation re bill introduced in Chamber of Deputies.

Statement furnished by Uruguayan Police to Dr. Luisi March 1924.

2 tables (dispensary and inscription) of prostitutes.

Clipping – El día 25 June 1924 ‘La Liga de las Naciones y la Trata de Blancas’.

xxxxxxx

Montevideo – Auerbach report July 3, 1924

Montevideo – Health Department Forms

“ – From Auerbach re prostitute under age ‘Graciolo’

2 small photos attached to copies of telegrams, signed ‘Adolfo’ ‘Manuele’

Envelope containing various photos and several women’s cards

Exh. A and B – (cards) “La Perla” and “Expreso Internacional”

Expreso Internacional railway map of Europe.

Statistics of Hospital from venereal diseases (Montevideo) June 23, 1924.

Conference National Health Board 1923 – Conclusions and proposed new regulations.

List of important law books.

Pamphlet – Consejos para los enfermos de sífilis.

Profilaxia de las enfermedades venéreo-sifiliticas.

Green cover containing: League questionnaire and reply and laws.

Collection of pages of “La Razon” devoted to campaign against Traffic, during July and August 1924.

## Venezuela

Caracas – P.K. report August 10, 1924.

## Yugoslavia

Copy of a translated extract from a Constantinople Journal sent by Mr. Cohen of the Jewish Assoc. Entitled ‘Mysterious Abductions of young girls at Belgrade’

## p. 20

Miscellaneous contents of file (to be found after the last country (Yugoslavia):

Roneod documents of the International Federation of League of Nations societies.

Orange envelope labeled : Berlin- obscene pictures

Envelope of Underworld Exhibits (miscellaneous).

Small box of films (Rumanian and Turkish?)

Leather cover containing lists and photographs of traffickers.

Government replies to questionnaire(11th August 1926)

“”””””” sent by Com. Experto

Voluntary organs' reply to 'Expert's Questionnaire'

Miscellaneous file containing information regarding populations; list of countries extracts from whose laws have been sent to American Bureau of Social Hygiene.

A general correspondence file dating from July – 1926 to date.

League documents on International Conference.

Auerbach miscellaneous file.

Dr. Dickenson file – some notes on Palestine, Italy, Turkey, Egypt.

Far East file: Copy of article in “White Cross” traffic in Burma.

Copy letter of Dr. Snow to Mr. Johnson Feb. 26 1926

Re letter of W.W. Peter, Council on Health Education.

Commercialized vice in China.

International V.D. Commission.

s.s. “Cap Polonio” file.

Dr. Snow –Miscellaneous correspondence.

“ ” notes, memos, addresses, etc.

s.s. “Valdivia” – Auerbach's report.

Clark dossier – containing only: Notes on Investigations of rumors; entertainment troupes; emigration and immigration; deportations; effect of regulation on traffic (Belgium, Holland and Germany)

Itinerary.

Whitin – Correspondence

## p. 21

CLARK – Document C.

“ D.

Spain – (Various booklets on immigration and health.)

Belgium “ ” prostitution.

Miscellaneous papers.

(Note: pages 20 and 21 are list of what remains in file after Mr. Johnson had selected all he wanted for America.)



## **ANNEX IV**

### **Kinsie's Itineraries**



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## **ANNEX V**

### **Anna Gertler and the *Cape Polonia* Affair**

*Jean-Michel Chaumont*



When it met for the first time in Geneva in April 1924, the Special Body of Experts on Traffic of Women and Children had at its disposal a nine-page document prepared by the secretariat of the Social Section of the League of Nations.<sup>1</sup> That document refers to “statistics” available “relating to the cases in which persons have been discovered committing the offences specified in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention of 1910”.<sup>2</sup> Despite earlier prospects, the experts were informed of the paltry results the documentation had yielded: “The Social Section is in possession of a considerable amount of general information on the traffic in women and children, but it has had few actual cases reported to it.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, extracts from the annual reports produced in 1923 by a few governments failed to mention anything interesting. Three pieces of information emanating from other “sources” were then communicated: in December 1921, the ASHA announced the imminent departure of “a very notorious woman”<sup>4</sup> accompanied by 12 young women and bound for Panama; in October 1923, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Women and Young Girls had submitted a newspaper clipping according to which “more than a hundred Egyptian men and women alleged to be members of or concerned in a white slave traffic gang had been arrested by the Egyptian police”<sup>5</sup>, but no confirmation had been received on that subject. Finally, in the three remaining pages, a last “case” was much more detailed. An article in the *New York Evening Post* published on 1 November 1923, i.e. exactly five months earlier, announced the discovery, in Belgium, “of a vast white slave enterprise through which more than 500 girls are reported to have been shipped to the United States”<sup>6</sup>. The article had already caused intense disquiet among the personnel and activists of the League of Nations.

The secretary of the Advisory Committee on Traffic of Women and Children “communicated immediately both with the Secretary of the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children and with Miss Grace Abbott, representative of the United States on the Advisory Committee, asking if any facts were known of this case and if any information could be obtained.”<sup>7</sup> The United States Commissioner General of Immigration in Washington, D.C. had reported that an investigation had been opened and “considered that the report was founded upon insufficient data.”<sup>8</sup> Miss Baker, secretary of the International Bureau, had for her part requested additional information from Dr. Jung, president of the German National Committee, since the newspaper had reported that the main person indicted was a Berliner named Brown. Jung answered that on 22 September 1923 he had received “a Jewish girl named Anna Gertler who was suspected of being a victim of the traffic”<sup>9</sup>. She told him that she had been approached by Brown in her birthplace, Czernovitz.<sup>10</sup> He had suggested to her that she might emigrate to the United States,

<sup>1</sup> CTFE/Experts/1: Memorandum by the secretariat for the use of the Special Body of Experts (Geneva, 28 March 1924).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Article cited in Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 6-7. Three spellings of her name coexist: “Gartler” in the French written “memorandum”, “Getler” in the Code Book and “Gertler” for Paul Kinsie and in the English written “memorandum”.

<sup>10</sup> Part of Ukraine today, at that time in Romania, Czernovitz was a major centre for the Jewish community of Central Europe.

along with several other young girls. Gertler, being wary, had gone to Berlin alone, only to discover that Brown's so-called Bureau of Aid to Emigration did not exist. Jung also reported the departure of five young Romanian girls on the ship *Cap Polonia* bound for South America. Rachel Crowdy inquired into the ship's itinerary and learned from the League of Nations Bureau in Latin America that the *Cap Polonia* had left Hamburg on 30 September 1923, bound for Buenos Aires.

On the occasion of the first discussion on methodology on 2 April 1924, "the Chairman, at the request of the members of the Special Body of Experts, presented his views on the question of the enquiries. The information so far collected appeared to establish the fact that the traffic followed certain routes between Europe and America, particularly Latin America. Starting from this hypothesis and keeping in mind the concrete case noted in an American newspaper to the effect that a boat had started from Hamburg with the object of transporting women to New York, the experts might consider how an enquiry on the spot could be organised. The concrete case noted in the American newspaper had this advantage, namely, that the two governments, the American and German governments, were disposed to collaborate in the enquiry. Particular emphasis had been laid on this feature of the case in an interview which he had had with the American authorities in New York. These authorities, however, had not been in a position to confirm the facts noted in the newspaper. An enquiry might be held at Hamburg by a person to be nominated by the Special Body of Experts."<sup>11</sup>

Félicien Hennequin, the expert from France, immediately expressed his scepticism, judging that they should be wary of sensational press reports. William Snow approved but still insisted: "He had referred to the traffic between Hamburg and New York merely to draw attention to a concrete case. The Secretariat had received supplementary information from Germany. It appeared that the boat which had left Hamburg was bound for Latin America. The investigator appointed by the Special Body of Experts might proceed to Hamburg and from Hamburg he might travel to Latin America where he would endeavour to collect information in the various ports. He would submit a report on his return to Europe. A similar procedure might be followed in respect of the enquiries into the cases arising in Europe."<sup>12</sup>

It is highly likely that Snow had already made a preliminary decision because the investigator, Samuel Auerbach, who, unknown to the experts, had sailed from New York to Europe (Italy) in the company of Snow and Bascom Johnson, had left Geneva as early as 16 April, and had headed to Berlin to meet Jung. The latter was not only president of the German national committee but also "the chief of the German governmental emigration service".<sup>13</sup> Before embarking for Buenos Aires from Marseille on 30 April, all his time was devoted to the *Cap Polonia* affair and in Buenos Aires, as well as in Montevideo and in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, he vainly sought to locate his five mysterious female passengers. Anna Gertler and Mr. Brown were yet to be located.

Jung told Auerbach that the police had been unable to locate Brown but that Anna Gertler had stayed some time in Berlin and had found a place as a factory employee by the good graces of a

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<sup>11</sup> Snow, SBE 1/3/2

<sup>12</sup> Snow, SBE 1/3/3

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Auerbach, "in re: Cap Polonia Case, April 28, 1924", p. 1 (Cap Polonia file, S. 181).

Jewish charity association, after he had had her arrested because of her false passport. Yet “she did not behave there and the people were glad to get rid of her”.<sup>14</sup> She was thought to have returned to Czernovitz.

Surprisingly, on 25 September, Paul Kinsie picked up her trail in Paris: he had just missed her. She had been housed by the Lax family until three weeks earlier. According to Mrs Lax, they had met Anna a few months previously at the exit to the synagogue; Anna had begged for assistance and they had taken her in. Mrs Lax had just received a letter: Anna was by then in Place Loos, No. 4, Antwerp, Belgium. Hence Kinsie went to Antwerp the following day. Anna Gertler was a governess at Mr. and Mrs. Ringer’s. In passing himself off as a Lax family friend, Kinsie managed to speak to her. Here is the report he wrote of their meeting.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

## S.S. Cap Polonio Case Sept. 25-26, 1924

### *In Re Anna Gertler*

Upon receipt of a wire from Samuel Auerbach, herewith attached, and subsequent directions from Bascom Johnson, I visited Madame Lax, 47 rue Rochechouart, Paris, France.

Mrs. Lax and family occupy an apartment at the above address. I was informed that Anna Gertler had resided with the Lax family up to three weeks ago, when she left. Mrs. Lax then showed me a letter from Anna in which she gave her new address as #4 Loos Place, Antwerp, Belgium.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Lax, when questioned as to how they became acquainted with Anna Gertler, stated that about three months ago while attending Sabbath services at a nearby Synagogue, Anna came in and requested aid. The Lax family then consented to take her to their home and care for her.

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The following day I went to Antwerp in search of Anna.

I found her to be employed as a governess at the home of a Mr. and Mrs. Ringer, #4 Loos Place, Antwerp, Belgium. It was necessary for me to wait about for two hours for Anna's return, because the Ringer family had just returned from the seashore, and Anna was attending to several affairs for them.

Upon meeting the girl I told her that I am a friend of the Lax's and since I had to come to Antwerp, I thought I would visit her. She seemed pleased to meet anyone who came recommended from the Lax family, and after I was certain that the girl is respectable and living amid surroundings, I questioned her about her past.

Repeatedly Anna expressed her desire to go to America, and when I asked her if she ever had the opportunity to go, she gave me her story. I then called Mrs. Ringer's daughter to listen in, so that I could be sure that Anna understood all I wanted to say. Miss Ringer speaks both English and Yiddish.

Anna then in an innocent and seemingly truthful manner said, in substance :

"I was working in a large grocery store in Czernowitz (see Exhibit n°1 in girl's own handwriting for name and address of employer). There were three other friends of mine in the store, Lilly Brecher, 24 years of age; Rosa Huttman, 21 years of age; Rissi Rosenbaum, 19 years of age (see Exhibit n°2). One day a very nice man came in and bought something; the next day he came back again; that was in April, 1923. Finally, he asked all of us if we wanted to go to America with him. We told him 'Yes' and he explained that in Berlin there is a society called the *Jugen Aliaher Auswanderbund* (see

Exhibit n°3). He said that this society ships young boys and girls to America. They pay their fare, and if the persons whom they ship have relatives on the other side, they must pay them back plus a profit. If they have no one there, we must work for him until we have paid it all up”.

When questioned as to the kind of work, she answered “Stenographer or on a farm. I was glad to go and told him that I wanted to take my sister with me. She lives in Berlin. He told me that he could only take one from a family. I then went to Berlin and looked for the society. My sister told me to go to the police and ask them if they could direct me to the society (see Exhibit #4 for Anna’s sister’s name and address). I went to the Police and they told me to go to Dr. Witznitzer (see Exhibit #5) of the Yiddisha Hilfs (see Exhibit #6). There they told me it does not exist. I then wrote to my friend, Rosa Huttman, who lived with Marie Rosegger (see Exhibit #7) and the letter came back unopened. Then I again went to the Police station and the policeman said that the man is a maitzen shicker (White-slaver). He showed me a lot of pictures and I picked his out amongst them. I don’t believe it, because he was too nice. If I could meet him tomorrow I would go to America with him”.

When questioned as to whether the girls are with the man, she said “I suppose they are. I never could get in touch with them after that. They must be there now. They were to sail from Hamburg. Maybe I am lucky I didn’t go, but I think not”.

She further admitted that none of the girls had families, and that all, including herself, are practically alone in the world. When she was asked if the man was to take them to North America or to South America, she said “New York”.

She said that Hans Braun is about 5’8” tall; weights 130 lbs; is 30-35 years of age; has light brown hair, combed back; olive complexion; two gold teeth in upper jaw; dresses nattily; and is either American or English; speaks German; and Romanian very poorly.

My opinion of Anna’s story is that the girl never met a man by the name of Braun. I believe that some of her friends had told her of this mythological society that sends girls to America. She undoubtedly went to Berlin in search of this society. When questioned in Berlin she undoubtedly made up the story that a man had sent her, and in order to make her tale ring true, identified the picture of Braun in the Rogue’s Gallery. She admitted to me that she did not know the man’s name until informed of it by the Police. I am sure the girl has no knowledge of any of the other details of the case. Her whole conversation was about how she can get to America and she asked me to help her.

I questioned all members of the Ringer family about the girl. They informed me that their son, Samuel, brought her to Antwerp from the Lax’s for the purpose of taking care of the children. They also stated that since she has been with them the household has been in a turmoil. She refuses to do as she is told, she has been caught in petty thieving, and is a confirmed liar. She reads trashy books of a depressing nature, and tries to arouse the curiosity of the household by telling all sorts of tales each time she receives a letter from a friend.

She told Mrs. Ringer that she has a great secret on her heart, but she refused to divulge it to her. I questioned her about this ‘great secret’ and she admitted that she just said it to make the Ringers anxious.

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The Ringers have refused to give Anna her salary and her passport, because of her thefts. She appealed to the Romanian Consul to help her. As soon as she receives her passport she will return to Paris. I gave her some money and my address in care of the American Express Company in case more information is desired.

She promised to keep in touch with me. There is no doubt but that the girl is a little demented.



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Note: brackets [ ] show change of name and/or integration since the 1920s. Spelling has been modernized where necessary.



*Cover: Pictures from police reports. United Nations archives at Geneva.*

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