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## ***Routes and Methods of Conducting Traffic in Women and Children (League of Nations 1927)***

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*a cura di*

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Il documento che segue riproduce il capitolo 6 della prima parte del rapporto della Società delle Nazioni pubblicato a Ginevra nel 1927: *Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children: Enquiry into the International Organisations and of Certain Routes Followed by, the Traffic between Various Countries of Europe, North Africa, North America, South America and Central America*. Benché al tempo avesse avuto una vasta circolazione – in poche settimane erano state vendute 5.000 copie e si stava procedendo a una nuova edizione – oggi il rapporto è di difficile reperibilità.

Frutto di una inchiesta di vaste dimensioni (in 28 paesi e 112 città) nell'ambito della Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children (CTW) della sezione Affari sociali della Società delle Nazioni (SdN) e condotta con metodi innovativi – oltre 5.000 interviste in 14 lingue alle persone coinvolte nella tratta tra cui donne prostitute, tenutarie di bordelli, trafficanti e sfruttatori – il rapporto cambiò il modo di pensare la tratta il modo di definirla. L'adozione del termine tratta delle donne (traffic in women) e l'abbandono di quello utilizzato in precedenza di tratta delle bianche (white slavery) indica una consapevolezza nuova della dimensione internazionale di un traffico che coinvolgeva le donne di tutto il mondo e di tutte le razze.

Nella prima parte il rapporto analizzava le dimensioni della tratta, l'età delle donne coinvolte, le reti criminali e il loro modo di operare, le cause della domanda di prostitute straniere; nella seconda parte si soffermava sulla situazione nei 28 paesi presi in considerazione. Il rapporto dimostrò che la tratta era alimentata dalla regolamentazione di stato della prostituzione offrendo così un solido fondamento all'argomentazione abolizionista sostenuta dalle organizzazioni femminili a partire dagli anni Settanta dell'Ottocento.

L'attivismo femminile infatti fu determinante nella genesi della ACTW e nella conduzione dell'inchiesta. Furono le organizzazioni internazionali femminili ad esercitare pressioni affinché nella Carta della SdN fosse inserito l'articolo 23 che attribuiva al nuovo organismo il compito di sovrintendere all'attuazione degli

accordi sul traffico di donne e minori. Fu la sezione Affari sociali diretta da Rachel Crowdy a coordinare tutto il lavoro della ACTW, fu l'americana Grace Abbott a definire le modalità dell'inchiesta.

Sull'attivismo abolizionista femminile in seno alla SdN, sulla genesi della ACTW, sui dibattiti interni al gruppo di esperti rimando alla introduzione al discorso tenuto il 12 aprile 1927 al Royal Institute of International Affairs da Rachel Crowdy che compare in traduzione italiana in questo numero della rivista.

### **Routes of traffic and methods of conducting traffic. Main routes**

The main route for international traffic in women so far as we have been able to examine it, is from Europe to countries in Central and South America. There is also a route from Europe to Egypt and to other places in Northern Africa. Certain countries report shorter traffic routes into, through or from their territory and, in addition, the enquiry has revealed some evidence of traffic routes to or from the East.

Some indication of the extent of traffic has already been given which also shows from what countries the women come and where they go. It will therefore only be necessary here to give a few extracts from the reports on countries to prove the existence of certain well-defined routes. In a reply to the 1924 Questionnaire, the Argentine Government states: "The women of loose character who have recently entered the country are mostly Poles, Frenchwomen and Italians, servants in Marseilles. They are all young." The investigator in the Argentine gives further information as follows: "There is evidence that many of these women also leave from Spanish, German, Dutch and Belgian ports. The girls from Poland make the first stage of the journey through one of three routes, either through the Polish-Danzig corridor, through Upper Silesia into Germany, or down through Roumania, Constantinople and thence West. The Italians go from French ports and the French from Spanish ports.

The Government of Cuba, speaking of an increase in the number of foreign women from Europe, states: "The women used to be shipped direct from France, but they now proceed to a Spanish port and are shipped from that port."

In Spain, a Barcelona *souteneur* gave the following particulars of outgoing traffic: "Some go from here and some from ports on the Atlantic coast like Corunna and Santander. Any of these ports are good. It all depends upon the circumstances. Souteneurs of various nationality who come from the north, go from the Atlantic ports of Spain. The boys from the South go from here. Some send their girls first out of here and they themselves leave from the North."

The officials in Czernowicz stated that there is a traffic from and through Roumania to the Near East and to the Americas. In support of this statement, they said they had recently discovered a steamship agent who was issuing false passports to women to go to Brazil. A *souteneur* and owner of houses of prostitution in Paris when questioned as late as September 1926, as to whether as many *souteneurs* are taking prostitutes to South America and Mexico as heretofore, stated that scarcely a boat departs, particularly for South America, that does not have at least three *souteneurs* and their women aboard. He mentioned that the recent sailings of the X....

(791-X) and also of the X... (792-X) had aboard seven *souteneurs* and prostitutes whom he knew personally bound for Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

During the tourist season women are brought into Algiers, Tunis and Egypt, principally from France, Greece, Italy and Roumania. An investigator reports: "They were generally brought in through the port of Alexandria, though a few also landed at Port Said and others went on to Beyrouth and returned overland to Egypt." Cases are also reported of traffic from Roumania, Poland and Greece to the Levant. Several instances were reported to the investigator of *souteneurs* procuring girls in Central Europe and bringing them to Constantinople en route for Egypt, Syria, South and Central America and Mexico. 96-P mentioned the case of a *souteneur* from Egypt who obtained a girl from Bucharest, promising to take her to Palestine. He brought her to Constantinople, and from there they went to Cairo. 711-X mentioned the case of a *souteneur*, 32-T, who had been practically everywhere in the world and who always took girls with him. He had brought women from Roumania and Poland to Constantinople. On March 11th, 1925, this man passed through Constantinople with two girls, one less than 18 years of age, both of whom he had picked up in Czernowicz. They all sailed on the same ship for Alexandria, but they travelled in separate classes. It was reported that on arrival 32-T was paid a sum of money and the girls left him. With regard to traffic routes between European countries, the Hungarian Government, reporting on traffic, states that women artistes going to Austria and to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes fall into prostitution. The German Government reports: "In the opinion of the German Central Police Office for combating the international traffic in women and children, the territory to which German women are being sent is the Balkans." With regard to traffic in women to and from the East, there is evidence of a route *via* Egypt to Bombay. In Roumania, officials gave information including the names of traffickers and the details of their operations from Poland and Roumania to the East and to Bombay. In the report on the United States of America, evidence is given of a certain amount of traffic from the Far East in very young Chinese girls to the Western cities of the United States

#### **Indirect routes and travel by stages**

It must not be assumed that the trafficker obtains his victim in one country and then takes her by the most direct route to their destination. He is influenced by many considerations — the cost of the journey, possible difficulties in managing the girl, and, lastly, the necessity for avoiding any risk of his scheme being detected and frustrated by the authorities. As regards cost, the *souteneur* often accomplishes his journey by stages and his girl earns money on the way. There is an example in the report on Portugal of a prostitute *en route* for Brazil who stopped temporarily in a house in Lisbon. In the report on Austria it is stated that 27-T, procurer of a group of so-called artistes for South America, sent the girls on to work in houses of prostitution in Hamburg for a few months before the steamer sailed. An illustration of "breaking-in" a girl *en route* is given in the report on Algiers. 64-P said: "I know a boy who went to Constantine and got himself a beauty — only 17 years old — a Jewish girl. He brought her here and put her in the game. She at first raised hell, but he took her to another country, and now they are both getting along fine."

The trafficker knows from experience that the formalities he will have to face are far less strict at some ports and by some steamship lines than others. He often deliberately, therefore, makes a detour, even though it may take longer and cost more. The reports on Panama and on Uruguay give good illustrations of circuitous methods of entering a country in order to avoid the dangers of immigration inspection. In Panama, "they take a route which ensures their safe landing in Colon without exposing them to the dangers of being detected and subsequently deported. In coming from Europe or Havana, these undesirables purchase tickets to Port Limon, Costa-Rica. From that point they proceed to Boca del Tora, a small Panama island off the coast of the Isthmus, and from there journey in small craft to Colon, where no inspection takes place." In Uruguay, a prostitute, who had used the Rivera route, said: "The way in here from Rio is over the old American-built railroad. You cross the border at Rivera. All you have to do is to cross the street. You must go from Rio to Santos, from Santos to Sao Paolo, and then change at a lot of places before you finally reach Rivera. It is a long trip, which takes nearly five days, but a girl can always pick up money along the road that way."

The Immigration Department officials stated that anyone could enter Uruguay through Rivera from Brazil without documents. There was no immigration inspection at this point. As late as the autumn of 1926, the underworld gave an investigator an account of stricter immigration measures in the Argentine and explained that *souteneurs* who wanted to enter had to notify in advance local traffickers so that the latter could make preparations. An ingenious method of choosing a circuitous route to avoid inspection by authorities who could detect false documents is given, in the report on Poland. A prostitute, E.A., in Danzig, gave an investigator the following explanation of the reason which led 40-T to avoid the direct route from Warsaw to Germany: "If he went direct he would have his passport examined by the Polish officials at the Polish frontier. He had a false passport and so had the girl. At the frontier he had a chance of being tripped. From Poland to Danzig all you need is a card of identity. That was fine. Both had that, so by coming to Danzig all they had to show were those cards. I said: 'They would have to show the passports when they left Danzig'. She answered: 'Yes, sure, but not to the Polish. They would if they left by train, but from Danzig you can go to Marienburg, East Prussia, by motor-bus, without passing through Poland. Now they get on a train at Marienburg. That train passes through the Polish corridor, but it is locked, and the Poles don't examine any passports. You see, it's this way. A Pole can always trip you up if you have a blotter (false) passport, because he knows what they are like. The same way as you can tell a counterfeit dollar quicker than I. The German, he don't look so hard at the Polish passports except for the visas. Well, now, you see why he came this way. Just so that the Polish control wouldn't see their faked passes.' "

Another favourite trick is to break the journey and get an extension of passport. A trafficker, for instance, who wants to take a girl (say) from Italy to Buenos Aires may not wish to take the risk of getting passports direct for Buenos Aires as he may be known to the authorities in his own country. What he does is to get passports valid for France, and then go to a consul there who can have no means of knowing him and secure an extension of the passports for Buenos Aires. In the same way,

numerous examples are given in the investigators report of French women going to Spain, of Spaniards to France and so on. In every such case advantage is taken of the fact that the officials will less easily detect falsification of a foreign document with which they are naturally unfamiliar.

### **Clandestine entry and smuggling**

Traffickers resort to every form of smuggling in order to evade immigration restrictions. This method is adopted on land routes, also on water routes when circumstances permit or require it. Examples of smuggling on land routes may be taken from the reports on the Argentine and on Spain.

An investigation was conducted as to the methods of entering the Argentine clandestinely by the Salto-Concordia route. It appeared that the regular crossing is effected by launches leaving and arriving at scheduled times between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. Passengers using this method are subjected to the usual immigration inspection. It was discovered however, that there are agents in Salto, some of whom are employees of the local hotels, who can arrange a crossing at night free from inspection, at a charge of from 5 to 25 Uruguayan pesos. One agent (705-X) admitted that he had assisted over 200 men and women to cross from Salto to Concordia clandestinely in ten months, amongst whom were *bona fide* immigrants, prostitutes and *souteneurs*. On June 28th, 1924, he was harbouring in his house four Russians who were to be smuggled into the Argentine the same evening.

An official letter on traffic from Madrid to the Governor of Barcelona contains the following extract: "The women who are to be the object of the traffic pass the Franco-Spanish frontier secretly by sea or by little-used roads over the Pyrenees. The women secured in Spain get false passports and documents prepared in Barcelona or Santander, as they travel by preference by Spanish or Dutch lines so as to avoid all contact with French authorities." As regards smuggling in by ship, we have many examples. There is even evidence that traffickers have the audacity to continue to smuggle in victims by sea, although this practice is known to the authorities and in spite of official measures taken to prevent its occurrence. The reply from the Egyptian Government to the 1924 Questionnaire is explicit on this point:

"There is a continual movement of French women into Egypt for the purpose of prostitution; they enter by the steamers of ; they travel as stowaways, without passports or identification papers, with the assistance of the sailors, and it is believed that they hide in the coal-bunkers. The captains of these vessels state that they cannot put a stop to this traffic, as they are unable to search the bunkers on account of the aggressive attitude and dangerous character of the coal-trimmers, who are, for the most part, men of the type of bandits. Only last week, five women were arrested at Port Said when endeavouring to land from vessels of....coming from Marseilles. These women generally go on shore at Alexandria, which is the first port of call, and where it is easier to land than at Port Said since, in the former port, the vessels stay longer and are berthed alongside the quay, whereas at Port Said they are moored to buoys in the middle of the Canal."

The Director of Investigations was present at the inspection of the steamship...from Marseilles and saw two stowaways dressed as seamen caught. During 1924, there were 186 similar cases caught by the Port Police, thus showing the extent to which this method of entering Alexandria is used. Again, in the report on Turkey the following information with regard to smuggling was secured in Constantinople: Captain 46-R, a pilot, admitted that members of the crew smuggled in and out of the city women who did not have the proper passports, and who looked like prostitutes, but he had not ascertained if they were so in fact. 20-D.H., who owns several houses of prostitution in Constantinople, stated that he had two Russian women inmates, one of whom, 119-G, had an offer from a Turk, 709-X, to smuggle her to Beirut. He declared that hundreds of women went in that way and that their *souteneurs* followed. An owner of a house of prostitution admitted that two Greek inmates of hers, 133-G, 19 years old, and 121-G, 22 years old, had run away from her without settling their debts, and that she had heard they were smuggled out of Constantinople on a ship going to Syria.

More rare, but nevertheless a practice occasionally resorted to, is the smuggling of women over long sea routes to South America. An example is given in the report on Italy, as follows: "An Italian girl, D.L., was secretly embarked at Genoa on May 19th, 1924, by a woman, A.V., a resident of Marseilles. The parents consented to her departure under the impression that she was going to Marseilles on a visit. A.V. had a lover, a stoker on board the boat, who assisted in hiding the girl, dressed as a sailor, in one of the second cabins and among the machinery. The girl was not allowed to show herself in Marseilles, but was carried on to Buenos Ayres, where her presence was fortunately discovered and she was repatriated."

### **Travelling by steamship**

In cases where traffickers do not resort to smuggling they often take special precautions when travelling by sea. The route from Europe to South America would appear from the evidence to be that most in favour at present. This involves a considerable cost in transportation and, on the ground of economy, third-class tickets are obviously to be preferred. Here, however, the *souteneur* has to exercise caution because in most countries the examination of third-class immigrants is stricter than that of other passengers, and some steamship lines have matrons on board charged with the supervision of women and girls travelling third-class. The *souteneur*, therefore, who has an instinct for his own comfort, does not hesitate, if he can afford it, to book second-class or even first-class accommodation in order to reduce the risk of discovery. The authorities at Cuba report that *souteneurs* and their girls often arrive first-class to avoid the stricter inspection which is given to third-class passengers.

Sometimes the girl goes alone and the *souteneur* travels himself by another boat, but this method tends to increase the chance of the girl being interrogated by troublesome officials or by agents of those voluntary societies who make it their business to interest themselves in the welfare of girls travelling alone. For this reason, the more usual practice seems to be for the *souteneur* to take the girl with him, probably posing as her husband. A trafficker made the following comment on

the methods of travelling by the same or by different ships: "This fellow (4-P) came here on the same ship with his girl because she was a greeny (not a prostitute). Sometimes the boys are more careful and let the woman travel on a separate ship. It is all according to what you bring in. Sometimes if she is green they travel separately. But, if she's easy, they go together either second or third-class". One of the investigators travelled by ship from France to Cuba and was fortunately able to strike up an acquaintance with two *souteneurs* on board ship, and to meet these two characters later in Mexico. An extract from his report is as follows: "'Do you cross the sea much?' 156-P replied: 'Once or twice a year'. I said: 'How is your wife standing the trip?' He replied: 'She ain't my wife. She is going to meet a boy (*souteneur*) in Mexico. The other boy (155-P), his wife and the girl you thought was mine are travelling together.' I said: 'She's in second-class; that can't be 155-P's wife because he is in third'. He replied: 'Certainly it is. 155-P is in third but she is in second. They ain't supposed to know each other. They both have separate passes and he wants to save some money'. Asked if she was a new one, he replied: 'A prostitute he met in Warsaw. He is bringing her over. She is a good hustler (prostitute) but she never had a chance to go, so he brought her. The other girl is her friend. I am getting her a friend (*souteneur*) over there'"

### **False documents**

Since the war there has been a general tendency to exercise a much stricter control over the movement of travellers of all kinds, especially with a view to the exclusion of undesirables. Travellers are required to establish their identity and status and for this purpose they may have to supply themselves with certain documents such as passports and visas, birth certificates, marriage certificates, etc. This is an unpleasant necessity for persons who wish to conceal the real objects of their journey, and, as they cannot provide themselves with genuine documents, traffickers do their best to obtain false ones. We have been impressed with the readiness with which *souteneurs* and others seem able to obtain what they need in this direction for a small outlay. The investigators were brought into contact with several persons who make it a business to fake passports and other documents. For example, a trafficker, 4-T, said: "I can fix up papers for the boys, passports, any kind you want, visas, and marriage, birth and identity certificates". He showed English, Brazilian and Polish passports. 25-P admitted that 4-T had made him a Brazilian passport. "Boys travelling with their girls need these things".

The authorities in many countries report the discovery of false documents and the underworld boasts of the facility with which they can obtain any kind of false or falsified document which they require. A few examples may be selected in illustration of a mass of evidence on the subject of the making and using of false documents for the purpose of traffic in women and girls.

a) A *souteneur* in Egypt said "It is a *laisser-passer*. It is good for one year. You can go anywhere and come back whenever you want. I'll have it made out alter et retour. Every boy (*souteneur*) has one just for that purpose. The girls all have them too. You see, most of the boys and girls (*souteneurs* and prostitutes) come here by a crook way. They smuggle in from Constantinople. Take 75-P, for instance. He has a

Roumanian pass. I am getting him a *laisser-passer* so that he can go to London on Wednesday. I made more than 75 passes for girls and boys (prostitutes and *souteneurs*) last year. Remember, I can get you Egyptian, Roumanian and even Greek passes. No boy any good — he doesn't know his business — unless he has at least two different passes”.

b) The report on Panama shows that *souteneurs* often carry several passports. Enquiry was made as to proper passports, to which an official replied: “Their passports appear all right, but some have three or four. In examining their effects, we have found the same persons to have Argentine, Brazilian, Spanish and French passports”.

c) Apart from altering documents, official blank forms are often found which can be filled in to meet the situation. In Spain, the Police arrested on or about September 20th, 1924, five men and eight women. In searching the rooms of two of the men, they found papers, letters and telegrams showing that these people were engaged in traffic in women from Spain and France to Havana. They also found in their possession consular and other official blank forms properly sealed, a great deal of foreign drafts and money, as well as some twenty-three photographs of women, passport size.

It is not easy for immigration officials, however vigilant, especially when dealing with large numbers of passengers, to decide whether a document purporting to be issued by the authorities of another country is genuine or not, and the persons who use faked documents take care as far as possible not to present them to officials of the country alleged to have issued them. An immigration official in Latvia, speaking of false passports, illustrated the difficulty of detecting their falsity “I could not possibly detect them. In Soviet Russia, for example, there are thirty-six different States; each State issues its own passport. It is impossible to be familiar with so many different kinds”. It must not be assumed that false or falsified documents are used only for purposes of travel. They are used for any purpose which will enable the trafficker to attain his ends. It is reported that, since the French Government required identity cards to be taken out by foreigners, a measure which is used to refuse permission to undesirables to continue to reside in the country, the traffickers have started to fake identity cards for foreign prostitutes who might otherwise be deported.

Again, false documents are very frequently used to obtain the registration as prostitutes of girls who are under the minimum age prescribed by the regulation. The following extract from the report on Algiers illustrates this point: A *souteneur*, 64-P, corroborated the statements made by the madame that she was able to arrange for the inscription of minors, and stated: “She, 34-M, always fixes up the papers”. Another *souteneur*, 65-P, said: “What you want to do is to get another passport or have your girl have her age raised on it. Give it to me. I'll fix it for you. I can always make it so that you won't be able to tell it. I have fixed plenty of birth certificates for friends”.

In Spain, the investigator commented upon a number of girls under 21 in a cabaret; to which a *souteneur* replied “They have birth certificates but they are all fake certificates. The boss gets them for them. You see, there's two ways of getting a birth certificate: one is through the Civil Register and the other through the Church. The boss has a fellow who fixes all these things up”.



### Marriage method

Mention has already been made of the fact that the *souteneur* finds that the simplest method of obtaining an innocent or inexperienced victim is to marry her. Marriage, bogus or real, is often a useful cloak to a trafficker's activities. He is surer of his girl if he travels with her, and there are difficulties in the way of a girl travelling alone. If he travels with her, he must avoid all suspicion as to their relationship and they must travel therefore as husband and wife. This may be compassed in one of three ways. First, he may use a false certificate of marriage. The following examples are cases in which a *souteneur* tried to pass off a woman as his wife

a) R.A.G., a Canadian girl, 18 years old, had a sister married to C.M. at Juarez. She received a letter from C.M. when she was in employment at Montreal asking her to join her sister and stating that C.M. would send his secretary for her. She agreed to go. The secretary, W. J., arrived one morning and got her to pack at once. He showed her a marriage certificate and told her to use his wife's name so that she might pass as his wife. He made her memorise his wife's name, age, and birthplace and told her to talk to no one.

b) On August 10th, 1925, the Police officials prevented a French minor, 18 years old, coming from Nimes, from embarking at Marseilles for Tunis. She was travelling on a false *livret de famille* as the wife of the trafficker who brought her on board ship. The man disappeared when the girl was questioned. She looked much younger than the age figuring on her papers. She could not state the date of her marriage. The names of her parents and the place of birth did not correspond with those of the real wife of the trafficker. When the truth came to light, she confessed that the man was sending her to a brothel in Tunis.

Secondly, the *souteneur* may enter into a ritual marriage which he can repudiate later. Several such cases are reported, of which the following: "A girl made the acquaintance of a man, M.F., in Lodz and became engaged to him. The man came to — late in 1924 without a passport. For 50 dollars the man's father smuggled the girl (and three other girls and a young Jewish man) across the border. She went by train to Kempa and from there she was brought by a Pole across the border through the fields at midnight and then by carriage to Breslau. She met M.F. in a large town in Germany and went to the Rabbi's house, and the Rabbi's wife, in the absence of her husband, was persuaded to perform certain rites of Jewish ritual and then said to them: "Row you are married". She lived with her husband for three days. He then beat her and threw her out, saying she was not his wife but that she could still live with him if she would go on the streets and bring money to him.

One of the best known of international traffickers is a marriage broker, 6-T., a Pole in Warsaw, and it is not uncommon for many victims to be obtained as a result of matrimonial advertisements in papers. A particularly bad trafficker's record is given in the report on Poland: I.M., alias F.K., alias C., was convicted in Poland of international traffic in girls in November 1923 and sentenced to gaol for one year. He afterwards disappeared. Previously he had been sentenced in Hamburg to one and a half years for the same offence. When arrested he had Argentine, English and Polish passports in his possession and was responsible for taking thirty girls

altogether to Buenos Ayres and Brazil by the “marriage” method. Girls were obtained through newspaper and matrimonial advertisements.

In these cases and in others the offer of marriage secures the girl, but the marriage is not always solemnised. A case of this nature is reported from Tunis and is interesting as showing that the methods of the *souteneur* in question were disapproved of by even his fellow *souteneur* “A particularly bad case met with was that of an Italian prostitute, 85-G., from Sicily, about 20 years of age, living at 341-X 37-R., speaking of this girl and of her *souteneur*, said: ‘He is a bad egg! That girl of his, 85-G., he brought her from Italy. She thought she was going to get married.

He rents a room for her to practise prostitution in and the girl herself says he beats hell out of her and takes every cent away. She’s afraid to appeal to the Police. He’d stick her sure as hell. The way he works I don’t like”.

Lastly, a *souteneur* does not scruple to contract even a legal marriage. It may be troublesome, but it does not worry a trafficker who is moving about the world and to whom the marriage contract is of no significance. One *souteneur* said that a few other Czechoslovak *souteneurs* who had exploited women in foreign countries had returned to Prague and had departed with girls secured there, but that they were only able to get passports for these girls by marrying them. The marriage method has the further advantage to the trafficker that in many countries protective measures for the welfare of women and girls do not apply to married women. The latter method has also been adopted in some countries as a method of countering the deportation of prostitutes. The *souteneur* finds someone who will go through a legal form of marriage with the girl on whom he is living in order that she cannot be deported from the country of which she has now become a subject. The reports on the Netherlands and on Great Britain state that such cases cause trouble to the authorities. Unfortunately, however, for the *souteneurs*, these marriages are often found to involve bigamy, and the law has stepped in and frustrated the plot.

### Offers of employment

A method of securing girls and women for international traffic is disguised as a genuine offer of employment abroad. A full account has been given of the dangers to which entertainers and artists are subject when they accept offers to work abroad under unsatisfactory contracts of employment. There are, however, offers of other kinds of work which are used to conceal the real purpose of the trafficker.

After the war, certain countries were greatly in need of farm labour owing to the loss of men, and the seasonal labour of young women from another country was welcomed. In the case of Polish women sent into France for this purpose, the authorities of both countries tried to safeguard them in every way, but traffickers found some opportunity to recruit girls, and particularly to bring young prostitutes out of Poland on visas issued on the basis of work contracts.

Similar devices have been used to get girls into other countries for purposes of prostitution. A not uncommon method reported by Governments and disclosed to the investigators by the underworld is to obtain girls for work abroad as domestic servants. In Port Said, the investigator was told that Greek *souteneurs* or business-

men wrote for young girls, offering them employment as domestics. The *souteneurs* made prostitutes out of the girls, whereas some business-men made the girls their mistresses.

In its reply to the 1924 Questionnaire the Argentine Government throws interesting light on the methods of traffickers and instances the abuse both of the offer of marriage and the offer of employment: "Their methods of obtaining victims are not definitely known, but from information at our disposal we learn that they either hold out a prospect of marriage as a means of persuasion or give their victims to understand that they will find a good situation and honest and remunerative employment". The reply goes on to state that the women "all declared that they had honest employment and so succeeded in entering the country". The traffickers know that the authorities are suspicious of certain forms of employment and therefore they take special steps to make the offer of employment appear respectable. A *madame* of one of the best prostitution pensions in Brazil, containing mostly foreign prostitutes, stated: "The best way is for the girl to come alone and give her occupation as a *modiste* – anything that looks reasonable. If she calls herself an actress she is sometimes hed up and then it costs her money".

A prostitute in Czechoslovakia told the investigator of a case in which, in spite of every effort, the *souteneur* failed to get his girl out of the country. She said: "I know a girl who had a good chance to go to Egypt with a boy but she couldn't get a passport. He tried every way but it would not do. He even sent letters showing that he had a job waiting for her in Alexandria. He even went to the consul in Egypt and got him to say that the person was reliable, but she couldn't get the pass because her parents said 'No'. She was 39 years old; not a kid by any means. He got a business-man in Egypt to go to the consul.

Contracts given to girls for employment abroad call for special scrutiny. This is particularly so in the case of girls employed to dance or otherwise perform in places of entertainment. We have already given instances to show how, in low-class *cabarets*, girls are often required by their contracts to perform other duties which lead directly or indirectly to prostitution.