

After a couple of wasted decades Fei is no longer young, of course, and it is apparent from his current articles that he is devoting himself less to research than to the pressing task of creating a new generation of Chinese sociologists. Of highest priority, he says, are teachers (he estimates a thousand will be needed in the next few years) and textbooks. It is too early to tell whether or not he will succeed in establishing an intellectually exciting sociology. Research and writing on social conditions are inevitably going to be politically sensitive. Long prohibited, sociology is still suspect in the eyes of many cadres, and the precedent of the Soviet Union is not encouraging. On the other hand, there have been some significant recent developments. There are now departments of sociology or training programs at Fudan and Nankai universities, research organizations in Beijing, Shanghai, and Wuhan, and new journals are beginning to publish reports of real social research—even on previously unmentionable topics such as beggars, divorce, and the housing problem. There is reason to hope for work of interest and significance from Fei and his colleagues in the years ahead.

R. DAVID ARKUSH
University of Iowa

Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China, 1860–1936. By SUE GRONEWOLD.
New York: Haworth Press (Women and History, no. 1), 1982. 128 pp. \$20.

Human societies are generally divided fifty-fifty between the sexes. If the ratio slips, great social problems are created. After World War I, there was a generation of spinsters in Europe, women unable to marry because there was a scarcity of men left after the slaughter. Some of the more alarmist reports from China today suggest that one long-range effect of the policy of one child per couple will be an acute shortage of females.

The numerical division of the population may be roughly equal, but the status of the two halves is not; at every social level, women have been inferior to men in a formal sense, in China perhaps more than in other societies. To Sue Gronewold—looking at the late Qing and early Republican periods of Chinese history—the logical extrapolation from this fundamental situation of inequality is that Chinese women were a commodity: “In all classes women were regarded as objects to be invested in or bartered” (p. 37). At its most extreme, the trade in women took the form of trading “beautiful merchandise”—prostitutes.

Without holding a particular brief for Chinese men (or any other men, for that matter), this seems to be an oversimplified view of Chinese society, and of prostitution within it. It leaves out questions of class and wealth; it gives no attention to the matter of personality; and it ignores the roles of larger events and of accidents. If society as a whole were dominated by a single relationship—the owner/chattel relationship between men and women—there would be very little to study since there would be only one topic.

Instead, as the content (although not the thesis) of Gronewold's study indicates, prostitution itself was a complicated affair. Prostitutes ran the gamut from courtesans to scrubbers. They were recruited and trained in different ways, and they operated from different types of brothels. There were major changes over the time period studied; as the urban economy developed in the 1920s and 1930s, and as migration became increasingly common, the number of clients grew—single male migrants swelled the existing pool of regular clients. In terms of prostitute recruitment, the

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