

SEXUALITY IN HISTORY – 19th Century

Contents

OVERVIEW
SEXUALITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY
SEXUALITY AND MORALITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY WEST
SEXUALITY IN IMPERIAL INDIA
SEXUALITY IN IMPERIAL AFRICA
SOUTHWEST ASIA: OTTOMAN REACTIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY
SEXUALITY IN CHINA
SEXUALITY IN LATIN AMERICA
SEXUALITY IN RUSSIA
SEXUALITY IN JAPAN

OVERVIEW

Several significant new trends in sexuality emerged in the 19th century, particularly in rapidly-changing societies like the West, Russia and Japan – but they did not point in the same direction. Growing Western influence, especially through direct imperialism, shifted sexual regulations in several other parts of the world.

Sex and youth in the West. Western society was the first to industrialize, and the process placed a number of pressures on established sexual patterns. Rapid urbanization drew many young people away from customary parental controls. At the same time, men and women interacted in a number of new settings, such as factories. And outright prostitution increased. The result was increasing opportunity for sexual relationships before marriage – attested by the rising illegitimacy rate. The industrial context also drove down the average age of puberty, another new factor in young people's sexuality.

Similar trends emerged in Russia by the end of the century, as greater mobility loosened village and church controls and illegitimacy rates began to rise. Russia also featured a lively discussion of the importance of sexual pleasure, during the first decade of the 20th century.

Birth control. However, industrial society also produced growing need for new levels of birth control. As child labor declined for some groups, and schooling increased, families realized that children could now be an economic liability, and gradually they sought to cut back. However, reliable birth control devices – though they did become more common with the vulcanization of rubber in the 1840s – remained hard to come by until later in the century. The result was a growing need for periods of abstinence.

Victorian morality. Middle-class families, concerned about the birth rate but also the apparent sexual license of the lower classes, sought to introduce a new moral code that would confine sexual activity to marriage. They reemphasized the importance of chastity before marriage, and also mounted an unprecedented campaign against masturbation to help introduce a new sense of guilt and control. Victorians also emphasized that respectable women had little or no sex drive, another new argument that could have repressive effects. Finally, the forces of respectability tried to insist as well on a controlled public culture, censoring sexual references in the theater and elsewhere. Their campaign had mixed results – pornography for example continued to expand thanks to better printing technology – but it developed considerable force.

Imperialism: India and Africa. European imperialism and growing missionary activity put pressure on some sexual practices in India. The presence of European women, who now joined husbands in colonial

administration, also led to new criticisms of “native” sexuality. Results were mixed, but Western pressure did promote more concealing styles of dress and halting moves against child marriage. Both in India and Africa the application of British law, plus in Africa substantial Christian conversions, led to new but growing hostility to homosexuality. At the same time, the rise of new industries could shake up older sexual controls. In Africa, for example, young men returning to the village with some savings from work in mining or sugar refining could win sexual relationships outside conventional courtship patterns.

Ottoman Empire Western criticisms of traditional sexual habits had some impact in the remaining Asian empires. To be sure, some reformers in the Middle East, arguing against practices like veiling, pushed for some liberalization in gender roles. But Western scorn also encouraged growing disapproval of homosexuality, particularly in the Middle East – an important new development. Victorian morality, broadly construed, thus had a significant impact in many parts of the world, modifying traditional tolerance and in some cases obscuring awareness of past patterns.

Japan. Japan also felt Western pressure. Briefly the regime outlawed homosexuality, but this was soon repealed. More fundamental was a new requirement for monogamy, as formal concubinage was outlawed. On the other hand, early industrialization had its usual effects, particularly in greatly expanding prostitution in Japanese cities. Many rural families essentially sold a daughter into prostitution as a means of sustaining the other family members.

Conclusion. In many parts of the world a quiet conflict developed between new efforts to assert a family-centered morality and the several pressures toward loosening sexual habits. The morality was in some sense traditional, but it now included a greater emphasis on guilt – as in the West’s hostility to masturbation – or on new regulations over practices like homosexuality. Some of this restrictive approach survives into the present day. On the other hand, the impulse toward greater pleasure seeking was strong as well. Late in the 19th century even elements of the middle class in the West began to welcome a more expressive public culture while displaying greater interest in sexual satisfaction – for both partners – in marriage. This was a rapidly-changing terrain.

SEXUALITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Chapter 2 discussed the context for sexual rules and behaviors created by the rise of agriculture. Obviously, different regions developed a variety of sexual cultures during the long Agricultural Age, and there were significant changes over time as well, for example with the development of new religious norms. But the context remained important.

This chapter seeks to provide a similar analysis for industrial society, as it began to emerge from the later 18th century onward. The sketch will be more tentative, however, because the implications of industrialization for sexuality are still emerging – holdovers from earlier attitudes and practices remain strong. There are however a few clear points, applying to all the major world regions once they moved toward industrialization, and some other possibilities worth mentioning. The result will provide some guidelines for ensuing chapters, that deal more specifically with regional patterns and changes during the past two and a half centuries.

Industrialization. The industrial revolution centered on a rapid growth of manufacturing, around new technologies such as the steam engine. Increasing numbers of people began to live in cities. Rural populations receded in importance and the class structure was transformed, with the decline of the traditional aristocracy. Several of these changes had implications for sexuality.

Industrial conditions spread slowly – even in Western Europe, where the process began, and certainly globally, which suggests one complication in assessing the new context. Outright industrialization centered in the West (including the United States) until the later 19th century, when Japan and Russia began their own process. Pacific Rim industrialization began in the 1950s, with China, India, Brazil and other areas launching their transformations by the 1980s (a process still underway). By the early 21st century most of the world was industrialized to some degree; by 2010 for example over half the global population lived in cities for the first time. But the staggered chronology of industrialization obviously affected the implications for sexuality, which are still taking shape in many regions.

Yet despite the real complications, industrialization, or preparations for industrialization, ushered in at least three changes, two of them dramatic shifts away from the agricultural context; and a few other developments can be suggested as well, if somewhat more tentatively.

Birth rates. The unfolding of industrial conditions produced a dramatic decline in traditional birthrates, though adjustments were gradual and sometimes painful. Ultimately, children's work became less necessary, while the importance of schooling increased. This meant that children shifted from economic assets to liability. Further, industrialization (broadly construed) ultimately facilitated a huge decline in children's death rates, another reason to cut back on births.

This change required new measures to reduce reproductive sex. For some groups, at least initially, this meant longer periods of abstinence from sexual activity, or halfway measures like reliance on *coitus interruptus*. This could impose real burdens on sexuality. Ultimately, industrial products became available that might facilitate artificial birth control. The vulcanization of rubber, in the 1840s, led to better and more widely available condoms and diaphragms, though there was great resistance (and also issues of costs). This in turn *could* produce new opportunities for recreational sex and more open recognition of its validity – cutting the traditional emphasis on reproduction.

Birth rate decline and other developments could also encourage some new assessment of women's sexuality, though again this was not inevitable. Emphasis on female passivity could decline as women took on new work roles and gained more education. At least this became a new potential variable. Reconsideration of reproductive sex could also promote some rethinking of sexuality among older people, reducing older stigmas particularly where women were concerned.

Community supervision. Industrialization disrupted customary family and community controls over sexual behavior, particularly where young adults were concerned. It was the young who moved to cities, and while they might retain ties with parents and vividly remember older rules on sexuality, opportunities for innovation increased. To be sure, communities could and did re-form in the cities, reintroducing some supervision. But the norms might change in the process. For example, British urban working-class standards by 1900 tried to insist that a young man who got a girl pregnant should marry her. But they no longer pressed as hard for avoidance of sexual interaction before marriage – which, in any event, became harder to control in urban conditions.

Resistance. These various changes or potential changes could generate fierce moral pushback, by groups eager to defend more traditional norms but aware that they had to insist more strenuously. From Victorian morality in the 19th-century West, to some of the vigorous religious resistance to “modern sexuality” among certain Christian or Islamic groups – well into the 21st century – new levels of conflict over sexual behavior surfaced in many regions. Male resistance to changes in female sexual behavior could also be considerable, even violent. This, too, became part of the industrial history of sexuality at least for a long transitional period. And new efforts to control sexuality – for example, those associated with some aspects of modern feminism – fit into this picture as well, though in this case with new rather than purely traditional arguments.

Changes associated with the decline of reproductive sex; a quiet crisis in the traditional forms of supervision; and often angry resistance – these were the leading industrial forces introducing major innovations into the earlier agricultural context. But other relevant shifts occurred as well.

Decline of the aristocracy. The decline of the old upper class, sometimes spurred by outright revolution, cut into older traditions of distinctive sexual indulgence. A new upper class emerged, to be sure, and rich men could still seek special forms of sexual access. But earlier assumptions were challenged. Most obviously, formal harems largely disappeared, in the regions where these had previously been common. Here was another arena in which earlier behaviors had to be reconsidered at least in part.

Commercial sex. Cities had always been associated with the sale of sex. Now, this could become more important simply because urban conditions predominated. Furthermore, urban migration and other factors could make it harder for some women to find work – an old problem, now sometimes magnified. Industrialization would also facilitate the transportation of sex workers – voluntarily or involuntarily – to other regions.

Sexual pleasure. Did industrialization generate a new (though obviously not unprecedented) interest in sexual pleasure, particularly in the urban social classes? The decline of reproductive sex and, in some cases, the availability of new birth control options could certainly push in that direction. More broadly, industrial conditions definitely generated growing interest in, and opportunity for, recreational outlets of various sorts, including sports and professional entertainment – and, possibly, sex. As families saw their role as production units decline, efforts to win greater emotional and, at least in some cases, sexual satisfaction could increase, even serving as a more explicit basis for the choice of marriage partners. In some cases, however, heightened expectations for sexual satisfaction could lead to new disappointments. This line of analysis must be handled carefully, amid regional, social class and sometimes gender differences, but it is worth keeping in mind.

Conclusion. The idea of the “industrialization of sexuality” tosses up a number of possibilities for further analysis, that can generate useful questions about specific regional experiences – beginning with the very odd history of Western sexuality in the 19th century but easily extending to developments in our own time. Regional responses varied – in part of course because of differences in industrialization’s timing, but also because regional traditions differed considerably – but some common elements ultimately emerged as well. This was no longer, sexually speaking, the Agricultural Age.

Study questions:

1. What were the main reasons for changes in sexuality with industrialization?
2. Controlling the sexual behavior of young people was not a new issue; did it change significantly?
3. What are the implications of the decline of formal or informal harems? Have there been efforts to replace them?
4. What kinds of arguments support the claim that interest in sexual pleasure increases with industrialization? Why is there need for caution in pursuing this line of analysis?

Further reading:

The Industrial Turn in World History. By Peter N. Stearns (Routledge, 2018).

The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson. By Paul Robinson (Cornell University Press, 1989).

SEXUALITY AND MORALITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY WEST

As most of the West – much of Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand – industrialized in the 19th century, several striking developments occurred in sexual behaviors and sexual codes. Many of these developments would leave a legacy that remains important, though no longer dominant, in the West today. Many were also globally influential, as the West included strong sexual prescriptions in its last, great imperialist surge in the 19th century.

Two contradictory themes intertwined. First, patterns of urbanization and industrial development eroded many traditional controls over sex. The “sexual revolution” that had begun in the 18th century continued to gain steam, particularly affecting the behaviors and expectations of many young people. But second, partly in reaction, a fierce moral code combined traditional cultural constraints with new strictures, hoping to rein in the tides of change or, at least, protect the immunity of a powerful “respectable” minority. This code is frequently known as “Victorian” in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Signs of change: out-of-wedlock births. Growing interest in, and opportunity for, sexual activity among many younger adults showed in many ways. Most fundamentally, the rate of illegitimate births, as a percentage of the total, continued to rise. Traditionally about 2-3% in Western societies, the rate surged at least until 1850, reaching 6% overall, but in some urban areas up to 10%. The pattern could be seen from Germany to parts of the United States. Community controls over young people’s behavior were loosening, and many young people themselves sought new sexual opportunities perhaps in part to compensate for other new pressures in their lives.

As before, the pattern raises huge questions about gender: were women participating voluntarily, or was male exploitation increasing? The answer is a bit of both. Some young women were quoted as

enthusiastic about new opportunities to enjoy themselves, but many, surely, were forced or cajoled. When young women worked with men in factories, for example, there were many accounts of sexual intimidation (both by other workers and by supervisors). Outright prostitution also expanded, in urban contexts in which single women often had trouble supporting themselves and in which men, also adrift, sought some satisfaction. A growing number of women also served as domestic servants, not infrequently encountering abuse from the “master” or one of his sons; disgraced servants were one of the sources of prostitution.

Puberty. Another intriguing development was a fairly steady decline in the age of puberty, dropping a few months with every generation during the 19th century. This reflected improved nutrition but also the greater stimulation of urban life. Here was a clear challenge to traditional assumptions for young people but also their sometimes bewildered parents.

Within marriage. There were other indications of growing sexual interest. With marriages, the traditional conception cycle began to even out. In Western society in the Agricultural Age, the seasonal need for women’s work had dictated clear peaks of reproductive sexual activity in certain months, aimed at giving birth in periods when work demands were low. In urban contexts the pattern evened out, suggesting that couples might indulge themselves with less regard for calendar – and possibly with more sexual pleasure, rather than simply reproduction, in mind.

Pornography and sexual radicals. Elements of public culture also changed, with new printing techniques but also a growing audience for sexual fare. The production of sexual materials expanded. Novels, though frequently officially banned, featured strong sexual scenes, from the 1749 book *Fanny Hill* onward. A booming industry generated pornographic postcards (sometimes highlighting foreign settings, such as imaginary harems).

A number of reformers also explicitly attacked traditional sexual codes, urging more free love and an open admission of sexual pleasure. Several experimental communities were established in the United States, though they were usually banned fairly quickly.

Courtship. Finally – though as we will see this development did not necessarily affect sexuality – the role of parents in arranging marriages unquestionably declined. More and more young people sought their own partners, and this expanded the importance of emotional and physical attraction. Young women, particularly, were urged to pay more attention to personal appearance, including the desirability of slender waists. Sexually-relevant standards and behaviors were changing in many ways.

Social class. Many of the new developments affected people in various social groups, though on the whole it was clear that shifts were slower in the countryside than in the growing cities. But men, clearly, had or seized more license than women. And the working class, broadly construed, participated more openly in several changing patterns than did their middle-class counterparts. In turn, the middle class mounted a vigorous campaign to define a more systematic respectability, which they worked to impose on their own ranks but which they also used as a basis for criticizing real or imagined lower-class behaviors.

The middle-class problem. For propertied middle-class families faced a series of issues during most of the 19th century. There were the signs of growing license in the lower social ranks, from which many sought to protect their children. There was the falling age of puberty, a challenge in its own right. But there was also a particularly intense need for controlling the birth rate. With a strong emphasis on schooling rather than work for children, plus a falling child death rate, middle-class families took the lead in seeking to protect their economic status by having fewer offspring. The pattern began as early as the 1790s in some places, and became quite a general marker for middle-class family life. But the need to limit births first hit before there were any particularly reliable artificial measures, which meant that controlling sexual frequency – during as well as before marriage – took on stark new importance.

For several reasons, then, middle-class leaders but also many actual families introduced new kinds of rigor, into culture and behavior alike. The campaign was often conducted as an exercise in traditional Christianity, but in fact it contained many novel elements.

The moral response. Advice during the 19th century poured out not only from religious leaders and related popularizers, but from doctors, who began to promote (often dubious) medical opinions concerning sexuality. This was directed mainly at a middle-class audience, but it could resonate beyond, and certainly helped form judgments about other groups.

The moralistic response to sexual issues, new and old, included firm insistence on a number of familiar staples: the importance of avoiding sex before marriage (particularly for women); the dishonor of premarital pregnancy; the need for sexual fidelity within marriage (particularly for women). Even within marriage, a certain degree of restraint was essential, now with a variety of health warnings attached. And of course sedate public culture was vital as well; here, commentary was joined to a wide variety of censorship efforts. Even major literary works like *Madame Bovary* came under fire for raising subjects like adultery. Censorship was not the only outcome: the new moralism spilled over into a variety of advice about reducing sexual desire, including a nutritional movement aimed at controlling passion; quite literally, new foods like Kellogg's cereals, in the United States, were introduced as part of this purity movement.

Masturbation. Innovations were significant. First, a huge attack was mounted against masturbation, and particularly male masturbation. This was not totally novel, but the intensity was impressive. Clearly, the effort was an attempt to instill restraint in the young, even before other sexual activity was likely – and it could leave a lifelong mark. For masturbation was not only morally wrong, it would produce a host of diseases from acne to impotence to mental degeneration. Concerns about masturbation motivated a new level of parental watchfulness, and a surge in a sense of guilt in many young people themselves when desire and standards clashed.

Women. Second, familiar gender differentials were redefined. At an extreme, moralists argued that women had no natural sex drive, which made them ideal guardians of family morality (a very new idea, as against traditional beliefs in female degeneracy). Men should heed female caution. Of course women should be willing to have reproductive sex – as one author put it, urging the importance of national population strength, “close your eyes and think of England” – but this should not happen too often, and other sexual activity should at best be limited.

Birth control. Strictures against abortions increased, often written into law, and definitions were tightened against considerable traditional tolerance for measures taken in the first three months of pregnancy. Artificial methods were also attacked, even when, and to some extent because, better products became available. The idea here was that while these methods might help limit births they would also promote irresponsible sexuality – given the widespread view that sexual pleasure was dangerous and wrong. The ironic result was a host of measures – banning advertising for example, or preventing devices from being sent through the mail (in the United States) – that vastly complicated sexuality in practice given the growing recognition that the birth rate must be limited. All of this placed further premium on restraint.

Homosexuality. The new moralism had less to say about homosexuality than might be imagined. The practice was wrong, but there was no sense that it was posing a new problem (at least, within the West itself). A number of Western countries had laws against some same-sex practices, such as sodomy, but enforcement was spotty. The British law reemphasized traditional prescriptions as late as 1861, terming sodomy “against nature”. But French revolutionary and Napoleonic reforms had decriminalized the category. Law, however, was not the main point within the West at this juncture; while Christian standards were not revisited, during most of the century the issue seemed far less acute than other aspects of sexuality. Only at the end of the century did a new intolerance surface, as in the brutal trial of the British writer Oscar Wilde. Otherwise, through much of the century, discrete activity was largely ignored.

Impact. Victorian culture had massive impact. Obviously it led to a host of moral condemnations, of lower-class behavior, of sexual reform advocates, of prostitutes. Condemnations might apply vigorously to immigrants – like the Chinese in the United States – who were seen as particularly shocking. The new strictures could also have deep impact on the sexual expectations – and fears – of young people. A new middle-class courtship ideal emerged that highlighted the importance of deep love, honed through months of interaction – often in classic venues, like the young woman's front porch – but no outright sexuality. And while the combination was sometimes impossible – some premarital sex did occur – it often worked, creating an interesting separation between emotional and sexual expectations. (For young men, of

course, the equation was sometimes aided by visits to a brothel or even homoerotic friendships; but the ideals could be taken literally as well.)

At extremes the new morality could lead to phenomena such as respectable British women covering piano legs to prevent erotic implications or the young woman in France who believed she had lost her virginity because she sat in a train seat occupied by a man.

The most stringent moral urgings were however taken with a grain of salt, and they might have little impact at all on the working classes, which began to develop their own new standards of sexual propriety (save of course in the difficulty of obtaining birth control devices or abortions). Even in the middle classes the extreme views about women's passionless were not necessarily widely accepted, and marital sex may well have been somewhat more expressive than the moralists intended.

After 1870. Considerable evidence suggests that the most intense impact of Victorian moralism occurred before the final decades of the 19th century. One study, for example, shows that upper-middle-class women in the United States born after 1870 were much more likely to have and expect orgasm than their mid-century predecessors. Gradually, despite the barriers, married couples with some resources began increasingly to use birth control devices, reducing tensions about unwanted births. New expertise, like the work of psychologist Sigmund Freud, revealed the unhealthy results of too much sexual guilt.

More generally, members of the middle class began to indulge more extensively in a somewhat relaxed leisure culture. On both sides of the Atlantic, for example, middle-class young people began to patronize popular theater venues – called music hall in Britain, vaudeville in the United States – that included a host of bawdy themes. Entertainers did pare these back a bit, to suit middle-class taste, but they still challenged the strictest moral code. Dress styles also began to relax, with less emphasis on the rigidly-corseted female figure of mid-century. These various shifts would gain further momentum after 1900, for example in campaigns to pay greater attention to women's sexual needs or to widen access to birth control devices.

And it is vital to remember that Victorian sexuality had never been fully triumphant: the new impulses toward greater sexuality remained vigorous. As one example: while attacks on prostitution were more extensive than ever, rates of use almost certainly increased. Both trends – new needs and expressions and new rigor – were significant, and in the long run the relaxations of traditional morality may have been more important.

Legacies. Victorian moralism, however, left a huge legacy, even as it began to unravel in part. Battles over remnants of the new moral code as still being waged in Western society, particularly in the United States, as will be discussed in the later chapter.

At least as important was the impact Western moralism had on other parts of the world during the 19th century itself. Here, it enhanced an existing Western tendency to criticize the sexual standards of other cultures, translating into a number of new tensions and regulations during this age of imperialism. Here too, as we will see, a considerable legacy persists.

Study questions:

1. What were the causes of new kinds of sexual activities for key groups in Western society during the 19th century?
2. What were the most important innovations in the Victorian sexual ethic, compared to more traditional standards?
3. What were the principal causes of the new rigor of official middle-class morality?
4. Did sexual behaviors really change as a result of the new moral code?

Further reading:

Love for Sale: a world history of prostitution. By Johan Rindahl (Grove, 2002).

International Exposure: perspectives on modern European pornography. Ed. by Lisa Sigel (Rutgers University Press, 2005).

Intimate Matters : a history of sexuality in America, 3rd ed. By John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Prostitution: prevention and reform in England, 1860-1914. By Paula Bartley (Routledge, 2012).

Inventing the Victorians. By Matthew Sweet (Faber and Faber, 2002).

SEXUALITY IN IMPERIAL INDIA

India, increasingly under British political and economic control in the 19th century, was one of the first places where European standards played out against regional traditions. Interactions built on some of the shock Westerners had already expressed about this aspect of Indian culture, but with fuller involvement and with Victorian standards in mind, potential tensions grew. At the same time, British impulses were constrained by the challenges of ruling this vast realm, and many compromises and some outright benign neglect were essential.

Imperial wives. British reactions were affected by another intriguing innovation: the increasing presence of English wives, now able to participate with their husbands as the latter served as imperial officials or business representatives. Previously, many British adventurers, male and single or at least free from marital control, actively took local consorts, a behavior widely familiar during the previous colonial era. Now, however, wives sought to exercise direct control, aware that their husbands might be tempted. Two obvious results were, first, a greater social separation between the British and most of the Indian people; and second, a further enhancement to the drumbeat of criticism of native eroticism.

Critiques. Western observers claimed to find rampant sexuality everywhere they looked. A Scotsman described the typical Indian man as “a living Priapus,” constantly lusting after sex. Even Indian prostitutes were described as distinctive, for actually enjoying sex: “they are sumptuously dressed, they wear the most costly jewels in profusion, they are well educated and sing sweetly.” A Mrs. Colin summed up a common opinion in 1857: “You may imagine the degraded condition of the people here, when I tell you we constantly pass women in the open street bare down to the hips...They do not seem to have the least sense of decency.” Male commentary was similar, though often reflecting a more complicated combination of shock and envy.

The challenge of course is to determine if these condemnations actually had much impact on their local targets. The answer is: not as much as the British would have liked, but enough to reshape some Indian traditions.

Homosexuality. British officials vigorously attacked apparent Indian tolerance of homosexuality, and while this involved some exaggeration, the Indian tradition did differ from its Western counterpart. A few arrests were made for same-sex behavior or even crossdressing as early as the 1840s. Then in the early 1860s, an overhaul of the Indian legal system included application of the British law against sodomy. In fact, actual prosecutions for same-sex activity remained fairly rare, but there was no question about a heightened official concern.

British disapproval promoted similar legal changes in other parts of South Asia, even territories not directly under colonial control. Some traditional ambivalence about same-sex activity combined with a clear effort to respond to the imperialist sense that only Western sexual standards counted as truly civilized.

South and Southeast Asia formed one of several cases where Western (particularly British) concern about homosexuality had particular impact – even though, in the West itself, the issue was not at the top of the agenda during most of the 19th century. . The role of Christian standards might seem salient in an age of active missionary outreach. More to the point, Western hostility usually combined with some traditional hesitance about same-sex practices within regions like South Asia, and as a result a focus on attacking homosexuality constituted a particularly attractive target in responding to more general Western criticism.

Early marriage. British observers frequently lamented arranged marriages involving children, particularly female children. Criticism mounted in the later 19th century, when some British feminists began to agitate

for gender reforms on the subcontinent. Definitive action came only in 1929, with a new law outlawing the practice. By this point, Indian feminists themselves provided considerable support. However the reform failed significantly to dent the practice, as many Hindus and Muslims alike hewed to tradition.

Public culture and legacy. The British made no secret of their official distaste for Indian erotic art, though as in other areas they treaded carefully in fact, eager to avoid rousing local opposition. One measure even created an exception to British pornography rules, allowing some representations of Hindu statues to appear on postage stamps. But the new public buildings and statues promoted by the British moved away from the older artistic traditions, driving many erotic expressions underground.

And the long colonial experience left a lasting mark on Indian officialdom, even though the changes in actual popular behaviors had been rather modest. Well into the 21st century many leading officials either ignored the erotic elements in Indian cultural traditions, or actually denied them, as in claiming that Hinduism had always firmly opposed homosexuality. A partial redefinition of respectability was hard to shake off.

Study questions:

1. Why were the British so critical of Indian sexuality?
2. Did significant changes in Indian sexual culture or behavior result from the colonial experience?
3. What were the major limitations in British impact?

Further reading:

Imperial Bodies: the physical experience of the Raj. By E.M. Collingham (Blackwell, 2001).

The Courtesan's Arts: cross-cultural perspectives. Ed. M, Feldman and B. Gordon (Oxford University Press, 2006).

SEXUALITY IN IMPERIAL AFRICA

European characterizations of sexuality in Africa, as imperialist conquests expanded in the 19th century, overlapped with those in India in many ways. Western assumptions of moral superiority combined with some genuine shock; the concerns of colonial wives, eager to keep their husbands under control, similarly amplified the attacks.

Western presence in Africa did differ from that in India in one crucial way: here, colonial political controls were joined with increasingly successful Christian missionary activity in a number of regions – Catholic and Protestant alike. For many Africans, Christian sexual strictures were more significant than any legal changes imposed by imperial governments. In other parts of Africa (also under colonial control), Islamic missionary efforts gained ground impressively, here too promoting changes in relevant traditions including styles of dress.

Limitations remained important, as in India. Colonial officials did not want to provoke local resistance, and hesitancy often trumped moral concerns. For example, in northeastern Africa, both British and French officials encountered a widespread practice of female circumcision, imposed on young adolescent girls as a mark of respectability and clearly aimed a controlling female sexual desire. Westerners uniformly disapproved, as they became aware of the practice; but official efforts to intervene only began after World War II, and then rather tentatively.

Critiques. Attacks on real or imagined African sexual habits ranged widely. One European noted blasted Africans for their “hot temperament, their fickle and licentious personalities.” “They can only restrain themselves with great difficulty, and once launched on debauchery, they maintain the most execrable voluptuousness.” Native dress, frequently involving bare breasts for women, drew wide comment. As in other regions, African men were attacked both for being effeminate and for being oversexed.

There were some distinctive themes, often reflecting and reinforcing a particularly vicious racism. A number of observers claimed that Africans frequently engaged in sex with animals, particularly monkeys. Belief that African men had unusually large, even animal-like sexual organs were matched by occasional claims that African women lacked hymens, which was said to account for their inordinate sexuality. On

the other hand, blasts against homosexuality were less prominent than in India – though colonial regimes and missionaries alike sought to inculcate more explicit opposition to any same-sex practice.

As in other regions, Western critiques often involved considerable outright hypocrisy. The presence of Western military forces brought increasing reports of rape, particularly during the middle decades of the 19th century, as well as widespread use of prostitutes. These behaviors did not prevent vigorous assertions of Western moral superiority, supplemented later in the century both by suspicious colonial wives and the growing ranks of missionaries.

Finally, relevant European impact in Africa varied greatly with region. British efforts at sexual regulation in southern Africa, for example, were much more intense than in West Africa, where legal changes were more limited.

Impacts. In several colonies, Western officials tried to limit the practice of child marriage, with varying degrees of success – though Christian missionaries helped in some cases. Some African officials also pressed for change. Around 1900, for example, one local man appealed to colonial officials to help a young girl who was being compelled to marry against her will. “I hope you will help her in the matter...She should not be forced to marry anyone.”

Missionaries also worked to introduce new patterns of dress. Traditions of polygamy were also attacked in the Christianizing regions, though actual change came slowly even when, officially, religious conversions gained ground.

Colonial pressures could generate both compliance and opposition. Many Africans came to share a deep resistance to potential same-sex behaviors – particularly where Christian missionary activity was strong. On the other hand, other local leaders could defend earlier customs as a matter of incipient national pride – even defending female circumcision as a valued tradition.

Economic change. In many parts of Africa, economic changes had more impact on sexual behaviors than colonial controls did. The rise of mining and other industries recruited a growing male labor force. In turn, when the workers returned to their villages, even for visit, flush with cash wages, they often pressed local girls into sexual activity. And young women who did move to cities, like their sisters in other regions, might have to resort to prostitution to support themselves.

Changes of this sort, along with the European criticisms of African sexuality, prompted a number of local efforts to impose new controls on female behavior, from the early 20th century onward. In Ghana in the 1920s, for example, local African officials increasingly arrested young women on suspicion of prostitution. One leader actually issued an edict requiring all young girls to marry. While colonial officials occasionally attempted legal reform aimed at assisting women – as in making it easier for them to divorce – quite commonly they joined in the effort to promote male family control.

Imagery in the West. One other feature of colonial sexuality is worth noting, though it involves the West itself: discussions of “native” sexuality, and even photographs of traditional dress, could intrude on Victorian respectability in Europe and America. Even when framed in terms of Western moral superiority, the images could, for some Western readers, suggest other opportunities.

Study questions:

1. What were the main similarities in Western commentaries on African and Indian sexualities? Were there significant differences?
2. How was colonial economic activity sexually disruptive? How were gender relations affected?
3. Why were colonial officials often more hesitant than missionaries in seeking to change established sexual patterns?

Further reading:

Imperial Leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial context. By Anne McClintock (Routledge, 1995).

“Wicked Women” and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa. Ed. By D.L. Hodgson and S.A. McCurdy (Heinemann, 2001).

Lords of Humankind: European attitudes to other cultures in the imperial age. By V. Kiernan (Serif, 1995).

Queering Colonial Natal: indigeneity and the violence of belonging in southern Africa. By T.J. Tillie (University of Minnesota Press, 2019).

SOUTHWEST ASIA: OTTOMAN REACTIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Neither the Ottoman Empire nor China (discussed in the next chapter) came under full imperialist control in the 19th century, but both experienced growing Western political, economic and cultural pressure – including the striking impact of the West’s claims to civilizational superiority.

Critique and resistance. Increasing encounters between Westerners and the Middle East and North Africa generated the familiar Western laments about decadence and immorality, a pattern already established by the 18th century. In this case, however, Islamic moralists might repay in kind: the Western women that traveled to the Middle East seemed far too unrestrained in public, too unconcerned with their sexual honor. (In one classic confrontation, a Western woman visiting the sultan’s harem was punched in the jaw by one of the leading consorts for her inappropriate attitude.)

By 1900, debates about Western patterns were incorporated in vigorous local discussions about practices such as women’s veiling. Many Egyptian reformers began to argue that veiling must be reconsidered in adjusting to modernity, while others insisted it was a vital defense of female modesty and regional tradition alike. A number of Middle Eastern authors, including some women writing in French or English, tried to push back against Western exaggerations while also insisting that some reforms were possible in women’s conditions.

Homosexuality. Huge tension focused on homosexuality. Western eagerness to use evidence of same-sex practices as another sign of the region’s sexual corruption in this case combined by a growing interest (late 19th/early 20th century) among some Western homosexuals in visiting parts of the Middle East and North Africa in hopes of finding greater tolerance. A good bit of Western criticism seized on same-sex themes in literature, as in the *Thousand and One Nights*, attacked as “absolute obscenity utterly repugnant to English readers.” But several writers, including Oscar Wilde, and a number of painters also traveled to the region to explore this aspect of Middle Eastern culture – an early example of modern sex tourism.

Both these developments – the unexpected tourist interest but even more the drumbeat of criticism – prompted increasing hostility to same-sex practices within the Arab and Ottoman world. As in other regions, the response built on some traditional concern about homosexuality, as in Islamic prohibitions of sodomy, as well as the newer sensitivity to external reputation. As early as the 1830s Islamic writers began to urge greater control over literary praise for the joys of same-sex love. A Lebanese writer in the 1880s denounced homosexuality, particularly with young boys, as “one of the ugliest forms of debauchery.” One scholar has aptly termed the new concern a regional “civilizational anxiety”.

The new concern was not a matter for intellectual debate alone. Censorship of homoerotic literature became increasingly rigid under the late Ottomans, and older works, like the *Arabian Nights*, were revised to purge offensive passages. Tolerance for homosexuality among Ottoman bureaucrats and military leaders, once considerable, now disappeared. A few prominent homosexuals managed to survive by hiding their proclivities to prevent both Western and internal attack. On the legal front, interpretations of Islamic law increasingly emphasized the strand that viewed same-sex acts as punishable offenses.

All this added up to a major transformation of regional traditions. What began as a defensive reaction to the West became a deeply-rooted response throughout the area, one that has lasted into the 21st century.

Other changes. During the Ottoman period many other sexual traditions survived with less debate, including polygamy for those men who had sufficient resources. (However, the gradual decline of slavery had some impact on sexual options available to men.) Abortion and birth control remained permissible. Islamic rules of divorce continued to prevail, with differential access for men and women. After the fall of

the Ottoman empire, however, other reforms might pressed forward. The Ataturk regime in Turkey thus outlawed polygamy and equalized divorce law, while also attacking practices such as female veiling. (However, homosexuality was not criminalized.) The reforms were not intended to unseat the family as the center of legitimate sexual activity: the goal was adjustment to Western criticism, not a new level of permissiveness.

Study questions:

1. Why did such substantial changes occur in the official approach to homosexuality in the Middle East?
2. What were some leading counterattacks against Western criticism of Ottoman sexual practices? Why did it become increasingly important to highlight sexual laxity in the West?
3. Why was it so difficult simply to ignore Western opinion about regional traditions?

Further reading:

Sex and the Citadel: intimate life in a changing Arab world. By Shereen El Feki (Chatto and Windus, 2013).

Slavery and abolition in the Ottoman Middle East. By E.R. Toledano (University of Washington Press, 1998).

CHINA

The 19th century featured huge upheavals in Chinese history, due in large part to growing Western interference. In sexuality, however, while Western criticisms included some of the now-familiar staples, perspectives were somewhat more moderate than was the case for places like India or the Middle East, and Chinese adjustments were less disruptive as well. The Confucian framework had already generated a cautious strand in discussions of sexuality, and this could now be carried further.

Two related factors suggest a partially distinctive context. First, many Western observers were more concerned about undue submissiveness in Chinese women than about excessive sexuality, and this highlighted a different set of targets. Second, Chinese traditions already included high levels of concern about regulating sexual passions, and the Qing dynasty had been trying to heighten the emphasis on family-based, reproductive sexuality since the 18th century. It may also have been significant that while Chinese imperial traditions included an assortment of concubines, nothing quite as elaborate as a harem existed to provide a target for foreign comment.

Criticism and reform. Westerners certainly noted what they saw as the effeminacy of Chinese men, along with their indulgence in sexual pursuits. But while foreigners were certainly aware of prostitution (not infrequently taking advantage), they offered fewer sweeping criticisms of female sexuality. Rather, attention focused on the unfairness of practices like footbinding. Indeed, the efforts of Protestant missionaries soon combined with internal Chinese reform efforts, and this traditional practice began gradually to ease – a major change in gender relations but not centered primarily on sexuality. On another front: while average Chinese marriage ages were lower than their counterparts in the West, at 21 for men, 17 for women, they were actually rising a bit in the 19th century due to population pressure, and blatant practices such as extensive child marriage were less salient. Missionaries, but again also local reformers, did attack the tradition of concubinage, which like footbinding began to recede.

Public culture. The Qing dynasty increasingly attempted to regulate public culture, banning a large number of books that dealt with sexual themes. Over 150 titles were outlawed in the 18th century, the books burned along with the printing blocks used to produce them; and stiff penalties were threatened for anyone selling erotic materials. The measures were not terribly effective, particularly because the government itself steadily declined in capacity; but the efforts did unintentionally help limit Western criticisms of this aspect of Chinese culture.

Homosexuality. The Qing also moved against homosexuality, again beginning in the 18th century. The new regulations on publications included homoerotic materials, but the government also outlawed homosexuality in practice, for the first time in Chinese history – not only to discipline morality but to

emphasize reproduction. This was another area where official steps muted Western complaint, though there was some additional pressure by the later 19th century. In practice, however, the measures had little impact on same-sex practice, which continued to be widespread, even within the imperial household. After the fall of the empire, these persistent patterns would however lead to a new debate during the 1920s and 1930s, with nationalist modernizers developing a new argument: that homosexuality was contrary to the needs of a vigorous, virile modern nation.

Study questions:

1. What distinctive factors affected Western commentary on Chinese sexuality?
2. Why did the Chinese government undertake new regulations even before significant Western influence?
3. Was the 19th century a period of much real change in Chinese sexual patterns?

Further reading:

Obsessions: male same-sex relations in China, 1900-1950. By Wenqing Kang (Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

Western images of China. By C. Mackerras (Oxford University Press, 1999).

SEXUALITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Many features in Latin American sexuality persisted from the colonial period, when the intrusion of Western Christian standards had already occurred. Official disapproval of homosexuality, for example, remained intense. Upper-class representatives continued to defend the sanctity of the family, urging chastity before marriage (particularly for respectable young women) and discountenancing adultery. Lower-class behavior came in for intense criticism.

Illegitimacy and sexual violence. In fact, gaps between standards and actual behaviors loomed large, and not just in the lower classes; here too, many colonial trends were maintained. Rates of illegitimacy remained high. Many men maintained liaisons outside marriage. Until the abolition of slavery, which came late in many countries, sexual exploitation remained widespread. Efforts by slave women to protest rape were usually futile, because the burdens of proof were too great; and few even tried. Even aside from exploitation, many couples simply didn't bother with marriage, though Catholic campaigns did gradually drive the marriage rate up. False promises of marriage constituted another common problem (as was true in Western society as well), with some men pledging marriage to induce sexual compliance and then walking away. Women sometimes sued successfully, but more often the men involved managed to impugn their reputation by implying they had had previous relationships. Double standard sexuality clearly reduced women's latitude compared to men.

Reform pressures. Later in the 19th century several issues began to generate regulatory attention. Evidence of rising rates of venereal disease generated new efforts to regulate prostitution. During the first half of the 20th century Argentina actually tried to outlaw prostitution, while countries like Chile mandated blood tests before marriage. Some reformers also urged more explicit sex education, to help grapple with disease but also ease the pressures on women, but Catholic opposition usually limited actual programs.

Other battles occurred over abortion and birth control. Abortion was illegal throughout the region, though Argentina modified this in the 1920s for women who were raped or whose life was in danger; otherwise, penalties of four years in prison remained on the books. Underground, and even in some hospitals, rates of abortion probably increased, reflecting problems of regulating the birth rate by other means as well as sexual exploitation of women.

New voices. Thanks in part to a growing feminist movement and improvements in women's literacy, some magazines did begin to raise other issues. Thus an article in 1892 discussed the importance of sexuality to women's health and well-being – a rare comment that moved beyond the subject of exploitation and disease. Pressures for more access to birth control mounted by the 1920s: "a woman will never be the mistress of her own body if she cannot choose the moment she wants to become a mother." More feminists, however, worried about the double standard, focused more on seeking to reduce

references to female sexuality in the media, seeing protection rather than expression or new rights as the key goal.

The “white slavery” crisis. Latin America was also deeply affected by a new Western campaign against so-called white slavery, that began to take shape in the 1870s and crested early in the 20th century. Both in Europe and the United States, anxiety grew about the seizure of young women for export to dens of iniquity elsewhere – particularly in Latin America. The crisis was probably blown out of proportion, in terms of the numbers involved, but some problems did exist. In 1877 women from seven Western countries formed the Friends of Young Women association to publicize the issue and insist on redress, and an international bureau formed early in the 20th century to monitor compliance. The campaign expressed the deep stake in female respectability still dominant, in the West and globally, but also some xenophobic shock at the idea of foreigners molesting White women. The campaign explicitly expressed Western belief that sexual morals in other regions were uniformly remiss – one British leader referred to “the absence of any local public opinion on the moral question”.

Latin America was strongly targeted, and also extremely sensitive given concerns about prostitution and dismay at lower-class standards. Argentine leaders thus expressed great remorse that Buenos Aires was so widely regarded as the “worst of all centers of the immoral commerce on women”. The result fueled regulatory efforts in Argentina and other Latin American countries, as well as a massive propaganda campaign; but the issue lingered in the region until after World War II.

Study questions:

1. How did sexual issues in 19th-century Latin America compare to those in Asia and Africa?
2. How and why did sexuality become a social class issue in Latin America?
3. What kinds of new ideas began to circulate about sexuality and sexual problems, and why?
4. Why were Latin American leaders particularly sensitive to the “white slavery” campaign?

Further reading:

Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: prostitution, family and nation. By Donna Guy (University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

Compromised Positions: prostitution, public health, and gender politics in revolutionary Mexico City. By Katherine Bliss (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

Life is Hard: machismo, danger and the intimacy of power in Nicaragua. By Roger Lancaster (University of California Press, 1992).

White Slave Crusades: race, gender, and anti-vice activism, 1887-1917. By Brian Donovan (University of Illinois Press, 2006).

SEXUALITY IN RUSSIA

Sexual developments in Russia during the 19th century reflected some influence of Western standards, but population growth, land reform, and the early stages of industrialization were far more important in introducing significant changes in behavior patterns. Cultural commentary largely responded to these wider shifts.

Premarital sex. Following the somewhat convoluted reform of serfdom in 1861, labor mobility from the countryside steadily increased, fueled also by population pressure. Cities grew steadily. The overall results, in rural and urban areas alike, resembled the kind of popular “sexual revolution” that had occurred in Western Europe a century before. Premarital sex and illegitimacy rates both increased, as the controls of Orthodox Christianity, and village tradition, broke down to some extent. One writer claimed that many men sired several children with different women before marrying one of them, while “in most parts of the province, no one pays attention to women’s chastity.”

Prostitution and abortion. Urban prostitution expanded, as the government shifted from efforts at prohibition to granting official permits to “comfort houses”, complete with some medical inspection. By the 1890s it was estimated that there were 2500 brothels across the vast country.

Abortion rates accelerated apace, in the absence of wide access to other birth control measures. Despite being officially outlawed, the number of abortions in St. Petersburg may have increased tenfold during the turn of the century decades. But sales of condoms expanded as well.

Homosexuality. As part of the growing interest in sexual expression, homosexuality may have increased, particularly in schools and universities. Prohibitive laws were not enforced, and in 1903 official punishments were eased (without removing the ban in principle).

Criticisms. Many writers lamented the new trends, and not only on religious grounds. Conservative nationalists believed that the nation was succumbing to Western-style immorality, sapping Russian strength. (This was an important theme that would be picked up at various later points in Russian history.) Writers like Tolstoy railed against animal-like behavior – a focus on sex was “unworthy of human beings.”

Public culture. However, a full “Victorian” mood did not emerge. Other writers praised the quest for sexual pleasure. Magazines carried articles with titles like “How to quench your sexual thirst.” Many authors urged reform of laws on abortion, because of the risk of underground procedures. Poets and painters indulged in more erotic themes, and a number of openly gay and lesbian poets drew an audience. At another level, pornography also expanded. This was an interesting transitional moment, in behaviors and debates alike, on the eve of the great revolution.

Study questions:

1. What were the main causes of changes in sexual behavior in late-19th-century Russia?
2. How did public responses vary?
3. Why might the government have hesitated to enforce older sexual rules too strictly?

Further reading:

The Sexual Revolution in Russia from the Age of the Czars to Today. By I. Kon, tr. J. Riordan (Free Press, 1995).

Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siecle Russia. By Laura Engelman (Cornell University Press, 1992).

JAPAN

Like Russia, Japan entered a period of rapid change in the late 19th century, under the spur of massive political reforms in the Meiji era as well as the upheavals of early industrialization. But Japan also resembled other societies in Africa and Asia in terms of the potential impact of Western moral criticisms. Indeed, with a more varied and permissive sexual tradition than neighboring China, Japan was particularly vulnerable. Several important responses folded into the reform movement – without, however, transforming key traditions beyond recognition.

The Critiques. Western visitors, as Japan was pried open to international exchange, notoriously misunderstood key Japanese customs such as the geisha houses or the public baths. Christian missionaries, now flocking in, could be particularly harsh. In Western eyes, geishas seemed to be prostitutes, pure and simple. And Japanese art that had highlighted women in erotic poses was pornography, nothing more nor less. Japanese men, though effeminate in many ways, seemed hopelessly addicted to sex. Traditional tolerance for homosexuality, including the assumption that people could participate both in same-sex and heterosexual indulgence, was also widely attacked.

Reforms;

Homosexuality. The Japanese government in its reform mood was unusually sensitive to this kind of criticism and, without surrendering all tradition, proved eager to measure up to Western definitions of civilized behavior. Geisha houses were not abolished, but regulation increased. Erotic art was now banned as pornographic. Government ministers highlighted Confucian emphasis on the importance of family – a variety of measures tried to encourage a range of family activities, including dining together, and the campaign sought to bolster sexual respectability as well. In 1873 an unprecedented law sought to

outlaw homosexuality. This turned out to go too far, and it was rescinded seven years later. However, official disapproval of same-sex behavior remained high, forcing greater concealment.

Monogamy. One measure that did stick was a law outlawing concubinage, a major blow against sexual traditions in the upper classes. Monogamy was now the legal norm. Another law, officially outlawing abortion, sought to emphasize the importance of reproductive sex, as did the “wise mother” image promoted for women by the Meiji government.

Family and courtship. However, these steps did not result in a fully Victorian-style family, in large part because gender differentials remained more pronounced. Mistresses were still widely tolerated. Arranged marriage continued to be the norm, with couples often not meeting until their parents had completed negotiations (and sometimes not until the ceremony itself). Parental permission was legally required for men under 30, women under 25. Courtship was also discouraged by the rigorous separation of the sexes in schools. When one westernizer proposed that the absence of love could be grounds to divorce, his measure was rejected. Chastity in marriage remained essential for respectable women, while a law allowing a husband to kill his wife and a lover was not repealed until 1908.

Despite some new regulations, Japanese public culture did not renounce discussions of sexuality. Sexual scandals of prominent people received wide attention. Sexual themes continued in art and poetry. As in the West, scientific findings about sexuality and sexual issues were widely publicized as well.

Urban sexuality. The complex adjustments in law and culture were accompanied by wide changes in sexual behavior in fact – often associated with urbanization. Here was a pattern broadly similar to what happened in the West and in Russia, a disjuncture between official commentary and actual practice. Exploitation of women in the factories was widespread, heightened by the low wages for female labor. Women in trades like waitressing were encouraged to flirt, and their styles of dress became more provocative. Large pleasure zones arose in cities, complete with brothels. Some families in the countryside deliberately sold a daughter into prostitution, in order to support the siblings. By the 1920s it was estimated that 50,000 prostitutes were servicing several men each day; and there was considerable export of Japanese women to other parts of Asia (where Japanese-run brothels often had special prestige).

The 1920s. Other changes began to affect even middle-class behavior by the 1920s. The idea of marrying for love gained ground, though it sometimes provoked bitter clashes with parents and, not infrequently, suicide – all widely publicized. Western fashions also drew new attention, prompting moralists to worry about the impact “frivolous Western influence” was having on Japanese youth.

The decades around the turn of the century showed a fascinating mixture of themes, with some of the standard impacts of early industrialization combining with government efforts to appease Western critics while at the same time many traditions survived with only minor modifications.

Study questions:

1. How did the Japanese seek to respond to Western criticisms of sexual patterns? Were the changes significant?
2. From the standpoint of sexuality, how did family patterns compare to those in the 19th-century West?
3. Why did prostitution expand so rapidly?

Further reading:

“Managing the Truth of Sex in Imperial Japan.” By Sabine Fruhstuck (*Journal of Asian Studies* 59:3, 2000).

“The World’s Oldest Debate: prostitution and the state in imperial Japan.” By Sheldon Garon (*American Historical Review* 98:3, 1993).

Sandaken Brothel No. 8: an episode in the history of lower-class Japanese women. By Y. Tomoko (tr. K. Taylor, M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

