



Cruising Ginza: Seeking Modernity in Tokyo during the 1920s and 1930s

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IN 1930, Onoda Somu wrote a book about the Ginza district of Tokyo as part of a “connoisseur” series, published by Shiroku Shoin. This was only one of two books in the series about a place, others in the series being about food, movies, theatre and sports, for example.¹ This indicates not only the popularity of Ginza as a shopping and entertainment area, but also its objectification and commodification as a representation of modernity and a modern lifestyle in interwar Japan – something that one could learn to appreciate and consume like Western food, kabuki theatre or dance, in order to be a cultured person of modern times.

Onoda’s likening of Ginza to the foyer of the theatre that was Tokyo is a strikingly apt metaphor for exploring Ginza in order to understand what modernity meant to the Japanese at the time. Ginza, like a foyer, was the entry way to viewing what a modern life would be. Moreover, according to Onoda, the foyer of a theatre, rather than the seats, is where one experienced the real atmosphere of the theatre. This is because in the foyer, there is animated talk and movement, whereas in the seats, there is only passive observation. Ginza, the foyer of the modern city, was indeed a place of activity, and the Japanese term for such shopping and entertainment districts – *sakariba* – in fact means “bustling place”. By 1930, Ginza was preeminent among the *sakariba* of Tokyo, and the late 1920s and early 1930s have been labeled the “Ginza era” by contemporaries and historians alike.² This alone makes an investigation of Ginza essential for

Literature & Aesthetics 17(1) July 2007, page 125



historians of Japanese modernity.

In addition, Ginza is significant for discussing the theme of the relationship between gender, space and place in the modern city. Ginza, the place and the spaces within it, challenged existing social norms and official ideology by fostering, even creating, new roles and ideals for women. As a *sakariba*, Ginza was a place between the home and the workplace. Sepp Linhart has described such areas as "zones of evaporation" and "escape".³ He sees recent *sakariba* as a place mainly for men, and during the 1920s and 1930s, men also outnumbered women in Ginza. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the *sakariba*'s being a zone of evaporation and escape applied even more to Japanese women than to men, and especially to middle class women, because since the beginning of the century, state ideology and education had defined women's proper role and responsibilities as centered in the home under the slogan "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*). During the interwar years, however, education and new job opportunities in the paid workforce opened up for middle class women, so that they went out unaccompanied in public for the first time and in numbers not seen in earlier times.

By day, middle class housewives and the new "professional working women" (*shokugyō fujin*), as they were called, went out of the home as consumers and workers to the department stores of Ginza. By night, they went out mainly, but not exclusively as workers in the modern entertainment places, cafés in particular, but also *kissaten* (tea rooms), bars and restaurants. Although they were in some ways exploited by male owners and patrons of these establishments and, in the case of cafés, pressured to perform sexualized roles, they were not indentured prostitutes, and in being able to exercise a degree of choice in forming sexual relationships, they threatened the normative role and ideal of a "good wife, wise mother". As geographer Doreen Massey has argued regarding the impact of the spatial separation of home and workplace in industrialising England and the United States,

[T]he fact of escape from the spatial confines of the home is itself a threat ... It was a threat in (at least) two ways: that it might subvert the willingness of women to perform their domestic roles and that it gave them entry into



*another, public, world – a life not defined by family and husband.*⁴

Ginza, as a leisure and entertainment district, provided another space outside the home but between the home and the workplace in the factory or office. It provided opportunities for women to imagine and even experience “a life not defined by family and husband”. A close look at the spaces of Ginza by day and by night therefore suggests that the modern Japanese city helped to construct new social identities for women, providing opportunities as well as dangers for women. However, in this study Japanese women appear not merely as the constructed objects of the city, but actual participants who through their everyday lives were defining new roles and identities for themselves and for other women.

Cruising Ginza by day

Ever since Ginza had been rebuilt in red brick after a great fire in 1872, it had been a symbol of the modern, or “civilization” as it was called during the Meiji period (1868-1912).⁵ However, it was not until the 1910s and more particularly after the 1923 Kantô earthquake that Ginza usurped popularity from the Asakusa district further north as the “face of Tokyo”, to use Onoda’s words.⁶ During the Meiji period, tourists from the countryside went to have a look at “Ginza Bricktown”, but went to play in Asakusa. The attraction of Ginza grew from the mid 1910s and accelerated after the earthquake. People from all classes continued to go to Asakusa for movies and Western-style musical revues, but young people and others seeking to participate in the “modern life” (*modan raifu*) went to Ginza. This was substantiated by a 1929 survey of *sakariba* in Tokyo which found that the proportion of young men was much larger in Ginza than in Asakusa.⁷ According to social commentator Murobuse Kôshin, everything old was now considered valueless and everything new valuable, so it was no wonder that Ginza had become the centre of attraction.⁸

Creation of the new term “*ginbura*” reflected Tokyo inhabitants’ love of Ginza⁹ and indicates the spaces in Ginza where their pursuit of a modern lifestyle took place. “*Ginbura*” is a contraction of “*Ginza*” and “*burabura*”, an adverb that describes leisurely walking or aimless wandering. “*Ginbura*” is variously translated as “killing time in Ginza”, “passing the



time in Ginza" and "cruising Ginza". Edward Seidensticker states that it originally referred to young Ginza vagrants in the Meiji period, but from the First World War came to refer to the activities of all the people who came to Ginza, and not just the good-for-nothing ones.¹⁰ I have chosen to translate it as "cruising" Ginza because although much of the activity referred to involved walking around and looking around, it was not necessarily aimless, but rather represented the aim itself. Moreover, from photographs of the young modern girls (*modan gâru*) and modern boys (*modan bôï*) who hung out in Ginza, it is evident that the walking was not always slow and leisurely.

Much of this cruising took place in the streets, as evident in the numerous photographs from the time featuring fashionable young men and women walking on the main street of Ginza. It appears that being seen on the streets of Ginza was a way to identify oneself as modern for men as well as women, for it gave rise to a new kind of occupation for women – "the walking stick girl (*sutekki gâru*)". A walking stick girl would walk with a man, acting as a lover or a wife, for an hour in return for a tip of two yen. According to Onoda, walking stick girls were more modern than "street girls" (*sutoriito gâru*), evident in the fact that the objective for employing them was simply to take a walk with them rather than to have some sexual relationship.¹¹

During the day "window shopping" became one of the new favorite pastimes of the 1920s. It cost nothing for the young people with aspirations for the modern life, but not the paychecks to acquire it. Walking along the sidewalks, they could view the commodities making up the modern lifestyle in the large window displays of department stores. Promoted by a new group of commercial artists and designers, urban streets were undergoing "artification" and a transformation into exposition-like environments with advertising signboards, billboards, and banners as well as decorative shop windows.¹²

Moreover, innovations in department store retailing beckoned them inside to look further even if they could not buy. Mitsui, a big dry goods store of the Tokugawa period, had begun the transformation into a department store during the first decade of the twentieth century. From



the time it became Mitsukoshi in 1904, it vied with its rival Shirokiya to outdo the other with bold innovations in retailing. Mitsukoshi's first innovation was the introduction of showcases, a revolutionary departure from the traditional way of shopping where customers sat on platforms a few feet above the ground and viewed goods brought by a sales clerk from a storehouse. Mitsukoshi's display cases introduced the possibility of browsing for the first time in Japanese retail history.¹³

Nevertheless, it was not until after the earthquake that the department stores began to bring in the crowds. The Ginza district did not suffer the same amount of damage as the old mercantile centre of Nihonbashi, and, responding to the need of Tokyo inhabitants for everyday goods in the wake of the disaster, department stores began to sell a wide variety of goods rather than primarily expensive imported goods and specialty products. What really allowed in the masses, however, was a simple, but also revolutionary change in the handling of footwear. Even after the introduction of display cases, customers still had to remove their shoes upon entering the store and receive a pair of slippers to wear while in the store. This had on occasion led to embarrassing mistakes in keeping track of customers' shoes and limited the number of customers who could be properly serviced. After the earthquake, department stores began to allow customers to keep on their shoes. At the same time, reduction of services such as sales people visiting customers' houses with their goods, meant that women were forced to go to the department store to make purchases.¹⁴ This particularly affected upper and middle class women who up until this time did not go out of the house frequently or unaccompanied by at least one or two maids.

By sheer numbers, the establishment of Ginza branches of department stores after the earthquake also accelerated the rise of Ginza as the centre of fashion. Matsuzakaya started the trend in 1924; then Matsuya moved its headquarters to Ginza in 1925. Matsuya in particular promoted Ginza by distributing and rewarding tearooms and bars for playing two hit songs, "Tokyo Promenade" and "Ginza Serenade".¹⁵ Mitsukoshi followed with a Ginza store in 1930, which is a reflection of the drift of crowds from Nihonbashi to Ginza. When it opened, it was more than a place to purchase





goods; it was also a park and amusement centre. On its rooftop, anyone could enjoy free of charge a park-like garden.¹⁶ Mitsukoshi and other department stores also included theatres, art galleries, exhibition halls and dining rooms in their buildings. This opened up new opportunities and experiences for women to go out in public. The department store dining hall, for example, became the first place where respectable middle class women and families could feel comfortable about eating out. These were designed with Western tables and chairs, and patrons could eat without taking off their coats and shoes, yet another change in what was considered an acceptable social custom.¹⁷

Department stores themselves also offered new occupations for paid work for young middle class women. Instead of sales being handled exclusively by males, as in the old dry goods stores, department stores hired young women as sales clerks. They were known as "*depâto gâru*" or "*shoppu gâru*". According to a 1925 article in the left-liberal journal *Kaizô*,

Ten years ago women shop clerks were merely unusual. Nothing special stood out about them or was worth mentioning. But today's women sales clerks are very different from their predecessors. I refer to them as shopgirls [*shoppu gâru*] rather than using mundane terms like salesgirl or saleswoman. Foreign words seem much more "high collar" [*haikara*, or modern] and really convey the modern [*modan*] air these women have.¹⁸

Young women also took positions as elevator or escalator girls and as receptionists, typists, switchboard operators and other white collar workers in the stores and offices of other companies in Ginza or the neighboring financial and commercial centre of Marunouchi. Although statistics are not reliable, one study estimated about 700 female white collar workers concentrated in the Marunouchi district alone.¹⁹ While these numbers may seem small, the phenomenon of middle class women working was almost entirely new and rapidly expanding. Labour statistics from the inaugural census of 1920 and the census ten years later showed almost a doubling of female white collar workers employed in government offices from 16,000 to about 30,000.²⁰





Although most women took these jobs to help out their families in a period of economic stagnation and depression,²¹ many also viewed working as another important means of self-cultivation (*shûyô*). "Self-cultivation" meant a variety of things, including personal character building, spiritual growth and cultural development. As a popularized boom during the late 1910s and 1920s, it could mean simply etiquette training to some young women, but to others it also meant self-improvement and development of social skills and experience in preparation for married life. As one sales clerk stated, "it is hard working outside as a professional working woman, but I am doing it to get an idea of what life is really like after marriage".²² Marriage was still the goal and expectation of most women, but as social reformers and women's educators were arguing, modern social changes required middle class women to socialize and be knowledgeable about the world beyond the home in order to fulfill their roles as "good wives" and "wise mothers".²³

Even if most contributed much of their pay to their families, they now also had some disposable income of their own to spend in the department stores and entertainment places of Ginza. Although they remained a minority even in the 1930s and even in the fashionable Ginza,²⁴ professional working women led the way in making the shift to wearing Western dresses instead of traditional kimono. Department store sales clerks still wore kimonos during the 1920s, but it was a fire in the Shirokiya department store that prompted their adoption of Western-style underwear after 1932. Thirteen female employees died by jumping or falling. Among the latter, it was due to their using only one hand on the rope while coming down from upper stories of the seven floor building – their other hand was holding their skirts together because they were wearing Japanese-style wraparound undergarments instead of closer fitting underpants. From the following year, Shirokiya subsidized the wearing of Western dress and required the wearing of underpants by its women employees.²⁵

Even for the majority of Japanese women who continued to wear kimono, Ginza department stores offered them fashion in modern designs and patterns. Kimonos of the interwar years were characterized



by bold colours and striking abstract patterns, often adapted from the contemporary modernist and Art Deco artistic movements.²⁶ These represented a striking change from kimonos worn by the older generation. The highly regarded novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō lamented that women no longer went out like his mother in a "gray kimono with a small, modest pattern".²⁷ These changes signified not mere shifts in fashion, but more profound developments in women's behaviour and social role. The renowned essayist Thomas Carlyle in 1838 published a book expounding a philosophy of clothes. In that book he argued,

Again, what meaning lies in Colour! From the soberest drab to the high-flaming scarlet, spiritual idiosyncracies unfold themselves in choice of Colour: if the Cut betoken Intellect and Talent, so does the Colour betoken Temper and Heart.²⁸

That the Japanese shared Carlyle's view of the social significance of colour is indicated by the Tokugawa sumptuary laws that restricted wearing of bright colours to the samurai elite.

And as mentioned earlier, department stores did not only sell clothing and dry goods, but also many other commodities. These included modern electrical appliances (fans, heaters, irons, gas stoves and cooking pots), furniture and other household goods and decorations, gramophones and radios, and sports equipment such as tennis rackets.²⁹ Although men might still play a role in making decisions about large purchases, women made the decisions about household management and purchasing. Department stores, the mass media (especially women's magazines), and the expanding advertising industry recognized this and targeted women as consumers. Mitsukoshi's advertising slogan, "Today, the Imperial Theatre, tomorrow, Mitsukoshi", symbolized the advent of mass leisure and consumerism, which included women as well as men. A 1917 article entitled "The Psychology of Shoplifting Women"³⁰ in the magazine *Seikatsu* (Daily Life) indicates the new value being placed on material goods and the notion that happiness, identity and self-realization can be derived from the purchase of goods. In social historian Peter Stearns's words, consumerism is distinguished when "acquiring goods becomes part of individuals' identity, their measurement of what a satisfactory life involves".³¹ Stearns



emphasizes the significance of the department store as an active agent in extending modern consumerism, particularly department stores in Paris and New York from the mid nineteenth century. He also notes the emergence of kleptomania by middle class women in nineteenth century Europe and the United States, which was different from consumerist theft patterns of the eighteenth century and an indication of how consumerism could lead to deviant behaviour.³² In Japan too the array of goods in Ginza department stores helped to define the "modern life" and tempt customers to attain it through purchases. And even for customers who did not make a purchase, it gave them a chance to experience the atmosphere of the modern life. Strolling through a department store, one form of "ginbura", became a modern form of recreation.

'Cruising Ginza' by night

Such recreation did not end with the day, as department stores extended their hours into the night and hundreds of night stalls opened up on the streets of Ginza. Cruising Ginza at night was so popular that in 1929 the Rail Ministry started to operate a "Ginbura train (*Ginbura densha*)" in the evening. Frequent tram and bus services as well as many new, imported "one-yen taxis" (often with an assistant taxi girl on board to attract attention) also made Ginza one of the best served areas in the city by public transportation.³³

But in addition to shopping, Ginza by night offered the epitome of modern entertainment venues – the café – in its classiest and most elegant versions. Just as "Ginza" was synonymous with modernity, so also was the café viewed as *the* symbol of modernity by the social commentator Murobuse Kôshin.³⁴ And as Onoda depicted Ginza as the foyer of a theatre, many commentators likened the cafés of Ginza to the "theatre" or "stage" upon which modern life was not only viewed, as in department stores, but also performed.³⁵ This was also the view of social critic Gonda Yasunosuke, who located modern life in the cafés, as extensions of the streets of the city, rather than in middle class homes or working class areas.³⁶

Like the department stores, cafés had their beginnings at the end of the Meiji period, but it was after the earthquake that they proliferated and



brought in the masses. Pre-earthquake cafés followed European models in drawing in a clientele of artists, intellectuals and writers to eat Western food and drink Western coffee and alcoholic beverages in a Western-style establishment. After the earthquake, cafés proliferated "like bamboo shoots after a rain",³⁷ numbering fifty on the main street of Ginza alone in 1929 and dozens more on the back streets.³⁸ Their patrons were no longer limited to the cultural and intellectual middle class, but attracted the new class of salaried white collar workers, known as "salarymen".

Ginza cafés attracted the new middle classes with their modern interiors and exteriors that transformed visual images of the modern city. Rather than intimate salon-like Western restaurants, the new cafés on the main street were large, multistoried buildings emblazoned with neon lights. A sense of modernity as light and bright carried through in interiors that were decorated with bold colours and light-reflecting materials such as stainless steel, aluminium, stained glass, mirrors, mosaic tiles and more neon lights. Jazz music added to the modern, Western, and increasingly American-style ambience, and satisfied patrons' desire for novelty and a fast "tempo".³⁹

But what distinguished the Japanese café from its European counterpart, and is notable for its gender implications, was the role of the waitresses (*jokyû*). In Murobuse's words, the café waitress was both the "flower" and "spirit" of the Japanese café. A Japanese café might do without music or even alcohol, but one could not imagine a café without waitresses.⁴⁰ Again, the role of the café waitress changed during the 1920s, from being someone who simply served food and drinks to a modern girl who entertained male patrons in a flirtatious and seductive manner. Café owners encouraged eroticized service in various ways. For example, they stopped waitresses from wearing aprons so that they would look less like workers, and as competition among cafés intensified at the end of the 1920s with the economic depression, owners hired more waitresses to give patrons more chances to have a romantic experience. Owners also reconfigured interiors with partitions around small groupings of chairs to create private, intimate spaces even within the very large cafés.

Murobuse did not regard the eroticization of café waitresses as a bad



development. To him, the café enabled the liberation of women from the patriarchal and oppressive strictures of Japanese society, especially by permitting and even encouraging women to pursue their sexual desires and needs. But he argued that, unlike the teahouse, the café's primary function was not as a place for arranging prostitution, and prostitution was not part of a café waitress's job. Rather, what attracted the younger generation was the desire for "romantic" (and platonic) love, not lust and sex.⁴⁴ Other commentators, such as Murashima Yoriyuki, were less effusive in their praise for the café, but also noted that the café provided young middle class men and women with one of the few places in the city where they could go and mingle freely without their parents or other chaperones. Murashima also agreed with Murobuse that it was the "romantic love feeling (*ren'ai kibun*)" of the café, more than carnal desire, and the modernity of the café waitress that attracted young men to the café.⁴⁵ Young salarymen aspired to the modern life, but many did not have the income to achieve it in the poor economic conditions of the 1920s and 1930s. Cafés provided a relatively cheap way to participate in modern entertainment. In addition, for women, the café not only offered new opportunities for love, but also work for young women from poor families who had little education or training.⁴⁶ The hours might be long, but the work was less strenuous than in a factory or on a farm.

Even less positive than Murashima on the social significance of the café, however, was Gonda Yasunosuke and other critics of both the ideological left and right. Gonda criticized modern girls and modern boys for pursuing lives devoid of any productive activities. Rather than seeing the café as a place contributing to women's liberation, Gonda regarded it as part of the "modern life industry" that exploited its workers, including café waitresses, and encouraged "perverse tastes".⁴⁷ Not all feminists approved of modern girls either. For example, Hiratsuka Raichô, a founder of the path-breaking feminist journal *Bluestocking* (*Seitô*), lamented that "modern girls" were not really modern because of their preoccupation with selfish materialism and lack of concern for political and social issues.⁴⁸

Even Murobuse could not ignore the seamier side of café society, perhaps less evident in the high class cafés on Ginza's main street, but





obvious in the numerous cafés in the back streets, as the depression deepened. The cafés in the back streets had neither the size nor rich glamour and elegance of the main street cafés. During the depression, their owners increasingly resorted to crass erotic services, such as the “subway service” and the “organ service”, in order to attract patrons. The “subway service” allowed men to feel a waitress’s body through slits in her skirt.⁴⁶ The “organ service” enabled the same thing when a waitress lay across the laps of patrons, singing varied notes when patrons touched different parts of her body.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Whether Ginza, the foyer, was the entrance to a rich, brilliant modernity or dark, degenerate urban lifestyle was widely and intensely debated among social commentators and government officials during the 1930s. Well before the advent of war, government authorities concluded that decadence and immorality needed curbing and imposed more and more restrictions on cafés and other modern urban leisure and entertainment activities. Many of the restrictions on cafés related to architectural features, including lighting and partitions, as well as limitations on the number of waitresses permitted per square metre.⁴⁸ Here is another indication of how physical space may have an impact on social behaviour. Arrests of café waitresses and students multiplied, and one arrest sweep in 1938 even went through department stores.⁴⁹

At the centre of these debates were conflicts and contradictions over the role of women in the modern era. Most concerning was the movement of women of the middle classes, as consumers, workers and seekers of individual pleasure, out of the confines of their homes into public spaces represented by the department store and the café. Commentators both male and female could not agree whether this was a welcome move out of the darkness and into the light. Nevertheless, the construction of women as consumers and sexualized workers had begun, an image and identity that was to become fully shaped in the postwar decades.

Notes

1 Dōtonbori, the main entertainment district in Osaka, was the only other place featured in the



- series. Onoda Somu, "Ginzatsū" [Ginza Connoisseur], originally 1930, in *Korekushon: Modan toshi bunka, dai 1 kan, Ginza no modanizumu* [Collection: Modern Urban Culture, vol. 1, Ginza Modernism], ed. Wada Hirofumi (Tokyo; Yumani Shobō, 2004), p. 702.
- 2 Among contemporary commentators besides Onoda, see also Andō Kōsei, "Ginza jidai [Ginza era]", originally 1930, in *Gendai no esupuri – Nihon modanizumu* [The Modern Spirit – Japanese Modernism], ed. Minami Hiroshi, no. 188 (March 1983), pp. 131-4. Edward Seidensticker's social and cultural history of Tokyo after the earthquake frequently refers to Ginza as the centre of the city, "the place to be". Edward Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising: The City Since the Great Earthquake* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1991), e.g., pp. 46, 53.
 - 3 Sepp Linhart, "Sakariba: Zone of 'Evaporation' between Work and Home?", in *Interpreting Japanese Society: Anthropological Approaches*, eds Joy Hendry and Jonathan Webber (Oxford: Jaso, 1986), pp. 198-210.
 - 4 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 179-80.
 - 5 The slogan "Civilization and Enlightenment" (*Bunmei kaika*) summed up the national social and cultural goals of Meiji elites, both outside and inside government.
 - 6 According to Onoda, the Yoshiwara licensed brothel quarter was the face of Tokyo during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), Asakusa became the face of Tokyo during the Meiji period, and now it was Ginza. Onoda, "Ginzatsū", p. 16.
 - 7 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, p. 42.
 - 8 Murobuse Kōshin (Takanobu), *Ginza fūkei* [Ginza Landscape] (Tokyo: Yoakesha, 1931), p. 120.
 - 9 Wada Hirofumi, "Ginza no modanizumu" [Ginza Modernism], in *Modan toshi bunka*, ed. Wada, p. 692.
 - 10 Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 199.
 - 11 Onoda, "Ginzatsū", pp. 79-80.
 - 12 Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Japanese Modernism and Consumerism: Forging the New Artistic Field of 'Shōgyō Bijutsu' (Commercial Art)", in *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, eds Elise K. Tipton and John Clark (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), pp. 75-98.
 - 13 Seidensticker, *Low City, High City*, p. 110.
 - 14 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, pp. 30-1.
 - 15 Brian Moeran, "The Birth of the Japanese Department Store", in *Asian Department Stores*, ed. Kerrie L. MacPherson (Surry: Curzon, 1998), p. 169, based on Hatsuda Tōru, *Hyakkaten no tanjō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō), pp. 262-3.
 - 16 Fujimori Terunobu, Hatsuda Tōru, and Fujioka Hiroyasu, *Shashinshū genkei no Tōkyō: Taishō, Shōwa no machi to sumai* [A Photographic Collection of Forgone Days of the Imperial Capital Tokyo: Towns and Dwellings of the Taishō and Shōwa Eras] (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1998), p. 139.
 - 17 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, pp. 11-12.
 - 18 Kitazawa Shūichi, quoted in Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Women and Media in Interwar Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 119.
 - 19 Margit Nagy, "Middle Class Working Women During the Interwar Years", in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Bernstein (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), p. 204.
 - 20 These statistics were for white collar workers such as typists, office workers, and telephone operators. They did not include the even larger numbers of women who were teachers and nurses. Nagy, "Middle Class Working Women", p. 204.
 - 21 Nagy, "Middle Class Working Women", p. 205; Sato, *New Japanese Woman*, pp. 131-2.
 - 22 Quoted in Sato, *New Japanese Woman*, p. 135.

- 23 These views were advocated as part of the Daily Life Improvement Movement. Examples of works aimed at girls' higher school graduates include Kaetsu Takako, *Kasei kôwa* [Lectures on Household Management], originally 1916, in *Onna to seikatsu* [Women and Daily Life], vol. 3, ed. Nakajima Kuni, *Kindai josei bunken shiryô sôsho* 51 [Documentary Series on Modern Women] (Tokyo: Ôzorasha, 1997); Ishizawa Yoshimaro, *Seikatsu kaizen o kichô to seru kagakuteki kaji seisetsu* [A Scientific Exposition on Housework, Making Improvement of Daily Life Its Keypoint], originally 1922, in *Onna to seikatsu*, vol. 6, ed. Nakajima, *Kindai josei bunken shiryô sôsho* 54.
- 24 A nation-wide survey in 1937 found that approximately 39 per cent of professional working women in Marunouchi wore Western dress. Sato, *New Japanese Woman*, p. 182, n.4.
- 25 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, pp. 33-5; for photographs of the fire and another reference to the reasons for the deaths, see *Shôwa nimanmichi no zenkiroku* [A Complete Record of Twenty Thousand Days of the Shôwa Period], vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1989), pp. 124-5.
- 26 For examples, see *Fashioning Kimono: Dress and Modernity in Early 20th Century Japan*, ed. Annie Van Assche (Milano: 5 Continents Editions, 2005).
- 27 Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, *In Praise of Shadows*, trans. by Thomas J. Harper and Edward Seidensticker (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1977), p. 29.
- 28 Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdrôckh* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1947, originally 1838), p. 29.
- 29 For photographs, see *Shôwa nimanmichi no zenkiroku* [A Complete Record of Twenty Thousand Days of the Shôwa Period], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1989), p. 12.
- 30 Cited in Unno Hiroshi, "Toshi no andâwârudo" [The Underworld of the City], in *Kindai shomin seikatsu shi* [History of the Modern Daily Life of Commoners], vol. 2, *Sakariba, uranachi* [Sakariba, Back Streets], eds Minami Hiroshi, et.al. (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobô, 1984), pp. 1-2.
- 31 Peter Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 55.
- 32 Stearns, *Consumerism*, p. 55.
- 33 Onoda, "Ginzatsû", pp. 27-9.
- 34 Murobuse Kôshin (Takanobu), "Kafe shakaigaku" [The Sociology of the Café], *Chûô kôron* [Central Review] (September 1929), pp. 189-90. For a more detailed discussion of the history of cafés and their relation to modernity, see Elise K. Tipton, "The Café: Contested Space of Modernity in Interwar Japan", in *Being Modern in Japan*, eds Tipton and Clark, pp. 119-37.
- 35 Andô, "Ginza jidai", p. 131; Uchida Rôan, "Modan o kataru" [Speaking of the Modern], originally 1928, in *Gendai no esupuri – Nihon modanizumu*, ed. Minami Hiroshi, no. 188 (March 1983), p. 16.
- 36 Gonda Yasunosuke, "Modan seikatsu to hentai shikôsei" [Modern Life and Perverse Tastes], *Kaizô*, vol. 11, no. 6 (June 1929), p. 22.
- 37 Seidensticker quoting Tanizaki Jun'ichirô in *Tokyo Rising*, p. 57.
- 38 Murashima Yoriyuki, "Kanraku no ôkyû – kafe" [Palace of Pleasure – The Café], originally 1929, in *Kindai shomin seikatsushi*, vol. 10, ed. Minami, p. 373.
- 39 "Tempo", "speed" and "jazz" were catchwords of the time. For example, a two-page spread with photographic images and the English words "tempo" and "jazz" appeared in the October 1932 issue of the mainstream semi-intellectual journal *Chûô kôron*.
- 40 Murobuse, "Kafe shakaigaku", p. 190.
- 41 Murobuse, "Kafe shakaigaku", pp. 190-1.
- 42 Murashima, "Kafe no ôkyû", pp. 319-20.
- 43 Murashima, "Kafe no ôkyû", p. 322; also Matsuzaki, *Ginza*, p. 83.
- 44 Gonda, "Modan seikatsu", pp. 33-5.
- 45 Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant" in *Recreating Japanese Women*, ed. Bernstein, p. 249.
- 46 Miriam Silverberg, "The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan", in *Mirror of Modernity*, ed.



Elise Tipton: 'Cruising Ginza': Seeking Modernity in Tokyo during the 1920s and 1930s

- Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), p. 217.
- 47 Mori Hideto, *Taishū bunkashi* [A History of Mass Culture] (Tokyo: Kabushiki Kaisha Sanpō, 1964), p. 191.
- 48 See Elise K. Tipton, "Cleansing the Nation: Urban Entertainments and Moral Reform in Interwar Japan", *Modern Asian Studies*, forthcoming 2007.
- 49 Keishichōshi Hensan In-kai (ed.), *Keishichōshi, Shōwa zenpen* [The History of the Metropolitan Police Board, the Early Shōwa era] (Tokyo: Keishichōshi Hensan In-kai, 1962), pp. 825-30.

