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Shanghai dancers: gender, coloniality and the modern girl

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Abstract
In 1924, the artist Yamamura Kōka (1885-1942) produced a colour woodcut depicting the dance hall of the New Carlton Hotel in Shanghai. In this print, two women are seated at a round table. One has bobbed hair; the other wears a red hat. Both wear western dress, but the embroidered jacket draped on one of the chairs suggests the fashion for Chinoiserie. Two cocktail glasses on the table contain red cherries. Several couples dance in the background of the picture, the women all with similar bobbed hair. The male dancing partners are barely visible and the women are seen from behind, giving them a sense of anonymity. The lack of individual features of the women dancing in the background also suggests a degree of interchangeability between the women. They are most likely “taxi dancers”, who dance with the male patrons for a fee paid to the dance hall. The ethnicised and racialised positioning of the dancing women is unclear, but at least one of the seated women appears to be of “European” appearance. The women in the dance hall, with their bobbed hair, western dress and cocktails clearly reference the style of the “modern girl”.

Keywords
shanghai, coloniality, dancers, modern, gender, girl

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In 1924, the artist Yamamura Kôka (1885–1942) produced a colour woodcut depicting the dance hall of the New Carlton Hotel in Shanghai. In this print, two women are seated at a round table. One has bobbed hair; the other wears a red hat. Both wear western dress, but the embroidered jacket draped on one of the chairs suggests the fashion for Chinoiserie. Two cocktail glasses on the table contain red cherries. Several couples dance in the background of the picture, the women all with similar bobbed hair. The male dancing partners are barely visible and the women are seen from behind, giving them a sense of anonymity. The lack of individual features of the women dancing in the background also suggests a degree of interchangeability between the women. They are most likely “taxi dancers”, who dance with the male patrons for a fee paid to the dance hall. The ethnicised and racialised positioning of the dancing women is unclear, but at least one of the seated women appears to be of “European” appearance. The women in the dance hall, with their bobbed hair, western dress and cocktails clearly reference the style of the “modern girl”.

In order to read this woodcut—produced in Japan, but representing the imagined cosmopolitan space of Shanghai—it is necessary to place this work in the context of early twentieth century colonial modernity in East Asia. In this chapter I will undertake a close reading of this visual representation, according to the themes of gender, visuality, mobility and colonial modernity, as refracted through the figure of the “modern girl”.
The Modern Girl

The modern girl (*modan gâru*, abbreviated as *moga*) is a ubiquitous figure in the visual culture of 1920s and 1930s Japan, appearing in cartoons, photography, painting, prints, graphic design and cinema. She has been seen as one of the archetypal gendered figures of early twentieth century modernity. Like her precursor, the “new woman” (*atarashii onna*), she is identified with particular spaces such as the streets and the café. Unlike the “new woman” of the 1910s, who was often portrayed in Japanese dress with long hair in a chignon, the modern girl of the 1920s and 1930s is associated with the fashions of bobbed hair and western dress. She is also closely connected with the consumption of the products of modernity: cocktails, chocolate, cigarettes, “western” food; and with the mobility of the automobile, the bus, the streetcar, the railroad, the subway, the ocean liner and the aeroplane. At times she is associated with social dancing, sports and outdoor activities.

Despite some modest improvement in the political situation of women in the early 1920s, there was still a great degree of anxiety attached to the figure of the woman who entered public space, and this anxiety was expressed in the satirical cartoons of the time. Much of this anxiety centred on the *moga*, and attention was focused on the woman’s body, which was seen to be out of place in the streets, the cafes and the public spaces of discussion.

Commentators do not seem able to agree on the political implications of the modern girl’s presence in public space. The “new women” of the 1910s were clearly associated with activism through their feminist writings and through such incidents as a voyeuristic excursion into the licensed prostitution districts by some members of the Bluestocking Society. The modern girl, however, is less commonly associated with political activism. In contemporary representations, we can see such images as that of the “Marx Boy” and “Engels Girl”, but we can also see many satirical representations which mock the modern girl’s lack of political consciousness. Feminist writers of the time were also critical of what they saw as the lack of political consciousness of the “modern girls”. While the feminists of the 1910s could proudly take the name of “new woman”, few were likely to proclaim themselves as “moga” in quite the same way. Indeed, it is quite possible to argue that the *moga* is a creature of media representation without a clear referent in the real world.
Visualising the Modern Girl

The appearance of the modern girl in popular discourse is intimately connected with developments in the technology for the reproduction of illustrations in books, magazines and newspapers. John Clark has commented on “the allegorical mode of nameable types but nameless individuals which cover the pages of mass-circulation magazines in the early 1930s”. The “modern girl” was one of these nameable types who was rarely named as an individual.

Visuality is important in the constitution of the “modern girl”. As in other national contexts, “becoming a spectacle was deeply implicated in the parameters of modern subjectivity—of cultural presence, of public visibility, of participation in the circulation and exchange of looks in the urbanised and commodified modern scene”. Liz Conor further argues that “[d]uring early twentieth century modernity, feminine visibility extends from the entrance of women into public space—particularly that of the metropolis—to their iconisation through the popularisation of cinema and within the conventions of display in commodity culture”.

While Yamamura’s woodcut places the modern girl in the cosmopolitan space of Shanghai, other visual representations of the time placed the modern girl in the streets, cafés and dance halls of the metropolis of Tokyo, surrounded by the products of modernity. Kobayashi Kiyoshi’s cartoon “The Modern Girl’s Possessions”, which appeared in a satirical magazine in 1928, focuses on consumption. The modern girl has bobbed hair under a cloche hat. Her cheeks are coloured with rouge. Her possessions include cigarettes, chocolate and a love letter. She wears a short-skirted dress of flimsy material which reveals the shape of her body.

Kobayakawa Kiyoshi’s (1899–1948) print from 1930, “Tipsy” demonstrates the association of modern girls with exotic alcoholic drinks. The tipsy young woman holds a cigarette in one hand, and the glass in front of her contains a pinkish drink. The shape and colour of the cherry in the cocktail glass is repeated endlessly in the polka dots on her dress. Her cocktail, her bobbed hair and her Western dress provide an intertextual link with other contemporary representations of the “modern girl”.

In 1925 Kitazawa Rakuten (1876–1975) depicted a modern girl on the cover of a satirical magazine. His illustration commented on an incident where a seventeen-year-old woman, Fukaya Aiko, had shot her lover “Ricci” with a gun. The cartoon brings together the themes of illicit sexual relations, relations with a non-Japanese man, consumption of alcohol, dancing, bobbed hair and western dress in one image packed with
meaning. The foreground of the frame is dominated by the insouciant modern girl. She wears the obligatory cloche hat, bobbed hair and form-fitting dress. One hand plays with her scarf while the other hand is placed on her hip. A respectable man and woman are seen in one corner of the cartoon, obviously judging the deviant modern girl, and demonstrating the standards she is being measured against and thereby found to be wanting. The respectable woman wears a kimono, while her husband wears a western-style suit. Their faces are creased with concern at the antics of the modern girl, the focus of their concern shown in a balloon above their heads. The balloon shows a couple dancing in a dance hall, their posture echoed by a whimsical couple, a champagne bottle dancing with a champagne glass. There is thus a continuity between the visual representations of women in the dance halls of Shanghai and the women in the streets, cafés and dance halls of the metropolis of Tokyo.

The Spaces of Colonial Modernity

For the artistic connoisseur in the metropolis, Yamamura’s depiction of the New Carlton Hotel allowed a vicarious form of travel, a sense of potential ownership of the urban spaces of colonialism. The depiction of colonial and semi-colonial spaces was a feature of the artistic practice of the time, as encapsulated in a cartoon by Kawamori Hisao (1898–1968) on the occasion of the Imperial Art Exhibition of 1925. In Kawamori’s cartoon we can see evidence of several features of the visual culture of the period. The centre of the cartoon shows Mitsutani Kunishirô’s (1874–1936) painting of a nude woman, with a comment on the elongated legs of the figure in the painting. The right section of the cartoon reproduces several of the paintings of women in “oriental” dress which appeared in that year’s Imperial Exhibition. The top left of the cartoon shows a painting of a Buddhist mandala. Other sections of the cartoon show the spectators and their comments on the exhibition. This cartoon demonstrates the artistic concern with the contemplation of gendered and ethnicised otherness. The particular forms of otherness depicted in these paintings suggest an artistic and connoisseurial gaze emanating from the metropolis.

At other times, metropolitan subjects could enjoy the creation of colonial spaces within the metropolis. One of the developments of the café culture of Tokyo of the time was the fashion for cafés which recreated colonial or semi-colonial spaces, complete with waitresses in ethnicised dress, as described by Miriam Silverberg.
There were numerous forms of exoticization. Photographs of chinoiserie decoration and of café waitresses in Chinese costume illustrate the eroticization of the colonial experience ... Waitresses also catered to customers who paid for the “Salon Manchuria” space on the second floor of the Ginza Palace, which had advertised for three hundred jokyū [waitresses] when it opened.24

The port city of Nagasaki also functioned as a semi-colonial space within Japan, where the masculine viewer could gaze on the exoticised spectacle of the women in Sinified brothels and opium dens.25 Modern girls were also represented, however, as figures who might themselves move between the metropolis and the peripheries. In 1935, the Shiseidō corporation produced a series of postcards in order to advertise its cosmetic products.26 The postcards show a series of women dressed in the style of “modern girls”, applying make-up, and posed in situations of travel: in automobiles, trains, aeroplanes or cruise ships. These postcards reference the mobility of the modern girl, who appears to have the potential to move between the metropolis and the peripheries, or at least to imagine such mobility. The Japan Tourist Bureau’s pamphlets and guides of the time addressed a traveller who might plan trips to Seoul (Keijō), Formosa (Taiwan) or China.27

The Shiseidō postcards address women as subjects of the metropolis who might enjoy the experience of travelling to Japan’s peripheries. The Shiseidō corporation also, however, addressed colonial subjects. A notable example is the poster for Shiseidō soap which included the image of the woman known variously as Ri Kôran/ Li Xianglan/ Yamaguchi Yoshiko (b. 1920).28 Yamaguchi was an actress, fluent in both Japanese and Chinese, who appeared in films produced on the Chinese mainland with Japanese capital. She appeared under the Sinified name of “Ri Kôran”. These films often presented the relationships between the various participants in colonial relationships through the medium of romance.29 Meanwhile, the Shiseidō corporation mobilised the ambiguous figure of “Ri Kôran” in its address to the consumer on the Chinese mainland. The minimal amount of writing on the poster is in Chinese rather than Japanese. While the visual representations of the modern girl were producing a taxonomy of women according to gender, class, ethnicity and racialised positioning, the marketing of the Shiseidō corporation was producing a precise taxonomy of consumers for its products.30 These visual representations are suggestive of the mobility of capital, products, individuals and representations under the conditions of colonial modernity in East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century.
The Practices of Colonial Modernity

Taxi dancing is one of the practices which travelled between the centres of North America, Europe and East Asia in the early twentieth century. Men who travelled between the urban centres of East Asia could purchase the services of “taxi dancers” in the dance halls of the major cities of the region. The dance hall is regularly portrayed in the cartoons, artistic works, and fictional works of the period. Historian Frederic Wakeman has described the changing fortunes and changing composition of the dancers and patrons of the notorious Carlton Hotel.

[Shanghai] became also a city of tawdry, sordid dancehalls. The old Carlton closed. It opened again at once as a dancehall with Russian hostesses, a risqué floor show, and became a cabaret of sailors. Public dancing during the 1920s had been more or less monopolized by White Russian women, but around 1930 dance halls on the Western model began to open up in Shanghai and other Chinese port cities with Chinese (dance–hall girls) … Eventually, toward the end of the 1930s, Shanghai would have 2,500 to 5,000 taxi dancers...

There were thus also women who travelled between these urban centres, providing such services. There were diverse circuits of mobility, dependent on gendered, classed, ethnicised and racialised positionings. Mobility was experienced differently by soldiers, representatives of trading companies and their families, diplomats and their families, teachers, factory owners, brothel owners, labour recruiters, tourists, domestic servants, taxi dancers, entertainers, writers, artists and sex workers.

Leo Ou-fan Lee has described Shanghai in the 1930s as “the cosmopolitan city par excellence…the center of a network of cities linked together by ship routes for the purposes of marketing, transportation and tourism…an international cultural space in which not only Britain and France but also Japan played a significant role”. Under the terms of the unequal treaties with the Euro-American powers in the nineteenth century, certain ports in Japan and China were designated as “treaty ports”, where international traders could gain access to port facilities, ships could take on fuel and water, and their nationals were exempt from prosecution by the local legal system under the principle of extraterritoriality. By the turn of the century, Japan had successfully renegotiated its treaties with the US and the European powers and had in turn forced a similar treaty on Korea, before finally annexing Korea in 1910. Cities like Shanghai, Yokohama, Nagasaki, Hakodate and Kôbe were linked with international trading
routes. The circuits which linked these cities referenced the histories of European, American and Japanese colonialism and imperialism in the East Asian region.

**Coloniality and the Modern Girl**

The modern girl is also a transnational phenomenon. In the first half of the twentieth century, in disparate places around the world, attention was focused on figures who were variously known as flappers, *garçonnes*, *moga*, *modeng xiaojie*, schoolgirls, *kallege ladki*, vamps and *neue Frauen*. These women were seen to be challenging mainstream representations of domesticity and femininity, and were characterized by their distinctive dress, their freedom, their use of specific commodities, their experimentation with alternative romantic relationships outside the sphere of the marital home and the nuclear family, and their ventures into the public spaces of the city, where they could be seen by others and could also return the gaze. The members of the “Modern Girl around the World Research Group” have situated the “modern girl” in specific and localised discourses of racialisation.

[The Modern Girl] occupied the liminal space conjoining the indigenous and the imperial, the national and the international. Often, the Modern Girl combined and reconfigured aesthetic elements drawn from disparate national, colonial and racial regimes to create a “cosmopolitan look”. These characteristics, in our view, make the Modern Girl a valuable heuristic category that enables us to analyse how global processes intersected with and were reconfigured by gendered and racialised social hierarchies and political and economic inequalities in specific locales.

As we have seen, the localised manifestation of the “modern girl” in Japan is a figure who came to be known as the “modan gâru”, abbreviated, familiarized and domesticated in the truncated form, “*moga*”. The products, fashions and practices associated with the *moga* reference the circulation of signs and symbols, individuals, finance and capital which have been associated with the condition of colonial modernity in East Asia, as described by Tani Barlow.

Colonial modernity...seeks to accentuate the political and ideological interrelatedness of colonizing powers and colonial regimes. The commodity economies (e.g. opium, tea, sugar, and tobacco) that integrated international trade as imperialists sought to establish colonial domains also drew and reshaped political, administrative, governmental, ideological, and intellectual lines of power.... Underdeveloped in the discourses of
modernity are precisely these colonial commodities (e.g. opium, tea, labor), reordered styles of governmentality, juridical norms (e.g. international laws and treaties), administrative innovations (e.g. customs, extraterritoriality, treaty ports), and colonial trade in ideas that characterize colonizers…as well as colonial regimes.\textsuperscript{39}

The implied viewing position of the consumer of the visual representations discussed in this chapter is that of the metropolitan urban subject, who can contemplate the sexualised otherness of the woman’s body, the ethnicised otherness of her “oriental” dress, or the exotic spectacle of the dance hall. It is a gaze which genders, classes, sexualises, ethnicises and racialises, affirming the power relations between the metropolitan centre and its peripheries. This gaze encompasses not only colonial and semi-colonial subjects, but also the very landscapes and streetscapes of the colonies and semi-colonial spaces.\textsuperscript{40} As I have argued in more detail elsewhere, I prefer to talk about the specificities of the “gaze” in particular relationships of power, rather than over-generalising such terms as the “masculine gaze” or the “orientalising gaze”.\textsuperscript{41} In particular relations of power, we might well describe a “dominating”, “colonising”, “feminising”, “racialising”, “classing”, “ethnicising”, “sexualising”, or “exoticising” gaze. In considering Yamamura’s depiction of the New Carlton Hotel in Shanghai, I refer to the “metropolitan gaze”, for it emanates from the metropolitan centre to the peripheries, in large part contributing to the constitution of the unequal relations between centre and periphery and between colonising and colonised subjects.\textsuperscript{42}

**Conclusion**

Visual representations of the modern girl in the urban spaces of the Japanese metropolis or the dance halls of Shanghai constituted the viewing position of the metropolitan subject. The figure of the modern girl in visual culture performed a pedagogical function, presenting desirable and undesirable models of femininity. For the urban female viewer in the metropolis, these representations demonstrated the ways in which women were being categorised and taxonomised. For the urban male viewer in the metropolis, these representations positioned him as voyeur, connoisseur, consumer and taxonomist, with a gaze which extended from the streets and cafes of Tokyo to the dance halls and brothels of Shanghai. Gendered, classed, ethnicised and racialised positionings were constituted through a series of gazes between actors in the modern scene, embedded in complex relations of power amid the circulation of signs, symbols, bodies, commodities, finance and capital. Representations of the modern girl
referenced these circuits as she was depicted in the streets, cafes and dance halls of Tokyo and the treaty ports, wearing products shipped in from Shanghai, London, Paris and New York. As the modern girl consumed the products of colonial modernity, she herself became an object of spectacular consumption, a figure produced through emerging and still unstable discourses of gender and racialisation.

Notes

1. This chapter is a revised version of a keynote address presented at the Women in Asia Conference, at the University of Technology, Sydney, in September 2005. I would like to thank the conveners of the conference, Devleena Ghosh and Barbara Leigh, for inviting me to participate, and the audience at this session for useful comments. This chapter draws on research for a project on “The Cultural History of the Body in Modern Japan”, funded by the Australian Research Council. The research is also informed by my participation in an international collaborative research project on “Colonial Modernity and the Modern Girl in East Asia”, funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and convened by the Institute for Gender Studies, Ochanomizu University, Tokyo.
2. For a brief biographical entry on Yamamura Kôka (Toyonari), see Menzies 1998: 157. Yamamura graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1907 and exhibited at the major national artistic exhibitions and salons. He became a fellow of the Japan Art Institute in 1916. He is known as a painter in the Japanese style (Nihonga) and also produced war paintings. See also Kendall Brown’s discussion of Yamamura and his woodcut of the New Carlton Hotel in Price and O’Connor 2001: 32.
3. For the history of the satirical magazines, see Isao 1991. For discussion of some of the other genres of visual culture referred to in this chapter, see: Menzies 1998; Iizawa 1999; Tipton and Clark 2000; Fraser et al. 1996; Price and O’Connor 2001; Kanagawa Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2007.
4. Miriam Silverberg reports that the first documented reference to the “modern girl” is in the women’s magazine Josei, in August 1924; Silverberg 1991: 240.
6. See the woman on the golf course in Yamagishi Kazue’s (1883–1966) colour woodcut, “In California”, 1927; the woman skiing in one of the series of Shiseidô cosmetics advertising postcards “Gendai Keshô Hyakutai” (One Hundred Scenes of Contemporary Cosmetics), 1935; the “bathing beauties” on the paper and wood fan advertising Jintan medicine, with photographs of Irie Takako and Hamaguchi Fujiko, reproduced in Price and O’Connor 2001: 71; the photograph of Hayama Michiko in bathing beauty pose in publicity stills from the film Amateur Club, 1912, reproduced in Lamarre 2005: 55; Yorozu Tetsugorô’s (1885–1927) oil painting “Bather with Parasol”, 1926. See also the scenes at the beach at Yuigahama in Tanizaki 1925, 1985: 44-5.
7. For more detailed discussion of these themes, see: Mackie 2000a: 185-99; Mackie 2002: 38-54; Mackie 2003: 45-72; Mackie 2005. To explain briefly,
women were prevented from voting, joining political organisations, and attending or speaking at public political meetings from the late 1890s. In an amendment to Article Five of the Public Peace Police Law in 1922, it became possible for women to attend and speak at political meetings and to join political associations, but women did not attain suffrage and the right to stand for political office until the Electoral Law was amended in December 1945. There were some women, however, whose presence in the streets was not demonised. These were the members of the patriotic women’s organisations who could be seen in the streets, wearing aprons and sashes, farewelling departing soldiers and collecting for the war effort, particularly from the 1930s.

8 On the “new women’s” excursion into the licensed districts and the media response, see: Mackie 2003: 46-7; Mackie 2005.

9. Miriam Silverberg, however, has written about what she calls “the modern girl as militant”, mainly based on the analysis of the leftwing feminist arts journal *Nyonin Geijutsu (Women’s Arts)*, Silverberg 1991: 239-66.

10. Shimokawa 1929. The Marx Boy and Engels Girl are placed in the streets of Ginza. The girl has bobbed hair and a cloche hat; the boy wears a worker’s cap. Their postures and profiles mimic each other; he smokes a pipe and she smokes a cigarette in a holder. Red highlights in their clothing draw attention to the red books under their arms.

11. Among the many such cartoons, see Fujiyama 1931. In this cartoon, a modern girl is moved to tears by a melodrama on the cinema screen, but blind to the plight of the poor people in the streets outside the cinema.


13. See Hiratsuka 1976: 288 where she reclaims the formerly derogatory label of “new woman”.

14. “The change [in reprographic technology] occurred on such a scale that one may unhesitatingly call it a revolution. It involved the widespread acceptance of lithography after 1874, the spread in parallel of copperplate intaglio printing for bookplate illustrations from the same period until the early 1900s, the introduction and use of end grain woodblock printing for mass circulation magazines from 1887 to about 1905, the development of a large range of planometric aluminium and zincplate lithographic processes from the 1880s to the 1890s, the adjustment of photographic collotype printing to various metal plate and even luxury end grain woodblock processes in the 1890s, and the development of three-color chromolithography by 1902. This was the base on which offset lithography developed in Japan from 1914, the use of the HB (Huebner and Leisten) polychromatic flat-plate process from 1920, and photographic printing in newspapers from 1922.” Clark 2000: 27-8.


16. The modern girl may also be connected with other visualising technologies such as the cinema. See, for example, the constant reference to cinematic models of femininity in Tanizaki 1925, 1985. Naomi, the main character of the novel, is said to be one of the archetypal representations of the modern girl. On representations of “new women” in the cinema, see Lamarre 2005: 131-43; see also the discussion of Tanizaki’s novel in Mackie 2007: 212-24.
17 Conor 2002: 53.
22. Kawamori 1925. One of the paintings shown in the cartoon is clearly one of those discussed by Ikeda Shinobu in her important article on the fashion for “Chinese” dress in modernist painting. Kobayashi Mango’s (1870–1947) “Ginbyô no mae” is clearly identifiable in the cartoon. Ikeda 2002: 1-14.
23. It is tempting to label this as a masculine gaze, and this is often the case, particularly as the majority of the artists in the official exhibitions were male. However, the cartoons also demonstrate the existence of a female audience for the artistic exhibitions, suggesting that we cannot simply label the connoisseurial gaze as masculine. It may well be that at times the positioning as a metropolitan subject is stronger than the gendered positioning of the artistic spectator. See also Nakajima Kiyoshi’s (1899–1989) hanging scroll from 1937, “Ancient Painting”, which shows a woman in Western dress in front of a Buddhist scroll of the god Aizen-Myôô hung in an art gallery (reproduced in Menzies 1998: 120. This picture suggests a female connoisseur, but she has her back to the artwork on display, so that the viewer (placed in the same position as the artist) can contemplate the spectacle of the young woman in western dress alongside the contemplation of the art work within the art work.
25. See Takehisa Yumeji’s (1884–1934) series “Views of Nagasaki”.
26. Shiseidô advertising postcards, “Gendai Keshô Hyakutai” (One Hundred Scenes of Contemporary Cosmetics), 1935; some are reproduced in Yamamoto et al. 1979: 92. On the mobilisation of the figure of the modern girl by the Shiseidô corporation, see Adachi 2006: 19-38.
27. See Sugiura Hisui’s (1876–1965) series of tourist maps for the Japan Tourist Bureau, which included Seoul (Keijô), Formosa (Taiwan), Shantung and sites within Japan. The English lettering on these maps suggest that the Bureau also addressed an overseas traveller who might combine a trip to the Japanese metropolis with travel to Japan’s colonial and semi-colonial peripheries: Tokyo Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2000: 78. See also the discussion of the pictorial magazine Nippon and its presentation of Japan and its colonies to an international audience, in Weisenfeld 2000: 747-93.
28. Shiseidô poster from 1941, showing Ri Kôran advertising soap for the Chinese market, reproduced in Yamamoto et al.1979: 177. On the career of the woman known variously as Yamaguchi Yoshiko, Shirley Yamaguchi, Ri Kôran or Li Xianglan, see: Yoshioka 2003. See also the interview with Yamaguchi Yoshiko at <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=7113>, accessed 3 March 2007.
31. Dance halls make regular appearances in the prints and cartoons of the time: see, for example, Nomura Toshihiko’s (1904–1987) print, “Dance Hall”, 1930. See
also several scenes which take place in dance halls in Tanizaki 1925, 1985: 92, 105-6, 127-8.


33. See the comments on such forms of mobility in Driscoll 2005: 210–12.

34. On diverse circuits of mobility in East Asia, see Itô 2006: 1-18.


37. On the visual and spectacular dimensions of the modern girl, see also Conor 2004, passim.

38. Modern Girl Around the World Research Group 2005: 246. On the creation of a “cosmopolitan look” see the descriptions of the pieces of clothing and fabrics put together by the character Naomi in Tanizaki’s novel Chijin no Ai. The couple purchase imported fabrics in shops in Yokohama and these are used to decorate their “culture house” (bunka jūtaku). Naomi also drapes her body in various exotic fabrics and displays herself for her partner Jōji’s admiring gaze.


40. See the paintings, prints and sketches of colonial spaces reproduced in Menzies 1998; and in Kanagawa Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2007: 87-100.


42. The question of the gaze of colonial subjects on the representatives of the colonising powers is also, of course, deserving of much closer attention.

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