



## Succession of the image of the city in the movement for urban design by local proprietors in Ginza from pre-war to post-war

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This paper revealed the development of the movement for urban design by local proprietors in Ginza, Tokyo from 1930's to 1960's. Ginza Street is known as one of the first modern style streets in Japan. This street has developed greatly by modern buildings and advanced urban design methods in modern times and after although it has also suffered serious damage twice by Great Kanto Earthquake (1923) and bombing in 1945. Therefore, buildings and urban space have seen repeated reconstruction and renewal until today. On the other hand, if we pay attention to local proprietors, we can understand that they have developed the movement for urban design of Ginza Street continuously and succeeded the awareness of the issues toward urban space. So this paper finds a new historical context of Ginza through the elucidation of development of their movement from viewpoints of how the awareness of the issues and the image of spaces have changed.

**Keywords:** Modernization of the city, History of Machizukuri, Shop-owners' Association, Ginza

### 1. Introduction

Ginza Street, is known as a main street of Tokyo, is one of the first modern style streets in Japan. The starting point of its modern history was the construction of "Ginza Renga-gai (Ginza Brick Town)" in 1872 (Meiji Period.) This street has developed greatly with modern buildings since that time, and scholars have studied it from various viewpoints. We can find several important previous studies in fields of planning history and architectural history. Fujimori (1982) approached the history of Ginza Street in terms of architectural history and studied the development of planning of Ginza Renga-gai by the Meiji Government<sup>1</sup>. And he also examined changes of architectural styles a lot of architects had used in development along Ginza Street from the Meiji period to pre-war in the Showa period<sup>2</sup> (1868-1945.) Hatsuta (2004) revealed changes of urban functions and development along the street in terms of formative history of a busy street<sup>3</sup>. Okamoto (2003) documented changes of land use and land ownership in Ginza since the Edo period and considered the relationship between these changes and urban development.

Ginza Street suffered catastrophic damage three times, by fire in the Meiji period (1872), by the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923) and U.S. bombing in 1945. These disasters razed buildings to the ground. Three scholars mentioned previously regard these disasters as turning points in formative history of Ginza and indicate the extinction of urban context. In addition, they grasp a town of Ginza as the aggregate of architectures and draw history of Ginza from viewpoints of the accumulation and changes of architectural actions by various architects. Considering these studies, we can understand the historical context that Ginza Street has been developed through overcoming serious disasters and repeating reconstruction and renewal by modern architectures.

On the other hand, we can find another historical context if we pay attention to local proprietors' actions. There is a store association: "Ginza Street Association (GSA)" composed of proprietors in Ginza Street. They have been continuously involved in the urban design of Ginza Street since their establishment in 1919. Although Miyashita (2018) revealed the change of their movement<sup>4</sup>, the consideration on the historic significance of their movement was insufficient. So this paper paid attention to consistency of the issues, the image of spaces, and a role as a place where local proprietors argued. And we find the historical value in the elucidation of arguments on townscape they have desired and reveal development of their movement from pre-war to post-war.

### 2. Viewpoints of analysing and methods

GSA has tackled arguments on identities of their town, Ginza and ideal townscape they desired since the establishment of an organization. Especially, they started large-scale movement in 1930's in preparation for the 1940 Tokyo Olympics and Japan Expo. They were aiming for realization of comfortable urban space for shoppers and beautiful townscape by international events in 1940. But it became difficult to continue their actions in the war regime of Japanese society after 1938. To make matters worse, buildings along the street were burned down by air raids during WWII. Although it suffered serious damage, they restarted their movement as



Figure 1: Current Ginza Street

soon as the war terminated in 1945. And they achieved the removal of telegraph poles and the abolition of the tram in 1960's.

It is worthy of notice that the organization of GSA has played a role as a place where local proprietors argued the future image of their town for a long time. The existence such a framework enabled them to succeed the awareness of the issues toward urban space from pre-war to post-war. So this paper reveals changes of a place they have argued their town and the image of spaces shared among them. Then, based on these analyses, this paper finds a new historical context different from existing ideas based on the history of architectures in Ginza.

This paper pays attention to various internal materials kept in the office of GSA. For example, a great number of scrapbooks have been edited since 1936. We can find articles on not only their movement but also urban development in Ginza in these scrapbooks. This paper reveals historical facts on their actions through them. In addition, this paper carried out searching of major newspapers by digital archives of Yomiuri Shimbun and Asahi Shimbun as it is unclear whether all articles about GAS have been collected in these scrapbooks. We also pay attention to internal materials such as the record of proceedings of the governing body. All policies of movement have been decided in the governing body. Therefore, we understand the process of arguments inside through these texts. In addition, this paper reveals the change of external claims through petitions to the authorities and articles in bulletin of GSA.

### 3. Development of the movement by Ginza Street Association in 1930's

#### 3.1. Development of the movement aimed for the Tokyo Olympics

In July 1936, it was decided that two international events: Olympic Games and Expo were going to be held in Tokyo in 1940. With this decision as a turning point, the importance of urban design in Tokyo was argued by newspapers. GSA decided to tackle movement for the removal of telegraph poles and the abolition of the tram in these situations<sup>5</sup>. A promotor of this movement was Koji Hosaka (The vice-president of GSA.) A newspaper article in those days reported that this movement had been started based on an awareness of the issues that these telegraph poles and overhead wires of the tram in Ginza Street made townscape ugly.

We can understand the awareness of the issues they had and the image of ideal townscape from their remarks in those days. For example, we note the "Conversation meeting on the symbol of metropolis" supported by a newspaper company on June 1st, 1936. 22 proprietors in Ginza including the president and the vice-presidents of GSA participated in this meeting and argued problems on townscape and identities of their town. At the beginning, a facilitator asked them, "Which way should Ginza Street aim at a promenade or a shopping street?" All participants answered "Ginza Street should be a promenade" for this question. An expression of



Figure 2: Ginza Street in pre-war (1936)  
Source: Kyobashi Library, Tokyo



Figure 3: Buildings along the street (1934)  
Source: Ginza Street Association

“promenade” was used as the image of a street with widened sidewalks, rich green, gorgeous show windows and bright neon signs. Participants stated as follows<sup>6</sup>.

“Show windows in Ginza are greatly inferior to that of Paris. In addition, neon signs are also inferior to that of Times Square in New York. We have to learn about usage of spaces from these cases.”

Umekichi Kosaka (Owner of a restaurant, Hibiya Matsumotorou and Taishoken)

Thus they shared the directionality that Ginza Street should aim at the image of spaces idealized Western cities. On the other hand, they also desired a Japanese style townscape. There were not many Japanese style architectures in those days though a lot of buildings had been built as reconstruction buildings after Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Most of these buildings adopted Western style, Historicism and Art Deco. But local proprietors didn't necessarily appreciate such a townscape.

“I agree with the idea of creating a nationalistic townscape. It must not be the imitation of Western cities. It is worthless that creating townscape that visitors from foreign countries can't recognize as Japanese city. I desire Japanese style architectures like old castles are built more.”

Yaichi Tamaki (Senior adviser of GSA)

Thus local people shared two inconsistent images of townscape. The former image of town scape idealized Western cities had been shared since construction of Ginza Renga-gai. On the other hand, the later image called “Japanese style townscape” and “nationalistic townscape” came to be shared as it was supposed that many visitors would come to Ginza from foreign countries in 1940.

### 3.2. Development of movement for the Tokyo Olympics (1940)

GSA submitted a petition to the mayor of Tokyo and the chair of city assembly to assert the importance of the abolition of the tram in October, 1936<sup>7</sup>. But a reaction from the authorities was poor as the fare of trams became the yield of taxes<sup>8</sup>. So GSA took noticed of Nihon Toshi-Fukei Kyokai (The Society of landscape of cities Japan) as a new partner for cooperation. Toshi-Fukei Kyokai was established by Yoshitane Tochinai (urban critic) and composed by private influential person such as journalists, professors, presidents of companies, and authors<sup>9</sup>. GSA decided to cooperate with this organization to advance their movement.

Two organizations named the team “Ginza judging team,” and they hold an inspection and a conversation meeting on November 24th. Participations from Toshi-Fukei Kyokai proposed the following ideas in this meeting<sup>10</sup>.

“Japanese style architectures should be rebuilt to Western style buildings as there is not the sense of unity of townscape in Ginza Street.”

“Buildings along the street should have at least 4 stories to be the unified townscape.”

“Each building should have a show window on the 1st floor.”

“Street trees should be changed from willows to ginkgoes as willows in Ginza are very scanty.”



Figure 4: Sidewalk of Ginza Street (1936)  
Source: Kyobashi Library, Tokyo



Figure 5: Noise survey by Ginza prosecutor team (1936)  
Source: Ginza Street Association

“Bicycles parked along the street should be removed.”

“The tram should be abolished, and GSA should donate the stylish community bus to the city government.”

“Street lights should be renewed.”

“The number of entrances of the subway should be increased.”

Though the height limit in Ginza Street was then 31m by the building regulation law, most of buildings along the street were one story or two stories except department stores. In addition, willows were growing poorly because of a decrease in ground water<sup>11</sup>. Toshi-Fukei Kyokai criticized these situations harshly. In the end of this meeting, they decided to tackle the removal of telegraph poles and the abolition of the tram together. Then, based on these arguments, they hold a survey of noise pollution in Ginza Street on December 19th. The purpose of this survey was indicating the problems of the tram to society<sup>12</sup>, and newspapers reported this survey on a large scale.

Thus GSA and Toshi-Fukei Kyokai developed movement for the realization of “Urban Beauty.” However these two organizations had different images of ideal townscape. Although local proprietors had two directions of images: modern townscape idealized Western cities and Japanese style townscape, Toshi-Fukei Kyokai criticized Japanese style architectures and willows. Especially, Yoshitane Tochikai asserted that willows weren’t suitable for street trees, and he stated, “Ginkgos are ideal trees to decorate the modern main street” in the conversation meeting mentioned before<sup>13</sup>. For this claim, Koji Hosaka accepted the change of street trees to ginkgoes. As proprietors had regarded willows as the symbol of “Japanese style townscape,” they accepted this claim conditional on planting historical tree species in Japan. However, this decision wasn’t carried out as conditions of willows had changed for the following year<sup>14</sup>.

### 3.3. Release of “Ginza remodelling plan” and the end of the movement for “Urban Beauty”

In January, 1937, GSA released a plan for redesign of urban space from medium and long-term perspectives. The plan was named “Ginza Kaizo Keikaku (Ginza remodelling plan.) The contents are as follows<sup>15</sup>.

“Create a beautiful busy street through the removal of telegraph poles and reconstruction of buildings.”

“Promote pedestrianization through the abolition of the tram and the ban of through traffic.

“Ban running of cars except the bus in a period of time with many crowds.”

“Design small parks on the street in such block, and keep atmosphere clean by lawn and shrubs.”



The contents of this plan are different from the proposals by Toshi-Fukei Kyokai in conversation meeting in December, 1936 (3.2, 1.10). But these proposals affected their movement not a little as Hosaka made referenced in introducing the rule of minimum height of buildings in the media.

In addition, GSA started negotiation with the city government on the removal of telegraph poles, and they reached an agreement in February, 1937<sup>16</sup>. Thus they finally anticipated the realization of one of the main themes.

However, these opportunities were lost as Japanese society entered the war regime after 1938. The biggest turning point was enactment of the law to ban the late-night business of stores except restaurants in 1938. This regulation led to the sluggishness of commercial activity in Ginza. In addition, neon signs were banned for the purpose of reduction of the electricity consumption in the same year. To make matters worse, the agreement to remove telegraph poles was cancelled by the Ministry of Finance for the reason of reduction of the budget in the war regime<sup>17</sup>. Thus opportunities for “Urban Beauty” were lost, and the GSA movement ended in failure.

#### 4. Development of the movement by Ginza Street Association in post-war

##### 4.1. Efforts in the war damage revival period

Buildings in Ginza suffered serious damage by air raids in 1945. Nevertheless GSA undertook the reconstruction of a shopping street as soon as the war terminated, and they procured timbers for temporary buildings. In addition, they submitted “Ginza reconstruction plan” to City Planning Division of the Tokyo metropolitan government in December, 1945<sup>18</sup>. The contents included ideas: the removal of telegraph poles, the abolition of the tram, the change of street trees from willows to ginkgos and the stipulating of minimum height of buildings. In this plan, the issues they had shared in 1930’s was succeeded though it was under the condition most buildings had been burnt down. In addition, ideas proposed by Toshi-Fukei Kyokai in pre-war (3.2, 1.10) were included. We can also understand that proprietors succeeded ideas they had shared as the image of ideal townscape called “promenade” in 1930’s. On the other hand, the image of Japanese style townscape called “nationalistic townscape” wasn’t expressed in this plan.

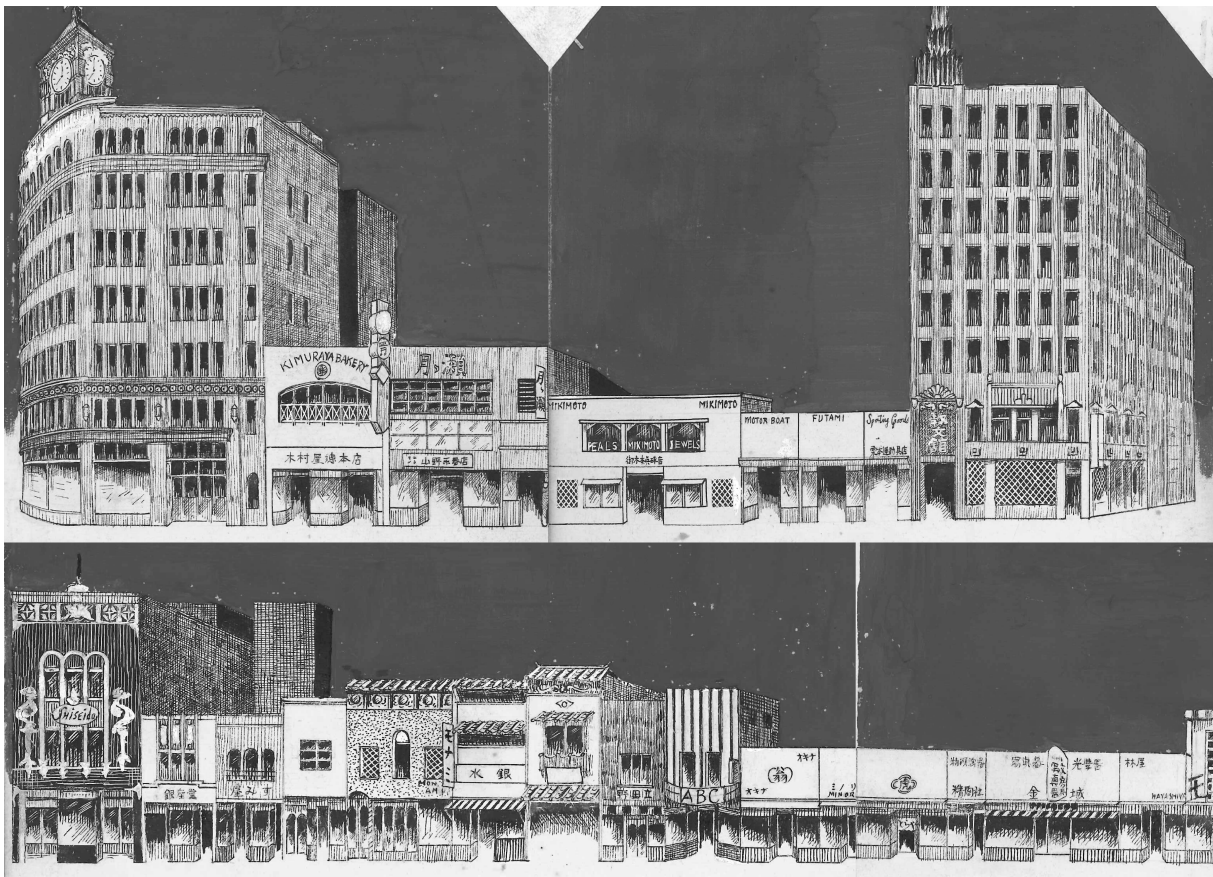


Figure 6: Sketch of buildings along Ginza Street  
Source: Shogyo Toshi-bi Kyokai, *Encyclopaedia of Ginza Past and Present* (1951)



Although this magnificent plan wasn't put into practice due to supply shortages in the war damage reconstruction period, GSA achieved the improvement of street space. Although a road of Ginza Street was under the control of the Tokyo metropolitan government, they didn't have enough budgets for space design in Ginza Street<sup>19</sup>. So GSA played a role of the manager of sidewalk substantially in those days and constructed new pavement and street lights from 1949 to 1951. These street lights were selected in a design competition. The judge was Hideaki Ishikawa (the chief of construction bureau of Tokyo metropolitan government, urban designer) who had tackled movement for "Urban Beauty" with GSA as a member of Toshi-Fukei Kyokai in 1930's<sup>20</sup>. We can also infer their passion to design new townscape from the fact that the design of street lights was entered in the Register of Designs.

When we pay attention to then townscape in Ginza Street, we can find show windows in most buildings though many of them were temporary buildings. Local proprietors had found the value in show windows since pre-war and giving advices on lighting and display in shops were main tasks of GSA in those days.

#### 4.2. Development of the movement for the Tokyo Olympics (1964)

In December, 1955, GSA decided to tackle movement for the abolition of the tram again<sup>21</sup>. This was one of main themes in "Ginza reconstruction plan," and proprietors more than 80% demanded to remove them according to a questionnaire survey for members of GSA. Although they imagined a desire to create the planting strip between roadway and sidewalk after abolishing the tram, a response of the metropolitan government was poor. The authorities claimed that the tram played important roles in terms of avoiding congestion of the passenger of other public transportation<sup>20</sup>. So they invited essays and ideas on redesign of Ginza Street in prize competition to raise public interest in urban design in 1957. Experts such as Eiichi Isomura (urban sociologist) and Yoshiro Taniguchi (architect) were invited as judges, and winning works were selected from 273 works<sup>22</sup>. And Ginza Street Association released a principle of movement on June 6th, 1958. The following contents were decided based on winning works of a competition<sup>23</sup>.

"Achieve the removal of telegraph poles and the abolition of the tram."

"Promote to build communal buildings and make the height of buildings even."

"Redesign buildings to be able to go through to back streets."

"Design show windows in each building continuously."

"Design new show windows between roadway and sidewalk."

In addition, they sent in a petition for the abolition of the tram in October, 1959<sup>24</sup>. Although they sent a same petition again in February, 1961, the Metropolitan Assembly didn't adopt this petition<sup>25</sup>. The competent authorities judged that the tram still had a big value in terms of transportation.

On the other hand, GSA developed arguments on construction of pavement on sidewalk with the competent authorities of street space, Tokyo National Highway Office. In August, 1963, they reached an agreement on carrying out of construction of new pavement by the Tokyo Olympics in 1964<sup>26</sup>. Although local proprietors had a desire to use granites for pavement, they had to give up as it became difficult to dig up the road surface if it was made of granite<sup>27</sup>. As a result, National Highway Office decided to pave coloured asphalt, and GSA had the decision of a colour of asphalt. Shiro Kimura (the managing committee of GSA, dress designer) selected "pigeon" (beige tones) considering colours of building and pedestrians' clothes<sup>28</sup>. The construction was completed in August, 1964.

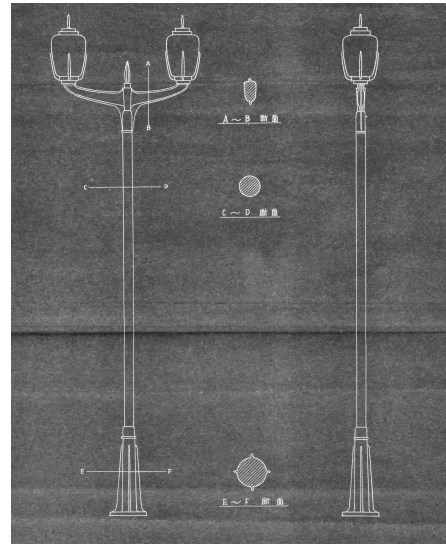


Figure 7: New street lights  
Source: Ginza Street Association



Figure 8: Ginza Street and the tram  
(1955)  
Source: Ginza Street Association



Thus the holding of the Olympics led to increase proprietors' desire for urban design same as pre-war. And they were proud that Ginza symbolized Japan. We can find description as follows in the bulletin of Ginza Street Association<sup>29</sup>.

“We can't accept French style Ginza and American style Ginza. We want to invite people from the world to Ginza of Japan.”

But a viewpoint to desire traditional townscape wasn't shared among local proprietors, and they had the image of “promenade” same as “Ginza reconstruction plan” in the war damage revival period.

#### 4.3. Arguments for large-scale construction of Ginza Street

In 1967, it was seen the epoch-making change of arguments in the metropolitan assembly. As the authorities had a lot of problems about the operation of the tram in terms of traffic congestion and financial difficulties in those days, they decided to abolish the tram in Ginza Street<sup>30</sup>. GSA considered this decision as a chance to achieve the large-scale construction of Ginza Street. In addition, they had planned holding of “The Great Ginza Festival” when they heard this news. So they wanted to hold a big event using the whole street space after the realization of construction<sup>31</sup>. They petitioned to redesign street space to National Highway Office as soon as Tokyo metropolitan government decided to abolish the tram. As a result, National Highway Office decided to carry out the overall redesign of street space including the removal telegraph poles based on this petition<sup>32</sup>. Thus GSA had an opportunity to achieve their longtime aims, the abolition of the tram and the removal of telegraph poles at the same time.

National Highway Office had a plan to pave sidewalk using concrete blocks at first. In contrast to this plan, GSA proposed the following idea to re-use the granite paving stones of the tram<sup>33</sup>. As National Highway Office accepted this proposal, GSA achieved their aim they had given up once four years before.

Thus GSA expressed their opinions to the authorities though the movement for urban design from pre-war. On the other hand, they didn't have a clear policy on street trees. Willows in Ginza Street were getting poor in growth under the influence of decrease in ground water and car fumes in 1960's. Arguments whether should change tree species occurred among local proprietors based on these situations. Keizo Uekusa (the managing committee of GSA) stated, “Willows can't harmonize with modern buildings though they used to harmonize with Japanese style architectures in days of old<sup>34</sup>.” However, board of governors couldn't come to the decision about this argument as some members took objection to remove them. As a result, they decided to leave the choice on street trees to National Highway Office in order to make negotiation for the redesign of Ginza Street a success<sup>35</sup>. Based on this offer, National Highway Office decided to remove willows and plant raphiolepis umbellata<sup>36</sup>.



Figure 10: Parade in “Great Ginza Festival (1968)  
Source: Ginza Street Association



Figure 11: Willows in Ginza Street (1960)  
Source: Ginza Street Association



Figure 9: Ginza Street after large-scale construction (1968)  
Source: Ginza Street Association

Construction of Ginza Street was carried out from December, 1967, the day the tram was abolished, and it finished by the day of “Great Ginza Festival” on October 11th, 1968<sup>37</sup>. The details were the removal of telegraph poles and overhead wire of the tram, the widening and paving of sidewalk, designing of new street lights, planting of new street trees, and the construction of a common duct under sidewalk. And large-scale parades and the big bargain sale on redesigned street in “Great Ginza Festival.”

##### **5. Conclusion - A new historical context of Ginza found in the continuity of the movement by local proprietors**

This paper revealed the development of the movement for urban design by local proprietors in Ginza from 1930's to 1960's. Figure 12 is a chart on the change of their movement. We can find things in common on contents of “Arguments inside of Ginza Street Association,” “Release of private plans” and “Petitions to the authorities.” If we pay attention to consistency of the issues and the image of spaces, we can understand themes of their movement were succeeded from pre-war to post-war. Especially, it's worthy of note that the contents proposed pre-war were included in “Ginza reconstruction plan” which was planned under the situation of great damage by bombing. And the steadfast repetition of these arguments had an influence on policies and constructions by the authorities in 1960's. These two policies have been carried out in various cities by administrative authorities in post-war. But they have historical meanings as the goal of continual movement by local proprietors since pre-war in this case.

GSA continued being interested in urban space of Ginza Street after 1970's. Although they had developed the movement through petitions and release of private plans by 1970's, they came to participate in the urban planning administration of Chuo Ward, Tokyo as members of “Ginza Machizukuri conference” after 1988. In addition, GSA and Chuo Ward cooperated for planning of the establishment of district plan in 1990's. Machizukuri by local people entered the new stage.

The organization of GSA has played a role as a place where local proprietors argued the future image of their town consistently for a long time. It can be thought that the succession of such a platform has a great value to take over the awareness of the issues to next generation. On the other hand, the image of spaces shared among them has changed with the times. In 1930's, they had two different images of ideal townscape: the image called “promenade” idealized Western cities and the image called “nationalistic townscape” to introduce characteristics of a Japanese town to visitors from foreign countries. But the later image vanished in post-war though they still had a pride that “Ginza was a symbolic town of Japan.” These tendencies appear conspicuously in arguments on street trees. Local proprietors found the value in willows as the symbol of “Japanese style townscape” in a period





they placed importance on the later image of spaces. But the value of willow wavered in the post-war period as they lost interest in Japanese style townscape. As a result they decided to leave the choice about street trees to National Highway Office.

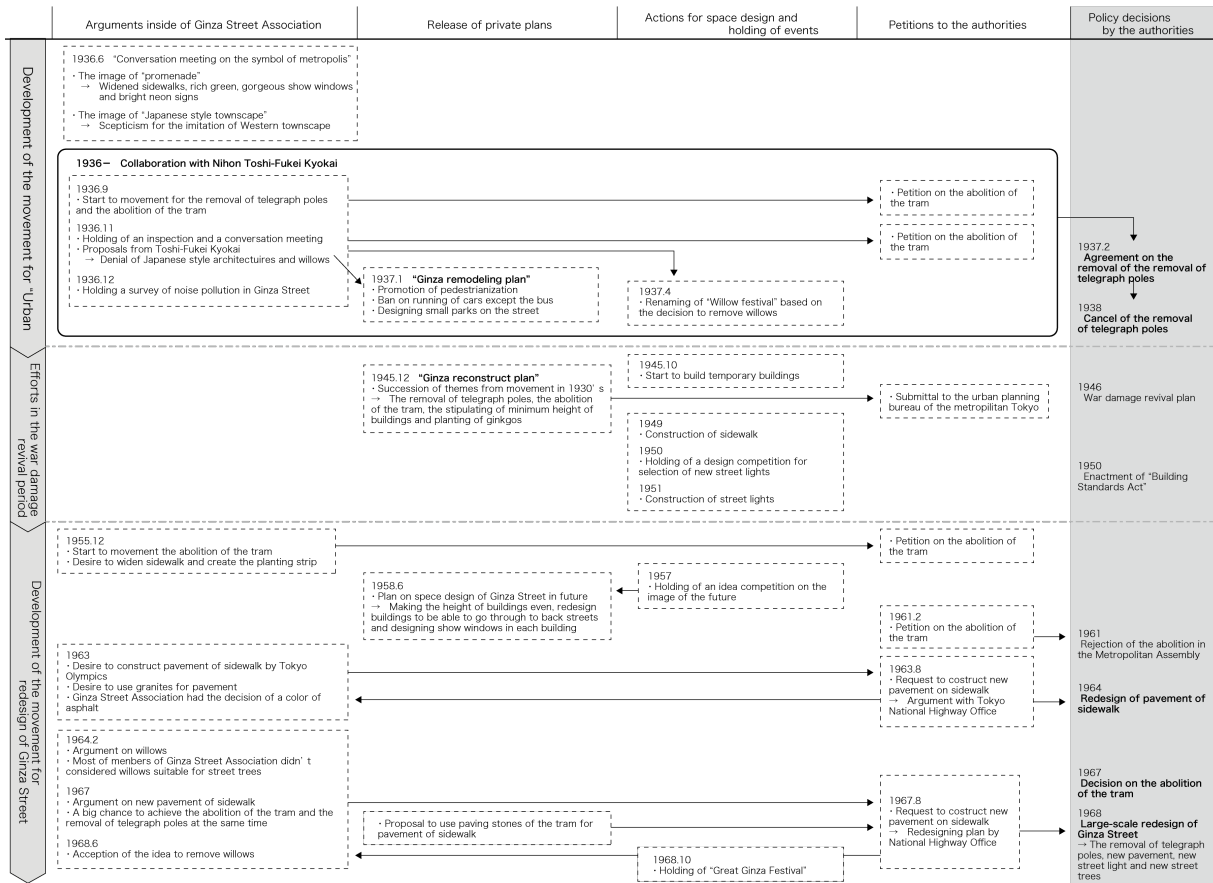


Figure 12: Development of the movement by Ginza Street Association from 1930's to 1960's

Thus this paper found a new historical context of Ginza through placing importance on the accumulation of arguments by local proprietors. This context shows us the different historical view from that of the past found through history of the building of architectures by architects in Ginza. Urban space designed by local people was definitely not many. The history of their movement hasn't paid attention as we can't find the spatial fruits easily. But this historical context shows us the accumulation of time they have attempted to create their town. Finding various historical contexts should lead to the re-recognition of the richness of time in urban space.

<sup>1</sup> Terunobu Fujimori, *Plans of Tokyo in the Meiji period* (Iwanamisyon, 1982)

<sup>2</sup> Terunobu Fujimori, *Architectural design in Ginza and Architects*, Shiseido ed., *Ginza modern and architectural design* (1993) 6-39

<sup>3</sup> Toru Hatsuta, *Downtowns in modern times* (University of Tokyo Press, 2004)

<sup>4</sup> Takahiro Miyashita, Naoto Nakajima, *A study on development of movement for urban design by Ginza Street Association*, Tokyo, J. Archit. Plann., AIJ, Vol.83, No.744 (2018) 241-249

<sup>5</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun (Sep. 9, 1936) 5

<sup>6</sup> Jiji Shinpo (Jun. 7, 1936) 4-5

<sup>7</sup> The contents of a petition are as follows. Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Oct. 6, 1936) 6

"Ginza Street Association decided to tackle beautification of Ginza for 1940. The main themes are the renewal of style of buildings, the removal of telegraph poles, the arrangement of signboards, the renewal of show windows, the improvement of lighting in shops and the control of street stalls."

"Running of the tram on the relatively narrow street has bad influences on traffic and overhead wires of the tram disturb realization of Urban Beauty. We don't need trams as other means of communication such as the subway and the bus have developed."

<sup>8</sup> Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Oct. 18, 1936)5

<sup>9</sup> Naoto Nakajima, *Movement for urban beauty* (University of Tokyo Press, 2009)

<sup>10</sup> Hochi Shimbun (Nov. 25, 1936) 5



- <sup>11</sup> Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Dec. 3, 1936) 10
- <sup>12</sup> Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Dec. 20, 1936) 3
- <sup>13</sup> Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Dec. 8, 1936) 6
- <sup>14</sup> Hochi Shimbun (Jun. 24, 1937) 12
- <sup>15</sup> Jiji Shinpo (Jan. 25, 1937) 5
- <sup>16</sup> Mainichi Shimbun (Feb. 6, 1937) 8
- <sup>17</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun (Jun. 29, 1938) 7
- <sup>18</sup> Mainichi Shimbun (Dec. 12, 1945) 3
- <sup>19</sup> Koji Hosaka, *Shopkeepers talk about Ginza*, Shogyo-kai, Vol.3, No.8 (1950) 24-30
- <sup>20</sup> Asahi Shimbun (Jan.21, 1951) 3
- <sup>21</sup> Asahi Shimbun (Dec.15, 1955) 10
- <sup>22</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun (Sep. 28, 1957) 10
- <sup>23</sup> Asahi Shimbun (Jun. 7, 1958) 15
- <sup>24</sup> The contents of a petition are as follows. Ginza Street Association, *A petition on Ginza Street* (1959)  
“Traffic problems are getting worse day by day. We demand the abolition of the tram as the first action to solve these problems. It is a shame of a capital and a nation to continue obsolete tram in world famous Ginza though Tokyo Olympics is held five years later.”
- <sup>25</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun (Mar.18, 1961)11
- <sup>26</sup> Mainichi Shimbun (Aug. 25, 1963) 16
- <sup>27</sup> Ginza Street Association Bull., Vol.2, No.1 (1964) 9
- <sup>28</sup> Ginza Street Association proc. (Jan. 12, 1965) 2
- <sup>29</sup> Ginza Street Association Bull., Vol.2, No.2 (1964) 2
- <sup>30</sup> Shuichi Sato, *Reconstruction of Ginza Street*, Doro, No.329 (1968) 77-80
- <sup>31</sup> Ginza Street Association proc. (Dec. 8, 1963) 2
- <sup>32</sup> Shuichi Sato, *Reconstruction of Ginza Street*, Doro, No.329 (1968) 77-80
- <sup>33</sup> Ginza Street Association, *A petition for reconstruction of Ginza Street* (1967)
- <sup>34</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun (Feb. 9, 1968) 13
- <sup>35</sup> Ginza Street Association proc. (Aug. 1, 1967) 2
- <sup>36</sup> Ginza Street Association proc. (Jun. 27, 1968) 2
- <sup>37</sup> Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Oct. 10, 1968) 12