

The Emergence of Public Parks in Japan:

Hibiya Park Designed in Western Style

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Introduction

Public parks which can be seen everywhere in the world are the invention of the nineteenth century. Thomas Hall suggests that ‘the idea that public parks should be a natural part of the urban environment was one of the most fundamental nineteenth-century additions to the urban development creed.’¹⁾ They emerged in most industrializing countries as a means of challenging the urban problems during the time of the rapid change and modernization. In Britain, the homeland of the public park movement, it occurred during the early nineteenth century out of the concern for the lack of open spaces in the rapidly expanding industrial towns. The movement in Britain, as in most Western countries, was also motivated by the pursuit of public good. The philanthropists, pioneer park theorists and municipal authorities were keen to advocate the provision of public parks for the working classes as an alternative source of pleasure. They were soon recognised as an integral part of the modern urban environment in Western societies.²⁾

The movement first started in Britain and Europe, followed by America and by the late nineteenth century reached Japan. This article considers the introduction and transformation of the idea of public parks within Japan by exploring the establishment of Hibiya Park, which occupies an area of 17.8 hectares at the heart of Tokyo. It was established by the Council of Tokyo City³⁾ and opened to the public in 1903. It was one of the early public parks in Japan, and also of the

earliest examples laid out in a Western design.⁴⁾ It was to decide the course of the public park movement in Japan. With Hibiya Park as a model, the subsequent urban parks were to be designed in Western style.

The idea of public parks in Japan had its origin in Western culture. Nearly half century after the Western countries, the idea was brought into Japan around 1860 to 1870 in the form of cultural missions. Those who travelled to Europe and America around that time were amazed by the civilization of European cities, including the provision of infrastructure, such as, water and drainage, street planning, town halls, schools, stations, theatres and public parks. The idea of urban parks was also new to European people, and their development grew primarily out of the concern for public health. However, Japanese delegates failed to see the social and cultural context of European parks and they regarded them as a manifestation of European civic grandeur.⁵⁾

The public park movement in Japan started on the initiative of the newly established Meiji government. However, the motive behind the establishment of Japanese public parks was very different from that in Western ones. The movement started as a part of the new government’s policy of transforming the country from an authoritarian society, sometime referred to as early modern or “high feudal,” to a modern state along Western lines. The Meiji leaders set about various reforms one after another in the beginning of the period,⁶⁾ and park planning was one of such reforms. Although it was not the most important issue, the

government put some effort into this matter.

It was officially instituted in 1873, when the Meiji government issued Ordinance No.16, announcing the establishment of public parks. It prescribed that ‘Starting with three prefectures (Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka), places of outstanding natural beauty or historic interest in each city which had attracted people for recreation and gathering, (for instance, the temple and shrine grounds and publicly-owned forestland, such as Asakusa Temple and Kanei Temple in Tokyo, Yasaka Shrine, Kiyomizu Shrine, and Arashiyama in Kyoto) ... shall be provided for public pleasure under the name of *Koen* (public park).’⁷⁾ According to the Ordinance, several parks emerged in Japan, including Asakusa Park and Arashiyama Park, but they were not newly constructed; they were only converted from the former temple and shrine grounds. In contrast to these parks in name only, Hibiya Park was created entirely out of an empty plot of land. It therefore deserves its claim to be one of the earliest examples of a public open space in Japan, though it was a long time before it actually won praise as a real public park for people.

The establishment of Hibiya Park has attracted the interest of several scholars so far. Urban historians like André Sorensen, Paul Waley and Fujimori Terunobu have considered the subject as part of a national project to embellish Tokyo during the 1880’s,⁸⁾ while various Japanese scholars, including historians, geologists, and agricultural scientists, have discussed the designing process of Hibiya Park.⁹⁾ Based on these works, the present article addresses why Hibiya Park was laid out in Western design and how it took its place in people’s lives as a public space. By doing so, it is concerned with the process of how the essentially Western ideas on public parks were introduced, and what kind of different outcomes were produced initially according to the different context.

The motive behind the creation of Hibiya Park

Originally, Hibiya Park emerged as part of the central government’s project to redesign Tokyo during the 1880’s. The modernization programme of the Meiji government soon became synonymous with Westernization. A pressing need to catch up with the West persuaded the Meiji leaders to build a strong state along Western lines. They imposed central control over all sorts of things.¹⁰⁾ The pace of cultural borrowing was slower in the development of urban parks than in other important matters concerning military, political and industrial reforms. Yet the impact of Westernization on the development of parks became more apparent around the end of the nineteenth century.

Westernisation as a form of foreign policy culminated in the 1880’s under the leadership of Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru. He took the strategy of imitating Western culture to impress foreign diplomats and commissioned Josiah Conder (1852–1920), a British architect, to construct *Rokumeikan*, a French-style guest house for Western guests and diplomats. Conder had been teaching architecture at the Imperial University of Tokyo since 1877, when he was employed by the Meiji government as a foreign specialist.¹¹⁾ The construction of *Rokumeikan* was completed in 1883, and evening parties were held frequently to which foreign diplomats were invited.¹²⁾

In the following year, the Foreign Ministry launched a “Project for Concentrating Government Offices in *Kasumigaseki*” (*Kancho shuchu keikaku*), in which the original idea of Hibiya Park first appeared. The purpose of this project was to create a great imperial capital modelled after Western capital cities in order to impress Western diplomats.¹³⁾ The motive behind this project was therefore the same as that of the construction of *Rokumeikan*. It envisaged new government offices being built at the south side of the Imperial

Palace. Conder was again commissioned and he submitted two plans in 1884.¹⁴⁾ The second one was more important in suggesting the creation of a large park at the present site of Hibiya Park as a part of the new government offices. The site was used at the time as a parade ground. There is no direct evidence linking his design with the present layout of the park. It shows a very simple formal garden and has nothing to do with the present design. The current name was not yet given in his plan either. Nevertheless, he can be credited for being the first person to suggest the creation of the large park at the existing location. His whole plan, however, did not satisfy Inoue and was not put into practice. After Conder's plan ended in failure, a few German architects were hired by the Foreign Ministry to submit several plans for the project. These plans were also abandoned when Inoue resigned as the Foreign Minister in 1887.

Interestingly enough, the idea of creating the park in this district was later taken into another government plan, "Tokyo City Improvement Overall Plan" in 1889, prepared by the Home Ministry.¹⁵⁾ While the Foreign Ministry plan concentrated on the creation of the new government offices, the Home Ministry plan focused on improving the urban infrastructure, such as streets, canals, railway stations, bridges, parks, markets and cemeteries. The plan of creating a large park, which initially emerged as a part of the Foreign Ministry plan, was discussed in the committee under the Home Ministry, and was included in the final form of the "Tokyo City Improvement Overall Plan." It was also at this point that it was named Hibiya Park. Much of this plan was not completed due to lack of funds, but the park was to be placed at the space used as a parade ground at the south side of the Imperial Palace.

The two government plans, which were completely different from each other in terms of their approach, did have one thing in common. Both plans were motivated in whole or in part by the desire to create a grand imperial capital to

impress Westerners with Japan's modernization.¹⁶⁾ Consequently, the issues of public good, health improvement and housing occupied a less important place in the urban planning movement in Meiji Japan. Fujimori suggests that, although the mid-Meiji period was the age of industrialization in Japan, none of the urban planning projects of the time were concerned with the issues of housing and factories.¹⁷⁾ It was only after the Taisho period (1912–1926) that these issues were to be widely recognized with the creation of an ever larger urban working class.

The idea of establishing Hibiya Park was reached through a synthesis of these two plans. Although the creation of the park was only a small part of these two large projects, the fundamental principles of these projects were reflected in its conceptualization. It was expected to embody the city's modernization and civilization. That was the reason why the appearance of the park was considered to be the most important factor.

Honda's plan designed in Western style

After the plan of creating Hibiya Park was officially approved by the Home Ministry in 1889, the actual planning work was taken over by the Council of Tokyo in 1893. However, the original intention of the central government was clearly reflected in the actual work undertaken by the city of Tokyo. The council spent a great deal of time discussing what kind of design would be suitable for this park, and they came to identify such design as the one along Western lines. It was their belief that embellishing their city with a great Western-style park would impress foreign countries.¹⁸⁾ They were never prepared to compromise on getting the finest plan. A number of plans were produced by several designers before Honda Seiroku's proposal was finally accepted in 1901.

Honda (1866–1952) was born two years before the Meiji restoration, and his life coincided with the regnal era. His life virtually represented Meiji values of hard work and self-help. After

graduating from the Imperial University of Tokyo, he went to Germany in 1890 at his own expense to study forestry and was awarded a doctorate by the University of Munich within two years. In 1900 he became professor at the College of Agriculture in the Imperial University of Tokyo. In the autumn of the same year, he was asked to prepare the plan for Hibiya Park. The success in this work led him to the profession of urban design. He later created other urban parks and national parks, leading a number of committees and societies, including the City Planning Committee, the Imperial Society of Forestry and the Garden Society of Japan.¹⁹⁾

Honda's plan (Figure 1) was designed completely in Western style, except for the northwest part. The site is roughly divided into four parts: the south-east part is occupied with a Western-style sport grounds; the south-west consists of a Western-style pond with a fountain, a dense forest with winding footpaths and a number of lanes for rambling; at the north-east there are a bandstand, a flower bed and a Japanese-style pond; and the north-west is set aside for a Japanese landscape garden.²⁰⁾ His plan was submitted to the council meeting in 1901. The following recommendation was made by the senior councillors: 'Hibiya Park, which is situated at the centre of the city, should be of absolute perfection. Hence, a number of plans were drawn up in the past, though none of them

were appropriate for this purpose. However, a scholar [Honda Seiroku] ... finally produced an excellent plan suitable for a central park which was modelled after modern Western parks.'²¹⁾ After the deliberations, it was decided that the layout of the Japanese landscape garden should be eliminated from the plan on the grounds that such a design would be inappropriate to the present and future needs of the park.²²⁾ Apart from this section, all the Western features of Honda's plan were entirely accepted by the council.

While a number of studies have been made of his design by taking a close look at his plan, specification and his autobiography,²³⁾ only a few attempts have so far been made at analysing his personal view on design principles and his concept of public parks. The article entitled "Hibiya Park and its Reputation: Dr. Honda's explanation of his own design"²⁴⁾ published in the newspaper a few months before the council meeting, contains his account of his own design principles. It may be useful to look into this article to explore how he cleverly worked out a plan to gain the approval of the council.

His first strategy was to study the previous proposals carefully to see what kind of designs would be appropriate. In his article, he did not refer to the earlier designs, but a comparison of his with previous plans illustrates that he was inspired by Tanaka Yoshio's design (1894) (Figure 2). Tanaka (1838–1916), the vice president of the Japanese Horticultural Society and a pioneer botanist and natural historian, had been to the West several times on the cultural missions during 1860's and 1870's. He was particularly keen on observing the botanical gardens and zoological gardens in Paris, and his personal experiences certainly had an impact on his views. According to his specification, the main theme of his plan was to lay out the park for the purpose of promenading.²⁵⁾ His plan (Figure 2) contains a large section of the site as a walking ground with several useful facilities: a zoological garden, a botanical garden, a nursery, a sports and

Figure 1 Honda Seiroku's final plan, 1900–01
Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Park Association

Figure 2 Tanaka Yoshio's plan, 1894
Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Park Association

riding ground.

Tanaka's approach for laying out the park for promenading is reflected in Honda's final plan. Honda mentioned in his article that the park was intended to provide the public an opportunity for strolling and exercise,²⁶⁾ and therefore, he allocated 80% of the whole area for the purpose, while setting aside the remaining 20% for the provision of facilities, including a flower bed, a Japanese-style pond and a bandstand.²⁷⁾ Although their plans do not necessarily look alike at first glance, Honda's approach for laying out a promenading ground with some facilities certainly had some similarities to Tanaka's plan.

His second strategy was, as Shirahata has pointed out, that Honda appropriated the actual designs that appeared in a German design book.²⁸⁾ Later, he recalled the idea behind it: 'Such a park had never been created in Japan, and no-one had an opinion on how to do it. So I attempted to draw up a plan by putting some of the Western park designs together.'²⁹⁾ He picked up three patterns from Max Bertram's *Gärtnerisches Planzeichnen* (1891), a handbook which comprised various plans of the actual gardens and parks in Europe.³⁰⁾ This book, which he had brought back from Germany, had been widely used as a textbook on garden designs there. Three patterns he selected were described in his article as follows: 'The layout of a sports ground in this plan was modelled on the one in a park at Konitz in Prussia; the design

of the southwest [dense forest] was based on the garden design in a municipal hospital at Bensen in Bohemia; and the shape of the pond with a fountain was taken from one of the patterns in the design book edited by Bertram.'³¹⁾ (The parts copied from Bertram's plan are encircled within the squares in Figure 1.) These three parts were the central features of his plan, and therefore he took much care of appropriating the designs from Bertram's book.

Thirdly, he did not only copy from the Western plans, but also contemplated appropriating Western landscape garden principles, although little attention has been given to this point so far. With a view to creating a promenading park in Western style, he cleverly applied some techniques of arranging footpaths and planting. His concern for arranging footpaths came from his belief that they are the essential features for people's promenading.³²⁾ He recommended that numerous curvilinear footpaths should be made. One of the reasons he claimed for his footpath arrangement was to provide people with 'the pleasure of walking with changing views.' Another reason he used was that the narrow winding footpaths would 'give the impression of walking a meadow.'³³⁾

Regarding the technique of planting, he suggested that planting trees along the surrounding iron railings in a manner to shade the neighbouring houses would obscure the boundary and therefore give people the 'notion of vastness, as if in a field.'³⁴⁾ A dense forest, his favourite part of his plan, was laid out to 'give a sense of boundlessness ... following the extensive English landscape garden style.'³⁵⁾ He concluded that 'since the Western landscape gardening is characterized by the creation of a natural landscape with changing vistas, in which people feel as if they were walking in a real forest, it is suitable for the design of public parks.'³⁶⁾

It is not clear, however, from which source he learned these principles of Western landscape gardening. Bertram's book does not contain such

features, and therefore is not the source. His later work on laying out parks might give some clues to this question. In 1908 he took part in another park-planning project in the City of Tokyo, and he published the statement of design principles of this project in 1910.³⁷⁾ This statement is a partial translation of Gustav Meyer's *Lehrbuch der Schönen Gartenkunst [Textbook of Fine Garden Art]* (1860).³⁸⁾ Meyer (1816–1877) was a garden designer and theorist who established the foundation of the German public parks.³⁹⁾ While he was studying in Germany, Honda came across this book, and brought it back home.⁴⁰⁾ Comparing the design principles of Hibiya Park described in his specification and his translation of the passages from Meyer's book, one can assume that he had appropriated Meyer's ideas before 1910. In any case, he made the most of these books for laying out Hibiya Park, and the outcome was the emergence of the park whose design was amazingly in accordance with the traditions of Western landscape gardening.

His plan represented the benefit of Western designs far more explicitly than other plans. As a result, it was more convincing in portraying the way “Western” park should look like. It was exactly what the council was looking for. From the outset, the laying out the park along the “Western-looking” style became the sole determinant of this project. They did not even have any preference for choosing which Western examples their park should be modelled after. Paris parks had long been considered as the ideal Western parks for both the Meiji government and Japanese planners. The council's final decision was, however, the adoption of Honda's plan, which drew on German designs. It did not matter to them whether it was French, German, British or any other Western design, as long as it embodied Western features and was well suited to the imperial capital.

Obviously, his plan was not a reflection of the real essence of German parks. On the surface, it would appear that Honda was trying to show the social and cultural role of the German parks. The

purpose of the park mentioned in the article—to provide the public with the opportunity for promenading and exercise—would seem to be expressing the most important concept of Western parks. However, his definition of “public” contradicted this assumption. He wrote in the same article that ‘since this park is situated at the heart of the imperial capital in close proximity to the Imperial Palace, it is primarily intended for the walks and rest of the middle class. Hence, the provision of facilities for the use of the working classes is not taken into account in this plan.’⁴¹⁾ What is immediately apparent in this passage is that his view of the public does not include consideration for the lower classes. This is a complex perception imbedded in Japanese social and political history. Democratic ideas on the political representation of the people were still in their infancy. His expression of the park as a part of ‘the imperial capital in close proximity to the Imperial Palace’ reflects the idea of the council. He intended such a park for the use of the middle class only. Ultimately, his plan was to display Western designs without considering the context in which those designs were adopted there. The designs derived from Western examples were well incorporated in this plan, but the most important social and cultural role of the Western parks—that they should be provided for the benefit of all the people—was not reflected in his plan.

One of the early public parks in Japan was established according to Honda's plan with a limited sense of public good. In the contemporary context, however, in which the priority of the council was placed solely on diplomatic function, the lack of social and cultural aspects in his plan was not an unreasonable one. As soon as his plan was accepted in October 1901, the construction work commenced. Most of his plan was put into effect without any changes.

Hibiya Park as a public space?

It is essential to assess the significance of the newly established park as a public space. How

did this park, laid out with a Western design to display its status as a modern civilized capital, become renowned as a public space? Did this park function for the benefit of all the people of Tokyo? It was the municipal authority that had to settle issues like who should be allowed in the park and how the facilities were to be used.

At the ceremony held in April 1902 to celebrate the start of landscaping work, the Deputy Mayor made a speech, which described the park's prospects: 'Although there are a few parks in this imperial capital, they are nothing more than a mere transformation of shrines and temple grounds.... Hibiya Park will mark a milestone in the development of real parks in Japan, and change the course of the public park movement in Japan completely.'⁴²⁾ His speech represented the council's long-cherished dream of creating the park in Western style to adorn the imperial capital. It also reveals their confidence that this park was to be the important precedent for the subsequent development of public open spaces.

Much attention was focused on the management in order to ensure that Hibiya would gain the reputation as a "real" park. The authority was keen on maintaining good order and conduct within the park. The regulations were drawn up by the Metropolitan police and were displayed on each notice board at all the entrances. According to the regulations, the following are not allowed: carts or wagons which have nothing to do with the park; those who are engaged in peddling, advertising, and performance; a large group of people who would get in the way of other visitors, and those who are dressed improperly. The following conduct is also prohibited: taking carriages into narrow lanes; driving a carriage at full speed and disturbing other visitors; picking flowers; hunting; stepping into the ponds or on flower beds; climbing over the fence or trees and treading through the grass; littering; stone-throwing; and misbehaviour or inappropriate conduct.⁴³⁾ It was also agreed that the park-keepers would impose these regulations

on visitors. In addition, a number of policemen would patrol on the day of opening. It is obvious from these instructions that the council was considering respectable park usage, suitable for a Western-style park.

It has to be emphasized, however, that the council at least did not exclude the public from accessing the park. It was decided that it was to be open to all citizens free of charge on all days. On 1 June 1903, Hibiya Park officially opened and immediately received the public's attention. After the official celebrating ceremony in the morning, attended by more than 200 important people from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and City of Tokyo, the public was for the first time allowed to enter. There were a huge number of visitors, and whole carriageways and footpaths were filled with people. There were also individuals who were cycling on the sports ground, playing a lute, and selling their paper balloons and sweets outside the entrance.⁴⁴⁾ The way people used the park was probably not what the council wanted, but there was no positive reason to oppose. Even tearooms, which the council had decided before its opening not to be allowed in this park for fear of spoiling the view, were allowed to be set up later at the request of the public.⁴⁵⁾

Hibiya Park gradually won the popularity of the public, and was eventually accepted as a modern public space. If there was one thing that made this park popular, it would be the very fact that it was designed along the Western style. Inoshita Kiyoshi (1884–1973), a passionate advocate for open spaces, later recorded in 1973 how Hibiya became influential in giving the public a taste of Western culture. According to him, nothing excited the public more than a flower bed with western flowers, a bandstand, winding footpaths, Western-style pond with a fountain, and a dense forest.⁴⁶⁾ The park provided the very first occasion for the ordinary people to experience Western culture. His praise for this park was summarized in the following passage: 'The park provided all the people, regardless of class, with the pleasure

of experiencing Western culture, in particular, Western gardening and art, which used to be enjoyed exclusively by the upper class.⁷⁴⁷⁾ He also insisted that although public open spaces in Japan started on the initiative of the government, they should be used and owned by the community. He expressed this as ‘democratization of public parks,’⁷⁴⁸⁾ and saw the sign of gradual change in this park. This is of course rather an ironic result, as it was originally planned to display a sense of imperial majesty rather than to promote the public good. One fundamental consequence of the establishment of this park was that it shaped the context in which the parks designed along Western style were suitable for “public parks.”

Conclusion

The establishment of Hibiya Park and its Western-style design as a part of the embellishment of cities defined the course of design principles of public parks in Japan. Most parks thereafter were designed in Western style. For example, Tsurumai Park in Nagoya, created jointly by Honda and a local designer in 1909, was largely based on the design of Hibiya Park. It contains several Western features, including a sports ground, a bandstand, a flower bed, a fountain and a couple of ponds.⁴⁹⁾ The design influence of Hibiya Park can also be seen in other public park designers. For instance, Ozawa Keijiro, a famous traditional garden designer, attempted to incorporate a similar design into his plan for Ohama Park in Osaka.⁵⁰⁾ It indicates that even the leading authority of Japanese landscape gardens at that time could not avoid the current tendency of laying out a park along Western lines.

The idea of a luxurious park for the middle class shown in the creation of Hibiya Park was highly influential in the development of other public parks. Although it later became renowned as a substantial public space, the original intentions of the central government and the council were otherwise. Yamazaki Rintaro, who carried out research on city planning in major Western

countries, pointed out the difference between the Japanese public parks and the Western ones: ‘While public parks in Japan were planned to provide the pleasure of strolling and recreation for people belonging to the middle rank of society, those in Britain were intended for the use of lower-class people.’⁵¹⁾

There were no perspectives on public health in the development of parks in Japan, either. In Western countries, they were often created as a means of improving the urban environment for people. Central Park in New York was a good example of such cause. Even Birkenhead Park, the first public park in Britain, which emerged not as a public health measure but as a result of developing the new town, ultimately provided a beautiful and healthy environment for all the citizens. In contrast, public parks in Japan did not emerge in response to the urban problems and therefore they were not considered as sanitary facilities, as is shown in the case of Hibiya.

Public parks in the Meiji period which were excessively inspired by Western models produced different outcomes. They were often laid out to demonstrate its modernization and prosperity. Therefore, as was illustrated in the case of Hibiya Park, the council incorporated Western designs into their plan without considering the context in which those designs were adopted in their original version.

Notes

- 1) Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997) p. 315.
- 2) Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 2.
- 3) When the municipal organization system was set up in 1888, the City of Tokyo, consisting of fifteen wards, emerged. In 1943, the City of Tokyo was replaced by Metropolitan Tokyo, consisting of 35 wards. In 1947, the present Metropolitan Tokyo, consisting of 23 wards, was arrived at. The City of Tokyo does not exist anymore.
- 4) Yokohama Park in Yokohama was designed in Western

- style by a Scottish architect, Richard Henry Brunton in 1871. It was created almost thirty years before Hibiya Park and was considered to be the first park in Japan designed in Western style. However, this park was originally created exclusively for the use of the foreign residents in Japan and therefore it was not a true public park. Brunton (1841–1901) was the first foreign specialist hired by the Meiji government. For more detail on his life, see Richard Henry Brunton, *Building Japan 1868–1876* (Kent: Japan Library, 1991), and Edward Beauchamp (ed), *Schoolmaster to an Empire: Richard Henry Brunton in Meiji Japan, 1868–1876* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). For more information on Yokohama Park, see Tanaka Yoshio, *Yokohama Koen Monogatari [A History of Public Parks in Yokohama]* (Tokyo: Chuo Koron, 2000) pp. 55–106.
- 5) Shirahata Yozaburo, “City, Nature and Life: Comparative Study between Japan and Western Countries,” in Centre for Researching Culture and Science in Cities (ed), *Toshika-suru Chikara [Impulse for Urbanization]* (Tokyo: Sankosha, 1992) pp. 77–106.
 - 6) André Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty-first Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002) pp. 45–49.
 - 7) National Archives of Japan, *Kobunroku [The Official Documents]*, January 1873.
 - 8) Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, p. 73; Paul Waley, “Parks and Landmarks: Planning the Eastern Capital along Western Lines,” *Journal of Historical Geography* vol. 31 (2005): pp. 1–16; Fujimori Terunobu, *Meiji no Tokyo Keikaku [Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1982) p. 315.
 - 9) Maejima Yasuhiko, *Hibiya Koen [Hibiya Park]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Park Association, 1980); Tanaka Seidai, *Nihon no Koen [Parks in Japan]* (Tokyo: Kashima, 1974); Shinji Isoya, *Koenzukuri o Kangaeru [Consideration of Park Planning]* (Tokyo: Gihodo, 1993); Shirahata, *Kindai Toshi Koenshi no Kenkyu: Oka no Keifu [A History of Modern Urban Parks: The Influence of Western Parks]* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1995) pp. 192–204; Yamashita Hideya and Miyagi Shunsaku, “Spatial Characteristics of Hibiya Koen Park Found in Numerous Design Proposals and Reserved through a Series of Renovations in the Later Years,” *Landscape Kenkyu [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture]* vol. 58, no. 5 (1995): pp. 13–16.
 - 10) Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, pp. 52–55.
 - 11) Conder was also a devotee of Japanese landscape gardening, in particular, garden making in Edo period. He wrote *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893).
 - 12) Fujimori, *[Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]*, pp. 265, 303; Andrew Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain: Japan’s Early Search for the ‘Essence of the West’* (Surrey, Japan Library, 2000) p. 185.
 - 13) For an overview of this project, see Fujimori, *[Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]*, pp. 259–304.
 - 14) *Ibid.*, pp. 265–67; Shirahata, *[A History of Modern Urban Parks]*, pp. 188–89.
 - 15) Fujimori, *[Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]*, p. 287. For an overview of this project, see pp. 89–257.
 - 16) Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, p. 61; Fujimori, *[Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]*, p. 221.
 - 17) Fujimori, *[Tokyo Planning in the Meiji Period]*, pp. 351–52.
 - 18) Shirahata, *[A History of Modern Urban Parks]*, p. 192, 212.
 - 19) For his life, see his autobiography, Honda Seiroku, *Honda Seiroku Taiken Hachijugo Nen [Honda Seiroku, My Experience of 85 Years]* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1952).
 - 20) See his specification. The full text of specification is available in *Tokyo City Council Draft Resolution, Act and Papers*, 8 October 1901.
 - 21) See *Tokyo City Council Draft Resolution, Act and Papers*, 8 October 1901.
 - 22) The discussion of the committee was reported at the council meeting on 8 October 1901. *Ibid.*, 8 October 1901.
 - 23) For instance, see Shirahata, *[A History of Modern Urban Parks]*, pp. 205–14; Maejima, *[Hibiya Park]*, pp. 43–46.
 - 24) “Hibiya Park and its Reputation: Dr. Honda’s Explanation of his Own Design,” *Kokumin Shinbun*, 14, 17 July 1901.
 - 25) His specification was published later in the journal of Japanese Horticultural Society. See Tanaka Yoshio, “A Plan for Hibiya Park,” *Nihon Engeikai Zasshi [Journal of the Japanese Horticultural Society]* vol. 71 (April, 1896): pp. 11–13.
 - 26) “Hibiya Park and its Reputation,” *Kokumin Shinbun*, 14, 17 July 1901. See section 1.
 - 27) *Ibid.*, sections 1 & 5.
 - 28) Shirahata, *[A History of Modern Urban Parks]*, p. 207.
 - 29) City of Tokyo, *Shisei Shuho [Municipal Weekly Gazette]*, June 1939, p. 8.
 - 30) Max Bertram, *Gärtnerisches Planzeichnen: Leitfaden*

- für den Unterricht an höheren Gärtnerlehranstalten und Gartenbauschulen und zum Selbstunterricht für Landschaftsgärtner [Horticultural Design Plans: A Handbook for the Education at Gardeners' Schools and Garden Nurseries and to the Self-education for Landscape Gardeners]* (Berlin: Paul Parley, 1891).
- 31) "Hibiya Park and its Reputation," *Kokumin Shinbun*, 14, 17 July 1901. See section 8. This passage also appears in his specifications.
- 32) *Ibid.*, Section 4.
- 33) *Ibid.*, Sections 5 & 7.
- 34) *Ibid.*, Section 3.
- 35) *Ibid.*, Section 5.
- 36) *Ibid.*, Section 6.
- 37) Honda, "Design Principles of the Project," in *Tokyo-shi Koen Kairyo Sekkei Chosa Hokoku [A Report of Survey for Park Planning and Improvement in the City of Tokyo]* (Tokyo: City of Tokyo, 1910) pp. 1–8.
- 38) Ono Ryohei has pointed out this fact. See Ono, "The Historical Developments of Park Design in Japan," *Zoen Zasshi [Journal of Landscape Gardening]* vol. 53, no. 5 (1990): p. 76.
- 39) Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities*, p. 318.
- 40) Honda later donated a few Western garden design books to the city of Tokyo including Meyer's and Bertram's books.
- 41) "Hibiya Park and its Reputation," *Kokumin Shinbun*, 14, 17 July 1901. Section 8.
- 42) Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *Tokyo no Koen: Sono Kyujunen no Ayumi [Parks in Tokyo: Park Planning over 90 years]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 1963) p. 45, quoted in Shirahata, *[A History of Modern Urban Parks]*, p. 167.
- 43) *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, 31 May 1903, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 230.
- 44) "Hibiya Park at Night," *Miyako Shinbun*, June 1903.
- 45) "Hibiya Park and Tearooms," *Miyako Shinbun*, March 1903.
- 46) Inoshita Kiyoshi, *Toshi to Midori [Cities and Green]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Park Association, 1973) pp. 237–39.
- 47) *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- 48) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 49) See Nagoya City, *Nagoya-shi Shi [The History of City of Nagoya]* vol. 8 (Nagoya: Nagoya City Office, 1916).
- 50) Kobayashi Haruto, "Ozawa Keijiro: Consolidator of the Garden Heritage in Japan," *Landscape Kenkyu [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture]* vol. 58, no. 3 (1995): p. 246.
- 51) Yamazaki Rintaro, *Obei Toshi no Kenkyu [A Study on Western Cities]* (Tokyo: City of Tokyo, 1912) p. 226, quoted in Maruyama Hiroshi, *Kindai Nihon Koenshi No Kenkyu [A History of Modern Japanese Parks]* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1994) p. 11.