

RUSSO-JAPANESE FRONTIER REGION: JAPANESE SOURCE MATERIALS

MASATO MATSUI
TOMOYOSHI KUROKAWA JUN NAKAMURA

With An Introductory Essay By
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JAPAN-UNITED STATES FRIENDSHIP COMMISSION:

Russo-Japanese Frontier Region: Japanese Source Materials, by
Masato Matsui, Tomoyoshi Kurokawa and Jun Nakamura.
(Honolulu: UH Center for Asian and Pacific Studies/Council
for Japanese Studies, 1984), 322 p.

Nan'yo (South Seas): An Annotated Bibliography, by Masato
Matsui, Minako I. Song and Tomoyoshi Kurokawa. (Honolulu:
UH Center for Asian and Pacific Studies/Council for Japanese
Studies, 1982), 198 p.

Ryukyu: An Annotated Bibliography, by Masato Matsui, Tomoyoshi
Kurokawa and Minako I. Song. (Honolulu: UH Center for Asian
and Pacific Studies/Council for Japanese Studies, 1981),
345 p.

Japanese Performing Arts: An Annotated Bibliography, by Masato
Matsui, Minako I. Song, Tomoyoshi Kurokawa and Albert Ikoma.
(Honolulu: UH Center for Asian and Pacific Studies/Council
for Japanese Studies, 1981), 318 p.

Japanese Sources on Korea in Hawaii, by Minako I. Song and
Masato Matsui. (Honolulu: UH Center for Korean Studies,
1980), 251 p.

PREFACE

This compilation of research resources on the Russo-Japanese frontier region is the fifth in the series of bibliographies funded mainly by the Japan-United States Friendship Commission. Earlier works covered Korea, Japanese performing arts, Ryukyu and Nan'yo (South Seas). The University of Hawaii is indebted to and most grateful for the Commission's sustained and generous financial grants. The compilers also wish to express their deepest appreciation to the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies for publication support and to the UH Japan Studies Endowment Committee for its timely assistance in library endeavors.

As with previous works, this bibliography represents the Japanese holdings of the Thomas Hale Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa. This collection on Japan's northern frontier has been built up over the years. It was notably reinforced when it was still deposited in the East West Center Library by the acquisition of manuscript titles in microfilm forms from the Hakodate Municipal Library. Originally, the collection was described in the bibliography: Research Resources on Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuriles at the East West Center Library, Masato Matsui and Katsumi Shimanaka, East West Center Library, 1967. This work is intended to update and enlarge the previous edition. An additional feature is the inclusion of periodical and newspaper articles covering the northern territories problem, an issue of current international concern.

A Japanese source consulted for bibliographic information was: Hoppo ryodo o kangaeru, Hiroshi Kimura, Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbunsha, 1981. English sources used were: Sakhalin, a History, John J. Stephan, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971; and The Kurile Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontier in the Pacific, John J. Stephan, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.

Part I, Russo-Japanese Frontier Region, consists mainly of monographs and reproduced manuscripts, the latter identified by accession numbers, H0-500 - H0-702. Part II, Northern Territories

Problem, is a listing of articles with accession numbers, HO-1 - HO-320.

The entries and indexes are arranged alphabetically following the usual Japanese system which is letter-by-letter instead of word-by-word. The combination of romanized words and new-style kanji characters conforms to present-day common usage in Japan. Each entry is numbered to facilitate identification and cross-referencing. The English translations of titles were intended to give a general indication of the work's content. Thus, in some instances, particularly with the manuscripts, translations are explanatory rather than literal. Renditions of place names in Sakhalin and Kuriles are based on the glossaries appended to aforementioned books by Professor Stephan.

The compilers would like to give a special acknowledgment to Professor John J. Stephan for contributing the introductory essay, serving as the UH representative to the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission and providing technical advice in the compilation of this work. The compilers also wish to express deepest gratitude to Professor Shinkichi Eto of Tokyo University and Professor Hiroshi Kimura of Hokkaido University for their guidance and encouragement to this project. Specially valued is the scholarly support of area and linguistic knowledge provided by Mr. Toshiyuki Akizuki of the Northern Territories Collection, Hokkaido University Library, and Mrs. Takako Akizuki of the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University. The compilers are also indebted to Professor Stephen Uhalley, Director of the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, for publication assistance; University Librarian Mr. John R. Haak, for continued library support, and Mrs. Minako I. Song for her technical expertise and valuable suggestions in compilation.

Compilers assume full responsibility for any errors committed in this work and will appreciate such errors being brought to their attention.

Compilers

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

by

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Scattered across the earth are regions which geography and history have placed at the interstices of states. Such areas (Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, Macedonia, Kashmir, and Antofagasta to name but a few) have been the meeting grounds of diverse peoples, languages, and sometimes of cultures. They have also contributed to, and served as the scenes of, international rivalries. Following the rhythm of wars and treaties, state frontiers have moved back and forth across these regions. Frontier mobility has produced patriotic celebrations among those who gain, and irredentist claims among those who lose, territory.

Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and to some extent Hokkaido make up such an area. Lying at the northern edge of Japan's naichi (inner land) and at the eastern edge of Siberia, the area has for centuries been subject to continental and maritime influences. The area's pre-history unfolded in the crosscurrents of Siberian, Japanese, and North American Neolithic cultures. Discovery and exploration was a cosmopolitan affair, involving Chinese, Japanese, Russians, Spanish, Dutch, French, and the British.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries, Russians and Japanese met in this area without demarcating a mutually agreed upon national boundary. Since a boundary of sorts was established in the Treaty of Shimoda (1855), the Russo-Japanese frontier has changed three times in Sakhalin and two times in the Kurile Islands. Northern Hokkaido was nearly occupied by Soviet forces at the time of Japan's capitulation in August of 1945. Because of an impasse over the frontier in this area, Japan and the Soviet Union have yet to sign up a peace treaty, nearly four decades after the end of World War II. The involvement of China and the United States in the Soviet-Japanese territorial dispute reminds us that Sakhalin and the Kuriles are still laden with complex multilateral associations.

The strategic importance of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands and Hokkaido has become a fact of life in the shifting correlation of forces in contemporary Northeast Asia. Japan concentrates approximately one third of its self-defense force on Hokkaido. Since 1978, the USSR has deployed major new forces on the southern Kuriles and has strengthened air and naval units stationed on Sakhalin. Scenario of a Soviet invasion of Hokkaido in the popular media in Japan during 1980-1981 reflected, if only whimsically, the area's growing strategic significance.

Economically the region has also grown in importance. Sakhalin oblast' (an administrative unit including Sakhalin

and the Kurile Islands) has steadily increased its share of production in the Soviet fisheries industry. The declaration by the USSR of a 200-mile economic zone in 1977 reinforced the significance of the area to the Soviet economy. The completion in 1983 of a tunnel under the Tsugaru straits, establishing a direct rail link between Honshu and Hokkaido, promises to stimulate northern Japan's economic development. Soviet-Japanese exploration for petroleum deposits off the coast of Sakhalin, if successful, could open the path to more ambitious joint projects. Despite Washington's 1982 embargo on oil drilling equipment for this project, the United States has an interest in Sakhalin's energy resources dating from the 1870's (when entrepreneurs sought to develop the island's coal deposits) and including Sinclair Oil Company's Sakhalin concession (1922-1924) and the Gulf Oil Company's geological surveys of the island's offshore waters in the 1970's.

Sakhalin oblast' and Hokkaido society are also notable for the abundance of multilateral associations. The area is the homeland of the Ainu, who today are uprooted and concentrated on Hokkaido. Sakhalin's 43,000 Koreans have ties with the USSR, North and South Korea, and Japan. Immigration to Hokkaido from various Japanese prefectures and to Sakhalin oblast' from different Union Republics of the USSR has lent a heterogenous quality to their inhabitants. Climate and location have helped foster life-styles in both

Sakhalin oblast' and Hokkaido that set them apart from the materik (as Sakhalin residents call the rest of the USSR, the expression meaning "continent") and naichi respectively.

Despite certain shared characteristics and physical proximity (Hokkaido is 40 kilometers from Sakhalin and less than 20 kilometers from the Kuriles)* these islands are remote from each other when it comes to human contacts. Of course there are exchanges of delegations, not to mention contacts between Japanese fishermen and Soviet border patrols. But there are no direct sea, air, or telecommunication links between Hokkaido and Sakhalin oblast'. A letter mailed from the city of Nemuro on Hokkaido to the settlement of Golovnino on the southern Kurile island of Kunashir (a distance of about 50 kilometers) is routed via Tokyo and Moscow, traversing Siberia two times and in the process covering a distance of approximately 20,000 kilometers.

Insularity constraining human contacts between Hokkaido and Sakhalin oblast' has its counterpart in Japanese and Soviet historical literature of the area. Two conditions have fragmented the historiography of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. First, the territorial problem between Japan and the USSR has conditioned Japanese and Soviet authors to view the region's history through a patriotic prism. Consequently, writers tend to stress their own

*According to the Soviet definition of the Kuriles, which include the Habomai Islands, the Kuriles are 3.5 kilometers from Hokkaido.

country's ties to the area while consciously or unconsciously minimizing those of the other country. Secondly, linguistic barriers reinforce narrow national perspectives. Few Soviet historians of Sakhalin and the Kuriles can read Japanese. Most Japanese writing about their "northern territories" do not read Russian. Consequently, Soviet writers are not generally aware of Japanese historical scholarship about the region. For their part, Japanese authors, with a few notable exceptions,* have only a rudimentary knowledge of Soviet historical works on the area through translations of the works of Fainberg, Konstantinov, Kutakov, and Petrov. As a result of this insularity, there are two corpora of literature about Sakhalin and the Kuriles, each having little in common with the other.

European and American works on Sakhalin oblast' and Hokkaido form another category of literature. These works display no single historiographical approach and hence are not subject to generalization. It should be noted, however, that contemporary American authors tend to rely heavily upon Japanese sources about the northern territories problem. A general history of Hokkaido would make an important contribution to our understanding of Japan, and it is to be hoped that a Japanese or Western author will soon undertake the task and publish the results in English.

*Akizuki Toshiyuki, Kato Kyuzo, Kimura Hiroshi, Maruyama Shichiro, and Takano Akira.

Given historiographical fragmentation and the need to deal with several languages, the task of compiling a comprehensive bibliography of Sakhalin oblast' and Hokkaido is not an easy one.* Yet comprehensive bibliographical information is the first step toward bridging the historiographical gap, toward revealing the region in its full historical richness and diversity, and toward transcending our own intellectual frontiers.

The University of Hawaii is an eminently appropriate institution to sponsor the preparation and publication of a comprehensive bibliography of Sakhalin oblast' and Hokkaido. The Soviet Far East is Hawaii's closest neighbor in Asia, and Japan has played an important role in Hawaii's past and present. Since the 1930's, the University has had a strong interest in Japanese studies, manifested in the systematic acquisition of Japanese historical sources by the University Library for over four decades. Since 1937, the University has maintained one or more faculty members with a professional interest in Siberia and Russian-Asian relations. Under the guidance of professors Klaus Mehnert (1937-1941) and John Albert White (since 1947), the University Library has acquired an impressive collection of materials on Siberia and the Soviet Far East in Russian, Japanese, and Western languages.

*Even the monumental Northeastern Asia: A Selected Bibliography, two volumes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), edited by Robert J. Kerner with the assistance of Yoshi Kuno, Andrew Malozemoff and others, contains only two items on the Kurile Islands.

Collection-building would have stumbled without the imagination, energy, and expertise of University librarians. In this area, a particular debt is owed to the director of the East Asia Collection, Dr. Masato Matsui and to the University's Russian Bibliographer, Patricia Polansky. Dr. Matsui is no stranger to bibliographical problems relating to Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. In 1966-67, with the support of the late Professor Shunzo Sakamaki, Dr. Matsui (then working in the East-West Center Library) acquired on microfilm the extensive holdings of the Hakodate City Library. These formed the nucleus of a bibliography of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands published in 1967.* Patricia Polansky joined the Library staff in 1969 and has played the leading role in the Library's recent acquisitions of material on Siberia, the Soviet Far East and Soviet-Asian relations.

Since the publication of Dr. Matsui's 1967 bibliography, a number of developments have enhanced bibliographical control over multi-lingual sources dealing with Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles. The East-West Center Library has been added to the University Library, putting Japanese and Russian-language sources under one roof. The expert assistance of Mr. Tomoyoshi Kurokawa, who has gained first-hand knowledge of Hokkaido and northern territories problem through U.S. government services

*Masato Matsui and Katsumi Shimanaka. Research Resources on Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuriles at the East-West Center Library (Honolulu: East-West Center Library, 1967).

in Japan, and Mr. Jun Nakamura, who came to this University in 1978 after nine years of service as a Japanese cataloger at Stanford's Hoover Institution, have enabled Dr. Matsui to collate and catalogue a wide range of new materials on the region.

Institutional support from the University's Center for Asian and Pacific Studies has assured stability and continuity of research on the Soviet Far East. The generous assistance from the Japan-United States Friendship Commission has made possible the publication of this updated bibliography of the region.

The new edition of Dr. Matsui's bibliography clearly demonstrates how historical and ethnographical scholarship on Hokkaido has developed since the 1960's. The multi-volume history of Hokkaido published under the direction of the prefectural authorities (Hokkaido-cho) introduces major new primary material as well as new interpretations of the past. The recent works of established scholars such as Takakura Shin'ichiro are listed, and works by younger Hokkaido historians such as Kaiho Mineo enable the Western reader to become acquainted with the latest historiographical trends. Japanese scholarship on Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands has also not been inactive since 1967, and the new histories of Karafuto, memoirs, and ethnographic studies of the Sakhalin Ainu deserve attention. A growing tide of books on the "northern territories problem" indicates that irredentism over the southern Kuriles is far from dead in Japan today.

The publication of a new bibliography of Japanese language

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
INTRODUCTORY ESSAY John J. Stephan	v
PART I RUSSO-JAPANESE FRONTIER REGION	
GENERAL WORKS	
Bibliographies and Catalogs	1
Collected Works	4
Biographical Works	6
Personnel Directories	13
Periodicals and Newspapers	14
HUMANITIES	
Arts and Crafts	16
Language	21
Literature	25
Folklore	32
Religion	37
History	
Hokkaido-General	40
Hokkaido-Local	65
Sakhalin and Kuriles	82
Northern Territories Problem	85
Foreign Contacts	92
Miscellany	101
SOCIAL SCIENCES	
Government	104
Geography	
Hokkaido	109
Sakhalin and Kuriles	128
Northern Area	133
Economics	
Development	135
Finance and Commerce	147
Labor	151
Transportation and Communications	152
Agriculture	156
Fisheries	163
Forestry	166
Industries	168
Sociology	
Culture and Customs	170
Social Conditions	184
Archaeology	187
Education	192

materials on the Russo-Japanese frontier region and the northern territories problem constitutes an important step towards making the University's strengths in maritime Northeast Asian studies more widely known and more accessible to scholars and students of all countries. It is to be hoped that this volume will soon be followed by an analogous bibliography of the University's Russian-language materials covering the same area. We shall then be significantly closer to bridging the historiographical gap that impedes international understanding.

NATURAL SCIENCES	196
AUTHOR INDEX	201
TITLE INDEX	218
PART II NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM	
PERIODICAL AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES	246
AUTHOR INDEX	316

PART I

RUSSO-JAPANESE FRONTIER REGION

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HO-508

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 69 lvs. photocopy. HO-644
- 622 Atsukeshi e jōriku ikokujin ikken goyōjō ambun todome
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- 623 Bakumatsu gaikō shomoku, Ansei nenkan kiroku
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 44 lvs. photocopy. HO-646
- 624 Bunka yonen Ezochi sōran kikigaki
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 21 lvs. photocopy. HO-647
- 625 Bunka yonen Kunashiri sōran shokan todome
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 (Correspondence Between Hakodate Magistrate's Office and Shogunate Concerning Russian Raids in 1807)
 32 lvs. photocopy. HO-648

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- 626 Bunkunshū 輛叢集
(Miscellaneous Reports and Rumors on Visits of Foreign Ships)
51 lvs. photocopy. HO-649
- 627 Bunsei yori Tempō ni itaru ikokusen no gi ni tsuki oukagaisho utsushi
文政ヨリ天保至ル異國船ノ義ニ付御図書寫
(Records of Visits of Foreign Ships from Bunsei Period, 1818-1829, to Tempo Period, 1830-1844)
23 lvs. photocopy. HO-650
- 628 Ezochi bunka himitsuroku 蠶夷地文化秘密錄
(Letters by Various Persons Concerning Arrival of Russians and Guard Duties, 1807-1817)
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- 629 Ezo kyūbun 蠶夷舊聞
(Miscellaneous Writings, Based on Various Source Materials, of Ezo Landscaping and People, Russian Intrusion into Ezo, Maritime Defense Measures, Etc.)
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1854.
2 v. photocopy. HO-652
- 630 Ezo nikki 蠶夷日記
(Report on Raids by Russian Ships, 1806-1807)
15 lvs. photocopy. HO-653
- 631 Ezo no chi e chakugan no Sekijin ikken
蠶夷之江着岸之示人一件
(Mission of Russian Envoy, Adam Laxman, with Trade Proposals, 1792)
14 lvs. photocopy. HO-654
- 632 Ezo Roshia 蠶夷魯西亞
(Formal Correspondence Concerning Visits of Russian Ships to Sakhalin in 1807)
14 lvs. photocopy. HO-655
- 633 Ezo roshiazoku raiki 蠶夷魯西亞駁來記
(Record of Visits of Russian Ships to Hokkaido, 1806-1807)
94 lvs. photocopy. HO-656

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- 634 Ezo shiroku 蠶夷志錄
(Record of Russian Raids on Sakhalin-Kuriles in 1807 and Correspondence Between Various Han Concerning Security Against Russians)
35 lvs. photocopy. HO-657
- 635 Ezo shōroku 蠶夷小錄
(Record of Visits of Foreign Ships to Hokkaido, 1789-1817)
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- 636 Ezo sōdōki 蠶夷騷動記
(Reports by Various Han to Hakodate Magistrate on Russian Violence on Iturup Island in 1807)
1 v. photocopy. HO-659
- 637 Ezo sōdō no kakitsuke utsushi, Ezochi ikokusen torai rambō oboegaki
蠶夷騷動之書付寫, 城先地異國船渡未亂防覺書
(From Arrival of Russian Ship at Nagasaki Port in 1804 until Russian Encroachment Upon Ezo Territory in 1807)
39 lvs. photocopy. HO-660
- 638 Ezo sōran shūroku 蠶夷騷亂集錄
(Reports of Various Han on Foreign Ships Visiting Hokkaido Between 1804-1817)
18 lvs. photocopy. HO-661
- 639 Ezo sōshi, kōhen 蠶夷事紙: 後編
(Contacts with Russians in Late 18th Century)
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- 641 Ezo zatsuji 蠶夷雜事
(Reports by Matsumae and Other Han of Northeast District Concerning Russian Raids on Sakhalin and Iturup Island in 1807)
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(Detailed Diary of Hakodate Magistrate on Visit of French Ship)
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- 643 Genroku nenkan yori Kyōwa nenkan ni itaru ikoku kankei zakki 重元祿至享和年間異國屬係雜記
(Miscellaneous Records of Sinking of Foreign Ships and Japanese Drifters Between 1688-1817)
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- 644 Hakodatefu Gaikokukyoku nisshi 篠館府外國局日記
(Diary of Hakodate Government's Foreign Bureau Established in 1868)
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- 645 Hakodate ijindan 篠館夷人談(貴)
(Account of Foreigners Residing in Hakodate in 1855)
Hirao Rosen 平尾魯仙
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- 646 Hakodate Nikki 篠館日記
(Hakodate Diary)
Ōta Chōbei 太田長兵衛
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- 647 Higashi Ezo isen torai osonae kiji 東蝦夷島渡采御備記
(Various Records Concerning Russian Encroachment, 1806-1807)
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- 648 Hokkai uhakuki 北海島船記
(Record of Sinking of Foreign Ships and Japanese Drifters Between 1643-1771)
Matsumoto Tanechika 松本胤親
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- 649 Hokkei shōshi shō 北墨小誌抄
(Excerpts of Official and Personal Correspondence, Reports, Diaries, Etc. Concerning Russian Encroachment, 1806-1807)
109 lvs. photocopy. HO-671

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- 650 Hokuchi nisshi 北地日志
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 Kubota Kentatsu 久保田見三
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 (Documents Concerning Security Actions Against Russian Ships Visiting Hokkaido During Bunka Period, 1804-1818)
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 (Russo-Japanese Contacts, 1789-1800)
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- 653 Ikoku e hyōryū tsukamatsuri sōrō Mutsu no Kuni no mono yonin kuchigaki
 奥國江流、流仕候墾奥國之番四人口書
 (Account of Four Japanese Who Drifted to Russia and Were Returned to Nagasaki by Russian Envoy in 1804)
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- 654 Ikokusen Ezo toraijō no utsushi 奥國船蝦夷渡來狀之寫
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 33 lvs. photocopy. HO-676
- 655 Kaei sannen yori Ansei ninen ni itaru fusetsugaki
 亀嘉永三至安政ニ風説書
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 101 lvs. photocopy. HO-677
- 656 Kaibō kiji 海防紀事
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 Ōta Nampo 大田南畠
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Shinra Kansō 新樂開叟
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 松前由來記 对示人來朝之事
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- 665 Meiji gannen yori Meiji sannen ni itaru Hakodate zairyū
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- 671 Raii hijitsuroku 來夷松實錄
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AUTHOR INDEX

ABASHIRI SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	430
ABE Etsuro	881
ABE Kozo	574
ABE Tatsuo	167, 454, 457, 462
ABE Yoshito	753
ABIKO Norihiko	988
ADACHI Fujio	1184
AINU BUNKA HOZON TAISAKU KYOGIKAI	1131
AKAMA Takeshi	956
AKIMA Tatsuo	1206
ANDO Takeo	475
ANZAI Mitsuo	716
AOKI Junji	201, 203
AOKI Seijiro	840
ARAI Magosaburo	555, 570
ARAI Hakuseki	272, 273
ARAI Yasue	854
ARA Jinzaburo	83
ARAKIDA Kaju	155
ARAKI Gen	1119
ASADA Kyoji	712
ASAEDA Fumihiro	144
ASAHIKAWA JINKEN YOGO IIN RENGOKAI	1237
ASAHIKAWA-SHI	494
ASAHIKAWA-SHI KAMIKAWA SHICHO	719
ASAHIKAWA SHISHI HENSHU IINKAI	431, 1160
ASAHIKAWA SHIYAKUSHO	432
ASAHIINA Kosei	570
ASAHI SHIMBUNSHA HOKKAIDO SHISHA	169
ASAKA Yukio	863
BABA Osamu	338, 1260
BATCHELOR John	30, 48, 71, 123, 198, 205, 1168
BERGING Semyonovich Lev.	904
BESSHO Jirozo	572
BIEI-CHO YAKUSHO	435
BIHORO-CHO YAKUBA	436
BIRATORI HOKA HAKKASON SHOGAKKO KUMIAIKAI	437
BUNKAZAI HOGO IINKAI	95, 1124, 1296

CHAMBERLAIN Basil	.....	3
CHEKHOV Anton P.	.....	894
CHIBA Ryoryo	.....	1049, 1057
CHIGAKU DANTAI KENKYUKAI SAPPORO SHIBU	.....	1320
CHIPPOBETSU NOGYO KYODO KUMIAI FUJIMBU	.....	1045
CHIRI Mashiho	.....	124, 219, 135, 152, 166, 192, 227, 738, 806, 1129
CHIRI Sachie	.....	164
CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	433

DAITO Tokihiko	.....	859
DATE-CHO	.....	440

EBOETSU-CHO YAKUBA	.....	441
EBETSU-SHI SHINOTSU JICHIKAI	.....	529
EBETSU SHIYAKUSHO	.....	442, 499
EBIKO Kichizo	.....	277, 895
EBINA Kenzo	.....	331, 944, 1003, 1113, 1293
ELDRIDGE Stuart	.....	68
ENGARU-CHO YAKUBA	.....	443
ENOMOTO Morie	.....	41, 305
ESASHI CHOSHI HENSHUSHITSU	.....	444

FISCHER Frank B.	.....	1182
FUCHI Pon	.....	131
FUJIMOTO Hideo	.....	70, 1128, 1134
FUJI Tomofumi	.....	849
FUJIWARA Sonosuke	.....	225
FUKASE Shun'ichi	.....	9, 224
FUKUI Kyuzo	.....	1167
FUKUI Yoshimaro	.....	757, 758
FUKUOKA Takejiro	.....	448
FUKUSHIMA Tsuneo	.....	241
FUNADA Jiro	.....	575
FURUKAWA Koshoken	.....	856, 859, 1169
FURUSAWA Tsuneji	.....	828

GENDAI YUMEI JINJIROKU KANKOKAI	.....	36
GOLOVNIN Visil M.	.....	666
GOTO Juichi	.....	318
GOTO Morikazu	.....	1249

HABARA Yukichi	.....	1156
HABUTO Shozaemon Masayasu	.....	363, 364, 365,
	366	
HACHIMORI Torataro	.....	188
HAGINAKA Mie	.....	162
HAGINO Toshio	.....	1104
HAGIWARA Minoru	.....	921
HAGIWARA Tatsuo	.....	1212
HAKODATE KUYAKUSHO	.....	456
HAKODATE KYOSANKAI	.....	4
HAKODATE MEISHIROKU HENSHUBU	.....	74
HOKODATE-SHI BUNKAZAI HOGO IINKAI	.....	1173
HAKODATE SHIHAN GAKKO	.....	1
HAKODATE SHIHAN GAKKO KOYUKAI	.....	209, 699
HAKODATE-SHI KYOIKU IINKAI	.....	460
HAKODATE SHIMBUNSHA	.....	73
HAKODATE-SHI SOMUBU	.....	763
HAKODATE SHIYAKUSHO	.....	702, 995
HAKODATE SHOBO HOMBU	.....	466
HAKODATE SHOKO KAIGISHO	.....	996
HAKODATE ZEIKAN	.....	997
HAKU Kosai	.....	136
HANIHARA Kazuro	.....	1217
HARAKO Osamu	.....	120
HARA Matsui	.....	1110
HASEBE Kotondo	.....	1163
HASHIMOTO Gyosho	.....	226, 230, 323
HASHIMOTO Tozo	.....	986
HASHINE Naohiko	.....	1227
HAYAKAWA Noboru	.....	204
HAYASE Soichi	.....	609
HAYASHI Kenzo	.....	798, 812, 862
HAYASHI Shihei	.....	694
HAYASHI Yoshishige	.....	1044
HELLMANN Donald C.	.....	607
HIDAKA SHUPPIN KYOKAI	.....	1304
HIGASHI ASAHIWADA-CHO YAKUBA	.....	467
HIGO Kazuo	.....	218
HIRAO Rosen	.....	645, 821
HIRASAWA Kyokuzan	.....	660
HIRASAWA Michitsugu	.....	536
HIRAYAMA Hisao	.....	1189
HISHINUMA Uichi	.....	133, 872
HIZUKA Takamasa	.....	351
HOKKAIDO	.....	403, 939, 946, 1322
HOKKAIDO AKAN-CHO KYOIKU IINKAI	.....	1176
HOKKAIDO BUNGAKUKAN	.....	168
HOKKAIDOCHO	.....	49, 82, 216, 298, 316, 319, 320, 326, 347, 408, 703, 704, 707, 791, 913, 931, 963, 966, 1035, 1229, 1231

HOKKAIDOCHO CHISHIMA CHOSAJO	.....	864
HOKKAIDOCHO CHOKAN KAMBO BUNSHOKA	.....	6
HOKKAIDOCHO DAI-GOBU SHOKUMINKA	.....	969
HOKKAIDOCHO DAI-NIBU	.....	1061
HOKKAIDOCHO DOBOKUBU KAKOKA	.....	1031
HOKKAIDOCHO GAKUMUBU SHAKAIKA	.....	1230
HOKKAIDOCHO NAIMUBU	.....	792, 1069
HOKKAIDOCHO SHOKUMINKA	.....	926, 927
HOKKAIDOCHO TAKUSHOKUBU SHOKUMINKA	.....	928
HOKKAIDO DAIGAKU	.....	1276, 1294
HOKKAIDO DAIGAKU FUZOKU TOSHOKAN	.....	7, 8
HOKKAIDO DAIGAKU TOSHO KANKOKAI	.....	1082
HOKKAIDO DOBOKUBU TOSHI KEIKAKUKA	.....	954
HOKKAIDO GAKUGEI DAIGAKU SAPPORO BUNKO	.....	1277
HOKKAIDO GIKAI JIMUKYOKU	.....	711, 714
HOKKAIDO HIDAKA SHICHO	.....	920
HOKKAIDO JICHI KYOKAI	.....	718
HOKKAIDO KAIHATSUCHO	.....	948
HOKKAIDO KAHTSUKYOKU KAMBO KAIHATSU CHOSAKA	.....	924
HOKKAIDO KYODO KUMIAI RENGOKAISHI HENSHU IINKAI	.....	1048
HOKKAIDO KYOIKU HEIJICA	.....	1279
HOKKAIDO KYOIKU IINKAI	.....	1183, 1296
HOKKAIDO KYOIKU KENKYUJO	.....	1280, 1281, 1283, 1284
HOKKAIDO KYOSHOKUIN KUMIAI	.....	1282
HOKKAIDO NOCHI KAIHATSU KYOKAI	.....	940
HOKKAIDO NOCHI KAITAKUBU	.....	953
HOKKAIDO NOKAI	.....	1064
HOKKAIDO NOMIN DOMEI	.....	1067
HOKKAIDO OTARU KUYAKUSHO	.....	507
HOKKAIDO RIMMUBU	.....	1102
HOKKAIDORITSU NOGYO KENKYUJO	.....	1066
HOKKAIDORITSU SOGO KEIZAI KENKYU	.....	1053
HOKKAIDO HOSO	.....	177
HOKKAIDO HOSO SHASHI HENSHU IINKAI	.....	1028
HOKKAIDO RODOBU	.....	1022, 1023
HOKKAIDO RODOBU SHOKUGYO ANTEIKA	.....	1019, 1021
HOKKAIDO SANGAKUKAI	.....	794
HOKKAIDO SANGYO CHOSAKYOKU	.....	1116
HOKKAIDO SAPPORO SHIHAN GAKKO	.....	1285
HOKKAIDO SHAKAI JIGYO KYOKAI	.....	465
HOKKAIDO SHAKAIKA KYOIKU KENKYUKAI	.....	783
HOKKAIDO SHAKAI KYOIKU KYOKAI	.....	761
HOKKAIDO SHIGAKU KYOIKUSHI HENSHU IINKAI	.....	1287
HOKKAIDO SHIMBUNSHA	.....	19, 76, 809, 1309, 1318
HOKKAIDO SHIN'YO GYOGYO KYODO KUMIAI RENGOKAI	.....	1091
HOKKAIDO SHIRYO HENSHUJO	.....	14
HOKKAIDO SOGO KAIHATSU IINKAI JIMUKYOKU	.....	1074
HOKKAIDO SOMUBU BUNSHOKA	.....	15, 40, 266, 297, 309, 314, 919

HOKKAIDO SOMUBU GYOSEI SHIRYOSHITSU	.....	17, 39
HOKKAIDO SOMUBU KAIHATSU KEIKAKUKA	.....	923
HOKKAIDO SUISAMBU SUISANKA	.....	1090
HOKKAIDO TAKUSHOKU GINKO	.....	999, 1000, 1005
HOKKAIDO TAKUSHOKU GINKO CHOSABU	.....	925
HOKKAIDO TANKO KISEN KABUSHIKI KAISHA	.....	1006
HOKKAIDO TEIKOKU DAIGAKU	.....	1288
HOKKAIDO TOKORO-GUN NOTSUKEUSHI-CHO YAKUBA	.....	500
HOKKAIDO URAKAWA SHICHO	.....	734
HOKKAI TAIMUSUSA CHOSABU	.....	75
HOKKAI TAIMUSUSA SHOKYOBU	.....	1065
HONDA Seiroku	.....	907
HONJO Fumio	.....	389
HORACE Capron	.....	724
HORA Tomio	.....	592
HORI Shoji	.....	345
HORI Toshihiro	.....	265, 289, 561, 802, 993
HOTTA Masaatsu	.....	750

ICHIKAWA Ken'ichiro	.....	183
ICHINOMIYA Heichi	.....	850
IGARASHI Seizo	.....	57
IGARASHI SENSEI KAKO HYOKEIKAI	.....	250
IGURO Yataro	.....	56
IHARA Kansai	.....	918
IKUTAWARA SONSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	471
IMAGANE-CHO YAKUBA	.....	472
INADOMARU Kenji	.....	479
INOUE Keinosuke	.....	350
INOUE Mitsusada	.....	64
INUKAI Tetsuo	.....	1302
IRIE Keishiro	.....	615
ISEI Hokuto	.....	221
ISHIDA Sakao	.....	611
ISHIDA Yukinari	.....	1020
ISHIGURO Rintaro	.....	1095
ISHIKARIGAWA GENRYU GENSHIRIN SOGO CHOSADAN	.....	1105
ISHIKAWA Kazusuke	.....	810
ISHIKAWA Kenzaburo	.....	596
ISHIZAKA Buhei	.....	682
ISHIZAKA Sho	.....	682
ISHIZEKI Ryoji	.....	12
ISOGAYA Norikichi	.....	745, 747
ISOME Toshio	.....	1112
ISSHIKI Tonosuke	.....	710, 970
ITO Atsutaro	.....	1261
ITO Moriemon	.....	1117

ITO Seiya	.....	181
ITO Shozo	.....	18, 362, 818
ITO Toshio	.....	1051, 1057
IWAHASHI Kinjiro	.....	943
IWAMIZAWA SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	473
IWAMURA Michitoshi	.....	723, 805, 807
IWASHIMIZU Takashi	.....	27
IZUMI Ryu	.....	240
IZUMI Seiichi	.....	1152

JIMBO Kotora	.....	126
JONES F. C.	.....	934

LYMAN Benjamin S. 781

KAGAYA Teiji	.....	173
KAIHO Mineo	.....	252, 355, 392, 706
KAITAKUSHI HENSANKA	.....	973
KAJIMA Morinosuke	.....	959
KAJIMA Ume	.....	795
KAKEKAWA Gen'ichiro	.....	245, 154
KAKIZAKI Hirotsume	.....	1211
KAMATA Jun'ichi	.....	426
KAMEI Katsuichiro	.....	312
KAMEI Takayoshi	.....	902
KAMIHOROMUI KYODOSHI HENSANKAI	.....	474
KANAZAWA Shozaburo	.....	126
KANEKO Gumpai	.....	37
KANEKO Nobutaka	.....	38
KANNARI Matsu	.....	161
KANO Ichiro	.....	933
KARAFUTOCHO	.....	90, 560, 562, 725, 726, 727, 1321
KARAFUTO CHOKAN KAMBO	.....	728
KARAFUTOCHO HAKUBUTSUKAN	.....	874
KARAFUTOCHO SHIKUKA SHICHO	.....	1215
KARITSU Gaishi	.....	657
KASAI Takechiyo	.....	879
KASHIWAGI Shigeru	.....	429
KASHIWAMURA Ichiro	.....	816
KATADA Seiji	.....	22, 424
KATAYAMA Keiji	.....	930, 942
KATO Fusazo	.....	16, 565, 776

KATSUYAMA Yaichiro	.....	841
KAWADA Kiyosuke	.....	875
KAWAKAMI Sumio	.....	172
KAWAMATA Kotaro	.....	1111
KAWAMURA Shigemitsu	.....	609
KAWASHIMA Senzo	.....	978
KEIMEIKAI JIMUSHO	.....	1291
KIKUCHI Sansai	.....	1172, 1242
KIKUCHI Sonai	.....	672
KIMURA Fujio	.....	191
KIMURA Hiroshi	.....	593
KIMURA Hyakujiro	.....	468
KINDAICHI HAKUSHI BEIJU KINEN RONSHU HENSHU IINKAI		
	.....	23, 24
KINDAICHI Kyosuke	.....	93, 124, 128, 130, 137, 138, 147, 153, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 185, 186, 187, 190, 195, 227, 235, 1123, 1141
KISHODO SHUJIN	.....	918
KITAGAKI KUnimichi	.....	980
KITAGAMAE Yasuo	.....	554
KITA Koyo	.....	210, 1221
KITAMI SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	476
KITA-SON SONSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	477
KITA Takaaki	.....	1226
KITA Takaaki	.....	1233
KIYONO Kenji	.....	823
KOBAYASHI Chokichi	.....	1029
KOBAYASHI Yukio	.....	1095A
KODAIRA Yoshihei	.....	249
KODAISHI DANWAKAI	.....	256
KODAMA Sakuzaemon	.....	280
KODERA Heikichi	.....	1185
KOIZUKA Takamasa	.....	1166
KOIZUMI Hideo	.....	743
KOJIMA Matajiro	.....	619
KOKUMIN KEIZAI KENKYU KYOKAI	.....	950
KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN	.....	741, 814
KOKUSHO KANKOKAI	.....	883
KOMAI Kazuchika	.....	1265, 1267
KONDO Juzo	.....	683, 709, 891
KONDO Kyojiro	.....	247
KONDO Morishige	.....	900
KONO Atsumaro	.....	789
KONO Hiromichi	.....	25, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 110, 112, 114, 116, 193, 219, 231, 232, 271, 308, 324, 393, 394, 541, 713, 717, 730, 882, 951, 1135, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1142, 1143, 1150, 1153, 1158, 1159, 1161, 1165, 1177, 1180, 1190, 1192, 1196, 1202, 1204, 1207, 1213, 1219, 1236, 1240, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1248, 1250, 1251, 1253, 1254, 1257, 1259, 1262, 1266, 1268, 1271, 1272, 1306, 1310, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1319, 1324

KONO Hisako	.....	1133
KONO Motomichi	.....	111, 333, 732, 1273
KONO Tsunekichi	.....	10, 11, 13, 26, 31, 35, 42, 46, 72, 94, 115, 180, 213, 220, 237, 251, 304, 328, 386, 399, 455, 486, 551, 568, 569, 620, 691, 693, 740, 742, 782, 941, 961, 968, 977, 982, 990, 991, 1025, 1056, 1068, 1075, 1097, 1098, 1100, 1106, 1107, 1109, 1144, 1181, 1238, 1239, 1241, 1255, 1263, 1264, 1297, 1301, 1308, 1312, 1323
KON Yutaka	.....	98
KOSE Dairoku	.....	952
KOSHIZAKI Soichi	.....	58, 92, 109, 279, 348, 447, 701, 1164
KOYAMA Yoshigoro	.....	667
KUBODERA Itsuhiko	.....	154, 157
KUBO Genchin	.....	840
KUBOTA Kentatsu	.....	650
KUDO Chuhei	.....	81
KUDO Heisuke	.....	898
KUNIMOTO Zen'an	.....	267
KURIBAYASHI Tatsuo	.....	1120
KURIMOTO Shujiro	.....	469
KURITA Tadashi	.....	998
KURODA Hidetoshi	.....	660
KURODA Nagashige	.....	313
KUTCHAN CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	483
KUWABARA Masato	.....	354
KUWABARA Terumichi	.....	589
KUWAYAMA Satoru	.....	1072

MAEDAKAWA Koichiro	.....	890
MAEDA Ken	.....	765
MAEHARA Mitsuo	.....	591
MAMIYA Rinzo	.....	884, 887, 888, 892
MARUYAMA Kunio	.....	470
MASAMUNE Atsuo	.....	415
MATSUDA Denjuro	.....	800
MATSUDA Ichitaro	.....	737
MATSUMAE Akihiro	.....	255
MATSUMAE CHOSHI HENSHUSHITSU	.....	485
MATSUMAE Hironaga	.....	278, 822
MATSUMAE Kagehiro	.....	407
MATSUMAE Norihiro	.....	1167
MATSUMOTO Juro	.....	804
MATSUMOTO Shigeyoshi	.....	1206
MATSUMOTO Tanechika	.....	648

MATSUNAGA Hikoemon	.....	906
MATSUNO Tsutau	.....	1077
MATSUOKA Masao	.....	889
MATSUSHITA Wataru	.....	108
MATSUURA Takeshiro	.....	258, 415, 700, 753, 755, 762, 771, 803, 813, 815, 830, 832, 833, 836, 842, 843, 845, 846, 848, 851, 852, 861, 878, 886, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043
MATSUYOSHI Sadao	.....	1223, 1235
MEIJIZEN NIHON KAGAKUSHI KANKOKAI	.....	384
MEMURO-CHO NOGYO KYODO KUMIAI	.....	1078
MEMURO-CHO YAKUBA	.....	489
MIDORIKAWA Rinzo	.....	1108
MINAMI MANSHU TETSUDO KABUSHIKI KAISHA KOHOKA	.....	910
MINAMI Tetsuzo	.....	960, 1013
MINAMOTO Hironaga	.....	275
MISHIMA Tsutomu	.....	1101
MITAMURA Kentaro	.....	1052
MITSUI GINKO OTARU SHITEN	.....	1002
MITSUOKA Shin'ichi	.....	1155, 1208
MIYABE Kingo	.....	1317
MIYAKE Tsutomu	.....	1317
MIYASHITA Soichiro	.....	947
MIYAZAKI Daishiro	.....	212, 463
MIYAZAKI Ikuu	.....	167
MIYAZAKI Raihachi	.....	566
MIYAZAKI Shigeki	.....	721
MIYOSHI Fumio	.....	1149
MOGAMI Tokunai	.....	639, 686, 1171, 1209
MOMBETSU-CHO KYODOSHI KENKYUKAI	.....	121, 158, 233, 1148
MOMBETSU SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	490, 1121
MOMOTARI Noboru	.....	694
MORIKAWA Fukaku	.....	242
MORI Kazuma	.....	811
MORINO Shokichi	.....	105
MORISAWA Masateru	.....	899
MORITA Hirohiko	.....	1311
MORITAKE Takeichi	.....	1205
MORIYAMA Gunjiro	.....	385
MORI Shogo	.....	342
MOTOYAMA Keisen	.....	909
MUNAKATA Torao	.....	505
MURAGAKI Tanso	.....	388
MURAKAMI Kyukichi	.....	29
MURAO Motonaga	.....	344, 692, 722, 733, 967, 994, 1011, 1014, 1087, 1125

MURAYAMA Shichiro	.....	146
MUROOKA Miyokichi	.....	1290
MURORAN-SHI GIKAI	.....	729
MURORAN SHIYAKUSHO	.....	491, 492, 525
MUTO Kanzo	.....	754

NAGANUMA CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	493
NAGAO Koya	.....	786
NAGATA Hosei	.....	765
NAGATANI Kohei	.....	938
NAGATA Yasumasa	.....	139
NAGATA Yohei	.....	1299
NAGAYAMA Tsutomu	.....	463
NAJIMA Takeji	.....	43
NAKAFURANO SONSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	496
NAKAI Kiyoyuki	.....	383
NAKAJIMA Kuro	.....	517, 1071
NAKAJIMA Shunzo	.....	337
NAKA Koji	.....	267
NAKAME Akira	.....	149
NAKAMURA Ko	.....	610
NAKAMURA Misao	.....	142
NAKAMURA Renji	.....	1032, 1034
NAKAMURA Zentaro	.....	553
NAKANO Miyoko	.....	340
NAKAYAMA Ichiro	.....	937
NAKAYAMA Tomiko	.....	50
NAKAYAMA Toshikuni	.....	829
NAKOSHI Gengoro	.....	988
NAMPO DOHO ENGOKAI	.....	584, 588
NARABE Osamu	.....	816
NARUISHI Osamu	.....	855
NATORI Takemitsu	.....	28, 206, 1084, 1130
NEMURO-CHO KYOSANKAI	.....	1079
NEMURO SHICHO	.....	498
NIHON AINU GAKKAI	.....	1126
NIHON DENSHIN DENWA KOSHA HOKKAIDO DENKI TSUSHINKYOKU	.....
	1033	
NIHON KOTSU KOSHA	.....	784
NIHON KYOSANTO	.....	606
NIHON REKISHI GAKKAI	.....	257
NIHON TENSAI TOGYO KYOKAI	.....	1073
NIINO Naokichi	.....	1195
NIIOKA Takehiko	.....	65, 1201
NIKKAN RODO TSUSHINSHA	.....	612
NIPPON HOSO KYOKAI	.....	151
NIREGANE Kozo	.....	778

NISHIDA Genzo	.....	876
NISHIDA Shozo	.....	143, 307
NISHIGATA Koichi	.....	1070
NSHIGUCHI Hikaru	.....	609
NSHIMURA Makoto	.....	831
NISHIO Kozo	.....	1004
NISHIZURU Sadayoshi	.....	53, 559, 564
NITAMI Iwao	.....	30, 48
NITobe Jujiro	.....	378
NOMURA Takashi	.....	1247
NONAKAUIJI Atsushi	.....	808
NORINSHO NORINKEIZAIKYOKU NOSEIKA	.....	1059, 1060
NORIN SUISAN GIJUTSU KAIGI	.....	1076
NORO Kazuo	.....	1295
NOSON KOSEI KYOKAI	.....	1047
NOTO Eizo	.....	868
NUMATA Ichiro	.....	601

OBA Kichinosuke	.....	478
OBA Toshio	.....	1186
OCHIAI Tadashi	.....	581
ODAGIRI Kenji	.....	79
ODA Kunio	.....	192
ODA Masao	.....	975
OGASAWARA Shozo	.....	243
OGAWA Iwao	.....	1307
OGAWA Toru	.....	391
OGAYU Kosai	.....	663
OHARA Sakingo	.....	684, 720
OHASHI Namihachiro	.....	336, 835
OHIRA Zengo	.....	1083
OI Haruo	.....	1214
OKADA Fumie	.....	141
OKADA Kaneyoshi	.....	936
OKADA Kenzo	.....	5, 451, 461, 463, 514
OKAMOTO Bumpei	.....	885
OKAMOTO Riichi	.....	1001
OKAMOTO Ryunosuke	.....	604
OKA Sataro	.....	199, 222
OKETO CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	501
OKOPPE CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	502
OKUDA Jiro	.....	708
OKUDA Shiro	.....	1300
OKUMA Ryoichi	.....	577, 586
OKUNO Seisuke	.....	1258
OKUYAMA Ryo	.....	34, 321, 322, 404, 405, 521, 911, 1118, 1234, 1292

OMI Shoichi	.....	127, 208
ONISHI Yasuhisa	.....	68
ONODERA Ichiro	.....	764
ONOE Masao	.....	614
ONO Fumio	.....	217
ONO Shozo	.....	893
ONO Toun	.....	872
OSADA Gutoku	.....	52
OSAKA Shichibei	.....	503
OSAKA Shingo	.....	55
OSHIMA Kokichi	.....	1092
OSHORO-GUN KYODOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	504
OTA Chobei	.....	458, 646
OTA Nampo	.....	656
OTANI Katsuo	.....	539
OTANI Ryokichi	.....	47
OTARUSHI	.....	510
OTARUSHI HAKUBUTSUKAN	.....	1298
OTARU SHIYAKUSHO	.....	509
OTA Saburo	.....	602
OTOMO Kisaku	.....	20, 618
OTSUBO Kikutaro	.....	958
OTSUKI Gentaku	.....	901, 905
OUCHI Yoan	.....	772
OYAMA Azusa	.....	600

PIPPU CHOSHI KANKO IINKAI 512

RANKOSHI-CHO	.....	513
ROGOVSKII Ivan Y.	.....	595
RUBESHIBE-CHO YAKUBA	.....	515

SAIGO Tsugumichi	.....	984
SAIKAWAKAI	.....	1178, 1179
SAITO Hitoshi	.....	1055
SAITO Tadashi	.....	1170
SAKAKIBARA Shotaro	.....	1096
SAKAKURA Genjiro	.....	799
SAKAMOTO Naoyuki	.....	1046
SAKAMOTO Taro	.....	395
SAKURABA Zen'ichiro	.....	495
SAKURAI Kiyohiko	.....	1222
SAMEJIMA Jun'ichiro	.....	1303, 1305

SAPPORO CHUO HOSOKYOKU	.....	21, 294, 299, 301, 387,
	766,	
SAPPORO HOSOKYOKU	.....	690
SAPPORO SHIGAKUKAI	.....	516
SAPPORO-SHI KYOIKU IINKAI	.....	534, 1274
SAPPORO SHISHI HENSHU IINKAI	.....	518, 519
SAPPORO SONSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	520
SAPPORO TANUKI KOJI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	1016
SAPPORO TETSUDOKYOKU	.....	1024, 1026, 1036
SAPPORO TETSUDOKYOKU UN'YUKA	.....	1114
SARASHINA Genzo	.....	172, 175, 196, 200, 214, 215, 234, 245, 550, 735, 785, 1147, 1154, 1157, 1162, 1313
SASAKI Chiyuki	.....	44
SASAKI Chozaemon	.....	1136
SASAKI Ichiro	.....	1113
SASAKI Kotaro	.....	870
SASAKI Senzan	.....	211
SASAKI Yonetaro	.....	481
SASSA Yasuo	.....	2
SATO Genroku	.....	759
SATO Kanzaburo	.....	464
SATO Kichi	.....	171
SATO Kiyotsune	.....	459
SATO Kyogo	.....	685
SATO Mitsusada	.....	182
SATO Naotaro	.....	1216
SATO Sanjiro	.....	1088
SATO Shosuke	.....	302
SATO Tadao	.....	401
SEGAWA Kiyoko	.....	1145
SENSHUKAI HENSHUBU	.....	839
SENTOKU Taroji	.....	1191
SHASHINSHU NATSUKASHI NO CHISHIMA	HENSAN IINKAI	
	.....	571
SHIBATA Sadakichi	.....	246
SHIBUE Chohaku	.....	858
SHIDA Rikiji	.....	557
SHIGA Kenji	.....	533
SHIGA Yoshio	.....	573
SHIGEMATSU Kazuyoshi	.....	1228
SHIKAMA Mansuke	.....	853
SHIMADA Kumajiro	.....	847
SHIMANE-KEN KYOYUKAI	.....	695
SHIMAYA Ryokichi	.....	422
SHIMIZU Hatsutaro	.....	77
SHIMIZU Kenjiro	.....	1115
SHIMIZU Takehisa	.....	587
SHIMMURA Izuru	.....	165
SHINKAWA Kozo	.....	295
SHINKOTONI KAIKI SHICHIJUNEN KINEN KYOSANKAI	.....	527

SHINOMOTO Ren	.....	903
SHINRA Kanso	.....	658
SHINTOKU CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	530
SHIOZAWA Terutoshi	.....	1049
SHIRAI SHI-SON YAKUBA	.....	531
SHIRAYAMA Tomomasa	.....	148, 170, 174, 369, 1009, 1010, 1094, 1232
SHIRITSU HAKODATE HAKUBUTSUKAN	.....	1269
SHU Hajime	.....	223
SONSHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	511
STEPHAN John J.	.....	613
SUDO Ryusen	.....	238, 244, 248, 522
SUEMATSU Yasukazu	.....	599
SUGAE Masumi	.....	773
SUGAWARA Hideto	.....	1089
SUGAWARA Michitaro	.....	897
SUGIHARA Sosuke	.....	1256
SUGIURA Hakuo	.....	184
SUGIYAMA Kiyoshi	.....	33
SUGIYAMA Shigeo	.....	1093
SUGIYAMA Sueo	.....	93, 103, 106, 113, 117, 118, 119
SUIROBU	.....	1027
SUIZU Mitsuru	.....	582
SUNAGA Yoshio	.....	1103
SUZUKI Daisuke	.....	911
SUZUKI Eiichi	.....	731
SUZUKI Genjuro	.....	33
SUZUKI Masateru	.....	178
SUZUKI Rikuji	.....	844
SUZUKI Shigetaka	.....	878
SUZUKI Takashi	.....	1270
SUZUKI Zenkyo	.....	629
TABATA Kosaburo	.....	167
TABE Akiho	.....	1050
TACHIBANA Bunshichi	.....	689, 696, 985
TAISEI YOKUSANKAI HOKKAIDO SHIBU	.....	975
TAKABEYA Fukuhei	.....	1140, 1151, 1193
TAKADA Ginjiro	.....	1289
TAKADA Tokutaro	.....	69, 678
TAKAGI Jukichi	.....	597
TAKAHASHI Fusaji	.....	1225
TAKAHASHI Makoto	.....	229
TAKAHASHI Riichiro	.....	775
TAKAHASHI Soichiro	.....	819
TAKAHASHI Tomio	.....	257

TAKAHATA Giichi	.....	506
TAKAHATA Shigeru	.....	1311
TAKAHATA Toshiyoshi	.....	971
TAKAKURA Shin'ichiro	.....	54, 228, 259, 293, 303, 306, 325, 329, 360, 427, 552, 705, 715, 935, 962, 1081, 1127, 1175, 1188
TAKAMIYA Shihyo	.....	801
TAKANO Takayuki	.....	37
TAKANO Yuichi	.....	590
TAKAOKA Kumao	.....	979
TAKAOKA Naokichi	.....	567
TAKASAKI Ryutaro	.....	179
TAKASU Jisuke	.....	450
TAKASU SONSHI KANKO IINKAI	.....	537
TAKATSU Yasu	.....	896
TAKAYAMA Tomo	.....	608
TAKEKUMA Tokusaburo	.....	1132
TAKETAZU Minoru	.....	1307
TAKEUCHI Umpei	.....	327, 452
TAKEUCHI Yasutoku	.....	598
TAKIKAWA SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	.....	330, 989
TAKIKAWA SHIYAKUSHO	.....	538
TAKI Shonosuke	.....	434
TAMAMUSHI Sadayu	.....	834
TAMANUKI Koichi	.....	877
TAMURA Hakuu	.....	107
TAMURA Kentaro	.....	1295
TAMURA Kosaku	.....	585
TANAAMI Hiroshi	.....	1203
TANABE Hisao	.....	122
TANABE Yoshinori	.....	1049
TANAKA Takashi	.....	1275
TANI Gentan	.....	748, 751
TANSAI Nyosui	.....	148
TARAO Tadao	.....	867
TATEMATSU Tomo	.....	857
TATE Tadayoshi	.....	1206
TATSUYAMA Iwao	.....	239
TERASAWA Hajime	.....	660
TERASHIMA Masashi	.....	869
TERUI Sosuke	.....	416
TOGASHI Shuichiro	.....	550
TOGO Katsuo	.....	178
TOKYO CHIGAKU KYOKAI	.....	873, 908
TOKUGAWA Nariaki	.....	339
TOMITA Shiro	.....	972
TONEI Genshin	.....	853
TONOSAKI Masatsugu	.....	1089
TORII Shozo	.....	189

TOTTORI CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	542
TOYAMA Shin'ichiro	880
TOYODAIRA CHOSHI HENSAN IINKAI	543
TOZAWA Mitsunori	1256
TSUBETSU CHOSHI HENSAMBU	544
TSUCHIYA Sotatsu	524
TSUJI Tatsuichi	1303, 1305
TSUKUBA Atsuji	987
TSURUMAKI Yasuo	788

UCHIDA Hisashi	617
UCHIDA Takeshi	60
UEDA Toshio	616
UEHARA Masakuni	623, 655
UEHARA Tetsusaburo	965
UMEKI Michinori	752, 1030, 1037
UMEMORI Saburo	603
URAHORO-SON SHAKAI KYOIKU KYOKAI	545
USAMI Shogo	736
UTAGAWA Hiroshi	197, 1252, 1262, 1263
UTASHINAI SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI	546

WADA Masao	45
WADA Tokichi	85
WADA Toshiaki	594, 660
WADA Tsunanori	797
WAKABAYASHI Isao	933, 949
WAKAMORI Taro	391
WAKI Tetsu	63, 547
WATANABE Kazuhide	787
WATANABE Kazuo	87, 88
WATANABE Masao	66
WATANABE Shigeru	62, 140, 215, 300, 311, 382, 418, 438, 480, 482, 497, 532, 768, 770
WATANABE Shintaro	605
WATANABE Tadashi	1054
WATANABE Tetsuo	866
WATANABE Yoshiaki	508
WATANABE Yoshitaka	176
WATSON James	793

YAKUMO-CHO YAKUBA

548

YAMADA Hidezo	.....	150, 837, 1195
YAMAGATA Taizo	.....	576
YAMAGUCHI Masahiro	.....	1295
YAMAJI Hiroaki	.....	125
YAMAMOTO Hirotetsu	.....	578
YAMAMOTO Naobumi	.....	825
YAMAMOTO Rin	.....	649
YAMAMOTO Tadashi	.....	1311
YAMAMOTO Tasuke	.....	207
YAMAMOTO Yuko	.....	1197, 1198
YAMASHITA Chikara	.....	955
YAMASHITA Hidenosuke	.....	194, 779
YAMAZAKI Chokichi	.....	1286
YAMAZAKI Hanzo	.....	484, 535
YASUDA Taijiro	.....	929
YAWATA Ichiro	.....	1122
YODA Benzo	.....	796
YOICHI-CHO KYOINKAI	.....	549
YOKOI Kanzaemon	.....	555
YOKOKAWA Yuji	.....	865
YOKOYAMA Eisuke	.....	1243
YOKOYAMA Kendo	.....	61
YOKOYU Michiyuki	.....	236
YONEMURA Kioe	.....	317, 1146, 1194
YOSHIDA Aritoshi	.....	746
YOSHIDA Iwao	.....	202
YOSHIDA Kikutaro	.....	1220
YOSHIDA Seiichi	.....	391
YOSHIDA Shien	.....	580
YOSHIDA Takezo	.....	341, 579
YOSHIDA Yoshio	.....	59
YOSHIMURA Akira	.....	698
YUFUTSU-GUN SHIMUKAPPU-SON YAKUBA	.....	526
YUKI Shoji	.....	1224
YUMOTO Kisaku	.....	163
YUTA Tamon	.....	1086

TITLE INDEX

Aa Karafutojima	551
Abashiri shishi	430
Ainu	91
Ainu bungaku	152, 153
Ainu bungaku josetsu	154
Ainu bunka	1121
Ainu bunka ni okeru Nihonteki yoso	1122
Ainu bunkashi	1123, 1220
Ainu bunka tokushu	1124
Ainudama	103
Ainu densetsushu	196
Ainu densho to Chashi	197
Ainu dowashu	155
Ainue	92
Ainu Ei-Wa jiten	123
Ainu fuzoku ryakushi	1125
Ainu geijutsu	93
Ainugo chimeikai	735
Ainu goho gaisetsu	124
Ainugo jiten	125
Ainugo kaiwa jiten	126
Ainugo kara umareta kyodo no chimei to densetsu	127
Ainugo kenkyu	128
Ainugo nyumon	129
Ainugo to kokugo	130
Ainugo wa ikiteiru	131
Ainugo yori mitaru Nihon chimei kenkyu	132
Ainugo yori mitaru Nihon chimei shinkenkyu	133
Ainu hatashite horobiruka	1221
Ainu hishi	1222
Ainu jimbutsuden	29
Ainu jimbutsu monogatari	1223
Ainujin to sono setsuwa	198
Ainu jisei no ifuku	94
Ainu jojishi Itadorimaru no kyoku	156
Ainu jojishi Kamui-yukara Oina no kenkyu	157
Ainu jojishi Kutoneshirika	158
Ainu jojishi yukara gaisetsu	159
Ainu jojishi yukara no kenkyu	160
Ainu jojishi yukarashu	161
Ainu kanjo Hokkaido hizakurige	736
Ainu kenkyu	79, 1126, 1127
Ainu kenkyushi	1128
Ainu kitanshu	199
Ainu minwashu	200
Ainu minzoku kenkyu shiryo	1129

Ainu minzoku no seishin seikatsu	1130
Ainu minzokushi	1131
Ainu monogatari	1132
Ainu ni densho sareru kabushikyoku ni kansuru chosa kenkyu	95
Ainu no bungaku yukara e no shotai	162
Ainu no chichi Jon Bachera	30
Ainu no densetsu	201
Ainu no densetsu ni tsuite	202
Ainu no densetsu to sono jowa	203
Ainu no dozokuhin	96
Ainu no fukusohin	1238
Ainu no geijutsu	97
Ainu no geijutsu ni tsuite	98
Ainu no genshiteki fushu to sono seikatsu	1133
Ainu no haka	1134
Ainu no hanashi	1135, 1136
Ainu no ichi keito Sarunkuru ni tsuite	1137
Ainu no ie no mado	231
Ainu no inau no sokei	232
Ainu no inaushiroshi	1138
Ainu no issho	1139
Ainu no jukyo	1140
Ainu no kajin	163
Ainu no kenkyu	1141
Ainu no kikeushipashui	1142
Ainu no kitsuen girei	1143
Ainu no kodai fuzoku no kenkyu ni tsuite	1144
Ainu no kon'in	1145
Ainu no kumamatsuri	1146
Ainu no kyuji	134
Ainu no minzoku	204, 1147
Ainu no mon'yo	99
Ainu no noko bunka	1044
Ainu no norito	233, 1148
Ainu no odori	100
Ainu no orimono senshokuho	101
Ainu no rekishi	1149
Ainu no rohen monogatari	205
Ainu no seikatsu	1150
Ainu no seikatsu bunka	1151
Ainu no sekai	1152
Ainu no shigen kyosansei ni kensuru chiken	1153
Ainu no shiki	1154
Ainu no shinwa	234
Ainu no shitaobi	102
Ainu no shuryo shinko	206
Ainu no sokuseki	1155
Ainu seisakushi	705
Ainu seit'en	235
Ainu sengen	1224

Ainu shakai keizaishi	1156
Ainu shin'yoshu	164
Ainu to Nihonjin	1157
Ainu to sanshou	1158
Ainu to totemuteki ifu	1159
Ainuzoku	1160
Ajia shudan anzen hoshō to Kuriru mondai	573
Akaezo fusetsuko	898
Akaezo fusetsuko no chosha Kudo Heisuke	31
Akan Kokuritsu Koen to Ainu no densetsu	207
Akarenga	80
Amerika ichijoutsushi	619
Ando-shi to Matsumae-shi	251
An'ei izen Matsumae-han to Rojin to no kankei	620
Anseido Ezochi keiei shimatsu	912
Ansei ninen Sendai Akita Tsugaru Nambu shohan kerai ukagaisho	621
Ansei yonen Ishikarigawa suigen miwakesho	737
Asahigawa Daigaku futo kaiko toso no kiroku	1273
Asahigawa Eirinkyokushi	1096
Asahigawa jukketsu	32
Asahigawa shishi	431
Asahigawa shishiko	432
Ashibetsu-cho kaicho gojunenshi	433
Atsukeshi e joriku ikokujin ikken goyojo ambun todome	622

Bakuhansei kokka to Hokkaido	706
Bakumatsu gaiko shomoku Kansei nenkan kiroku	623
Bakumatsuki Nichi-Ro kankei	574
Bakusei shiryo to Ezochi	252
Bannikki	253
Bibai choshi	434
Biei choshi	435
Bihoro choshi	436
Biratori hoka hakkasonshi	437
Bohyo no keishiki yori mitaru Ainu no shokeito	1161
Bunka nenkan saishoku seru Hakodateyama no sugabayashi ni tsuite	1097
Bunka yonen Ezochi soran kikigaki	624
Bunka yonen Kunashiri soran shokan todome	625
Bunken ni arawreta Kushiro chiho	438
Bunkunshu	626
Bunrui Ainugo jiten	135
Bunsei go jingonen gohongoku nikki	254
Bunsei yon yori do junen kogi gotassho oyobi moshitatesho sonohoka	255
Bunsei yori Tempo ni itaru ikokusen no gi ni tsuki oukagaisho utsushi	627
Burakisutonsen o koete	899

Chembaren Ezo shomoku kaidai	1
Chihoku gudan	684
Chiisai kumamatsuri	1162
Chimei Ainugo shojiten	738
Chippubetsu Nogyo Kyodo Kumiai Fujimbu junenshi	1045
Chiri koza	739
Chiri showa	740
Chishima Ainuron	1225
Chishima chosasho	164
Chishima gaishi	552
Chishima Hokuyo Kaihatsu Kisei Shotaikai kiyo	913
Chishima Karafuto shinryakushi	553
Chishima kiko	865
Chishima koyadocho	992
Chishima mondai o kangaeru	575
Chishima monogatari	576, 866
Chishima Ogasawarato shiko	577
Chishima retto kakei bunkenhyo	2
Chishima Shiberia tankenshi	554
Chishima Shikotan dojin chosasho	1226
Chishima Shikotan Habomai no kizoku mondai	578
Chishima tanken jikki	867
Chiyashi sunawachi Ezo no toride	1239
Chizu mokuroku	741

Daihoe	439
Daiikki Hokkaido takushoku jigyo keikaku setsumeisho	914
Dai Koanrei Orochon no shirakaba juhi kogei	104
Dainiji Taisengo ni okeru Nisso gyogyo kankei	1083
Dainiki Hokkaido takushoku keikakuan setsumei	915
Daisetsu no kozan shokubutsu	1295
Daisetsu sancho no sekki jidai iseki	1240
Daisetsuzan oyobi Ishikarigawa joryu tanken kaihatsushi	742, 916
Daisetsuzan tokubetsu chosa hokoku	1296
Daisetsuzan tozanho oyobi tozan annai	743
Daiusudake seisei ni tsuite Tanakadate Rigakushi ni tadasu	1297
Date choshi	440
Densetsu no Asahigawa oyobi sono fukin	208
Dochi ippan	707
Dosei fuunroku	708

Ebeotsu choshi	441
Ebetsu condenshei sonshi	442

Ekimei no kigen	1024
Engaru choshi	443
En'yu Yagakko	1274
Esashi choshi shiryohen	444
Esashi hinokiyama no enkaku	1098
Esashi to Matsumae oiwake	105
Ezo	256, 257, 1163
Ezobanashi	258, 685
Ezo byobu	1164
Ezochi	259
Ezochi annai	744
Ezochi bunka himitsuroku	628
Ezochi gokaitaku sho okakitsuke sho ukagai shorui	917
Ezochi gokeigo gokiroku	260
Ezochi goyodome	262
Ezochi goyotaku sho okakitsuke ukagai shorui	261
Ezochi horobitemo Ainumoshiri wa horobizu	1227
Ezochi ikken	263
Ezochi kembun fusetsugaki	264
Ezochi kembun mikomi taii joshinsho soko	265
Ezochi kodai no sake	1165
Ezochi miyage	918
Ezochi no kaitaku	266, 919
Ezo dochuki	745, 746, 747
Ezo funnyodan	1046
Ezo fuzoku isan	1166
Ezogashima kikan hochu	1167
Ezo hicho	210
Ezo hogen moshiogusa	136
Ezo jojitsu	267
Ezo kibun	268
Ezo kiko	748, 749, 750
Ezo kiko sho	751
Ezo kochizu monogatari	752
Ezo konjaku monogatari	1168
Ezo koteiki	753
Ezo kyubun	629
Ezo Matsumae shosetsu	1169
Ezo moyo	269
Ezo ni kansuru koka	165
Ezo nikki	630, 754
Ezo ni okeru Wajin densetsuko	209
Ezo nishiki chishio no akebono	270
Ezo nisshi	755
Ezo no bunka to Ainu no bunka	1170
Ezo no chi e chakugan no Sekijin ikken	631
Ezo no kosatsu ni tsuite	236
Ezo no Kuni fuzoku ninjo no sata	1171
Ezo no Kuni yawa	756
Ezo no shimabumi	757, 758

Ezo no token	1241
Ezo obake retsuden	166
Ezo oyobi Ainu ni kansuru choshomokuroku	3
Ezo Roshia	632
Ezo Roshiazoku raiki	33
Ezoshi	272, 273
Ezo shiroku	634
Ezo shoroku	635
Ezo shui	759
Ezo sodoki	636
Ezo sodo no kakitsuke utsushi Ezochi ikokusen torai rambo oboegaki	637
Ezo sojo ikken torihakarai shimatsu oboe	555
Ezo soran shuroku	638
Ezo soshi	639, 686
Ezo tenguko	211
Ezo to Ainu	1242
Ezo to Amanocho no kenkyu	1172
Ezo tokaiki	760
Ezo zakki	640, 687, 688
Ezo zatsuji	641

Fudoki Nihon	274
Fujo kinsei no Shin'i Misaki	237
Fukuyama doko ryakki	445
Fukuyama funjo shorui	446
Fukuyama hifu	275
Fukuyama kyuki	276, 277
Fukuyama tenki	278
Funkawan Ainu no hogei	1084
Futsusen teihaku nikki	642

Gaidobukku Hokkaido no hakubutsukan	761
Gaijin no mita Ezochi	279
Gaikoku bunken ni arawaretaru shoki no Hokkaido	280
Gendai Sapporo jimbutsushi	33
Gengogaku gojunen	137
Gengo kenkyu	138
Genroku nenkan yori Kyowa nenkan ni itaru ikoku kankei zakki	643
Genshi mon'yoshu	106
Ginrinso monogatari	447
Gofuchike ressekicho	281
Gojunkenshi oto moshiawasesho	282
Gokachu narabini gofuchinin onateyukidaka	283
Gokaikaku ni tsuki ofuregaki todome	284

Goken'yaku narabini gokaikaku ofuregaki todomeko	285
Goken'yaku ofuregaki todome	286
Goryokakunai Rekishikan chinretsu mokuroku	4
Goyo todomesaku	287
Gummei no gi ni tsuki moshiagesoro kakitsuke sho	762
Gunjiso: Kita Chishima no jitsujo o kataru	868
Gyozei kaitei ni tsuki jimmin doyo gairyaku	1085

Hakodate	81, 763
Hakodate annai	764
Hakodate Donan jimmieiroku	73
Hakodate-ku Gaikokukyoku nisshi	644
Hakodate goyodome	449
Hakodate enkakushi	448
Hakodate hanjoki	450
Hakodate ijindan	645
Hakodate kaikoshiwa	451
Hakodate kaisen shiwa	452
Hakodateken chishiryaku	765
Hakodate kiji	453
Hakodate kobunshu	288
Hakodate konjakicho	454
Hakodateko shogyo no kenrei	994
Hakodate Kuko Nakano iseki	1243
Hakodate kushi	455
Hakodate-ku tokei	456
Hakodate kyodo shiryo mokuroku	5
Hakodate kyodoshi zuihitsu	457
Hakodate meishiroku	74
Hakodate nikki	458, 646
Hakodate nisshi ki	459
Hakodate no bunkazai	1173
Hakodate no mukashibanashi	212
Hakodate no shiseki	460
Hakodate no shiseki to meisho	461
Hakodate no shohin	995
Hakodate o sakugenchi to seru hokuyo gyogyo ni kansuru hanzai no kenkyu	1086
Hakodate oyakusho nenchu gyoji	1174
Hakodate oyakusho tsutomekata kokoroe	289
Hakodate rohen kanwa	462
Hakodate Senso to Goryokaku	463
Hakodate shishi	464
Hakodate shoko meikan	996
Hakodate taika saigaishi	465
Hakodate taikashi	466
Hakodate to Takuboku	167
Hakodate Zeikan enkaku ryakushi	997
Hassamu-mura no iseki hakkutsuki	1244

Hattari iwakage iseki	1298
Hayama Seitaro den	34
Henchi soshō	290
Henkyō Hokkaidō	766
Hen'yo bunkai zukō	900
Hidaka kaihatsushi	920
Hidaya Ezo yama ukeoi kankei monjo	1099
Higashi Asahigawa choshi	467
Higashi Asahigawa gojunenshi	468
Higashi Ezochi dochu ryakki	767
Higashi Ezochi kakubasho yosu taigaisho	291, 768
Higashi Ezochi Matsumae yori Atsukeshi made dochu nikki	769
Higashi Ezo dochu nikki	770
Higashi Ezo Isen torai osonae kiji	647
Higashi Ezo nisshī	771
Higashi Ezo yawa	772
Hi-Koropokkuron	213
Hiromekari	773
Hoan iko	469
Hogenji koshuyo kiroku sho	292
Hokkaidō	774, 1175
Hokkaidō Akan-cho no bunkazai	1176
Hokkaidō annai	775
Hokkaidō Banseisha Tokachi kaihatsushi	921
Hokkaidō Bukkyoshi jii	238
Hokkaidō bungaku chizu	168
Hokkaidō bungaku sampo	169
Hokkaidō bungakushi	170
Hokkaidō bungaku shiko	171
Hokkaidō bunka ni tsuite	1177
Hokkaidō bunkashi josetsu	293
Hokkaidō bunka shiko	294
Hokkaidō chirī	776
Hokkaidō Choritsu Otaru Shogyō Kakkoshi	1275
Hokkaidō chosa hokoku	1047
Hokkaidōcho shozo kyuki mokuroku	6
Hokkaidōcho sonota fure	710
Hokkaidō Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan shozo Hokkaidō kankei chizu zurui mokuroku	777
Hokkaidō Daigaku shozo gakujutsu zasshi sogo mokuroku	8
Hokkaidō Daigaku soki hachijunenshi	1276
Hokkaidō dai hyakka jiten	19
Hokkaidō daiikki takushoku keikaku jigyo hokoku	922
Hokkaidō dainiki takushoku keikaku jisshi gaiyo	923
Hokkaidō densetsushu	214
Hokkaidō dobutsuki	1299
Hokkaidō doroshi	1025
Hokkaidō Ebetsu-cho enkei tateanashiki fumbo hakken no sekki jidaijin ichi tokotsu to sono kaiso jotai	1245

Hokkaido Ebetsu-cho hakken no dotekiyo doseihin	1246
Hokkaido ehon	172
Hokkaido eishishi	173
Hokkaido ekimei no kigen	1026
Hokkaido e no shotai	295
Hokkaido Ezogo chimeikai	139
Hokkaido fubutsushi	778
Hokkaido gaikyo	82, 924
Hokkaido Gakugei Daigaku Sapporo Bunko shichijunen shoshi	1277
Hokkaido gendai yumei jinjiroku	36
Hokkaido genshi bunka shuei	1178
Hokkaido genshi bunka yoran	1179
Hokkaido gikaishi	711
Hokkaido gyogyo kin'yu no genkyo to tomen no kadai	1091
Hokkaido gyogyo shiyo	1087
Hokkaido gyokeishi	1228
Hokkaido hachijunendai no kanosei	925
Hokkaido Hakodate Shihan Gakko shozo kyodo shiryo kaidai mokuroku	9
Hokkaido hogenshu	140
Hokkaido honto engan kan'i suiroshi	1027
Hokkaido Horobetsu gyoson seikatsushi	1088
Hokkaido hoso junen	1028
Hokkaido ichiran	296
Hokkaido iju annai	926
Hokkaido iju mondo	927
Hokkaido imin jigyo shisetsu gaiyo	928
Hokkaido imin seisakushi	929
Hokkaido iminshii	930
Hokkaido jimmiei jisho	37, 38
Hokkaido jinushisei shiron	712
Hokkaido jiyu kokuron	713
Hokkaido junen keikaku jisshi seiseki yoryo	931
Hokkaido junen keikaku no taiyo	932
Hokkaido kadanshi	174
Hokkaido kaihatsu no genjo to shorai no mitoshi	934
Hokkaido kaihatsu no katei	935
Hokkaido kaihatsu no mondaiten	936
Hokkaido kaihatsuron	937
Hokkaido kaihatsu yosan no rekishi to genjo	938
Hokkaido kaikyo kiyo	239
Hokkaido kaisan dobutsu zusetsu	1300
Hokkaido kaisetsuzen no Hokkaidochi	714
Hokkaido kaisoroku	297
Hokkaido kaitaku hiron	933
Hokkaido kaitaku korosha kankei shiryo shuroku	39
Hokkaido kaitaku nogyo no shakai keizaiteki bunseki	939
Hokkaido kaitaku noka no keiei anteи joken ni kansuru chosa	940

Hokkaido kaitakushi	941
Hokkaido kaitaku shinron	943
Hokkaido kakuchi no shokanshu no chosa kenkyu	998
Hokkaido kankei shoseki mokuroku	11
Hokkaido Karafuto Chishima retto	779
Hokkaido Karafuto jimmieiroku	75, 76
Hokkaido keizairon	944
Hokkaido kidan	689
Hokkaido kiji	780, 781
Hokkaido kin'yu enkaku ippan	999
Hokkaido kin'yushi	1000
Hokkaido Kirishitanshi shiryo	240
Hokkaido Kirisutokyoshi	241
Hokkaido kodomo fudoki	1180
Hokkaido kogyo no shorai	1108
Hokkaido kogyoshi	1109
Hokkaido kokogaku koza	1247
Hokkaido kokuyu mikaichi daichiseki kashisage kashitsukehyo	298
Hokkaido konsai no enkaku	1029
Hokkaido kotoba fudoki	141
Hokkaido kotsu shiryo	1030
Hokkaido kowan gaiyo	1031
Hokkaido kowan hensensi	1032
Hokkaido kyodogoyomi	299
Hokkaido Kyodo Kumiai Rengo kaishi	1048
Hokkaido kyodoshi jiten	300
Hokkaido kyodoshi kenkyu	301, 690
Hokkaido kyodoshi koza ni tsuite	302
Hokkaido kyoiku enkakushi	1278
Hokkaido kyoiku gaiyo	1279
Hokkaido kyoiku no ayumi	1280
Hokkaido kyoikushi	1281
Hokkaido Kyoshokuin Kumiaishi	1282
Hokkaido kyu dojin	1181, 1229
Hokkaido kyu dojin gaikyo	1230
Hokkaido kyu dojin hogo enkakushi	1231
Hokkaido kyu dojin ni taisuru tochi seisaku no hensen	715
Hokkaido Meiji nenkan	83
Hokkaido meishoshi	782
Hokkaido min'yo no tabi	107
Hokkaido monogatari	1182
Hokkaido Nanae-son kaikon joyaku teiketsu shimatsu	470
Hokkaido nenkan	84
Hokkaido ni okeru ama jigyo no rekishi	1110
Hokkaido ni okeru bukkadaka ni tsuite	1001
Hokkaido ni okeru dokutsu iseki	1248
Hokkaido ni okeru hoseishi	716
Hokkaido ni okeru jukeisha kyoiku rodoshi	1232

Hokkaido ni okeru kofun shutsudo ibutsu no kenkyu		
.....	1249	
Hokkaido ni okeru korai no otsunami	.....	1301
Hokkaido ni okeru Mitsui Ginko no ayumi	.....	1002
Hokkaido ni okeru nochikokan bungo	.....	1049
Hokkaido ni okeru nogyo to kogyo tono kankei kenkyu zadankai	.....
	1111	
Hokkaido ni okeru noson no jijo narabini nomin undo no josei		
.....	1050	
Hokkaido ni okeru shihon to nogyo	.....	1051
Hokkaido no bunkazai	.....	1183
Hokkaido no chiisana gakko	.....	1283
Hokkaido no chika shigen	.....	948
Hokkaido nochikaikakushi	.....	946
Hokkaido no chikusan	.....	1052
Hokkaido nochiseisaku no kompon mondai	.....	947
Hokkaido no densetsu	.....	215
Hokkaido no denshin denwashi	.....	1033
Hokkaido no dobutsu no yurai to sono hensen	.....	1302
Hokkaido no dogi to hogen	.....	142
Hokkaido no doki	.....	1250
Hokkaido no gyogyo kin'yu	.....	1089
Hokkaido nogyo hattattsushi sogo nempyo	.....	1053
Hokkaido nogyo kaihatsu to dojo	.....	1070
Hokkaido nogyo kaitaku hiroku	.....	949
Hokkaido nogyo kankei bunken shiryo mokuroku	.....	12
Hokkaido nogyo keieiron	.....	1054
Hokkaido nogyo kin'yuron	.....	1055
Hokkaido no gyoko	.....	1090
Hokkaido nogyo no enkaku	.....	1056
Hokkaido nogyo no mondai to hoko	.....	1057
Hokkaido nogyo no tokushitsu	.....	1058
Hokkaido nogyo seisanryoku kenkyu	.....	1059
Hokkaido nogyo seisanryoku no shomondai	.....	1060
Hokkaido nogyo tebikigusa	.....	1061
Hokkaido nogyo tokushu	.....	1062
Hokkaido no hana	.....	1303
Hokkaido no Hidaka to Hidaka no uma	.....	1304
Hokkaido no hinokiyama	.....	1100
Hokkaido no hokensei	.....	717
Hokkaido no jutaku to juyoshiki	.....	1184
Hokkaido noka fusai jittai chosa hokokusho	.....	1063
Hokkaido noka futan chosa	.....	1064
Hokkaido no kaihatsu to kokyo jigyo	.....	950
Hokkaido no kaihatsu wa nanikara hajimeru beki ka	.....	951
Hokkaido nokaisambutsu tokei yoran	.....	1065
Hokkaido noka keizai chosa hokokusho	.....	1066
Hokkaido no keizai	.....	1003
Hokkaido no keizai junkan	.....	952
Hokkaido no keizai to zaisei	.....	1004

Hokkaido no kenkyu	303
Hokkaido no ki	1305
Hokkaido no kobutsu	242
Hokkaido no kodai moji	143
Hokkaido no kofun'yo fumbo ni tsuite	1251
Hokkaido no kogyo oyobi boeki	1112
Hokkaido no kogyo sono genjo to shorai	1113
Hokkaido no kohi densetsu	216
Hokkaido no kokogaku	1252
Hokkaido no konjaku	304
Hokkaido no kyoiku sodan	1284
Hokkaido no minato	1034
Hokkaido no Nomin Domei junenshi	1067
Hokkaido no minka	1185
Hokkaido no nimosaku ni tsuite	1068
Hokkaido no nochi kaitaku	953
Hokkaido no nogyo	1069
Hokkaido no nogyoshi	1071
Hokkaido no nosakubutsu	1072
Hokkaido no onna	175
Hokkaido no rekishi	305, 306
Hokkaido no sekki jidai	307
Hokkaido no senju minzoku	1253
Hokkaido no senshi bunka	1186
Hokkaido no senshi jidai	308
Hokkaido no shuyo bussan	1114
Hokkaido no shimbun to shimbunjin	85
Hokkaido no shinrin keiei	1101
Hokkaido no shizen joken	1306
Hokkaido no sugata	783
Hokkaido no tabi	784, 785
Hokkaido no tensai ni kansuru chosa	1073
Hokkaido no tori	1307
Hokkaido no toshi keikaku	954
Hokkaido no tsunami ni tsuite	1308
Hokkaido no tsuru	691
Hokkaido no uta	176
Hokkaido no yacho	1309
Hokkaido no yakimono	108
Hokkaido no yakuyo yasei shokubutsu	1310
Hokkaido no yamayama	786
Hokkaido no yoake	40, 309
Hokkaido no yogyo ni kansuru chosa	1115
Hokkaido no Yoshitsune densetsu	217
Hokkaido oyobi hanamachi	787
Hokkaido rekishi jiten	311
Hokkaido Rekishikan chinretsuhin kaisetsu	693
Hokkaido rekishi sampo	312
Hokkaido rinsambutsu kensa seiseki	1102
Hokkaido rodo jijo	1018
Hokkaidoron	313, 955
Hokkaido ryakushi	314
Hokkaido saihakken	788

Hokkaido saijiki	177
Hokkaidosaku	694
Hokkaido sangyo kozo no bunseki	1116
Hokkaido sangyo kozo no tokushitsu to sono mondaiten	1117
Hokkaido sangyoshi monogatari	1118
Hokkaido sanken bunchishi tsusetsu	315
Hokkaido sanken junshi fukumeisho	316
Hokkaido sansaishi	1311
Hokkaido sanson keizai no jittai	1074
Hokkaido Sapporo Shihan Gakko gojunenshi	1285
Hokkaido seishin fudoki	41
Hokkaido sekki jidai gaiyo	1254
Hokkaido sengo kyoikushi	1286
Hokkaido senshigaku juniko	317
Hokkaido senshi jidaiko	318
Hokkaido senshi jidai no iseki ibutsu narabini jinshu	1255
Hokkaido shakai jigyo yoran	1233
Hokkaido shashin bunkashi	109
Hokkaidoshi	319, 320
Hokkaido shichoson gyosei kikaku benran	718
Hokkaido shichoson soran	719
Hokkaidoshi gaisetsu	321
Hokkaido shigaku kyoikushi	1287
Hokkaidoshi jimmei jii	42
Hokkaido shijinshu	178
Hokkaido shiken	789
Hokkaidoshi kenkyu	86
Hokkaidoshi kenkyu no ayumi	322
Hokkaido Shikotsu Toya Akan Daisetsuzan Erimomisaki	790
Hokkaido Shimbun junnenshi	87
Hokkaido Shimbun nijunenshi	88
Hokkaidoshi nempu	323
Hokkaidoshi no jidaiteki kubun	324
Hokkaidoshi no rekishi	325
Hokkaido Shirataki-Hattoridai ni okeru saisekki bunka	1256
Hokkaido shiryo shomoku kaidai	13
Hokkaido shiryo shozai mokuroku	14
Hokkaido shisatsu benran	326
Hokkaido shiseki meisho tennen·kinembutsu chosa hokokusho	791
Hokkaido shiseki meisho tennen kinembutsu kogai	792
Hokkaido shiyo	327
Hokkaido shokugyo gyoseishi	1019
Hokkaido shokumin jokyo hobun	328
Hokkaido shoshi	329, 330
Hokkaido shozo shiryo mokuroku	15
Hokkaido shuki	956
Hokkaido shutsudo no warabite ni kansuru mondai	1257
Hokkaido shuyo sangaku toro gaikyo	794
Hokkaido sogo kaihatsu keikakusho	957

Hokkaido sogo kaihatsu no arikata	957
Hokkaido sogo kaihatsu no shomondai	959
Hokkaido sogo keizaishi	960
Hokkaido suisangyo no shorai	1092
Hokkaido Takushoku Ginko gojunenshi	1005
Hokkaido takushoku hoshin no juritsu ni tsuite	961
Hokkaido takushoku kaihatsu keizairon	331
Hokkaido takushokushi	942, 962
Hokkaido Takushokushi Hensangakari shozo mokuroku	10
Hokkaido takushoku to jinja	243
Hokkaido takushoku yoran	963
Hokkaido Tanco Kisen Kabushiki Kaisha gojunenshi	1006
Hokkaido Teikoku Daigaku soki gojishunen kinen koenshu	1288
Hokkaido tetsudo ensen shisatsu benran	1035
Hokkaido kakueki yoran	1036
Hokkaido tetsudo nempyo	1037
Hokkaido tokorodokoro	795
Hokkaido tokushugo	964
Hokkaido tondenhei seido ni tsuite	965
Hokkaido to Shimane-ken	695
Hokkaido to shukyojin	244
Hokkaido yobun	696
Hokkaido yoran	966
Hokkaido yureki nikki	332
Hokkaido zaiwa	1103
Hokkaido zenkindai no bunkashi	333
Hokkai enkakuka	179
Hokkai hyakunin isshu	180
Hokkai kiko	796
Hokkai Mao Kobayashi Kotaro-kun	43
Hokkai no ompa	797
Hokkai no senkusha Mamiya Rinzo	44
Hokkai shidan	181
Hokkai shiryo	798
Hokkai tokushugo	1187
Hokkai uhakuki	648
Hokkai zuihitsu	799
Hokkei shoshi sho	649
Hoko Ainu suiboshi	1234
Hoko Chishima	869
Hokuchi kaitaku	334
Hokuchi kigen	720
Hokuchi nisshi	650
Hokuchi Roi ikken	651
Hokugai no higeki	1235
Hokuhen kaitaku Ainu	1188
Hokuhen tanji	901
Hokuidan	800
Hokumei zakki	967

Hokumon shiko	335
Hokumon soshō	20
Hokuo no kodai bunka	1180
Hokusa bunryaku	902
Hokusa ibun	903
Hokushin no senkakusha Mogami Tokunai Kondo Juzo	45
Hokusho kaidai	16
Hokusui kaigyo teiyo	336
Hokuto	89
Hokuyo	182
Hokuyo genjumin no seikatsu	1190
Hokuyo genju minzaku no shōcho	1236
Hokuyozai keizai shiron	1104
Hokuyu zakki	801
Hompo shuto no biso Nakagawa Goroji no jiseki	46
Honcho kanameichi	652
Hondo beisaku no enkaku	1075
Hondo hokubu no doki kosatsu	1258
Hondo kaitaku to kandan	968
Hondo sanka no raireki ni tsuite	1312
Hoppo bummei shiwa	337
Hoppo bunka kenkyu	1191
Hoppo bunka no shōcho	1192
Hoppo chiiki jumin no zaisan hoshō seikyūken	721
Hoppo dobutsuki	1313
Hoppoken no ie	1193
Hoppo kinkai anzen sogyo mondai	1093
Hoppo konchuki	1314
Hoppo monzoku no tabi	338
Hoppo miraiko	339
Hoppo no akusesari	110
Hoppo no kodai bunka	1195
Hoppo no kuhaku	579
Hoppo no mingū	111
Hopporon	340
Hoppo ryodo	580, 581
Hoppo ryodo dakkan e no michi	582
Hoppo ryodo kankei shiryo soran	583
Hoppo ryodo mondai kiso shiryoshu	584
Hoppo ryodo mondai no kiin to keika	585
Hoppo ryodo mondai no rekishiteki haikai	586
Hoppo ryodo mondai to Nihon Kyosanto	587
Hoppo ryodo no chii	588
Hoppo ryodo no henkan yokyu undo	589
Hoppo ryodo no hori	590
Hoppo ryodo no hoteki chii	591
Hoppo ryodo no rekishi to shorai	592
Hoppo ryodo o kangaeru	593
Hoppo ryodo to Nisso dakai	594
Hopposhi nyumon	341
Hoppo torai	342

Horeki juichinen gojunkenshi oto mothiawasesho	343
Hori Toshihiro Ezochi kokugo sentei Ezochi ekiro kaisetsu no kengi	802
Iburikoku Chitose-mura kazambaika no tateana iseki	1259
Ichimo zatsuroku	556
Ichinichi ichigensho	183
Iju annai Hokumon no kagi	344
Ijusha seiseki chosa	969
Ikoku e hyoryu tsukamatsurisoro Mutsu no Kuni no mono yonin kuchigaki	653
Ikoku Hokkaido	21
Ikokusen Ezo toraijo no utsushi	654
Ikutawara sonshi	471
Imagane choshi	472
Ima Soren wa nani o neratteiru ka	595
Ino Tadatake	47
Ishikarigawa genryu genseirin sogo chosa hokoku	1105
Ishikari Kamikawa yori kita kaigan Shokotsugoe yamamichi mikomi no gi.....	1038.
Ishikari Kamikawa yori kita kaigan YUhetsu kawasuji e shindo mikomi no gi	1039
Ishikari nisshi	803
Ishikari no Kuni Kamikawa-gun dantai imin jokyo hobun	970
Ishikari no Kuni Kamikawa-gun kaitaku jigyo no gi ni tsuki kempaku	971
Ishikari Sappororyo Okaharushi yori Chitose dori Yuhari Sorachi yori Kamikawa ban'ya.....	1040
Ishikari Tokachi ryoga kiko	804
Ishikawa Kenzaburo Roko ikken shorui	596
Ishinzen choson seidoko	722
Ishinzen Hokkaido hensai nempyo	1315
Iwamizawa shishi	473
Iwamura Chokan shisei hoshin enzetsusho	723
Iwamura Chokan zuiko Kamikawa kiko	805
Jochi no setsu Sen-han Hori-shi kengen	345
Jon Bachera no tegami	48
Kaeido Ezo ofuregaki narabini zassho	346
Kaei sannen yori Ansei ninen ni itaru fusetsugaki	655
Kaibato mondai no shinso	557

Kaibo kiji	656	
Kaidoku Hokkaido kodai moji kenkyu		144
Kaere Hoppo ryodo	597	
Kaido shichijunen	347	
Kaido zengo takushoku koseki seishoki		49
Kaisha soshiki ni yoru Hokkaido kaitaku no kenkyu		972
Kaitaku ketsuruishi	975	
Kaitaku nominki	50	
Kaitakushi fureroku	973	
Kaitakushi jigyo ryakki	974	
Kaitakushi kakusho shokuinroku		77
Kaitakushi komon Horashi Kepuron		724
Kaitakushi nisshi	976	
Kaitakushi no sanhangan	977	
Kaitakushi shoki no Sapporo hompu keiei		978
Kaitakushi zengo	348	
Kaizuka jinkotsu no nazo to Ainu no Iomante		1196
Kakizaki Orito nikki	349	
Kamera kiko	245	
Kamuihoromui kyodoshi	474	
Kaikawa-gun Ainugo chimeikai	806	
Kamikawa-gun shutcho nisshi	350	
Kamikawa kembun kidan	351	
Kaimikawa kiko	807, 808	
Kaminokuni Yoshimi-ke monjo	22	
Kamuchatka hakken to Beringu tanken	904	
Kankai ibun	905	
Kanken gaisai torishirabesho		1007
Kanko Hokkaido	809	
Kankokuroku	810	
Kanreichi eino chosa hokokusho		1076
Kansei Higashi Ezochi Etorofuto taigaisho		558
Kansei izen hondo no iju jumoku		1106
Kansei junen kachu oyobi fuchinin resseki shirabe		352
Kansoki	658	
Kan'yaku Matsuura Takeshiro-den sho		51
Kan'yu nikki	811	
Karafuto Ainu	559	
Karafuto Ainu Giriayaku Orokko no kogei tokuni juhi kogei ni tsuite	112	
Karafuto Ainu jukyo to mingu		1197
Karafuto Ainu no jukyo		1198
Karafuto Ainu sowa	1199	
Karafuto Ainugo chimei shojiten		870
Karafuto annai chimei no tabi		871
Karafuto bannin Tomigoro Genshichi nado Shichinin Rokoku yori sashimodosare ni tsuki		659
Karafuto chishi	872, 873	
Karafuto Chishima koko minzokushi		1260
Karafuto chochi gaiyo	725	

Karafuto chochi yoran	726
Karafutocho Hakubutsukan annai	874
Karafutocho shisei sanjunenshi	560
Karafutocho tokeisho	727
Karafuto enkakushi	562
Karafuto enkaku chishi narabi ni kyokai no gi	561
Karafuto Esutoru-cho gaikyo	875
Karafuto fudoki	876
Karafuto genshi minzoku no seikatsu	1200
Karafuto hakubutsushi	877
Karafuto Hokkaido no kobunka	1201
Karafuto kaifuku kinencho	563
Karafuto kankei bunken somokuroku	17
Karafuto kyoiku hattatsushi	1289
Karafuto kyoiku no hensen to watakushi no seikatsu kiroku	1290
Karafuto kyokai dampan shimatsu	598
Karafuto meibutsu	1316
Karafuto nikki	878
Karafuto no chimei	879
Karafuto nogyo shokumin mondai	979
Karafuto no jitsujo to shorai	880
Karafuto no rekishi	564
Karafuto nosangyo to kowan	1119
Karafuto no tabi	881, 882
Karafuto okuchi dojin no fuzoku	1202
Karafuto oyobi Kamchatsuka	906
Karafuto oyobi Shiberia ryokodan	907
Karafuto senryo kinen Kondo Juzo, Mamiya Rinzo	52
Karafuto shashinshu	883
Karafutoshi	565
Karafutoshi monogatari	566
Karafuto shisei enkaku	728
Karafuto shokubutsushi	1317
Karafuto tankan no hitobito	53
Karafuto yoran	90
Kashu Hokkaido isshu	184
Katsura Jikan ikko Kamikawa kiko	812
Keiho guhitsu	660
Keimeikai dai-juhachikai koenshu	1291
Kinchu nikki	353
Kindaichi Hakushi beiji kinen ronshu	23
Kindaichi Kyosuke senshu	24
Kindaichi Kyosuke zuihitsu senshu	185
Kindai Hokkaidoshi kenkyu josetsu	354
Kinsei ni okeru Hoppo mondai no shinten	599
Kinsei no Hokkaido	355
Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai	246
Kita Chishima Ainugo	146
Kita Chishima chosa hobun	567

Kita Chishima no tankendan	568
Kita Ezochi Roshiajin joriku shirabeki	661
Kita Ezo koteiki	884
Kita Ezo koyo ihen	187
Kita Ezo shinshi	885
Kita Ezo yoshi	886
Kita Ezo zusetsu	887, 888
Kitagaki Chokan Hokkaido kaitaku iken gushinsho	980
Kita Karafuto tanken hokoku	889
Kitami shishi	475, 476
Kita no hito	186
Kita no kogei	113
Kita no mon'yo	114
Kita no senkaku	54
Kita no tenki	1318
Kita-son sonshi	477
Kodai densho to Togoku	218
Kodai Ezo to Ainu	1203
Kogo jiken tsuzuri	356
Kohi izen	1204
Kokkyo Karafuto	890
Kokogakujo no Nemuro no ibutsu to iseki	1261
Kokudo keikaku to shite no Hokkaido sogo keikaku no hitsuyosei	981
Kokugogaku ronko	147
Kokumei no gi ni tsuki moshiage soro kakitsuke sho	813
Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shozo chizu mokuroku	
.....	814
Kokusan Shiko Hakurankai Hokkaido Rekishikan chinretshuin kaisetsu	115
Konchu no ainumei ni tsuite	1319
Kondo jun'iroku	891
Konjaku no Ainu monogatari	1205
Kono Hiromichi shosakushu	25
Kono Hiromichi noto	1262
Kono Tsunekichi chosakushu	26
Kono Tsunekichi noto	1263
Korobokkururon no konjaku	219
Koropokkuru setsu no gobyō o ronzu	220
Kotan	221
Kotan enkin	188
Kotan ni ikiru	1206
Kotan no konseki	1237
Kotan no rakuen	222
Kujigata goyodome	357
Kuma matsuri	1207
Kuma no ahsianto	1208
Kunashiri Etorofu no kenhyō ni kansuru dan'an	569
Kunashiri sodoki	570
Kunashiri sodo shosoku	662

Kuneppe sonshi	478
Kurisawa choshi	479
Kuroda Kiyotaka to Horesu Kepuron	55
Kuroda Kiyotaka, umoretaru Meiji no soseki	56
Kusa no naka no densetsu	223
Kushiro bungaku undoshi	189
Kushiro kankei nikki komonjoshu	480
Kushiro kyodo shiko	481
Kushiro shishi	482
Kushiro soshō	27
Kusuri basho hikiwatashi ikken kakimono	358
Kusuri nisshī	815
Kutchan choshi	483
Kyochu todome	359
Kyodo no chirī	816
Kyodo no ijin Mogami Tokunai	57
Kyodoshiteki jijoden	58
Kyodo to kaitaku	360
Kyowa shieki	817
Kyu Kanhan hansai fusei jiken torishirabe	1008
Kyuki shoroku	361, 362, 818
Kyumei koki	363
Kyumei koki furoku	364
Kyumei koki furoku ikkenmono	365
Kyumei koki iko	366
Kyuki zasshu	697
Machidoshiyori nikki bassho	367
Machidoshiyori tsumesho nikki utsushi	368
Mamiya Rinzo	59, 698
Mamiya Rinzo Karafuto narabini Manshu tanken jiseki	908
Mamiya Rinzo tairiku kiko	909
Manrido Ezo nikki bassho	484
Manshu kaitaku to Hokkaido	1077
Matsuda Denjuro Mamiya Rinzo kita Ezo kembunsho shinteisho	892
Matsumaechi narabini nishi Ezochi meisaiki	819
Matsumae choshi	485
Matsumae densetsu	224
Matsumae Ezochi basho ukeoi siedo no kenkyu	1094
Matsumae Ezochi basho ukeoi seido seiritsu no kenkyu	369
Matsumae Ezochi ezu	820
Matsumae Ezochi kaijo hoken kanrei no kenkyu	1009
Matsumae Ezoki	370
Matsumae fudoko	1209
Matsumae fukuryo ikken	371
Matsumae Fukuyama shojo	372
Matsumae Edo nikki	373

Matsumae-han kobunroku	.....	374
Matsumae-han kobunsho	.....	375
Matsumae hogenko	.....	148
Matsumaejo	.....	386
Matsumae jonai seito shinji Matsumae kagura	.....	247
Matsumae-ke ki	.....	376
Matsumae kiko	.....	821
Matsumae kyuki	.....	377
Matsumae mochiba kembun todome	.....	378
Matsumae Mondo Hirotoki nikki	.....	379
Matsumae nennenki	.....	380
Matsumae Okinokuchi gobansho toriatsukai narabi goshuno toritategata tetsuzukisho	.....	487
Matsumae saijiki soko	.....	1210
Matsumae sambutsu taigaikan fu Hokkaido kokon shoshirabe sanko zassho	.....	1011
Matsumaeshi	.....	822
Matsumae shonin joyadocho	.....	1012
Matsumae sojo ryakki	.....	381
Matsumae soran kohen go'otoki	.....	663
Matsumae to Sugae Masumi	.....	60
Matsumae yurai fu Sekijin raichono koto	.....	664
Matsuura Takeshiro	.....	61
Matsuura Takeshiro Ezo nisshishu	.....	382
Matsuura Takeshiro shoden to kaidai	.....	62
Me de miru Hokkaidoshi	.....	383
Meiji gannen yori Meiji sannen ni itaru Hakodate zairyu kakkoku kanri furetassho	.....	665
Meiji Ishinzen no Hokkaido sozei seido shiyo	.....	1013
Meiji juninendo Hakodate shokyo genko	.....	1014
Meiji juyonen Meiji Taitei Hokkaido gjunko shiryoshu	699	
Meiji niju yonen iju nagayama tonden	.....	982
Meiji nenen Nane-mura kaikon joyakusho	.....	983
Meiji no Sapporo	.....	488
Meiji sannen Kanken koguchi sambutsu shozei shirabe	1015	
Meiji shoki no Hoppo ryodo maondi	.....	600
Meiji shonen Hokkai kibun	.....	823
Meiji-zen Nihon jinruigaku senshigakushi	.....	384
Memuro-cho gojunenshi	.....	489
Memuro-cho nokyoshi	.....	1078
Minami Chishima Shikotan toshi	.....	893
Minshu seishinshi no gunzo	.....	385
Mombetsu shishi	.....	490
Monogatari Hokkaido jimbutsushi	.....	63
Monogatari Hokkaidoshi	.....	386
Moi tokanki	.....	824
Mukashibanashi Hokkaido	.....	387
Muragaki Awaji no Kami koku nikki	.....	388
Muroran chiho rodo undoshi	.....	1020

Muroran-shi gikaishi	729
Muroran shisei ippan	491
Muroran shishi	492
Mutsu no zokuosa Michishima Sukune ni tuite	64
Naganuma-cho no rekishi	493
Naganuma choshi	494
Nagayama heison no kaihatsy tosho	495
Nakafurano sonshi	496
Natori Takemisu chosakushu	28
Nawa moyo no hensen	116
Negaisho	700
Nemuro Chishima Kyoshinkai jimu hokoku	1079
Nemuro Chishima ryokoku kyodoshi	389
Nemuro shishi	497
Nemuro taikan	498
Nenchu gyoji	1211
Nichi-Ro gaikoshi	601
Nichi-Ro Karafuto gaikosen	602
Nichi-Ro kokko shiryo	603
Nichi-Ro kosho Hokkaido shiko	604
Nichi-Ro kosho iho	605
Nihon Ainu chimeiko	825
Nihon bukkyo no hokugen	248
Nihon bunka fudoki	391
Nihon bunka ni tairitsusuru bunka	1213
Nihon bunka to Hokkaido	730
Nihon chiri taikei	826
Nihon genshi kogei	117
Nihon genshi kogei gaisetsu	118
Nihon genshi sen'i kogeishi	119
Nihon Hopposhi no ronri	392
Nihon Kyosanto to ryodo mondai	606
Nihon minzoku hokushinshi	393
Nihon no chiri	827
Nihon no matsuri hyakusen	1212
Nihon no seiji to gaiko	607
Nihon no suton sakuru	1264
Nihon ewkiahni no mikta	394
Nihon senju minzokushi	235
Nihon shoki to ezo	395
Nihon yushu jikki	666
Niokakan no hitobito	65
Ninomiya Mantaku Sosai no Hokkaido shisatsuki	828
Nishibasho Atsuta yori Ishikari Kamikawa narabini Sorachi Kawasujigoe Higashibasho Tokachi	1041
Nishi Ezochi amikiri sodo narabi tateami myoga no oboe	396
Nishi Ezochi Karafuto taihen utsushi	667
Nishi Ezochi nikki	829

Nishi Ezo nisshi	830
Nishikaigan Tomamairyō Hahoro kawasuji yori Teshiho narabini Ishikari ryosho Kamikawasuji	1042
Nishin gotten	701
Niso danki	668
Nisso kankei	608
Nisso ryodo mondai no shinjitsu	609
Nitobe Bunko mokuroku	7
Nogyo kyodo kumiaishi	1080
Nopporo	831
Nopporo tondenhei sonshi	499
Nosappu nisshi	832, 833
Notsukeushi choshi	500
Nyuhokuki	834

Ofuregaki kochō	397
Ohotsuku bunka no shomondai	1214
Ohotsuku engan Shiretoko hanto no iseki	1265
"Oji no shokugyo gyosei o katataru" zadankai sokkiroku	1021
Oketo choshi	501
Oko Ainu wa nazeni shisha no kotoko o sonsho kakudai shita ka	1266
Okoppe choshi	502
Oku no matsukaze	835
Orokko	1215
Oroshia hoki narabini Oku Ezo sodo no ikken	670
Oroshiajin raicho no koto	669
Osaka-shi nikki	503
Oshoro-gun kyodoshi	504
Otaru	505
Otaruko shi	506
Otaru kusei ippan	507
Otaru kushi	508
Otaru mondoshi	249
Otaru no kodai moji	149
Otaru no michiwakare	250
Otaru no mukashibanashi	226
Otaru shishi	509, 510
Otoe Hokkaido kanjo resseki no kenkyū	1267
Otoe-son kaison gojunenshi	511
Oyakunin shomukizutome seimeicho	398
Oyatoi Beikokujin kagaku kyoshi	66
Oyatoi gaikokujin	67
Oyatoi ishi Erudorijji no tegami	68
Pippu choshi	512
Piyotoru Taiteiwan no naikaika sengen ni tsuite	610
Potsumasu Joyaku to Hoppo ryodo mondai	611

Raii hijitsuroku	671
Rankoshi choshi	513
Rashiyōato ijindomo Etorofuto torai nitsuki ontadashi kuchigaki	672
Rekishi no kataru Hoppo ryodo	612
Rekishi soki	399
Rikubetsu no okina	227
Roshia furyoki	673
Roshia ikken	674
Roshiya bunka to Hakodate	514
Ruibetsu choshi	515
Sagaren kikoshō	894
Saharin	613
Saigo Kaitaku Chokan kengi	984
Saiho zuihitsu	190
Sangyo Hokkaido no yukue	1120
Sangyo no Nemuro Chishima	1095
Sanken jidai ni okeru Ainu no kan'no saku	1081
Sanko Ezo nisshi	836
Sapporo enkakushi	516
Sapporogoe oshindo moshiagesho	1043
Sapporo-ken shokuinroku	78
Sapporo Kogyo Koto Gakko yonjunenshi	1292
Sapporo kushi hensan sanko shomoku	18
Sapporo kyujunen	517
Sapporo no Ainu chimei o tazunete	837
Sapporo no chokoku o utau	120
Sapporo Nogakko	1293
Sapporo nogaku nempo	1082
Sapporo no shizen o aruku	1320
Sapporo shishi	518
Sapporo shishi gaisetsu nempyo	519
Sapporo sonshi nempyo	520
Sapporo Tanukikoji hattenshi	1016
Sapporo tsurezure	521
Saryu Ainu no kayo	121
Sato Naotaro kyodo kenkyu rombunshu	1216
Seiga hogeiropku	702
Sekai bunka chirī taikei	838
Sekiji hondo mokuzai yushutsu no jokyo	1107
Sengo doseishi	731
Sengo no Nisso kankei	614
Senkei no rikkei o yusuru Hokkaido kofun shutsudo no katana ni tsuite	1268
Senryo kanrika no Hoppo ryodo	615
Senso todokegaki	400
Sengo no Nisso gyogyo	1095A
Shamo to Ainu	228

Shashinshu Hokudai hyakunen	1294
Shashinshu natsukashi no Chishima	571
Shashin zusetsu Hakodate no sennen	522
Shibata Hyuga no Kami Hakodate ko goyodome	523
Shiberiya shuppei to Kita Karafuto mondai	616
Shiki no Hokkaido	839
Shimaguni no uta to odori	122
Shimbun ni miru Hokkaido no Meiji Taisho	401
Shimizu-cho gojunenshi	524
Shimpfen Hakodate hanjoki	840
Shimpfen Muroran shishi	525
Shimpojumu Ainu	1217
Shimpuki	675
Shimukappu sonshi	526
Shinagawa Togoro shuko	402
Shindan Karafuto kaitoki	895
Shin Hokkaidoshi	403
Shin Hokkaido no tembo	985
Shinkaichi jikkyodan	841
Shinko Hokkaidoshi	404
Shinko Hokkaidoshi nempyo	405
Shinkotoni shichijunenshi	527
Shin Kushiro shishi	528
Shinotsu tondenhei sonshi	529
Shinra no kiroku	406, 407
Shinsen Hokkaidoshi	408
Shintoku choshi	530
Shin yukaratan	191
Shiraishi sonshi	531
Shiranuka choshi	532
Shiraoi	533
Shiretoko nisshi	842
Shiribeshi nisshi	843
Shiryo Hokkaido rodo undoshi	1022, 1023
Shofuroku	413
Sho kuchigaki todome goyo sho kakimono todome	409
Sho shuko	410
Showa juichinen Rikugun tokubetsu daienshu narabini chiho gyoko Hokkaido kiroku	703
Showa nijunen no kiroku	534
Shoyo hikae	411
Shoyo todome	412
Shuhokuroku	896
Shutsugunki	676
Sofuroku	414
Soren no ryokai seido	617
Soya tsumeiiai Yamazaki Hanzo nisshi	535
Suzuki Rikuji Ezo Karafuto junkai hokokusho	84

Tai Ainu seisaku hoji ruishu	732
Taihei zakki	677
Tai-Ro kokubo no ransho	618
Takadaya Kahei rirekisho	69
Takadaya Kahei Rokokuiki ikken shimatsu	678
Takadaya senki awase ikken moshiwatashi ukesho	679
Taka no hakaze	536
Takasu sonshi	537
Takeshiro Ezo nisshishu	415
Takeshiro kaiho nikki	846
Takeshiro kaiho nikki sho	845
Takikawa shishi	538
Takushoku gojitsutan	986
Takushoku shido Hokkaido jikkyo	987
Tarukishi hakkutsu hokokusho	1269
Teine choshi	539
Teiyoroku	733
Temmei Ezo tanken shimatsuki	416
Temmei hachinen gojunkenshi yoyoroku	417
Tempen hiko	847
Tempo jugonen Mororan Atsukeshi ikokusen ikken utsushi	680
Tempo jugonen Tozai Ezochi gounjokindaka utsushi	1017
Tempo kunen gojunkenshi ikken toriatsukai nikki kakiage hikae	419
Tempo kunen gojunkenshi yoroku	420
Tempo ninen nikkanki	418
Tennen kinenmbutsu chosa hokokusho	1321
Tenno to Ainu	229
Tensai Ainujin gakusha no shogai	70
Teshio nisshi	848
Todatsu kiko	910
Togu Denka gyohei kinen	704
Tohoku chiho no kojinkotsu	1270
Tohoku Sanjin monogatari	540
Tohoku to Hokkaido no Ainugo chimeiko	150
Toi shuran	849
Tokachi gaikan	850
Tokachi nisshi	851
Tokachi nisshisho	852
Tokachioki shinsaishi	1322
Tokai santan	853
Token isaku	681
Toko mampitsu	854
Tokyo shihitsu	855
Tomakomai chiho kodaishi	541
Tondenhei koro monogatari	988
Tonden heisei	989
Too hensu iji	682
Tottori choshi	542
Toyodaira choshi	543

Toyokura Gishi no dan	990
Toyu Ezo monogatari	856
Toyuki	857
Toyu kisho	858
Toyu zakki	859
Tozai Ezochi dochu ryakki	860
Tsubetsu choshi	544
Tsugaru ittoshi	421
Tsugaru Kaikyo no shiteki kenkyu	422
Tsugaru kembunki fu Ezo Matsumae kikigaki	243
Tsundora	897
Tsutomegaki	683
Tsuzurikata fudoki	1218
Uenokuni Yoshimi-ke monjo	424
Urahoro-son gojunen enkakushi	545
Urajiosutokku kiko	911
Urakawa Shicho kannai tokei ippan	734
Usudake no funka	1323
Utashinai shishi	546
Uzumoreteita Hokodate senso	547
Wada-ke shoyo kiroku	425
Waga kioku o tadorite	71
Waga Kita Chishimaki	572
Warera no mohan to subeki ijin	72
Watakushitachi no Hokkaidoshi	426
Watakushitachi no kenkyu Hokkaido no rekishi	427
Yakumo choshi	548
Yoichi-cho dokutsu no hekimen chokoku ni tsuite	1271
Yoichi-cho kyodoshi	549
Yoshitsune no Ezo tohiko	230
Yuasa Koreharu nikki	428
Yubari nisshi	861
Yubari shishi	550
Yubin izen	1219
Yudainaru Hokkaido hompu keiei	991
Yukara kansho	192
Yuki	193
Yukimushi	1324

Zen Docho junenshi	429
Zenkoku hogen shiryo Tohoku Hokkaido	151
Zokuzoku Hoppo bunkaron	1272
Zotei Hokkai kiko Hokkai shiryo	862
Zuihitsu Hokkaido	194
Zuihitsu yukara	195
Zusetsu Nihon bunka chiri taikei	863

PART II

NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

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NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

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創価大学文学部論集

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 並びに樺太は日本固有の領土である
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 Nakagawa Tōru 中川融
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What Lies Behind the Northern Territories Problem)

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(Have a Unified Interpretation of the Reversion Demand:
Let Us Recover the Northern Territories)

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 論に反対—"四島一括"の道を永久にとざす
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- 75 Hoppō ryōdo fukki undō no shomondai 北方領土復帰運動の諸問題
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 領 土 返 還 に つ い て の 提 案
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 Ohira Zengo 大 幸 善 植
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 HO-59
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 土 返 還 の 垒 は 厚 く な い
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 HO-60
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- 82 Hoppō ryōdo henkan nozomu jūmin no koe: mondai kaiketsu
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 住 民 の 声 — 問 題 解 決 を ね が う 心 意 从 ら の 叫 び
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 HO-62
- 83 Hoppō ryōdo henkan undō e no gimon 北 方 領
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 Yazawa Hiroshi 矢沢弘
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- 85 Hoppō ryōdō henkan undō no kisoteki ninshiki o shinkasuru
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- 86 Hoppō ryōdō henkan yōkyū kyaraban ki: kyōkan yobu
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- 89 Hoppō ryōdō henkan yōkyū no ronkyō 北方領土返還要求の論拠
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Kimura Akio 木村 明生
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- 91 Hoppō ryōdo hikiagesha engo no shiteki kōsatsu 北方
領土引揚者援護の史的考察
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Developed to This Extent)
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(ウルップ島)まで、米軍なきと見て國後へ
(How Soviets Occupied Kuriles: At First, Advanced to Urup
Island in Central Kuriles; Then, Seeing No U.S. Troops,
to Kunashir Island)

NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

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Media)

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seisha o neru
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the "Seven Seas")

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ソ連の民族政策と北方領土問題—これに対する二
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Yamada Sakaji 山田坂二

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Bartering Purposes)
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HO-296
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Territories)

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Minister Sonoda to Soviet Russia)
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HO-306
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(Points of Differences Highlighted: Participation in Soviet-
Japanese Round Table Conference)
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HO-307
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Remain)
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HO-308
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Territories)
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NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM

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Dōmei 同盟

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HO-319

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kokusaiteki dōri nimo somuku

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(National Meeting on Reversion Demand for Entire Kuriles)

Keizai jidai 経済時代

21:10 (October 1956), 28-45.
HO-320

AUTHOR INDEX

AIZAWA Takehiko	.....	153
AKAGI Munenori	.....	1, 347
AKIYAMA Michio	.....	145
AKIYAMA Takashi	.....	396
AOKI Hisashi	.....	221
ARITA Hachiro	.....	300
ASHIDA Hitoshi	301, 339
ASO Taro	264
ASO Yoshikata	412
ATOBA Makoto	381

CLARK Gregory	262
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DOGAKINAI Naohiro	43, 65, 222, 317
-------------------	-------	------------------

EGUCHI Nobuyuki	403
ENDO Haruhisa	143, 236, 390
ENDO Shigeaki	.....	154, 211

FUJISHIMA Udai	.....	7
FUJIWARA Osamu	.....	160
FUKUDA Atsuyasu	.....	377
FUKUI Fumio	.....	306
FUTAMI Toshio	.....	66
FUWA Tetsuzo	.....	17, 138

GAIMUSHO JOHOBUNKAKYOKU	.....	70
GOTO Junzo	.....	203

HANAMI Tatsuji	.....	275, 384
HARADA Nobuyuki	.....	384
HARAKO Rinjiro	.....	139

HARA Masaru	.....	406
HASEGAWA Sajji	.....	367
HASEGAWA Takashi	.....	104
HAYASE Soichi	.....	34
HAYASHI Masao	.....	166
HAYASHI Saburo	.....	1
HAYASHI Shigeyuki	.....	86
HAYASHI Shuzo	.....	88, 184
HAYASHI Takuo	.....	106
HIGASHI Jutaro	.....	351
HIGASHI Mitsukimi	.....	102
HIRAI Saburo	.....	202
HIRAMITSU Kanemasa	.....	79, 157, 252
HIRASAWA Kazushige	.....	93, 179, 404
HIRATAKE Denzo	.....	125
HIRATA Shigeki	.....	210, 326
HIRATA Shuzo	.....	59
HIROBE Kazuya	.....	270
HIROSE Yoshio	.....	168, 269
HISAKAWA Kikuo	.....	345
HOGEN Shinsaku	.....	62, 230, 259
HORA Tomio	.....	229
HYODO Nagao	.....	144, 410

ICHIKAWA Hiroshi	.....	170
ICHIKAWA Shoichi	.....	258
ICHIKAWA Tsunezo	.....	400
ICHIMATA Masao	.....	89
IIDA Tadao	.....	33
IKEDA Fumio	.....	378
IKEI Masaru	.....	263
IMAI Hisao	.....	80
INADA Yoshimi	.....	354
IRIE Keishiro	.....	32, 220, 246, 247, 248, 254, 255, 297, 299, 310, 311, 361, 413
ISHIDA Tsugio	.....	95
ISHI Hiroyuki	.....	278
ISHIMOTO Yasuo	.....	287
ISHIZAWA Kinji	.....	61
ISODA Sadaaki	.....	268, 323
ISOMURA Junjiro	.....	264
ITO Kazuhiko	.....	314
ITO Ken'ichi	.....	231, 319
ITO Mitsuru	.....	122
ITO Sosukemaru	.....	164
IWAGAMI Jiro	.....	98

KAJI Kentaro	.....	28
KAMIKAWA Hikomatsu	.....	123
KAMIYA Fuji	.....	261, 368
KAMIYAMA Shigeo	.....	190
KASAMA Tetsu	.....	334
KATO Hiroshi	.....	280
KAWAMURA Masaru	.....	105
KHRUSHCHEV N. S.	.....	21, 324, 333
KIMURA Akio	.....	90
KIMURA Hiroshi	.....	24, 173, 185, 197, 327, 355, 389, 397
KIMURA Kihachiro	.....	56
KISHIDA Toshio	.....	29, 411
KIYA Takayasu	.....	257
KOBAYASHI Atsuhiro	.....	289
KOBAYASHI Masatoshi	.....	53
KOBORI Jinji	.....	219
KODAIRA Tadashi	.....	81
KOIZUMI Sadahiko	.....	278
KOKUMIN SEIJI NENKAN HENSHU IINKAI	.....	312, 313
KOMEITO	.....	146
KOMINE Yuzo	.....	85
KONO Yohei	.....	237
KOTANI Gojiro	.....	320
KOTANI Hidejiro	.....	116, 178, 218, 291
KUBA Takeo	.....	181
KUWAHARA Takeo	.....	240
KUWAHARA Teruji	.....	155

LEONOV P. A. 373, 374

MABUCHI Tomoaki	.....	87
MAEHARA Mitsuo	.....	163, 233
MAJIMA Kan	.....	298
MAKIUCHI Masao	.....	284
MATSUMAE Shigeyoshi	.....	159
MATSUMOTO Shun'ichi	.....	100, 140, 295, 296, 302, 325
MATSUSHITA Yoshio	.....	357
MATSUZAKI Ryosuke	.....	68
MENDEL Douglas	.....	99
MITA Hideaki	.....	71, 392
MITANI Hiroshi	.....	242
MIYAWAKI Mineo	.....	75
MIYAZAKI Shigeki	.....	243, 365

MIYOSHI Akira	.....	91
MIYOSHI Osamu	.....	386
MORISAWA Masateru	.....	16
MORITA Hissho	.....	46
MORIYA Michio	.....	135
MURAKAMI Kaoru	.....	382, 407
MURAKAMI Shigetoshi	.....	62
MUROYA Akiko	.....	410
MUTO Iwao	.....	176

NAGATA Jiro	.....	51
NAGOSHI Takeo	.....	206
NAKAGAWA Ichiro	.....	182
NAKAGAWA Toru	.....	38
NAKAGAWA Yahiro	.....	9
NAKANO Miyako	.....	41, 225, 265
NAKANO Yoshio	.....	205
NAKAYAMA Toshio	.....	199
NARITA Katsushiro	.....	97
NARUSE Kyo	.....	370
NASU Kiyoshi	.....	129
NATSUBORI Masamoto	.....	40, 192
NEVSKII S.	.....	294
NIHON SHAKAITO HOPPO RYODO MONDAI TOKUBETSU IINKAI	.....	113
NIHON SHAKAITO KOKUSAIKYOKU	.....	117
NISHIGUCHI Hikaru	.....	45
NISHI Haruhiko	.....	8, 48
NISHIWAKI Fumiaki	.....	131, 235
NISHIWAKI Masaharu	.....	282
NISHIYAMA Koki	.....	343, 401
NISHIZURU Sadayoshi	.....	27
NOGUCHI Hiroshi	.....	151
NOMURA Kichisaburo	.....	353
NOTO Eizo	.....	30, 67, 108, 198

OBA Shunken	.....	204
OGAWA Yasushi	.....	417
OGI Sadao	.....	54, 119
OHIRA Zengo	.....	78, 133
OKABE Hiroyuki	.....	49
OKUMA Ryoichi	.....	128, 147
OKUNO Seisuke	.....	224
OOKA Eppei	.....	180
OOKA Fumito	.....	208

OSHIMA Yukio	.....	165
OU Masao	.....	359
OZAWA Sadatake	.....	158
ROYAMA Masamichi	.....	305
SAGUCHI Toru	.....	315
SAITO Tadashi	.....	2, 124, 330, 360, 408
SAKAKIBARA Shiro	.....	55
SAKAMOTO Tokumatsu	.....	72, 201, 187
SASAKI Kozo	.....	73
SASAKI Morio	.....	232
SASE Masamori	.....	10, 52, 175, 228
SATO Hiroshi	.....	267
SATO Kikuo	.....	286, 416
SATO Sakae	.....	63
SAWAKI Kotaro	.....	332
SEIJI MONDAI CHOSAKAI	.....	241
SEKIGUCHI Yoshito	.....	285
SENAGA Kamejiro	.....	18, 418
SHIDEHARA Michitaro	.....	60, 92, 214
SHIGA Yoshio	.....	107
SHIGEMITSU Akira	.....	391
SHIGEMORI Tadashi	.....	183
SHIMIZU Hayao	.....	5, 369, 415
SHIMIZU Takehisa	.....	20, 101, 112, 126, 142, 316, 388
SHINDO Eiichi	.....	12
SHIROMA Tokuei	.....	227
SOHYO	.....	277
SONO Akira	.....	177, 281, 375, 398
SUEFUJI Masahiro	.....	13, 253
SUEKAWA Hiroshi	.....	239
SUEMATSU Mitsuru	.....	191
SUETSUGU Ichiro	.....	76, 109, 303
SUGAWARA Eietsu	.....	226
SUGI Toshio	.....	207
SUGIYAMA Shigeo	.....	77, 118, 186, 283, 321
SUIZU Mitsuru	.....	171, 172, 245, 249, 393
SUZUKI Hajime	.....	293
SUZUKI Kyuhei	.....	31

TABATA Shigejiro	.....	215, 350
TABATA Shinobu	.....	344
TAGA Seishi	.....	292
TAIRA Shin'ichi	.....	115
TAJUDO Kanae	.....	337
TAKAGI Jukichi	.....	11, 26
TAKAHASHI Tadashi	.....	174
TAKAKI Susumu	.....	110
TAKAMOTO Shoichi	.....	196
TAKANO Akira	.....	376
TAKANO Yuichi	.....	14, 35, 58, 161, 271, 309, 336, 348, 358
TAKAZAWA Torao	.....	141
TAKEBAYASHI Nobuo	.....	266
TAKENAKA Shigetoshi	.....	96, 385
TAKENAKA Tsutomu	.....	223
TAMURA Kosaku	.....	121, 167, 216, 234, 290, 308, 364, 328
TANAKA Tadakatsu	.....	213
TANAKA Tadashi	.....	270
TANAKA Toshifumi	.....	50
TANIKI Kansaku	.....	74
TATEBAYASHI Chisato	.....	3
TEJIMA Hiroshi	.....	137
TERAJIMA Yutaka	.....	44, 64, 132
TERASAWA Hajime	.....	162
TOGANO Satoko	.....	114
TORKUNOV L.	.....	272
TSUDA Michio	.....	362
TSUDA Yukio	.....	244, 250
TSUJIMURA Akira	.....	380
TSUNETO Kyo	.....	307
UEDA Toshio	.....	130, 273
UEHARA Etsujiro	.....	342
UTSUNOMIYA Tokuma	.....	335
WADA Kosaku	.....	149, 150
WAGATSUMA Sakae	.....	346
WATANABE Akira	.....	103, 120, 279, 356
WATANABE Ichiro	.....	82
WATANABE Jun'ichi	.....	217
WATANABE Yasuko	.....	188

YABATAKE Ryozo	.....	405
YAMADA Hisatsugu	.....	1
YAMADA Kazuo	.....	36
YAMADA Sakaji	.....	383
YAMADA Yoshio	.....	83
YAMAGUCHI Toshiaki	.....	372
YAMAKAWA Hitoshi	.....	304, 318
YAMAMOTO Chuhei	.....	371
YAMAMOTO Masahiro	.....	322
YAMAMOTO Shichihei	.....	352
YAMAWAKI Shigeo	.....	6
YAMAZAKI Hachiro	.....	134, 200
YAMAZAKI Takio	.....	42, 152, 276
YANAGI Haruo	.....	288
YANAGISAWA Osami	.....	212
YANAI Shunji	.....	409
YANO Toru	.....	238
YASUI Kaoru	.....	127
YAZAWA Hiroshi	.....	84
YOKOTA Kisaburo	.....	15
YOKOTA Toshio	.....	148
YOSHIDA Masami	.....	256
YOSHIDA Shien	.....	193, 195, 274