

Investigation on Japan's Intentional Change Name of the East Sea and Two Islands (Dokdo, Ulleungdo) in Meiji Period

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1. Introduction

There is conflict between Korea and Japan who call 'Close but distant country' on naming issue of 'Sea of Japan' to 'East Sea' or parallel use and issue of dominium of Dokdo(Takeshima in Japan) island. The former is aggressive for Korean side, whereas the latter is aggressive for Japanese side.

To review the two issues by Korean and Japanese point, Korea insist the name of 'Sea of Japan' was widely spread by the result of Japanese expansionism and colonial rule and Dokdo is the first victim of Japanese invasion to Korea. This is the continuous historical aspect of Koreans who persist the issue of 'Sea of Japan'and annexation(seizure) of Dokdo island to Japan in 1905 by 'Theory of Prior Occupation of Ownerless Land' originated from Japanese attack to Korea. On the other hand, Japanese insist that the use of 'Sea of Japan' name in early 19th century old map was very common than any other names, which proved common use of 'Sea of Japan' by Europeans in early 19th century. And the period was Edo period when Japan took the policy of seclusion which acted no influence to affirm the name of 'Sea of Japan'. So Japanese insist that Korean's insistence of Japanese expansionism and colonial rule for the spread of 'Sea of Japan' name in late 19th century have no validity.¹⁾

As Japanese response too sensitively for the 'Sea of Japan' name which may relate to Japanese colonialism, they also response excessively to the

1) <http://www.MOFA.go.jp/policy/maritime/japan/pamph0903-k.pdf>

assertion of Dokdo issue as originating from the process of Japanese territory expansion policy. Now, I would like to view the Dokdo not as historical issue but as territorial issue. Recent Japanese logic on the 17th century's inherent territory theory than 'Theory of Prior Occupation of Ownerless Land' seems to respond to the Korean logic of 'Theory of Prior Occupation of Ownerless Land' as the first step of attack to Korea on the process of Japanese territory expansionism. Japanese call the two islands in the East Sea of Korea Ulleungdo(鬱陵島) and Dokdo(獨島) as 'Matzushima(松島)', and 'Takeshima(竹島)'. But the name was originally called 'Takeshima', and 'Matzushima'. This confusion was caused by European misunderstanding of the island name to measure and name it error on the map in late 18th century²⁾.

Japanese insist the name 'Sea of Japan' and Matzushima(Ulleungdo)·Takeshima(Dokdo) was first used by Europeans and Japanese called it later as same manner of European map. In this paper, I'd like to reveal the Japanese policy which reflected obvious national expansionism with two issues even though the two names were originated by the confused European recognition.

2. Intention of Alter for East Sea Name during Meiji Period Japan

Japanese MOFA homepage introduced Korean assertion "'Sea of Japan' name was wide spread as a result of Japanese expansionism and colonial rule" and listed some contradictory opinion to Korean assertion referring the examination of o Komaps by Japanese government which assured the name Sea of Japan was much more used than other names already in the early 19th century. Also the period was Erinperiod when Japan took the policy of seclusion, which acted no influence to affirm the name e poSea of Japan'. So, Japanese government insisted that Koreans mucsistence of Japanese expansionism and colonial rule for the spread of 'Sea of Japan' name in late 19th century is invalid. Toanesve this assertion, Japan MOFA examined world o Komaps and found the first Japaof Sea of Japan was inerrain and World Map-坤輿萬國全圖 toby Iorliarrainsionary MSeaeo Ri, i of early 1of Japan wa Komapvarious name were used in Europeof Jaas ial rule for o K'Oripanal Sr o Komapsal ruleChin o eta. KuntilKomapvarious obeseide oSea of Japan'Komt frequency of use name 'Sea

2) Kawakami Kenjo(川上健三), *Takeshima no Rekishi-chirigaku-teki kenkyu-Histo-geographical Research on Dokdo-Takeshima* koginsyoin, 1966.

of Japan' was exclusively higher than any other names that the Sea of Japan name was established by Europeans from early 19th century.³⁾

By the way, the old maps statistically suggested by Japan MOFA were 1,213 maps from U.S. Library of Congress, and 58 maps from British Library and Cambridge University Library, and 215 maps from Bibliotheque Nationale de France, which might show unilaterally higher statistical number of maps using Sea of Japan but the statistics did not identify the period of early 19th century(Edo era) or late 19th century(Meiji era), so the result should be reexamined by period to get the validity.

By the way, though Japanese insisted 'Sea of Japan' was the only name used internationally for long time, but more fundamental problem on this Japanese assertion is that no country of Japan or Korea who faced the sea each other used this name of 'Sea of Japan' in 19th century. Also, Japanese logic of no relationship with expansionism because of early 19th century European view but it is misunderstanding.

Famous Japanese patriot philosopher Aizawa yasu(會澤 安) who proclaimed 'The policy of praise the King and defend nation from the enemy' criticized the European naming behavior for the Japanese land in the territory as not authorized by Emperor or official name by tradition.⁴⁾ To consider this proclaim, can we say the intention of Japanese government thoughtless to accept the use 'Sea of Japan' by European call as simple? Let's first examine the official name of the sea so called present 'Sea of Japan' by Japan during that time⁵⁾.

In 1876, Japanese government acquired 'The Right for Free Surveying and Mapping' all around Chosun(e Surn) coastal area by 'Japan-e SurvTSurty; GanghwadovTSurty or ByeongjrvDefense TSurty' whill apenedee

3) European recognition on Japan greatly increased. Japan early started to open commercial accommodation of Holland to trade with Europe. 18th century in France, more than one thousand books about fact on Japan were published. In those situation, it was natural that La Perouse explored East Sea and described it as 'Sea of Japan', which the 'Sea of Japan' was accepted naturally by many people.(Kim Deok-ju, "A review on the expression of East Sea on international Discussion" *Seoul International Law Research* 1999, Vol. 6. No. 2, p.19)

4) "Western savages call Asia, Europe, and Africa but it is not endowed by Japanese Emperor Also it is not the name stem from traditional custom. The name given by Western savages include Japan but it is very arrogant. So we have to wait until Emperor give us the name of the lands when we became a Powerful Country." (會澤 安, 1843, 『迪彝篇』 總叙 pp.3-4)

5) The contents below concerning 'Sea of Japan and Sea of Chosun' is based on the by Lee Jong-hak's Interpretation; East Sea is concept of Defence, Sea of Chosun is Inherent Name; *Forgotten 'Sea of Chosun' and 'Sea of Chosun Strait'*, Dokdo Museum Research Material Book 2, 2002. So, detail whole phrases are abbreviated.

Surn harbor to the world. And Japanese Navy's Hydrography oDepartment published *The Maritime Magazine* periodically to introduce Chosun coastal area y' loration. The No. 16 of *The Maritime Magazine* y' lained Matzushima(present Dokdo) geography as "The recorded contents during return sailing from Sea of Chosun(e Surn Sea)"⁶⁾, while No. 19 said "F Suignhy call the sea around Oki(隱岐) as 'Sea of Japan'..."⁷⁾ mentioned. Japan MOFA homepage y' lained the name 'Sea of Japan' was established ofarbor to the world.by Europeans but it is apparent that Japanese Navy's Hydrography oDepartment officialor called 'Sea of Chosun', and f Suignhy call 'Sea of Japan' onlurtWSurtshed recognition, Japanese government Chosunapan'm 'Sea of Chosun' officially at the treaty with Chosun.

Before Chosun army troop's rebellion in 1882, some of maps expressed Japan Sea at the very closer location to Japan Mainland such as *Whole Chosun Land Map(Chousen-yochi-zento;朝鮮與地全圖)* and *Whole Chosun Map(Chousenzento;朝鮮全圖)* or the case of *Great Japan, Chosun, and China Map(Tai-nihon Chosen shina sankoku-to;大日本朝鮮支那三國圖)* described the Japan Sea divided area as Sea of Chosun and West Japan Sea.⁸⁾

Here is the example of the term 'Sea of Chosun(朝鮮海)' in July 25 1883 at 「Commercial Agreement for Japanese Resident in Chosun; 在朝鮮國日本人民通商章程」 in Article 41 between Korea and Japan for 'Sea of Chosun'

Article 41 "...Chosun ships are permitted the fishery work around Japanese territory of Hizen(肥前)·Chikuzen(筑前)·Nagato(長門)(Facing Sea of Chosun area)·Iwami(石見)·Izumo(出雲)·Tsu shima(對馬) coastal area to fish ...

This phrase apparently indicated 'Sea of Chosun' between Chosun and Japan as official term of the sea at the treaty. By the 「Commercial Agreement for Japanese Resident in Chosun」 in 1883, Japan started to fish around Sea of Chosun legally, which resulted 1889 「Agreement of Fishery between Chosun and Japan-朝日通漁章程」 to invade into 'Sea of Chosun' by Japan.

In 1892, Mr. Meisei Sekizawa(關澤 明清) who was in the responsible position of Great Japan Maritime Association mentioned Sea of Japan in the report of Japanese fishing activity around Sea of Chosun under the

6) Yama Slumi(山澄 直清), 1880, "Brief Record on Chosun East coastal area-Chousenkoku higashikaigan ryakki(朝鮮國東海岸略記)" *Maritime Magazine* No.16.

7) Kimosuki, Kaneyuki(肝付兼行), 1883, "Return to Oki-oki kokai ryakki(隱岐回航略記)" *Maritime Magazine* No.19.

8) Lee Sang-tae, "The name of East Sea pushed out by Japan Sea" *Korean History Research* 107, p.143.

Commercial Agreement for Japanese Resident in Chosun; 在朝鮮國日本人民通商章程」 in Article 41, which altered naming Nagato(長門) as 'facing to Sea of Chosun' to 'facing to Sea of Japan'. His intention to the different use of Sea name was cleared at his paper in the next year which is closely related to the Japanese expansionism.

As already named Sea of Japan officially, the maritime sovereignty was occupied by our Japan and we don't need to excuse the national right, and the maritime sovereignty is proclaimed by present achievement of fishery or not at the sea as prior custom. We have to proclaim Japan fishery interest by the ships at the sea as a habit and announce the achievement to the public. If not, we might face difficulty of weaker rights when it arose a debate about the maritime sovereignty with neighbor countries. So, we have to reconsider this content seriously.(Sekizawa, Meisei, "How was fishery on the Sea of Japan", Nihon-kai no gyogyowa ikana, 1883, pp.11-12)

His insistence 'As already named Sea of Japan officially, the maritime sovereignty was occupied by our Japan' definitely expressed the term 'Sea of Japan' as a meaning of Japanese Expansionism. If we understand the story of name, it is logical contradiction of Japan when they insisted to follow 'Sea of Japan' by the calling of 19th century western peoples. Now, let the story as Aizawa's individual opinion, but examine and clarify the expression of Japanese government during the period on 'Sea of Japan'.

In 1895, when Japan won the War between Japan and China which viewed as opening to the continent and expansion of Sea of Japan and Japanese, the newspaper wrote;

Taiwan and Penghuliedao islands were annexed to Japan, which made tremendous change on world map. Until, Ryukyu was only end of Sea of Japan but now we occupied China Sea to expand the territory as far as 4,000km around to Penghuliedao as Sea of Japan("Sea of Japan and China Sea", Sanin-shinbum(山陰新聞), April 3, 1895,)

Saying, 'Until Ryukyu was only end of Sea of Japan but now we occupied China Sea to expand the territory around to Penghuliedao as Sea of Japan. The pro Japan Mr. J. Morris wrote in his book *War between Japan and China* in 1894 and attached 'Korea-Japan-China Map' at the head of the book which named 'Sea of Japan'⁹⁾ to reflect this situation of the period.

During the period from War between Japan and China and to 1904 before the War between Japan and Russia, Japan encouraged Japanese

9) Kim Deok-ju, "A Review on International discussion on East Sea"」 *Research of Seoul International Law* 1999, vol. 6, No. 2, p.19.

Fishery through the establishment of Distant Ocean Fishery Regulation(1897), Chosun Fishery Association(1900) etc., to protect and encouragement fishing at Sea of Chosun. Japanese fishing activity at Sea of Chosun was largely expanded by this policy after the War between Japan and China, which numbered 1,223 vessels in 1898, 1,157 in 1899, 1,654 in 1900, 1,411 in 1901, 1,394 in 1902, and 1,589 vessels as two times of previous period. With the rising case of fishery conflict between Chosun and Japan by the rapid increase of Japanese fisherman in Sea of Chosun, Japanese government or prefecture and district investigated about fact on Sea of Chosun fishery to protect Japanese and prevention of conflict¹⁰⁾ which reported “So many Japanese vessels are fishing around South Chosun in Gyeongsangdo and Jeonrado coastal area as if not Sea of Chosun but as Sea of Japan to monopolize the fishing by Japanese”¹¹⁾. Here the mentioned ‘Sea of Chosun’ include not only East sea of Chosun but also South Sea of Chosun. Moreover, the meaning as if ‘Sea of Japan’ is related to exclusive fishery by Japan in the course of expanding toward not only the meaning ‘Sea of Japan’ itself but also ‘Japanese Territorial Water’.

The first use of word ‘Sea of Japan’ by Japanese government was just after the victory of the War between Japan and Russia for the 'East Sea'. When Japanese government officially announced in May 30 ‘Gazette’ declared saying the sea war from May 27 to 28 at around Okino Island(沖ノ島) to Ulleungdo island as “Sea War kino IslanJapan” as official title.rnm Ismatter of factmatto can believe the use of ‘Sea of Japan’ was not the resulWar bJapanese expansionism but the by the calling by Western people as ‘Sea of Japan’?

‘Sea of Japan’ was Internationally recognized to be approved by ‘Japan-Russia Peace Treaty(Treaty of Portsmouth)’. The Article 11 indicated ‘Sea of Japan’, which Japan get the international approval of ‘Sea of Japan’ as official name in world map.¹²⁾ But the name ‘Sea of Japan’ by the ‘Japan-Russia Peace Treaty(Treaty of Portsmouth)’ is not limited to Korea who protest the recognition as international official name but only limit to the two countries of Japan and Russia.

As discussed in the above, Japanese use of ‘Sea of Japan’ name is

10) Yeo Bak-dong, *Japanese Control over Chosun Fishery and Formation of Immigration Sea Village*, Bogosa, 2002.

11) "Great Japan Maritime Paper" No.230, 1901, *Chosheon Pollack Fishery* p.4

12) Kim Deok-ju, "A Review on International discussion on East Sea"」 *Research of Seoul International Law* 1999, vol. 6, No. 2, p.19.

not the influence of Europeans but the Japanese government willingness, who tried to expand the power toward imperialist expansionism to intend arbitrary change from 'Sea of Chosun' to 'Sea of Japan'. This kind of logic is very arbitrary when it was explicitly expressed later by Mr. Hirade(平出) who is the Japan Navy Department Chief of PR. announced in 1942 "It is possible to name 'New Sea of Japan after conquering the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean"¹³⁾ This is the possible idea of 'Sea of Japan' name to expand and move to the other ocean by Japanese expansionism as it means. The speech by Captain Hirade at Japan A-K Broadcasting revealed the aggressive intention of Japan when he delivered the speech at the celebration of Emperor Day after the one month of breaking out the Pacific War. About 'New Sea of Japan' by Hirade, Ayuzawa(鮎澤信太郎) mentioned no necessity of calling 'New Sea of Japan' because Japan had called 'Great Sea of Japan' from Edo era. As Ayuzawa insisted, Sea of Japan had indicated area of eastern sea of Japan in Pacific Ocean shore during Edo era. He definitely explained Japan side Pacific Ocean as Great Sea of Japan or Sea of Japan, or East Japan Sea, but Sea of Chosun was popular until Meiji era for now Sea of Japan as showing the historical materials, "Pacific Ocean name was not decided until early Meiji era obviously and present Sea of Japan was called as Sea of Chosun during Meiji era. And he also indicated that it was first by western people to call the Pacific Ocean as Sea of Japan, for instance, he pointed out the Japan map in 1752 by France which inscribed Sea of Japan(Mer du Japon) at the Pacific Ocean coastal area and opposite side as Sea of Chosun(Mer de Coree)¹⁴⁾ Ayuzawa also showed 15 maps which inscribed (Great)Sea of Japan at Pacific Ocean side, which 14 maps were produced during 1792~1871 and one unknown map¹⁵⁾.

Japanese should have been confused when they insisted present 'Sea of Chosun' as 'Sea of Japan' but Pacific Ocean already had been called as 'Sea of Japan' during the whole 19th century.

This is interpreted that the using of 'Sea of Japan' name was originally

13) *Tokyo Maiami Shinbun* Jan. 9, 1942

14) Ayuzawa, Shintaro(鮎澤信太郎), 1943, 『Great Sea of Japan-Nihon chirishi no kenkyu(日本地理學史の研究)』 keijosha-shuppansha; Lee Jong-hak "Interpretation; East Sea is concept of Defence, Sea of Chosun is Inherent Name"; *Forgotten 'Sea of Chosun' and 'Sea of Chosun Strait'*, Dokdo Museum Research Material Book 2, 2002. p.15.

15) Ayuzawa, , Shintaro, 1943, 『Great Sea of Japan-Nihon chirishi no kenkyu』 ; Lee Jong-hak "Interpretation; East Sea is concept of Defence, Sea of Chosun is Inherent Name"; *Forgotten 'Sea of Chosun' and 'Sea of Chosun Strait'*, Dokdo Museum Research Material Book 2, 2002. p.16.

indicated east sea of Japan but it began to change as the recognition of territorial water expansionism for the west side of Japan, and increasingly stiff the use of the name as respond to the active fishery interest at the western sea of Japan as Sea of Japan, Japanese attack on Chosun and trend of expanding to Asia continent which is called as 'Ride to Continent, Attack East Sea' as 'Sea of Japan' instead of 'Sea of Chosun' which expand the meaning of Japanese territorial water. With the rising intentions to expand Japan revealed invasion intention for the two islands of Takeshima-Ulleungdo and Matzushima-Dokdo in East Sea of Korea, which Japan renamed Takeshima-Ulleungdo as Matzushima and Matzushima-Dokdo as Takeshima as concrete method of occupying the two Island. In this point, Japan decided a strategic choice to call Takeshima-Ulleungdo as Matzushima and Matzushima-Dokdo as Takeshima as a realistic necessity for territory expansion, restrain against northern power, and acquire of the bridge toward continent.

As reviewed in the above, the name of 'Sea of Japan' is not the only name so called present Japanese 'Sea of Japan' that is East Sea in Korea. Japan have called 'Sea of Japan' for the east sea of Japan or west sea of Japan, and Koreans have called it 'Sea of Chosun' or 'East Sea' etc. Japanese MOFA Homepage should rename the 'Sea of Japan' between Korea and Japan as both side agreement because the Sea of Japan is not the unique name at international society level for long time. The Japanese denying on the result of Japanese expansionism colonial rule from Korean side's assertion could only be a contradictory trivial view point. As a sea is not the property of a country, the name should be exclude unilateral decision by one country to receive justifying logic.

3. Intention of Changing the Name of Two Islands of Takeshima (Ulleungdo) and Matzushima(Dokdo) in the East Sea

There is serious dispute on Dokdo(竹島; Takeshima) between Korea and Japan with territorial issue. Korean Dokdo which is called presently Takeshima was called as Matzushima(松島) until Edo era by Japan, and Ulleungdo in Korea at the east-north of the Korean Dokdo was called Takeshima or Iso Takeshima in Japan. However, there was confusion during Meiji Period(1868~1912) by calling Takeshima(Ulleungdo) as Matzushima and Matzushima(Dokdo) as Takeshima. There was an investigation by Japan about the reason of the confusion after the early Meiji era but no result for the cause.

Tayasu Kyoketsu(田保橋潔) mentioned after the establishment of modern study about the confusion of the name in his paper "Ulleungdo, finding and possession"(*Cheonggu Hakchong*; 靑丘學叢 3, Feb. 1931) and "About bout theUlleungdo", ((*Cheonggu Hakchong* 4) but no good result. However, the main fruit of the study was started by Akiok Takejiro(秋岡武次郎)'s 「Matzushima in South- no gSea of Japan and Takeshima」(*社會地理* 7, Aug. 1950)Howeverawakouierenjo(川上健三)'s *Histo-higraphical Study on Takeshima*(1966) on the basis Akiok Takejiro(秋岡武次郎). The performwect thehis study concludedggu Hathe confusion of the island was caused by Siebold's error. The mwjor content of the paper is as follows.¹⁶⁾

Galaup de la Perous from France first found Ulleungdo in 1787 and named Dagelet island after Lepaute Dagelet the first founder. In 1789, a English James Colnett found this island also and named Argonaut island after his name. But, the latitude and longitude of the island the two people la Perous and Colnett surveyed was different. So different maps from Europe were introduced which showed two islands, Argonaut island was closer to Korea and 'Dagelet island' was closer to Japan. But the two islands were one Ulleungdo.

In those situation, Holland Doctor Philipp Franz von Siebold published a map in 1840 after his duty in job from 1823 for 7 years at Nagasaki(長岐 出島) Japan and return to homeland. Recognizing the two islands such as between Oki island and Korea peninsular in various Japan map of Europe, which showed closer distance to Japan as Matzushima(Dokdo) and another closer to Chosun Takeshima(Ulleungdo), Siebold inscribed two islands name of Dagelet island as Matzushima and Argonaut island as Takeshima. This was the beginning of the mistaken naming of the two island.

After then, a Russia Navy Ship Pallada surveyed location of Ulleungdo in 1854 and found Ulleungdo latitude and longitude by Colnett's Argonaut proved wrong and Argonaut island in map of the Europe marked in dot line or as 'nicht vorhanden' island and 'Argonaut' was disappeared on the map.

Present Takeshima(Dokdo) again informed to Europe as France Whale ship Liancourt found it in 1849 and named as 'Liancourt island' but Captain Charles C. Forsyth of British ship Hornet in China troop also surveyed this island in 1855 and listed as 'Hornet rocks' in England ocean

16) Contents of island name confusion was cited in summary from Kawakai Kenjo(川上健三)'s *Histo-geographical Study on Takeshima* (Koginsyoin, 1966). So all the phrase were not cited.

map. So, sometime of this period, three islands temporarily as Argonaut, Dagelet, and Liancourt(or Hornet) were marked in the maps which was produced in Europe. However, most of maps produced in Europe marked Dagelet or Matzushima, Liancourt or Hornet two islands were inscribed.

In Japan before Meiji era, Ulleungdo was called as Takeshima), and Dokdo as Matzushima. But the short of knowledge by Europeans especially naming Dagelet island as Matzushima by Siebold confused Japanese. However, the Japanese people in Sanin(山陰) district who had kept close relationship with Ulleungdo and Dokdo called traditionally Ulleungdo as Takeshima and called Dokdo as Western people named 'Liancourt' as Japanese style of pronunciation of 'Liyanco Shima(or Lianco Shima, Ranco Shima)' than Matzushima.¹⁷⁾

Expressive raising problem among Japanese government on confused Takeshima·Matzushima name was in 1876(Meiji 9) at a suggestion of <Intention of Matzushima Cultivation> by Muto Heigaku(武藤平學) to Japan MOFA. Muto Heigaku came from Mutsu-no-kuni(陸奥國) and traveled Nagasaki and Vladivostok Russia many time during 1873 and 1874, when he found 'Matzushima' with no residents but abundant products in the island and suggested a policy of Matzushima cultivation to Sewaki(瀬脇) who is the Japanese Trade Official in Vladivostok as following.

A Suggestion for Matzushima Cultivation¹⁸⁾

Sir, report to the authority concerned. (skip in the middle), it is my royal presentation of opinion for the development of nation but keeping silence should not be also out of duty, which concern about 'Matzushima' island in the Northwest of our nation. I have been traveled from 2-3 year ago to Vladivostok of Russia and could see the island every time in far distance. Though a small island but it could help our empire and need more pay attention than Ogasawara islands in the south in my mind. There was no house or agricultural land. Naturally I thought about some of foreigner might conquer the island that I couldn't have worried about it. Already I've heard that some of foreigners came to cut the lumber and shipped to transport and I suggest with brief report.

'Matzushima' at the north of our country is size about 20-24km north-south, and East-west 8-9km as an isolated island where have no house of resident. This 'Matzushima' and Takeshima is all the in the midst of Japan and Chosun, Takeshima is closer to Chosun and 'Matzushima' is closer to Japan. The North-west coast of 'Matzushima' is high cliff and nobody can approach other than bird. And the southern coast is lower from the mountain

17) Kawakami Kenjo(川上健三), *akeshima no Rekishi-chirigaku-teki kenkyu-Histo-geographical Research on Dokdo-Takeshima* koginsyoin, 1966.

18) Kitazawa Sei sei(北澤正誠) "A suggestion on Matzushima Cultivation", *Takeshima Proof II*, No. 8

range to compose a small field and wide water fall at the little lower part of the peak make possible to cultivate the island. Also, there are small bays somewhere to anchor ships. Furthermore, the island is covered with pine trees and mine too.

American Mr. Gopell who resided in Vladivostok said, "I have heard one island belong to Japan named 'Matzushima' and no Japanese cultivated. If Japan yielded the island to foreign country territory, Japan would give the jewel to the other country. Originally there was mine and big lumbars and can fish as well as trees to burn which is abundant interest for me that I can make huge profit every year if Japan lend me the island.". I considered and found there were more of cutting lumber or fishing but we can introduce Mr Gopell if necessary. (skip) I only want to cut the big lumber to export to Vladivostok where opened big harbor lately or to Shimonoseki harbor to sell it for profit, and if possible, I can develop mine by immigrating farmers or fisherman to the island to cultivate the island to make it as Empire possession, which will promise profit for the nation.

As treaty is effective with Chosun who should open harbor near Hamgyeongdo province to exchange, then the 'Matzushima' will be an important island on route of the sailing. Moreover, if we short of water and energy by the storm during the voyage, the island will be adequate and convenient place to supply and anchor. Also, the Vladivostok harbor will prosper day by day and this island need a harbor and light house for the convenience of the ocean ships to trade and supply water or energy around the countries. If so, every country's sailor will be affected by the virtue of Japan Empire after return safe and can be getting two off with one stone which have sympathy for the outside and get interest for inside the country. There are many drifters in Japan and Chosun every year so help by sneaking will enhance mutual friendship between two countries and foreign countries by enhance benefits of them which will induce esteem to our Empire. I want this island could be cultivated for farmers and fisherman to produce. I have been traveled from 2-3 year ago and thought about the cultivation in my mind. Especially, in November Meiji when I sailed to Vladivostok, the ship have met the storm at the south of the 'Matzushima' island at night but could not see and everybody were so dreadful if they crash to the island and snow or rainfall with wind at night was painful but only sighed. We eagerly request to facilitate a lighthouse promptly.

July Meiji 9 Muto Heigaku

The 'Matzushima' in the Muto Heigaku's 'A Suggestion for Matzushima' was Ulleungdo after serious debate, that is former Takeshima. And the result of the investigation of 1883 warship 'Tenjo(天城)' clarified the problem Matzushima was Ulleungdo. In conclusion, most of the maps published by government including Japanese Navy's Hydrographic Department's 「Nishikan koro ritei ichiran ryakuto(日支韓航路里程一覽略圖)-Japan Korea Sailing Route Map」 which was estimated to publish at the same year with 「Chosen-zento(朝鮮全圖); Whole Korea Map」 published by Ministry of General Affairs in August 26, 1882 inscribed Ulleungdo as 'Matzushima'. Interestingly enough, there was conflict between Japan and

Chosun at that time with the problem of cutting lumbars at Ulleungdo by Japanese from 1881 and Chosun government dispatched Lee Gyu-won as a delegation for the inspection and cultivated the island as well as requested Japanese government to withdraw Japanese in the island. At the end, Japanese government prohibited Japanese sailing to Ulleungdo in March 21, 1883, and the 'Official Letter' mention "Japan government prohibit Japanese sailing to Matzushima; Takeshima(called Chosun as Ulleungdo) or land by the decision and order of our government to every ministers."

There was serious debate among Japanese but Japan government recognized Ulleungdo was originally former Takeshima, and Matzushima was Dokdo that is Liancourt Rocks(Hornet Rocks). The contents of the debate was that if Matzushima was Ulleungdo, it was definitely Chosun territory and it could break out a problem when dispatch warship to investigation, and also raised issue to discuss if Dokdo(Matzushima) was Japan territory or belonged to Chosun's Ulleungdo. Why Japan named Ulleungdo as Matzushima though it was proved obviously Takeshima If so, it should break out a problem in spite of the name of Dokdo(originally called Matzushima might confused finally.

Dokdo(Matzushima) name was called as simply 'Liancourt island', 'Menelai se(瀨)', 'Oriuch se(瀨)', 'Hornet islands' as same as foreigner call without Japanese name, and fishermen of the period of Oki(隱岐) called it as 'Lanko Shima' 'Ranco Shima' as abbreviated Japanese pronounce of Liancourt¹⁹⁾

However, to discuss and necessity of clearance for the annexation of the island under the 'Theory of Prior Occupation of Ownerless Land' to Oki district governor(隱岐島司) in November 5, 1904, the general officer responsible of Shimaneken(島根縣) asked a reply about the name of the island to the governor of Okinoshima(隱岐島司) and Oki district governor(隱岐島司) sent an answer letter as

Document No.Two 152

About the consultation concerning this month 5 on No.1073 titled island belonging etc. there is no problem to annex the island into our territory and the name could be Takeshima. Originally there has been names such as Matzushima and Takeshima at the east of shima aby tongue and people who trip to the island call the Ulleungdo as Takeshima but in reality i islaMatzushima by the sea map obviously namere is no other Takeshima island except this new island and chang rehe fornginwrong titled name to Takeshima as granted. Wait your reply.

19) Kawakami Kenjo(川上健三), *akeshima no Rekishi-chirigaku-teki kenkyu-Histo-geographical Research on Dokdo-Takeshima* koginsyoin, 1966.

Someone interpret this Okinoshima Governor(隱岐島司)'s responding letter of November 15, 1904 indicating wrong name of Ulleungdo as Takeshima was because of misunderstanding of historical stories²⁰⁾ but the case for the Okinoshima Governor(隱岐島司) is not the case of misunderstanding. When we examine the book *Okishi(Oki Story Record) 2nd* No. 49. written by Koizumi Norisada(小泉憲貞) in 1903,

Takeshima is small island which belong to Chosun Gangwondo at the west of Matzushima and the round is about 4 km and about 75km far from mainland Chosun and 185 km from Our Oki Kuni(隱岐國), and distance to Matzushima looks 75km. Takeshima is belong to Chosun territory and not related our Japan.

and the fact prove to call Ulleungdo as Takeshima, and Dokdo as Matzushima. So the opinion on the misunderstanding of historical story by the Governor on the islands could not be accepted.

And it is a distortion of historical fact that Japanese publication never named the Dokdoisland but simply called as 'Liancourt island', 'Menelai se(瀨)', 'Oriuch se(瀨)', 'Hornet islands' as same as foreigner call without Japanese name, and fishermen of the period of Oki(隱岐) called it as 'Lanko shima' 'Ranco shima' as abbreviated Japanese pronounce of Liancourt as if Japanese never called Dokdo as Matzushima.

'Matzushima' name was definitely called among Japanese for Dokdo. It is an intention of Japanese government of Shimaneken distorting the fact as if the two islands of Ulleungdo and Dokdo were founded by Europeans and named Ulleungdo as 'Dagelet' and Dokdoas 'Liancourt island' or fishermen of the period of Oki(隱岐) called it as 'Lanko shima' 'Ranco shima' to submit the request socument of annexation of Dokdo(Liancourt island) by Nakai Ysaburo in 1904, which mentioned Dokdo as 'Liancourt Rocks' to emphasize the unknown island saying 'Matzushima and Takeshima at the east of Chosun by tongue' and assume 'There is no other Takeshima island except this new island and change the former wrong titled name to Takeshima as granted'. The intentional naming 'Takeshima' to Dokdo was suspected to annex the island if the island was belonged to nobody as Europeans found it and named it. It was assumed to be the result of the discussion on Muto Heigaku's <A Suggestion for Matzushima Cultivation> to name for Ulleungdo but there was opposing opinion the Dokdo in the name of Matzushima could be attached to Ulleungdo Chosun so Japan intended to

20) Kawakai Kenjo(川上健三)'s *Histo-geographical Study on Takeshima* 1966.

change name from Liancourt rocks to Takeshima.

But, why Japan named Ulleungdo as Matzushima even there was traditional indication Takeshima was Ulleungdo after the discussion of Muto Heigaku's <A Suggestion for Matzushima Cultivation> to submit Japan MOFA in 1876(Meiji 9)? When Muto Heigaku submit the suggestion for Matzushima Cultivation, he traveled to Vladivostok for 2, 3 years and said 'everytime watched from distance' and American Gopell said "I have heard one island belong to Japan named 'Matzushima' and no Japanese cultivated." The same year, merchant Saito Shichirohei(齋藤七郎兵衛) who visited Vladivostok for business also submit a petition for the cultivation of 'Matzushima' as naming 'Island Matzushi Emperor' and wanted to explore for lumber and abalone to sell it Vladivostok or Shanghai China, saying "Especially this island is located close distance from Russia and Chosun coast and it better to ascertain power to other foreigners pay attention of 'and annex it.'"²¹⁾ They saw the news heard about the island(Ulleungdo) from foreigners and wanted to cultivate as Japanese territory but some 'Matzushima' already had arrived and abalone to illegally cut trees making a signboard 'Matzushima' also 'Matzushima' Matzushima Vbetty-established in Feb. 13 Meiji 2(1869)treeIwasaki Tadateru(岩崎忠照); 日本國 松島槻谷 明治二年(1869)二月十三日 岩崎忠照 建之'm foreigner today of in 1882 from Chosun as naming 'dispatched Lee Gyu-e as agent for the regular trade 'and cultivated Lee Gyu-e as well as one of 'Matzushima' as naming 'Takeshima' in the Lee Gyu-e. Lee Gyu-e then chose the signboard at the same road Matsuhore on the way from Jangjakji-e (長斫之浦) to Tonggumi(桶丘) where he met 141 Chosun people and 78 Japanese, where he found Mr. Jeon Seok-gyu have lived there for more than 10 year. Consider this fact, it is apparent that Japanese arrived at Ulleungdo surely recognized the island was Takeshima as Japanese call it. And why Japanese changed to call it in spite of those histories? It could be interpreted as Japanese know the prohibition to cross Takeshima(Ulleungdo) during Edo era admitting it as Chosun territory by 'Ulleungdo Dispute; 鬱陵島爭界(Japanese call this event as One Takeshima Matter; 竹島一件)' and one Japanese people Hachiuemon(八右衛門) was cut head by crossing and illegal trade at Takeshima(Ulleungdo), so they should make signboard 'Japanese Matzushima' to escape from punishment by Japanese government. Also Muto Heigaku recognizing the history should make an excuse to cite American

21) Kitazawa, Seisei(北澤正誠), "A suggestion on Matzushima Cultivation", *Takeshima Proof II*, No. 8

Mr. Copell's story by commenting Matzushima.

As a growing power of modern imperialism, Japan drove expansionism and attacked Taiwan(1874), signed exchange agreement Sakhalin[樺太]・Kuril[千島](1875), annexed Ogasawara[小笠原] islands(1876), and conquered Ryukyu[琉球](1879). Meanwhile, Japan made Chosun open to the world on the epoch of warship of Unyogo(雲揚號) event in 1876. In those situation, Japanese businessmen who sailed to Russia Vladivostok or East sea for fishing and commerce activity submit petition to cultivate the island as unknownorand and changed name of Takeshima(Ulleungdo) to ‘松島 (Matzushima-Ulleungdo)’ pronouncing find of new island of ‘Matzushima’ as Japanese property to get the permission from Japan MOFA, and Japanese government defined Takeshima as ‘Matzushima’ assume to occupy Ulleungdo. This is confirmed by pronounce of the Head of Japan MOFA Public Division(公信局長) Tanbe Taiichi(田邊太一).

As I heard ‘Matzushima’ was named by our people and in fact belong to Chosun's Ulleungdo. It was clearly proclaimed that Ulleungdo eternally belong to Chosun during the last government with several document exchange between two countries by the history record as promised. If we dispatch official to the island to investigate, it would be same as a greed to acquire others property. Now, we could only start exchanges with Chosun but they are suspicious and worry to us but make another crack between two countries would make hard for the diplomats. Though someone want to cultivate the island but we should not do this action. And it is not obvious if the island is vacant or belonging was not decided, so we'd better to dispatch a warship of navy troop to the island with surveying technician and developer for the products, and clarify the ownerless to consider the interest of cultivation and report the circumstance to the government and we can cultivate the island even if the island is small but recognizing the importance as a northern gate of Japan, then have the opportunity cultivate it. So, the petition of Mr. Sewaki(瀬脇) should not be accepted.²²⁾

As we find here, the logic by Tanbe Taiichi(田邊太一) is contradictory because that despite the ‘松島(Matzushima)’ belong to Ulleungdo of Chosun but he said about waiting for opportunity to cultivate when 松島(Matzushima) land was proved to be ownerless, which is the same logic of greed as like ‘Wasted land[空地] could be mine when I take it.’ by Kitazawa Deisei(北澤正誠)'s logic. Finally, those logic introduced the pronounce of Shimane prefecture in 1905 for Dokdo inclusion as ‘Ownerless Land; 無主地’, which could be prolong the same logic as intentional change of island name from Takeshima to Matzushima.

22) 北澤正誠, "A suggestion on Matzushima Cultivation", *Takeshima Proof II*,

Japanese attempt to include the island into the Japan territory by changing name of island from Takeshima(Ulleungdo) to Matzushima (Ulleungdo) was ruined by dispatched Korean government official in Gangwondo to inspect and report about Ulleungdo investigation event of Japanese cutting limbers and selling to Russia and China through Wonsan and Busan harbor in 1881.

4. Conclusion

In famous novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Robinson saved a Caribbean named 'Friday' but the name was not original his name but Robinson named him despite of basic personal etiquette of asking name etc., but only Robinson met him on Friday of Christian Calendar. Following the situation Robinson named himself as "Master" not "Robinson" and teach "Friday" first word as "Yes" or "No". Europeans who have sailed to Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean during the Pioneering age named sea and island as they wanted. 'Sea of Japan', 'Dajelet', 'Liancourt Rocks' or 'Hornet'. 'Sea of Japan' name were well known to Europeans and they named it asurich 'Sea of Japan'. In 1855, British warship Hornet found Dokdo in East Sea and named it asuHornet island warning "It is very dangerous to sail to cross Sea of Japan to Hakodade". The European map of the period naming 'Sea of Japan' of the duced on the incorrect recogniti PioneAsia geo iaphy of the eia. Only they established on their recogniti PilevelioneAsia. So, various name of 'Sea of Japan' or 'Sea of ing "I" oere itifet d. It is wapag idea if someonehey namaps naming 'East Sea', or 'Sea of ing "I', and 'Sea of Japan' on various European , omaps in Korea or Japan and announce it to the newspaper or deliver the statistics to the public as new findings and justifying the correctness or wrong of the name. But it is not the truth. Also it is mistake not to relate those naming with Japanese Expansionism policy though name 'Sea of Japan' was established during the early 19th century by Europeans.

Furthermore, in case of how can we understand the original name of 'Ulleungdo' and 'Dokdo' case to call the former as 'Takeshima', the latter as 'Matzushima' and lose inherent name by European call name as 'Dajelet' or 'Liancourt Rocks'? If we know the Siebold's wrong recognized original name of 'Dajelet' as 'Matzushima' and 'Liancourt Rocks' as 'Takeshima', then we should call the correct name as original.