

Special Feature

Tracing Memories of Tauchi Chizuko:
Korean Memories of Historical Shame
and the “Japanese Mother of Korean
War Orphans”

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Introduction: At the Intersection of Political and Personal

A person's lived life is situated in a social milieu where the personal and the political intersect with each other (Mills 1959). The two domains interweave and interconnect the demarcations between social history and individual memory. This dynamic exchange validates personal narratives as crucial component of collective memory. Personal narratives serve and sustain the storied community (see Davis 2011). This article on the living memory of Ms. Tauchi Chizuko, the "Japanese mother of Korean War orphans," contextualizes her life and postmortem commemoration in the tumultuous Korea-Japan relations.

Japan's colonial annexation of Korea (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953) are the two definitive sources of historical shame in Korean memory. Schwartz and Kim (2002, 213) report that the majority of 57 percent and 25 percent of their opinion poll survey participants named colonial subjugation and the fratricidal war as most shame-provoking past events.¹ In a very similar subsequent questionnaire survey conducted in 2013, Kim (2014) finds striking continuity over the 10-year span. About 65 percent and 28 percent of the total respondents named Korea's loss of sovereignty to Japan and the inter-Korea war as the two major shame-provoking historical pasts.² The living memories of Ms. Tauchi Chizuko (hereafter, Tauchi) are located at the intersection of these two significant events in Korean historical perception. They, of course, differ in terms of the origin, trajectory and the outcome. And yet the differences carry little significance in our tracing of Tauchi's memories for

1. Out of the total sample population of 432, the majority of respondents at 57 percent (N=246) named the colonization as the shame provoking event followed by the IMF financial crisis at 50 percent (N=213), the Korean War at 25 percent (N=109), the wrong-doings of the ROK former presidents at 25 percent (N=106), clumsy construction projects at 21 percent (N=91), and the arrogant behaviors of big powers at 17 percent (N=72). As for the historical events that invoke sense of pride, the respondents named Korea's economic growth, the 1919 independence movement, the hosting of 1988 Olympic Games and 2002 World Cup Games, and the invention of Hangeul. The participants were asked to name three historical events in respective category (Schwartz and Kim 2002, 213).

2. Out of 582 total population, 65 percent (N=377) named Japan's colonialism, inter-Korean division including the Korean War at 28 percent (N=161), international power imbalance at 17 percent (N=99), and political corruption at 17 percent (N=98). The participants were asked to name three historical events (Kim 2014).

she lived through them as an accidental but active participant.

Inspiring figures are not rare, and most of them do not survive the erosive powers of time. Tauchi “did” what she “had to do” without giving much meaning to daily survival as mundane imperatives. Yet still her life stories connote “something” meaningful and worthy of remembrance in Korean memory. This article purports to find and analyze that “something.” What about her life that makes it worthy of remembering? Do the Koreans and the Japanese have similar commemorations of her life? If not, why and how do they differ? In the cliché of selective remembering and forgetting, what keeps Tauchi’s memory alive? How did her memory change over time and in what context? Is what we remember about Tauchi really about her life? Or is it more about our contemporaneous milieu?

Tauchi Chizuko, Her Life As Been Told

Tauchi (1912-1968) was a taciturn woman. She did not talk much, and did not leave much of written records. We know of her through newspaper articles, biographies, TV shows, radio programs, and a film. These are inevitably all post-hoc: she exists as a (re-)constructed persona in our (re-)constructed memory. Who was this Japanese woman known to have raised 3,000 Korean orphans?

The year 2012 marked Tauchi’s centennial. She was born on October 31, 1912 and died on her birthday in 1968. Japan’s national television station, NHK, aired a special variety show, *World Wave*, in 2012 which combined the on-going territorial disputes with Tauchi’s life story. The intended message was clear: the two countries share an inspiring episode from the past and should get on with the friendly spirit. She (re-)emerged as a symbol of bilateral reconciliation in the times of contentious politics. Below is a compiled and abridged summation of her life narrated by the important others. The source materials are: Moriyama Satoshi’s *Song of a Pearl (Jinju’eui Norae)*, *A Fool-like Mother (Omoni’nun Babo’ya)*, *Kimchi and Umeboshi (Kimchi’wa Umeboshi)*, and *Beautiful Heritage (Arumdaun Yusan)*. The contents of these narratives overlap to a degree, and yet the perspectives differ substantially per positionality. Moriyama’s book provides rich details of her life, while Chung’s biography portrays the life of a devoted Christian. The other two books by her son and daughter-in-law, Yoon Ki and Yoon Munji, are primarily about his own

childhood, and the second and third generations of social welfare services in Korea and Japan.

Relative Histories as Collective Memory

Historical recollections narrated by relatives (or significant others) mediate between individual memories and social history. This is particularly so for diasporic communities for their transnational experiences are out of sync with national history (Davis 2012). Tauchi was no exception to this for Japan's colonial rule entailed systematic and massive relocation of Japanese population to the Korean peninsula (Uchida 2011).

Tauchi was born in the Wakamatsu City of Kochi Prefecture in 1912. Tauchi and her mother, Haru, moved to the Korean peninsula in 1918 when she was 7 years of age.³ The move was to join her father, a colonial government official, in the port city of Mokpo in the Southwestern part of the peninsula. All her schooling took place in the Mokpo City where Tauchi benefitted from the privileged colonial education reserved for Japanese citizens.

Tauchi's encounter with Takao Matsutaro, a high school teacher, was a crucial momentum, for he instilled cosmopolitan Christian ethics during her formative years. She was alerted to the harsh colonial realities with religious compassion. The teacher's words clearly dealt with Japan's colonial brutality, Korea's victimhood, and the need for Japan to repent for the invasion. Tauchi, born, raised, and educated in the Christian faith developed a perspective very different from the dominant ruling ideology of "naisen ittai" (Korea and Japan as one).⁴ Christianity never prospered in Japan after its violent suppression in the 16th century. The Christian believers always have been the minority at less than 1 percent of the total population. Tauchi's Christian worldviews instilled at home and the school was indeed a rarity, and this explains her unusual life choices including marrying a Korean man of extremely humble origin.

In the spring of 1929 upon her graduation from high school, Tauchi

3. The suppression of Japanese Christian mission in the aftermath of 1919 March 1st Independence Movement did not seem to have dispelled the Tauchi's Christian faith in Korea (Takayoshi 1979).

4. The literal meaning of "naisen ittai" is the sameness of Japan and Korea. In reality, however, it was translated into Japan's integration (or homogenization) of Korea on its terms.

began her work as a music teacher at the Jungmyung Girls' High School. After 3 years of teaching, she developed an ovarian cystic tumor, and underwent a surgery that required a prolonged period of hospitalization. She spent many hours reading the Bible for consolation during the difficult moments. Upon recovery Takao suggested Tauchi to volunteer at the orphanage located at the City's periphery. She began teaching the Korean orphans music and the Japanese language. The facility, Gongsangwon, was run by Yoon Chi Ho, an evangelist, known as the "leader of beggars."

Chi Ho and Tauchi got married in 1938. He was 29 and she was 26 years of age. Chi Ho already had a daughter and a wife from the previous arranged marriage, a customary practice of the time. Whilst their inter-ethnic and cross-social strata marriage produced hostility and contempt from the local Japanese community (Uchida 2011),⁵ it became the talk of the town drawing indigenous Koreans' curiosity. The couple produced 4 children together.

Japan's defeat in 1945 brought about the harsh reversal of reality for the Japanese living in Korea. In the post-liberation chaos, the couple became the target of anti-Japanese campaigns. The Korean neighbors came to their defense when accused of pro-Japanese collaboration at the people's court. This, however, could not stop the persistent harassments and threats launched against Tauchi, and she decided to return to her mother's house in the Kochi Prefecture in 1946. Their three children went with her.⁶ After living in Japan for two years, they returned to her husband in the Gongsangwon in 1948.

This return to the orphanage was another defining momentum in Tauchi's life. She started a new life in liberated Korea. She never again uttered a word of Japanese language, and began wearing traditional Korean costume (*chima-chogori*) in daily life. She also changed her name from Tauchi Chizuko to Yoon Hak Ja. Her motherhood also changed. She put her own children in the orphans' compartments and began treating them equally with the rest of the children at the orphanage. Only two years after her return to the peninsula, there awaited another challenge to the family.

5. Promotion of inter-ethnic marriage was the Japanese government's policy. It was called "Inside-Chosun wedding" (*naisen ke'kon*). There was annual average of 50 inter-ethnic marriages during the colonial era (expert interview, April 29, 2013).

6. A fourth child was born after her return to Mokpo in 1948.

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 cemented Tauchi's lasting role as the "Mother of Korean War Orphans." And it came with a personal tragedy. When the city of Mokpo was under the control of North Korean Army, the Tauchi couple was put on summary trial as pro-Japanese anti-revolutionaries. Her Japanese nationality was the primary ground for the accusation. Tauchi appealed to the North Korean military that she alone should be blamed for any wrong-doings and her husband should be spared. The villagers again came to their defense, and they were spared of their lives.

Their safety did not last long in the unpredictable warfare. The couple, this time, was accused of being communist-sympathizers when the South Korean Army recovered the city in two months after the Communists' summary trial. Her husband, Chi Ho, was arrested by the South Korean Army and sent to the prison in 1950. Upon the release he went to the adjacent city of Kwangju in order to find food and other basic necessities for the orphans. The number of orphans was increasing day by day as the war was getting more violent. The Korean War was becoming an international warfare involving China and the US by then.

Chi Ho never returned to the Gongsangwon from the trip. The last eyewitness saw him leaving the inn late at night in the company of 3-4 young men. Nobody knows what happened to Chi Ho since that night. Only speculations remain. One scenario is that North Korean soldiers engaging in guerrilla attacks kidnapped and killed him. Another scenario says that he was shot by the South Korean army for they regarded him as Communist collaborator. Tauchi's husband went missing without leaving a trace.

Tauchi now had no other choice but to take care of the orphans on her own. During the 3-year war period (1950-1953), she provided a shelter and other basic necessities to the thousands of Korean War orphans. Her life was changed from an assisting spouse to the "Japanese mother of Korean War orphans" thus began. This was an unexpected, unplanned transition, and Tauchi took it in a stride.

Management of the Gongsangwon changed hands during the war period. Her foreigner status prevented Tauchi from legally assuming the directorship, and she asked Chi Ho's ministerial colleague to act as the orphanage's director on her behalf. As the Korean War brought about many unprotected children, substantial amount of foreign aid began to funnel into the society primarily through the US government and Christian missions. The relief programs

delivered more of basic goods to the orphanage with some of it in cash payment per head count. The increasing amount and types of aid programs poisoned the trusting relations between Tauchi and the ministerial colleague. The latter tried to take over the orphanage by deceiving the children into the facility he hastily assembled without Tauchi's consent. The introduction of relief programs fueled different kind of greed amid the fratricidal bloodshed.

With the challenges and betrayals unfolding, Tauchi's work began to receive attention. Recognitions and merits were awarded by the local and central governments of Korea. The Japanese government joined Korea by awarding her of merits in 1952 and in 1969. Tauchi passed away on October 31, 1968, on her 56th birthday.

Four Defining Momentums in Memorializing Tauchi

Memory is never constant. It often grows, flourishes, dwindles, and dies out. A memory, however, does not have a prescribed life cycle or even an orderable life stages. Some pasts hold out longer than others, while others reach us without prior warnings. Living memories of Tauchi had four momentums: her death and funeral in 1968; the film and its controversies in 1997 and 1998; Yoon Midori and Prime Minister Obuchi's plum trees in 2008; and her centennial in 2012.⁷ The mnemonics were riding the tides of temporal milieu crafted primarily by commemorative agents.

Periodic resurfacing of Tauchi's memory can be explained by the workings of commemorative media and agencies (Kim 2013). A media analysis of TV shows, radio programs, newspaper, and magazine reports have been creating, embellishing, and sustaining Tauchi's symbolic images in popular memory. Her son, in particular, is at the center of meaning-seeking and meaning-giving activities to his mother's life narratives. The media and the agencies have been

7. The author compiled and tallied newspaper and journal reports on Tauchi and her family members during the first field trip to the Gongseangwon from April 10, 2013 until April 12, 2013. Although not exhaustive, I found 58 and 46 reports in Korea and Japanese languages on *The Apocalypse of Love* (1995-1998); 28 and 16 reports on Yoon Midori (1998-2001); and 17 and 20 on Tauchi's centennial (2012).

feeding each other in their reenactment of Tauchi's symbolism thus keeping it alive.

The Funeral (1968)

Tauchi collapsed on October 19, 1967, and could not recover from it. The diagnosis was lung cancer. After spending one year in sick bed, she passed away at the 56 years of age. The city of Mokpo organized its very first "Citizens' Funeral" for Tauchi. About 20,000 citizen mourners and 200 Gongsangwon graduates attended to pay tribute to the deceased. The local newspaper reported that "[s]adness-stricken City of Mokpo holding its first citizens' funeral... the entire city wept. The mourners along with the orphans cried together" (Moriyama 2012, 291).⁸ The funeral also drew national media attention which described the solemn and somber funeral atmosphere with the headline "[i]n the company of 30,000 mourners..." (*The Daily Chosun*, November 3, 1968: 7).

Such public mourning was not a happenstance: she was admired and respected by those nearby and afar. The neighbors came to her defense amid the post-liberation chaos and the Korean War persecutions. The citizens of Mokpo knew of the Japanese woman pushing the food cart to feed the Korean War orphans. The South Korean Minister of Health and Welfare commanded her for the selfless social service in 1952, a remarkable timing with the Korean War ferociously unfolding (Pierpaoli 2013a). The national government of South Korea acknowledged her work again in 1963 with an Order of Cultural Merits followed by the Mokpo City's First Citizens' Award in 1965. The funeral was a public commemoration of spectacular affect to the humble life of Japanese Mother of Korean War orphans.

8. The expression of "the entire city wept" has a special resonance with the city of Mokpo. In the early 1940s during the colonial era, a song, "Tears of Mokpo" (*Mokpo'eui Nunmul*) became very popular in Korea. The first two lines of 2nd stanza, "[h]is trace is still lingering below the Nojuk Peak of 300 year-long sorrow, what a heart-breaking symbol" (*Sam'bak'nyun Wonhan'pumun Nojuk'bong Mitte / Im'jachui Waryonhada Mokpo'eui Nunmul*). This song still plays at the Mokpo Train Station.

The Apocalypse of Love, a Film (1997-1998)

Tauchi's memory lapsed into oblivion until the release of a biographical film, *The Apocalypse of Love*, in 1995.⁹ Her son, Yoon Ki (Japanese name: Tauchi Motoi), became the director of elderly care facility in the Osaka Prefecture, A Hometown House (Furusato'no Ie), and managed to raise 200 million yen to produce the film. The film drew about 1 million Japanese viewers and entered 7 film festivals. The public was receptive to the dramatic and touching life stories of Tauchi. Japan in the pre-bubble bursting era was looking for inspirations that went beyond rampant materialism, and *The Apocalypse of Love* reached the audience with the messages of unconditional love, self-sacrifice, and perseverance.

Unlike in Japan, the film was at the center of controversy in Korea not because of its contents, but because of its ideational ambiguity. The Korean government at that time was imposing import restrictions on Japanese cultural products for their "hedonistic" character. The funding, production staff, and leading actress were Japanese, while the director, leading actor, and children playing the orphans were Koreans. The collaborative film transcended national boundaries contributing to acute identity politics.

The major dailies of Korea began carrying opinion pieces advocating the change in the government's restriction policy. *The Daily Chosun*, for instance, stated that "*The Apocalypse of Love* directed by Kim Soo Yong is a Korean film by any person's standard." Han Unsa, a renowned script writer, wrote in his opinion piece that "[a] famous film critic seated next me during the film screening said, 'how could there be any problem in showing this film to the Korean viewers? How does this movie differ from any other Korean productions? I see no problem whatsoever in showing it to the Korean viewers.'" Another daily went further to claim it Korean by reporting that "[h]e [Yoon Motoi, the film producer] said in a very clear Korean pronunciation that 'I am having a hard

9. The Japanese government posthumously awarded Tauchi a decoration of merits in 1969. The author could not find any Korean news media coverage of this event, and that could mean two things: first, the Korean memories of her services were quickly fading away since her death in 1967; second, the Japanese government's recognition did not draw attention from Korea probably because of her Japanese nationality.

time understanding the reason why this film is banned in Korea.”

The changing bilateral environment was conducive to the appeals. In October 1998 the Korean President Kim Dae Jung (1924-2009 [r. Feb. 1998-Feb. 2003]) and the Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo (1937-2000 [r. July 1998-April 2000]) agreed to Seoul's relaxation towards the imports of Japanese cultural products. And *The Apocalypse of Love* was selected as the first Japanese film to be shown in Korea. Korea's first lady, Lee Hee Ho, attended the historical screening in May 1998.

Kim Soo Yong, the film director, articulated about its symbolic message by stating “[t]he Korea-Japan relations are intriguing because of the confrontational reality hidden beneath the peaceful surface. This film contains the wishes of Korean and Japanese film makers who have been trying to find ways to promote better understanding between the two countries. Our work domain is different from that of politicians. We wanted to improve the bilateral relations by making a film on Ms. Tauchi Chizuko.” The devoted commemorative agencies such as Tauchi's son and his supporters engaged in careful reading of the changing times, and revived the fading memories of Tauchi after 30 years of public forgetting.¹⁰

The Granddaughter, Yoon Midori, and Obuchi's Plum Tress (2008)

The 2nd and 3rd generations of Tauchi family make a tight and very extensive network of social service workers. When marrying Tauchi, her husband, Chi Ho, agreed to enter her Japanese family registry as the adopted son. This was a common Japanese custom to continue the family lineage when only a girl child was born into the family. All the four children of Tauchi and Chi Ho as a consequence are Japanese nationals. Tauchi's children and their spouses, and 12 out of 20 grandchildren are continuing the family tradition in social welfare work.¹¹ Yoon Rok (Japanese name:

10. Yoon Motoi (Korean name: Yoon Ki) has been the most active and vocal agency of his mother's memories. During the 30 years of silence and forgetting, he and his wife, Yoon Fumie, published an autobiography, *The Fool-like Mother (Omoni'nun Babo'ya)* recollecting his childhood memories and narrating challenges faced as Tauchi's successor in social work.

11. Little is known about Chi Ho's other families. His first wife and a daughter rarely appear both in written accounts and oral interviews. Their whereabouts could not be located. The third wife to whom he briefly married while Tauchi was gone to the Kochi prefecture from 1947 until 1948, and

Yoon Midori), the only child of Yoon Motoi and Fumie, came to the Mokpo City in 1998 to assume the 6th directorship of Gongsaengwon.

The 26 year-old single woman became an instant media sensation. Tauchi, her grandmother, and Midori arrived at the orphanage about the same age in their mid-twenties. Midori was a perfect bilingual who earned an advanced degree in Social Welfare from the U.S.¹² Midori was like a re-enacting of Tauchi Chizuko 70 years ago.

The Japanese media also paid attention to Midori, and NHK, Japan's public broadcasting company, allocated a segment of the program series, *Times of the Families in the 20th Century (20seki Kazoku'no Seigetsu)* to the Tauchi family. Midori's daily life at the Gongseangwon was its focus. The Tauchi family's segment was subtitled "Our 3,700 Children: Three Generations of the Tauchi Family, Walking Together with the Korean Orphans [Tauchi 3 Dai, Kankoku Koujito Itshouni Aruku]" (NHK BS Special, August 10, 1999). The program showed Midori's life as the unmarried Japanese mother of Korean orphans, her homesickness, daily challenges and the family history.

This program led the Gongsaengwon to then Japanese Prime Minister, Obuchi Keizo. Obuchi known for his pro-Korea stance made occasional calls to Yoon Midori at the Gongseangwon. His calls were about typhoon damages, encouragement to Midori and donation of plum trees to the orphanage. *The Daily Hankook* quoted Obuchi's remarks during one of his phone conversations with Midori: "the Japanese politicians cannot publicly express their guilt toward Korea. I am deeply moved by your important work" (*The Daily Hankook*, September 29, 2008). The wife of Mr. Obuchi continues goodwill for the orphanage. Mrs. Obuchi joined the 22-member Japanese delegation attending the Gongseangwon's 80th anniversary in 2008 (*The Daily Hankook*, October 8, 2008), and visited the facility again in October of 2012 (*The JoongAng Sunday*, July 29, 2012).

the daughter appear in *The Apocalypse of Love*. Chi Ho had thought that Tauchi and the children were not coming back from Japan, and married for the third time. Three of them and the children lived together after Tauchi's return, but the third Korean wife decided to leave the orphanage after watching Tauchi's devotion to the orphans. Tauchi went to the third wife in Seoul looking for Chi Ho after he went missing in Kwangju in 1951.

12. She was selected as one of the most 100 beautiful faces by the *KyungHyang Shinmun* in 2005 (http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=200504281539491&cocode=900310, accessed August 1, 2013).

The Centennial and World Orphan's Day Campaign (2012)

The commemorative agencies grabbed another momentum to commemorate Tauchi in 2012. The year marked the centennial of her birth in 1912 on October 31, and about 700 people including 100 visitors from the Kochi Prefecture attended the ceremony.¹³ One of her granddaughters, Chung Ae Ra, the current director of Gongsangwon, observes the declining interest in Tauchi's legacies as generations change (Interview, April 12, 2013). The centennial was another momentum to keep her memories alive, and Yoon Motoi thereby began a transnational campaign to promote Tauchi's legacies as the UN World Orphans Day (*The Kochi Shimbun*, November 1, 2012).

This campaign shifted the Tauchi's symbolic frame from the "Japanese Mother of Korean Orphans" to an advocate of universal human welfare. Yoon Midori writes in the *Centennial Report* that Tauchi aspired for the "orphan-less society" (Tauchi 2013, 2). And yet there is no record of Tauchi articulating such aspirations in her life time. The media, a willing purveyor, participated in the re-making of Tauchi's memories. The local television program, KBC's *Today's Live Show (Saeng'bangsong Today)*, for instance, aired a segment on the World Orphans Day campaign without any mentioning of Korea-Japan relations in 2012. The focus was instead exclusively on social welfare, volunteerism, and the centennial events.

This paper on the changing memories of Tauchi Chizuko aims to investigate the factors contributing to the shifts in popular memory. The disappearance of Yoon Chi Ho, the original founder of Gongsangwon, in 1951, demarcated the two principal periods of the orphanage: the founding era (1929-1951) and the hardships era (1951-1968) (Mokpo MBC Documentary, May 24, 1999). This periodization coincides with Tauchi's changing roles from the quiet wife-aid to the devoted relief worker-manager during and after the Korean War. This section analyzed the four momentums in Tauchi's memory: the funeral, the film release of *Apocalypse of Love*, Yoon Midori's directorship,

13. The estimation of attendees was much larger than the actual figure by about 20 times (see *Daedong Munhwa*, September/October, 2012: 116). *The Centennial Report* (2013, 19) states that the media coverage of the pre-centennial events were 18 and 9 in Korea and Japan respectively, and the post-event reports were 11 and 21.

and the centennial campaign.

In the commemorative sequels over 4 decades, the clever strategies employed by the commemorative entrepreneurs deserve a careful attention. The son and other family members attentively read and played into the changing socio-political milieu to keep Tauchi's memories alive. And yet this alone does not provide satisfying explanations in tracing Tauchi's living memories. The question we have to ask at this point is why the "Mother of Korean War Orphans" has become the "Japanese Mother of Korean Orphans." This puzzle is about the Korean memory (to a degree Japanese memory as well) which is still deeply ingrained in the colonial experience and the lingering residuals in precarious bilateral relations. And it stands as a contrast to the Korean War memories still contextualized with the Cold War rivalry, and the North-South and the South-South divides in the peninsula affairs. To answer the puzzle, the following section analyzes Tauchi's mnemonic symbolisms.

Tauchi as Symbol

The meaning-seeking activities of the past are primarily to serve the present needs. In order for an interpretation to resonate with the contemporary audience, the receptive social, political, and cultural mood is *a priori*. The mood and needs are not fixed into immobility as some of them can be precariously temporal, while others are on the continuum of time-defying traditions. The meanings assigned to Tauchi's life are no exception to this simultaneous co-existence of presentist and traditionalist mnemonics. I will introduce four primary symbolisms of her life in the following.

Japan's Repentance

Tauchi is a Japanese, a "different Japanese" to be more exact, from other Japanese to the Korean minds. Unlike the exploitative and ruthless colonialists, she was selfless, humble, and repenting. The Peace Broadcasting Company of South Korea, for example, aired a special program to celebrate the 65th anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japan in 2010. In a week-long series aired from August 3 until August 11, the radio company allocated 20 minutes of the daily news variety show, *PBC News and the World* (*PBC Nyusu'wa Saesang*) to the "Different

Japanese among the Japanese” (*Ilbon Sokeui Tto Darun Ilbon'in*). For its August 11 show, they reported on Tauchi’s work for the Korean orphans.¹⁴ The PBC stated their mission of the program like the following: “[t]his project is to unearth the conscious Japanese people who have been buried in the dark past, and to shed a new light on their contributions [to Korea and bilateral relations].”¹⁵

Tauchi was unlike her contemporaries, and her difference is often described by the vocabulary of “repentance.” Moriyama, the biographer, describes the dialogue between Mr. Takao, Tauchi’s high school teacher, and her immediately after the Kwangju Student Uprising in 1929.

Tauchi visited her teacher, Mr. Takao, and told him of her deep disapproval of Japan’s colonial policies as Christian. He responded “The foolish [Japanese] people! Chosun has 5,000 years of history and the rule by force will only produce forceful resistance.”...[He continued saying that] “Chizuko, I resigned from the church Reverend position to come to Chosun. I have been thinking about God’s will in this situation, and am feeling responsible as Christian. Let us pray for our homeland.” Tauchi along with Takeo prayed in tears. (Moriyama 2012, 46)¹⁶

In the film, *The Apocalypse of Love*, there is a scene where Tauchi apologizes to the angry Korean mobs who came to the orphanage to lynch her husband, Chi Ho, out of their suspicion that Chi Ho was a pro-Japanese collaborator. Confronting them, Tauchi cries out loud in accented Korean: “I repent for the Japanese sins. Please forgive me and spare my husband.” Chi Ho, the husband, became the target of anti-Japanese backlash in post-liberation chaos, and Tauchi was trying to save his life from the violent attacks.

Moriyama (2012, 109) connects Tauchi’s sense of guilt to her marriage decision to Chi Ho in *Song of the Pearl*: “[o]h, I can see it now. I may be of no use to him, but will accept his proposal. I want to repent for Japan’s sins.” Marrying Chi Ho meant many hardships for Tauchi: his devotion to the

14. The show program included segments on Huse Dasuji, Yamazaki Gesaya, Ganeko Humiko, Asakawa Dakumi, Yanagi Muneyoshi, and Ishikawa Takuboku.

15. On the backside of DVD cover for distribution.

16. During an interview with Yoon Motoi in Kyoto on July 1, 2013, he confirmed that the contents and descriptions in Moriyama’s biography are as factual as they can be.

orphans relief work; contempt and discrimination in the Japanese expatriate community; and no prospects for material and physical comfort. In the film, Tauchi talks to her husband about Japan's abuse of Koreans that "[t]hose Japanese people think so little of Koreans that God will never forgive them."

Tauchi as the repenting symbol appears in many other venues. In the CGN documentary, *The Mother of 3,000 Children, Ms. Yoon Hak Ja* (*Sanzen'nin'no Hana, Yoon Hak Ja san*), a narration goes: "[t]he work [helping the orphans] was her act of repentance towards Koreans" (09:33). In an interview with the current director of Gongsangwon on April 11, 2013, she says "[m]y grandmother believed that helping Chosun's orphans was a way for Japan to repent" (also see *The Daily Chosun*, November 10, 2012).

Tauchi's repentance symbolism soothes the Korean wounds. This is particularly so when considering Japan's general amnesia and historical contentions about the past. When Japan perceives itself either as the victim of the US atomic bombings or the benefactor of Korea's modernization, there is little room for repentance discourse. Tauchi fills this vacuum. Next is on the (re-)construction of Tauchi as bridge between Korea and Japan.

Tauchi as Bridge

A Japanese interviewee (July 25, 2013) advised me "not to expect many Japanese to know of Ms. Tauchi." This is regardless of the Tokyo government's commendations of her in 1967 and 1969. Memory fades, and that is a natural procession to forgetting. In this regard Tauchi has primarily been a Korean phenomenon. Her life stories dissipated quickly amid Japan's post-war economic boom. *The Apocalypse of Love* (1995) drew 1 million Japanese viewers, but the film's mark lasts as the first Japanese cinema imported for the Korean market. Attention to Yoon Midori was larger in Korea than in Japan as compared frequencies of media reports in the two countries suggest.

The 2012 centennial was different from the three previous commemorative moments. Tauchi's hometown of the Kochi City and pro-Korea leaders in the Japanese society began to show increasing interests in Tauchi's symbolism as a vehicle to mend the fences. This reflects the rising importance of Korea's status vis-à-vis Japan. The former colony has become strong enough for the colonizer to come to terms with, and it could utilize Tauchi's symbolism to strengthen the ties.¹⁷ NHK aired a travel program featuring Kang Sang Jung, a prominent

Korean-Japanese academic, on March 29, 2013. In the program titled *Kang Sang Jung Travels on Korea's Route #1 (Kang Sang Jung'ga Yuku Kankoku Route 1'no Tabi)* (NHK BS1 Special, March 29, 2013), Kang comments "I must visit one place in this city [of Mokpo]. This is the place where one Japanese woman tried hard to protect the orphans. And this was the place where the origin of Japan-Korea civilian exchanges began." Describing Gongseangwon as the "origin" is, of course, a rhetorical expression, for other precedents exist such as the Chosun Diplomatic Procession to Japan (1607-1867) and the arrivals of Korean settlers in the Japanese archipelago (5-6 centuries, AD). The "origin" expression nevertheless succeeds in accentuating the dark past between the two countries, and Tauchi's importance to strengthen the ties.

Tauchi's memory is reconstructed primarily as bridge, a very presentist paradigm, in Japan. In facing rapidly aging population, the Kochi Prefecture organized "Let's Learn from Ms. Tauchi Chizuko: From Her Loving Hometown" campaign in 2002. The nutshell emphasis was on the improvement of elderly care services (*The Kochi Prefecture Staff Project Proposal*, 2002). Ten years later in 2012, the Kochi City dedicated her statue for the centennial commemoration on November 10 (*The Kochi Shimibun*, November 10, 2012). In addition the city's Centennial Event Implementation Committee produced and distributed her biographical DVD to 114 local schools. The municipal community began quoting "Gongsaeng" (Living Together) from the orphanage's name to call for improved Korea-Japan relations (*The Kochi Shimibun*, December 24, 2012).¹⁸ The cities of Kochi and Mokpo signed a Friendship Agreement in the memory of Tauchi (*The Kochi Shimibun*, November 9, 2012). Japan's East Asia Studies Group's 2012 edited volume, *Those*

17. Her son, Yoon Ki, stated in the 42nd anniversary of her death in 2010 that "[v]ictims feel pain for a long time while perpetrators can move on quickly, sometimes avoiding responsibility. Ms. Tauchi Chizuko served as a bridge between South Korean and Japan. The government of South Korea presented Chizuko Tauchi with the Order of Culture under her Japanese name on 15th August, 1963, the first award to a Japanese woman. This was before the diplomatic normalization between the two nations. In reconciliation, perpetrators must admit their guilt by apologizing and the victims must forgive. By doing this, they mutually accept the relationship with an open mind and this, I believe, is how we can live together" (<http://www.city.sakai.lg.jp/ence/introduction/the2ndconvention/award/awardceremony/tauchi.html>, accessed March 15, 2013)

18. This is an ironical development. During and immediately after the Korean War, Tauchi managed to protect the name of the orphanage, her husband's invention, when faced the attempts to change it for its communist evocation. The word, "gong" (together 共), is also used in "gongsan'jyui"

who Served as the Bridge between Japan and Korea, included Tauchi as one of the leading figures for their cause.¹⁹ The Korean PBC radio program aired on August 11, 2010, remarked that “regardless of the state of affairs between the two nations, her life proves that friendships can be made at people’s level.”

The two Tauchi’s symbolisms, repentant sinner and bridge, are open to negotiations for their presentist paradigm. Tauchi’s mnemonic symbolism is also about two additional categories: cosmopolitan Christian and mother.

Cosmopolitan Christian

Tauchi was a devout Christian.²⁰ Christianity was never a popular religion in Japan, and the Kochi Prefecture, Tauchi’s birthplace, was particularly isolated from the three areas under Western-Christian influence: Sapporo, Yokohama, and Kumamoto (Ahn 2010, 301). The fact that the Tauchi family came to Korea with the religious faith and her religious exposure at the local school was a rare occurrence.²¹ This is specially so given Japanese Christianity’s evolution into war-supporting regime where female followers played active role for the fascist military government’s war mobilization efforts (Park 2012).²²

(communism 共產主義). Tauchi wanted to keep the name, “gongsaengwon” (A Place for Living Together) to keep her husband’s dedication to the facility. See “A small world” (*Koshakai*) in *The Kochi Shimbun*, December 24, 2012 (<http://www.kochinews.co.jp/?nwSrl=297031&nwIW=1&nwVt=knd>, accessed March 16, 2013); “100 Centennial of Mokpo’s Mother, Grassroots Movement to Strengthen Japan-Korea relations” (*Mokupo’no Haha 100nen: Nikan’no kusa’no gizuna’wo tsuyoku*) in *The Kochi Shimbun*, November 10, 2012 (<http://www.kochinews.co.jp/?nwSrl=295371&nwIW=1&nwVt=knd>, accessed March 16, 2013).

19. The bridging figures include Yi San-pyong, Amemori Hushu, Ahn Jung-geun, Yoo Jong-yeol, and Yoon Dong-ju.

20. Around the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919, the Japan Congregational Church had a membership of about 21,000, the Japan Christian Church about 24,000 and the Japan Methodist Church about 21,000 in Japan (Takayoshi 1979, 581).

21. Tauchi’s cosmopolitan Christian faith was a rarity for her gender as well. Yim (2009) reports that only 30 percent of Japan’s Christians are women and this is an anomaly compared to other societies. Yim cites three reasons for the reversed gender proportion: women under the patriarchy had limited exposure to the alternative religion; its peculiar youth-orientation making the Japanese Christianity a religion to grow out of; and high representation of the Samurai class (see Yim 2009; Nakamura 1997).

22. There were two camps in Japan’s Christian population during the war. The pro-war camp tried to receive social acceptance by reinterpreting the Bible that Japan’s war was to serve God, while the latter tried to keep the distance from the war believing in universal faith and peace.

One of the teachings in Christian faith is about egalitarian cosmopolitanism.²³ This worldview led Haru, Tauchi's mother, to approve her daughter's marriage to a colonial man. Moriyama (2012, 110) writes of Haru's words to Tauchi that "A marriage is not between nations. It is about the promise between a man and a woman. In God's land the Japanese and the Koreans are no different. We are all brothers and sisters. Trust and love will help you endure any hardships." The cosmopolitan faith paved the road for the rare inter-ethnic marriage.

This matrimony drew chauvinistic attacks from both Korean and Japanese groups. Chi Ho's evangelism and orphanage operation led to his arrests for 48 times. His faith was suspected to be subversive challenging the Shinto Emperor worship (Ahn 2010, 302-03). And his orphanage was accused of being a shameful proof of the colonial government's governance failure (Moriyama 2012, 67). Tauchi's circumstances became ever more precarious upon Korea's liberation. She "relied on the Bible for guidance everyday" (CGN 18:48), for "what she did was beyond human and it was possible only with her faith," (CGN 13:13) and "her strength was God's blessing" (CGN 18:08).

The Korean Christians are listing the Gongaengwon as a pilgrimage site.²⁴ Similar to Japan, Korea also has the history of brutal persecutions against Christianity. Unlike Japan, the number of Korean followers grew exponentially since its introduction currently at about 30 percent of the total population (Ahn 2010, 297-319; Kane and Park 2009, 369).

The commemorative entrepreneurs keep on portraying Tauchi as a cosmopolitan Christian in popular representation. Tauchi's biography written by Moriyama, an evangelical Reverend, has a forward written by Miura Ayako, the author of bestselling book, *The Freezing Point (Hyouten)*, another devoted Christian.²⁵ Her son and daughter-in-law published their autobiography, *The Foolish Mother (Omoni'nun Baboya)* (1985), as a religious testimonial. Tauchi's daughter-in-law, Humie, has written two autobiographical essay collections,

23. See Acts 10:34-35; Acts 17:26; Malachi 2:10; Romans 10:12 in the Bible.

24. There are 61 (un-)officially recognized pilgrim sites in South Korea (<http://cafe.naver.com/rkcia/103>, accessed August 5, 2013). Chung's 2003 biography of Yoon Chi Ho, *Beautiful Heritage (Arumdaun Yusan)* has the following subtitle: *A Story of Welfare Martyr, Yoon Chi Ho (Bokji Sungyosa Yoon Chi Ho)*.

25. Miura also wrote the script of the CGN Documentary, *The Mother of 3,000 Children, Ms. Yoon Hak Ja (Sanzen'nin'no Hana, Yoon Hak Ja san)*.

I Was Still an Orphan (*Watashi'mo Mata Kouji'datta*) (1983) with Tokyo's Christian Newspaper Press, and *One Lost Sheep* (*Hitsujiga Ippiki*) (1993) with strong religious messages. The CGN documentary succinctly summarizes Tauchi's identity as cosmopolitan believer: "love transcends ethnicity and national boundaries. In this day and age, it does not matter whether you are Korean or Japanese... the spirit of love compels us to help a needy human being" (23:56). These commemoration projects continue Tauchi's relief work, to keep her alive in popular memory, and to share cosmopolitan values within the Christian community.²⁶ In showing the cross-section between symbolism and historical momentum, Tauchi's faith was repeatedly emphasized during the centennial ceremony.²⁷

Mother

An interviewee (April 11, 2013) said "it is so strange that people keep on calling her 'mother' until today. This has nothing to do with biological relations. Just like the Gongsangwon orphans, the Mokpo citizens remember her as the 'mother.'" When Chi Ho proposed Tauchi for marriage, he asked her to become the "mother of the orphans" (Moriyama 2012, 100). Yoon Ki stated in his centennial address in 2012 that the Gongsangwon children did not see Tauchi as Japanese: she was their mother.

With the ending of World War II, things had turned around. My father, Yoon Chi Ho, was berated for being friendly towards Japanese, and my mother, Chizuko Tauchi, was bullied as the Japanese wife of a Korean man. The orphans stood against the bullies with sticks in their hands and tears in their eyes, and shouted "Don't you dare touch my father or my mother."²⁸

26. On the front cover of the DVD, *the Apocalypse of Love*, the running headline is "The history calls her neither Korean nor Japanese."

27. For example, see "The Mother of Korean Orphans' Mrs. Yoon Hak Ja, Emerging as the World Icon of 'Love and Peace'" (*Hankuk Goah'eui Omoni Yoon Hak Ja yosa, 'Sarang'gaw Pyonghaw'eui Saegae'jok Icon'uro T'o'orunda*) in *The Kookmin Ilbo*, May 15, 2012 (<http://news.kukinews.com/article/view.asp?page=1&g1Code=kmi&arcid=0006071741&cp=nvimi&arcid=0006071741&cp=nv>, accessed March 17, 2013).

28. <http://www.city.sakai.lg.jp/english/visitors/topics/sakaipeace/introduction/the2ndconvention/award/awardceremony/tauchi.html>, accessed March 15, 2013.

The Mother's Monument decorates the orphanage garden, and the inscription is read: "[t]he distance between the land and the ocean has disappeared. In our hearts, only mother's love remains."²⁹

In the NHK documentary, Yoon Ki said: "in her death bed, my mother told me that she neither had the ability nor the will to lead the Gongsae'ngwon. The job just fell on her, and she had no choice but to run the orphanage herself. She had to stay put at the orphanage waiting for my father to return. Then I promised her 'when father returns, I will run first to tell you.' She seemed so happy hearing that" (NHK BS1, August 10, 1999).

Tauchi was no feminist in contemporary sense. She was "just an ordinary woman who happened to have many challenging experiences" (Mokpo MBC documentary, *Time and People [Sidae'wa Inmul]*, May 24, 1999). She had to become strong under the circumstances, not by choice.³⁰ Tauchi's life trajectory was very different from her contemporary feminists such as Ichikawa Husae (Molony 2011), Yoshitake Teruko, Kishino Junko, and Kanamori Toshie (Loftus 2013). It also differed from the predominant Christian ethos supportive of patriarchal gender norms. Tauchi's work differed greatly from that of middle class housewife (Lee 2010). Unlike self-conscious, politically-oriented contemporary women of elite background, Tauchi was a shy and inarticulate woman who never saw her life in any possible form of political statement: her daily preoccupation was to feed the children and watching them grow. Tauchi was a mother.

Discussion and Conclusion

Life embeds continuity and ruptures. Tauchi lived through tumultuous era where personal life intersected intimately with social history. Transition from colonial era to the Korean War was as abrupt as the sudden arrival of liberation

29. This monument was dedicated to Tauchi's memory on May 8 (Korean Mother's Day), 1970 by the *Daily Kyunghyang*.

30. In a very rare written words of Tauchi, she reportedly wrote after Chi Ho gone missing: "I still cannot believe that he died. I still have the children to look after. Is it a good idea to shut the orphanage?" (NHK BS 1, NHK, *Times of the Families in the 20th Century [20seki Kazoku'no Seigetsu]*, aired on August 10, 1999).

on the Korean peninsula (Kallander 2013). How fair is it to recollect Tauchi as the “Japanese Mother of Korean Orphans?” Whilst the former part regards her ethnic identity and emotive affection, the latter part is about her work spanning across the Japanese colonial era, post-liberation chaos, the Korean War and post-Korean War period. And her biggest achievement was made during the Korean War period. To be more truthful to her contributions, an alternative epithet, probably a more proper one, should be the “Mother of Korean War Orphans.” Why does her ethnicity enjoy preeminence, whereas the memories of Korean War are pushed to the margins of popular memory?

Violence prey on the weak. Hwang Soon-won’s “The Game Beaters” (1948) describes the cold killing games the grown-ups play against the street kids, orphans. The vulnerable standing in the face of structural violence needs protection, and the levels of humanitarian engagements are an effective indicator of social consciousness. Ms. Tauchi Chizuko’s services to protect the Korean War orphans are a powerful example of humanity. Then why is she recollected and commemorated primarily as the “Japanese woman” who raised the Korean orphans? As we have seen, her most notable social services were rendered during the Korean War after her husband went missing. She managed the orphanage and kept it open from 1951 until her death in 1968 (Oh 2005).³¹

Tauchi was a woman of few words: she was a person of “deeds, not words” (Kim 1997). With no evidence on her own thoughts about her life experiences, Tauchi’s life is an open book. When asked about her nickname, Yoon Ki responded to me: “[t]hat started with the media. The name came from the Korean news media. If you prefer calling her by the ‘Japanese Mother of Korean War Orphans,’ all by means, please do so. It is your choice” (Interview, July 1, 2013). Yoon’s statement reveals his sophisticated understanding of memory politics: interpretive mnemonic frame is up to the eyes of beholder, and it can be divorced from the facts. Then what does this memory politics show about the Korean and Japanese societies on Japan’s Korean War?³²

In *The Apocalypse of Love*, Chi Ho cries out loud in despair: “[t]his world

31. According to Oh (2005), more than 4,000 orphaned Korean children were adopted by Americans between 1955 and 1961. The children were both mixed-race GI babies and non-mixed-race Korean children who were abandoned, lost or otherwise left without adults to care for them.

32. For a parallel investigation of American cultural politics, see Yeh 2012.

has gone mad. It is worse now than the colonial times...we were united and had dreams then. How come are we fighting against each other now? I know nothing about communism or capitalism. I just want freedom...why do we hate and try to kill each other?" His turmoil for having been accused of pro-Japanese collaborator, anti-communist revolutionary and pro-communist sympathizer was not an isolated incident. It resonates with the contemporary history of Korea. The colonial subjugation and the Korean War are two different sources of shame for the Korean mind. The former is about Korea's victimhood at the hands of the powerful, and the latter is about Korea's internal division resulting in the tragic fratricide.³³ The former tells us who to denounce, the external Other of Japan, and the latter holds our own selves accountable. If Korea's weakness were to be blamed for the colonial subjugation, the Korean War is about our dark impulses against each other. The nature and weight of pain differ in both cases. In this milieu Tauchi's Japanese ethnicity carries more weight than the content of her wartime contributions. Koreans need Tauchi as the Japanese, not for our war.

Tauchi means more for Korea than for Japan. Dealing with unrepentant and unapologetic perpetrator, Korea needs a symbol that is repentant, connective, compensating, and transcendental. Tauchi's selfless sacrifice has a powerful redeeming affect. This explains why Tauchi being Japanese carries more significance for her war-time services. The Korean War is not over yet with the 1953 Armistice still in effect. This unresolved conflict and its contentious legacies are much more complicated to sort out than those of colonial subjugation.³⁴ The Korean society is yet to engage in serious soul-searching about the war. The South had an enemy to fight, but who exactly was the enemy? The North Korean leaders? The North Korean people mobilized for the warfront? The Chinese Communist Party? The Chinese foot soldiers? Were the border-crossers of the 38th parallel betrayers or loyalists? Who should be responsible for the peninsula's division after the armistice agreement? The US

33. Both South and the North suffered from staggering damages from the war. North Korean military casualty records 294,151 dead and 229,249 wounded. Approximate 406,000 North Korean civilians also died. The total casualties at 10 million meant about 8% of the population was physically harmed during the war. South Korea also suffered 300,000 casualties with 70,000 killed in action (see Pierpaoli 2013a, 2013b).

34. This comparative statement is not to deny the controversies over collaboration among others.

and the former USSR? The Koreans themselves? Tauchi's memory is situated at the cross-section of colonialism and the Korean War, where the politics of memory grants a bigger and more organized meaning to colonial experience than to the fratricidal war.

Tauchi's Japanese ethnicity and the nature of her aid work during the Korean War creates a poignant contrast against her unrepentant homeland. Korean intrigue with her memories reflects lingering resentment, yearnings to forgive, and reconcile with the difficult past. Tauchi is a symbolic proxy which Koreans can rely on when felt belittled by the indifferent and arrogant perpetrator. This paper argues that the changing memories of Tauchi are a reflection of shifting socio-political milieu both in and between Korea and Japan. Continuing discomfort over colonial victimization relegates Tauchi's contributions to help the Korean War orphans to the margins of memory politics.

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Abstract

Korean historical memory is preoccupied with lingering legacies of the colonial era and divisive interpretations of the Korean War. A Japanese woman, Ms. Tauchi Chizuko, the “Japanese mother of Korean War orphans,” is commemorated at the intimate intersection of bilateral mnemonic politics and historical reconciliation. The daughter of a colonial master married a local man of humble origin, and continued to aid the socially underprivileged even after Japan’s defeat in WWII. Tauchi’s social services during the Korean War define her symbolic significance where a former oppressor was transformed into the repentant sinner. This article argues that Tauchi’s memories are closely connected with the dynamic memory politics of Korea-Japan relations: her symbolic representation as remorseful Japan and a possibility of Korea-Japan historical reconciliation.

Keywords: Korean War, Tauchi Chizuko, Korean historical shame, Japan-Korea reconciliation, Japanese mother of Korean War orphans, commemoration