

Kobe Emigrant [concentration]¹ camp

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The Cream Colored Building that Carved History

March 8, 1930. Rain on Kobe Harbor. It is a delicate, misty spring drizzle. The sea is shrouded in gray and the city has been as dark as twilight since the morning.

The first section of the novel *Sobo* starts with the above passage and ends with the scene of the La Plata Maru leaving Kobe Harbor. *Sobo*, the novel that first brought fame to Ishikawa Tatsuzo, consisted of three sections: "Sobo," "Nankai Kohroh (The South Seas Route)," and "Koe Naki Tami (People with no Voice)". Ishikawa traveled as a special third class passenger on the La Plata Maru to South America in 1930. He returned from South America on the Buenos Aires Maru. He published his novel five years later in 1935.



This work, which he based on his actual experience of travel by emigrant ship, was selected for the first Akutagawa Prize. The section in *Sobo* that received the prize was the first section that described the eight days during which immigrants stayed in the emigrant concentration camp.

If one walks toward the mountains on Kobe's Toa Road, he or she will see an old light cream colored building standing on piece of land that rises up on the left. Until quite recently, it was used for the Kobe City Doctors Association's Practical Nursing School. This very building, however, was once Kobe's emigration center and even before then, it was an emigrant concentration camp managed by the national government. This is the building that appears in *Sobo* as the "National Overseas Emigrant Concentration Camp" and it is where many

emigrants with dreams of the new land of Brazil spend several days waiting for their ships to leave Japan.

The nationally managed Emigrant Concentration Camp was completed on Yamamoto Doorii (the name of that street at the time) in Kobe in February 1928. It opened in March the same year. The five-story building is made of reinforced concrete and has a total

¹ We have been unable to agree on a suitable translation. "Concentration camp" is a literal translation, but that phrase is encumbered with too many connotations of genocide. "Staging camp" is too neutral, conveying none of the heartache or anxiety that emigrants experienced.

floor space of the building is 3570 square meters. The recorded construction cost was 237,500 yen.

The raised piece of land that the building sits on was once a cemetery and it was reported that human bones were unearthed when land around the area was being developed. During the peak of emigration, amidst the businesses that sold goods to take overseas were shops that specialized in tombstones. The Toa Hotel sprawls to the east of the property.

When Brazilian emigration peaked during the late 1920s and early 1930s, the building was hard pressed into service. The center was then given the stately name "Kobe Emigration Education Center," but not long after that, emigration decreased drastically due to the limitations on emigration imposed by the Brazilian government. The center remained largely inoperative until after the war.

The building found a second life in the post-war period as the Foreign Ministry's Kobe Emigration Agency when emigration to Brazil was resumed in 1952. The building was later inherited by the Overseas Emigration Agency (Kaigai Ijuu Jigyodan) and was renamed "Kobe Emigration Center." Until the center was closed in May 1971, aside from the years it had was largely inoperative, it had sent many emigrants overseas during its forty-three year history.

After the center closed, it housed the combined facilities of the Kobe Doctors Association's Practical Nursing School and the ?? Campus of the Kobe Municipal First Class Nursing Academy. It was later used only by the Practical Nursing School until 1993 when the school was relocated and the building became empty. This sturdy building, whose walls have been dyed with the departing emigrants' feelings and thoughts, was unaffected by the Hanshin Earthquake in 1992. It was used after the earthquake as a temporary quarters for the Kobe Marine Meteorological Observatory.

A stone memorial carved with the words "Birthplace of Brazilian Emigration" stands in front of the building's entry. Hyogo Prefecture, Kobe City, the International Cooperative Agency, and the Japan-Brazil Association erected the memorial on April 28, 1975 (which was the date that the *Kasato Maru* left port). The stone that was used for the memorial was sent from Brazil by the Hyogo Prefectural Association in that country.

The Period of Emigration Lodgings

Until the nationally managed emigration concentration center was built, the emigrants who came to Kobe stayed in one of the hotels near the seashore until their ships left port. These hotels were popularly known as "imin yado" or "emigrant hotels."

These types of hotels first appeared in Kobe when emigration to Hawaii and North America increased rapidly during the later part of Meiji. During the Taisho era there were eight such hotels concentrated along Kaigan Doorri Avenue, Sakaemachi Doorri Avenue, and Motomachi Doorri Avenue. Jiyukan, Imaizumi Ryokan, and Satsumaya

were on Kaigan Doori Avenue; Yamazaki Ryokan, Kobekan, Takaya Ryokan were on Sakaemachi Doori Avenue; Iwakuniya was on Motomachi Doori Avenue; and ?ya was on Kita Nagasa Doori Avenue. All of the hotels were wooden two- to three-story buildings and could house about 100 emigrants. During the Taisho Period, the price for an overnight stay with three meals at these hotels ranged from 1 yen 5 *sen* to 3 *yen*. For the emigrants, this was a steep price.

The emigrants were very busy during their stay in Kobe. During that time they had to obtain their passports (which they had to apply for in their hometowns or home prefecture's offices), purchase their boarding tickets, undergo physical inspections, get inoculated for diseases including typhoid fever, and have their baggage sterilized. They spent their days going to the prefectural offices, consulate general, hospital and harbor office (? *suijo sho*). During this time the emigrants could obtain their tickets through the emigrant hotels. The shipping companies designated the emigrant hotels as agents.

Medical and health related procedures were taken care of the emigrant hotels and the emigration companies. Without clearing these procedures, the emigrants could not obtain their passports or tickets. The nature of the physical inspections was different depending on the time period and on the destination, but the emigrants were generally checked for trachoma and hookworm. People who did not pass these checks had to wait at the harbor for several days.

Aside from taking care of these troublesome procedures, the emigrants also had to procure articles for the duration of their ocean voyage. For the emigrants, most of who were farmers, it was the first time that they experienced such arduous days. The perplexity of the experience taxed their bodies and minds.

Moreover, the expenses incurred during their stay were not insignificant. The following rough estimate by Osaka Shosen's for each emigrant's trip expenditures was given in the aforementioned *South American Route Guide* that was published in 1924: 1) 200 yen for ship passage to Santos; 2) 35 yen for a passage arrangement fee; 3) 15 yen for accommodations at port of departure (based on ten-day stay); 5 yen for stamp fee on passport; 5) 2 yen 70 *sen* for quarantine, disinfection, and vaccination; and 6) 60 *sen* for barge fees and hand carry luggage transportation fees. Since the starting monthly salary of a bank employee was 50 yen and white rice cost 3 yen for ten kilos at the time, we might be able to estimate comparable figure in present-day terms by multiplying those costs about 2000 to 3000 times.

The costs incurred until before boarding ship -- not including the ticket -- was roughly 60 yen. A family of four would have to spend 240 yen. The most expensive portion of this sum, the passage arrangement fee, was paid to Kaigai Kogyo. The ticket price was of course a large sum, but public subsidies to help pay for it were available (although there were periods when this subsidy was interrupted).

There were emigrant hotels in Yokohama as well. Yokohama became a departure port for emigrants when government contract labor to Hawaii began. Inns for people going overseas appeared when private emigration to Hawaii began after the Sino-Japanese War.

Names of hotels that operated in during the Showa period before the war that have been recorded include Matsuzakaya and Yokohama Hotel on Kaigan Doori Avenue; ??ya in Motohama-cho; Kinokuniya on Kitanaka Doori Avenue; Uezuya, ??ya, and Tsukuiya in Motomachi; Naganoya on Benten Doori Avenue; Kumamotoya in Aioi-cho; Kinryukan in Tokiwa-cho; Fukuokaya and Fukushima in Ouye-cho; Hiroshima Kurabu in Nomo-cho; and Ohmoriya and Tsudaya in Hanazaka-cho.

While Kobe functioned as the departure point for emigrants to Brazil, since Yokohama was the last port in Japan for ships on the North American route and the South American southwest route, there were many passengers who were headed for Hawaii, North America, and the west coast of South and Central America.

Fare for South American Emigrant Ships

While I mentioned that the fare to Santos was 200 yen, how did fares change in the pre-war period for South American emigrant ships from the Meiji onward?

At the end of the Meiji Period, while the ship fare for emigrants on the *Kasato Maru* was 150 yen per person, since the number of recruited emigrants did not reach the projected quota, the fare was raised to 165 yen. Also, as mentioned in the preface, the San Paulo State government provided a subsidy of 10 pounds in English currency (which equaled 100 yen in Japanese currency; 4 pounds of the amount was a cash advance) per person. The established custom was for the plantation owner to repay the cash advance amount to the State government and to deduct that amount from the emigrant's wages. The *Kasato Maru* carried mainly adults and there are no records to tell us the fare for children. To give us a general idea of what the fare might have been, we can look at the subsidy provided for children. The subsidy was 5 pounds for each child aged 7 to 11 (with 2 pounds being a cash advance) and 2 pounds for each child aged 3 to 6 (with 1 pound being a cash advance).

In the Taisho Period and during World War I, although Nihon Yuusen (NYK) and Osaka Shosen (OSK) established West and South American routes, during this time period, the emigration fare between Japan and Santos reflected the drastic rise in transportation costs that took place during the war and fluctuated from 230 to 250 yen. However, fares dropped after the war and settled at 200 yen per person. The aforementioned *South American Route Guide* published by Osaka Shosen records the emigration fare between Japan and Santos was 200 yen. Incidentally, general passenger fare was 774 yen for first class and 225 yen for third class. It was half price for children aged 2 to 9 and one-tenth fare for children less than 2.

During this time, the fare subsidies given by the San Paulo State government fluctuated and were sporadic. The subsidies were cut off in 1922 and after that the Japanese government provided each person with 200 yen for ship fare and 35 yen for processing

fees. During the time of *Sobo* in the Showa Period, first class fare was 835 *yen*, third class fare (special third) was 224 *yen*, and emigrant fare was 200 *yen* (for ships in the Santos Maru class)

Thereafter OSK and NYK kept the emigration fare for immigrants going from Japan to Santos fixed at 200 *yen*. This price did not change until the outbreak of World War II. The cost of living during the Showa Period up to World War II did not fluctuate. In fact prices dropped at the start of Showa and this was perhaps why ship fares remained unchanged for more than ten years.

It was in this general development of national Brazilian emigration policies that the Kobe emigrant concentration camp was opened in 1928 and a 50 *yen* per person public subsidy was made available as "preparation money."

Thus, the problem of excessive fees for staying at the port of departure was solved and the emigrants did not have to carry such a heavy economic burden. As a result, there were even some bold emigrants who arrived at the Kobe emigrant camp dressed in their regular clothes who, upon receiving, their preparation money, bought clothes and other personal items and used the left over money for spending money to use on the ship.

Nationally Managed Lodgings for Emigrants

The government's purpose behind building the five-story concrete emigrant concentration camp in Kobe in the Showa period was to lessen the economic burden on the emigrants by taking care of their lodging expenses and to ease their mental and physical strain by consolidating all the complicated procedures required for the overseas voyage. The emigrant processing at the point of departure was systemized by effectively implementing the necessary procedures and examinations in one unbroken sequence. Because the emigrants were freed from much of the burden that previous emigrants had to endure, it was possible to carry out the aforementioned orientation program by giving the emigrants the necessary emigration training and instruction.

In the background of this large scale emigrant camp was the inability of emigrant hotels to handle the increase in emigrants heading for Brazil after public funds were made available to pay for their entire passage at the end of the Taisho Period. In other words, the Kobe emigrant concentration camp was born out of the government's attempts to promote Brazilian emigration and was part of an overall national policy of encouraging emigration.

The organ that initially oversaw the emigrant camp was the Ministry of Home Affairs. However, the Commerce Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs became the main overseer of overall emigration operations at the time of the camp's opening. In general, excluding the pre-war years during the Showa Period, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had general jurisdiction over emigrants since Meiji.

On the other hand, *Sobo*, which is supposedly about the events that happened in the spring of 1930, describes the Department of Overseas Affairs as being in charge of

emigration operations. In actuality, however, when the Department of Overseas Affairs was established the previous year, it became the main organ in charge of emigration administration. The following year in 1931, the management of the emigrant concentration camp was also transferred to the Department of Overseas Affairs and in 1932 the name of the camp was changed to the Kobe Emigration Training Center. The reason for this was because the name "emigrant concentration camp" was associated with prisoner of war camps.

While the Kobe emigrant concentration camp mainly took care of emigrants going to Brazil, it also processed emigrants heading to other places when things were slow.

Right before the camp opened, the Ministry of Home Affairs announced:

For the time being, the overseas emigrants to be housed at the emigrant concentration camp should be those embarking from Kobe Harbor to go to the United States of Brazil. However, when housing capacity allows for it, emigrants leaving from Kobe Harbor for countries other than the United States of Brazil should also be housed.

Consequently, 50 rooms that resembled third-class compartments in an emigration ship were kept ready at the emigrant concentration camp. Each room had a capacity of 12 people. Therefore, the total capacity of the camp was 600 people. This number roughly corresponded with the third-class capacity of OSK's and NYK's South American emigration ships.

The rooms in the camp were Western-style rooms. Surrounding the middle aisle of the room, in which a long table with benches was placed, were 12 beds crammed next to each other. Because the beds were not bunk beds like on the ships, the rooms looked like a large hospital ward.

The cafeteria was on the first floor. On each table in the cafeteria were a rice tub, a large plate for pickled vegetables, and a tea container for eight people. The meals were frugal since only one side dish (such as *miso* soup for breakfast) was added to the rice, pickled vegetables, and tea.

The camp was also equipped with showers, wash basins, laundry areas, and warehouses. The interior of each facility, including the rooms and cafeteria, closely resembled the interior of similar



facilities in the third-class area of the emigrant ships. The exposed pipes that ran along the ceilings of the hallways at first glance reminded one of similar pipes on the ships. This detail was said to have been added purposefully to help accustom the emigrants to the insides of the ships.

Most of the emigrants were farmers whose lifestyles were not very different from their distant ancestors. On one hand, therefore, the emigrant concentration camp facilities were built for efficient housing of emigrants. On the other hand, however, they were also designed so that the emigrants could prepare themselves for the long voyage that they were about to embark on.

Everyday Vaccinations and Lectures

The facilities at the emigrant concentration camp were also largely designed to insure the maintenance of the emigrants' health. That is, the facilities had the function of health maintenance. Specifically, along with physical examinations and other health-related checks required by the countries of their destination, the emigrants were given the necessary treatment and inoculations needed for their journey.

Consequently, the camp was equipped with facilities that made it look almost like a hospital and had physicians on staff. Deserving particular notice was the appointment of a physician to be the director of the camp. The Emigrant Concentration Camp Regulations stipulated that "the position of director shall be filled by a medical officer." A doctor of *sonin* (appointee with Emperor's approval) rank was to be appointed director while doctors *hannin* (junior official) rank were to be appointed to other medical staff positions.

At the end of March in the first year of operation, there were 52 employees at the camp. Of this number, there were two medical officers (including the director), one medical officer's assistant, and a nursing staff of four. The organization was divided into four departments. Under the director were the general affairs department, accounting department, medical affairs department, and the education department. For a national undertaking, it was rather small in scale.

The facilities of the camp included an examination room, a doctor's office, a treatment room, a pharmacy, a scatoscopy room, a sterilization room, and a medical staff office. If the camp had an operating room, it would closely resemble a hospital. The hardware features of this building were no doubt a reason why it was converted to a medical-related facility after World War II.

Table 3 (p. 157)

Emigrant Concentration Camp Event Table (1929, Kanagawa Maru Emigrants)

Month/Day	Morning Events			Afternoon Events		
		7:30 -	9:00-	11:40	13:30 -	12:00-
	8:00		- 12:10	(fr 15:00 on 1 st day)	17:00	- 17:30

3/20		Phys. Exam./room assnmt	lunch	Director's message/	bath	dinner
3/21	Brkfst	orient. on. Items to prepare	"	Camp info./typhoid		
				Innoc./sign consular		
				documents		
3/22	"	Lecture on gen. condit, in Brazil	"	Lecture on gen. Cond.	bath	"
				in Brazil		
3/23	"	Vaccination/passport inspection	"	Luggage inspection		"
3/24	"	Lecture on gen. condit, in Brazil	"	Luggage sealing	bath	"
3/25	"	Typhoid innoc./Lecture on	"	Portuguese lesson		"
		Brazilian religion				
3/26	"	Portuguese lesson	"	Pass. fare accounting	bath	"
3/27	"	Cholera innoc./lecture on health	"	Women's class		"
3/28	"	Lecture on Health	"	Household head mtg.	bath	"
3/29	"	Roll call/director's message/ embarkation	bento			

Notes:

1. Baths are everyday during the summer. Movies and live entertainment were also provided during the emigrants' stay.
2. This schedule is for ten days and nine nights, but the usual stay was eight days and 7 nights.

From: Emigrant Camp Outline (Emigrant Camp, 1929)

Despite the implementation of such a thorough preventative health system, it is an irony of history that the first group of emigrants processed at the camp experienced a cholera outbreak on the Hawai Maru from which 17 people died. The cholera was brought on board while the ship was passing through Southeast Asia and was not the result of any carelessness on the part of the camp. (see page 142)

How did the emigrants spend their time in the facilities and organization of the camp? The Emigrant Camp Event Table above lists the daily schedule of the emigrants who left Kobe on the Kanagawa Maru in 1929.

From this table, we can see that their schedule included many health-related events. Their days were filled with physical examinations, vaccinations, and typhoid and cholera inoculations. Not included on the table was the test for parasites (done on stool samples). Cholera vaccinations were also done on board ship as well. Because they had never experienced any cholera epidemic in history, South American countries were especially fearful of the disease.

Along with cholera, Brazil was extremely strict regarding trachoma. To deal with this contagious eye disease, Brazil refused entry to people with serious cases of it and kept them in quarantine. Consequently, prevention and treatment was taken seriously in both the camp and on board the ship. According to the camp's statistics, during the year after its opening, the camp treated 2059 people, with about one fourth of this number being ophthalmic patients.

Of the 283 emigrants aboard Nihon Yuusen's Kamakura Maru that entered Rio De Janeiro in February of the year following the camp's opening, 19 were diagnosed with trachoma and were kept in isolation. The following month, of the 6000 emigrants aboard the Bingo Maru that reached the same port, 56 ere confined to isolation. From the two ships, 15 (13 from the Kamakura Maru and 2 from the Bingo Maru) had serious cases of the disease and were deported to Japan along with 21 family members.

Because of the circumstances, out of the people who submitted applications to enter the camp, a number were not allowed to emigrate after they were detected with trachoma at the physical examination given on their first day in camp. During the camp's first year of operation, 86 of the 13,198 people who were given physical examinations failed to pass. Eighty of these had serious cases of trachoma. It was probably kinder to make the decision to not send these people during the departure process than to have them go through the journey to Brazil before being denied entry there.

Besides functioning as a medical facility, the camp functioned also to educate the emigrants. The camp later changed its name to the Kobe Emigrant Education Center to emphasize this function. The *Emigrant Center Regulations* stipulate:

Entrants to the camp will receive the necessary knowledge related to the language, religion, geography, manners, customs, and agricultural conditions of the country of destination as well as be educated in other matters necessary for emigration.

To fulfill this goal, the center had a lecture hall and a lecturer's office and set up an education department to share administration of education operations. The Event Table shows that there were lectures on the general conditions in Brazil, on Brazilian religion, and on health maintenance. There were even lessons in Portuguese and a class for women. Passports were given to the emigrants on the last day at the camp. Later, during the peak of Brazilian emigration, the presentation of preparation money and money exchange were also carried out during the emigrants' stay in the camp.

Unlike the physical examinations and vaccination shots, the lectures could not be given with equal effectiveness to all women, men, adults and children. After all, most of the emigrants were household heads and young men. Most of them had been farmers who had worked the land with hoes and plows as soon as they were able to and were no doubt out of their element when they went to the lecture hall everyday. They were not compensated for textbooks and other learning supplies.

Articles Carried Abroad

The emigrants packed the items they would take with them near the end of their scheduled stay at the camp. Their entire luggage was to be separated into three categories: 1) hand-carry, 2) items to be used on board ship, and 3) items to be used at their destination. The luggage was packed in trunks or wicker cases and everything except the hand carried items were place in the care of the camp. Luggage of categories 2) and 3) were given nametags as well as with blue and red tags. The luggage quota for each person was one trunk or case. The allowed weight for each piece of luggage was 12 *kan* (one *kan* equals 3.75 kilograms) for adults, 6 *kan* for children less than 12, and 3 *kan* for children less than 7.

The emigrants procured items that they did not have yet at the shops in front of the camp gates. Work clothes, shoes, metal pots and pans, foodstuff, soap, and other such items sold very well. During the peak of emigration, there were dozens of shops lining the

streets and some shops even provided lodging and work for people who had failed their physical examinations. Also, the camp had a store ("supply department") within on its grounds when it went under the name of Emigration Education Center.

What did the emigrants carry with them on the trip? OSK's *South American Route Guide* specifies carry-on items in a detailed itemized list. Most of the items were things that were to be used after reaching their destination. Since it tells us much about the life of farmers at the time, the whole list of items will be introduced here.

1. A few sets of cotton work clothes with turned-down collar (dress shirts and neckties are unnecessary), shirts, pants, socks, Japanese-style clothes (sleeping clothes only), etc. It will be convenient for women to bring simple cotton Western-style clothes, boys to bring short pants, and girls to bring short skirts (*hakama*)
2. Women must bring *sarumata* (drawers) for themselves and underwear for their young children.
3. Hats. Men should bring caps, straw hats, or fedora. Women do not need hats.
4. Shoes. Men should have sturdy shoes that are similar to military shoes. Women should have low shoes (their socks should be long so as to not expose their legs).
5. Mosquito net, blankets, and *futon*. (These items are to be used after landing. They will be unnecessary on board because similar items are provided then.)
6. Sleeping clothes should be *yukata*. Anything that has buttons or anything else that prevents the front from opening is acceptable.
7. Toiletries, kettle, tin eating utensils, knife, spoon, pots and pans, saw, hammer, hand towel, pocket knife, soap, paper, envelopes, toothpaste, tooth brush, scissors, razor, mirror, notebook, needles, thread, pen shaft and tip, pencil, etc.
8. A familiar farming implement that is easy to carry.

After listing these items, the guidebook continues:

Luxury items, rice, *miso*, shoyu, silk goods and other items determined to be articles of commerce (which would be taxed heavily) as well as lethal weapons should not be taken at all. Furthermore, there are people at the harbor of departure or at ports of call who skillfully use honeyed words to try to sell clothes and other items. However, please be careful not to give in to these solicitations since buying these items will merely increase your unnecessary expenses and thus be unprofitable.

The word *sarumata* (literally "monkey crotch"), which was used to refer to women's drawers, seems curious and it was probably a makeshift expression since women at that time did not use such underwear. It goes without saying that the purpose of wearing *sarumata* was not only for personal appearance purposes, but to prevent trouble that might be detrimental to public morals on board ship. The exact nature of the children's underwear is unknown.

It is also noteworthy that Japanese clothing other than sleeping clothes was determined to be unnecessary. In the Meiji and Taisho Periods, photos of men and women emigrants who went overseas show most of them wearing Japanese clothing, but from the end of the

Taisho Period and into the Showa Period, the emigrants gradually switched over to Western style clothing. Such a trend can be detected from this Taisho Period guide book.

On Board Ship

The day of departure approached and the emigrant camp's schedule of events came to a close. In the morning of the day of departure, the emigrants had their last meal in Japan and gathered in the lecture hall. They were assigned numbered tags that corresponded with their beds on board the ship. The supervisor and assistant supervisor from Kaigai Kogyo, who would be accompanying the emigrants, and the ship's captain gave speeches after being introduced. Lastly, the camp director gave the emigrants final instructions and led them in three *banzai* cheers. This concluded the events at the emigrant camp.

The emigrants then left the camp and went down the road to the harbor. They carried only their hand carry items since the rest of their baggage was taken to the harbor by truck. It is said that they walked along the Anamon Suji Road, which ran parallel on the west of Toa Road, and then along the Samekawa Suji Road. When I visited the old emigrant camp building once before, I tried walking this route. On my nearly-sixty-years-old legs, it took me about 40 minutes to get to the harbor.

The South American emigration ships left from the new harbor. Construction of the new harbor, which consisted of four piers, began in 1907 and after its construction schedule was extended in 1916, it was finally completed in 1922. From Meiji until the new harbor began operations, emigrant ships such as the *Kasato Maru* were moored off shore. (Ships were allowed to use the piers as they were completed.) The piers are still numbered one through four. However, the order of the numbering is now opposite from it was originally. The passenger terminal that is now known as Pier 4 was originally called Pier 1.

In *Sobo*, Ishikawa painstakingly describes the scene of the emigrant ship right before it departs:

*It is windy at Pier 3. An early spring wind whistled by.
In this cold ocean wind stood yellow masts between which fluttered the flags of the world.
Above them, the Osaka Shosen flag with the character for "O" on it, the gold and green
Brazilian Republic flag, and a blue departure flag were stretched taut with the wind.*

In his published notes *Recent South American Travelogue* that was published four years before *Sobo*, Ishikawa writes "It is windy at Pier 2. A whistling spring wind is blowing." The reason why the pier numbers are different is probably related to number changes described above. Before the war, coastal vessels used Pier 1 (present number) and oceangoing passenger ships, including South American emigrant ships, used the three other piers.

On board ship, the emigrants entered the large third-class rooms and looked for the bed with the number that matched the number on the tag they were given at the camp. After

the war, the emigrants were assigned to groups while in the Kobe Emigration Agency. On board ship, beds were assigned according to group.

The rooms on board were assigned according to home prefecture. Appropriate room assignment was the most important consideration for preventing disorder on the long ocean voyage and much effort was put into it. Assigning rooms by home prefecture turned out to be the reliable method. Although few in number, there were emigrants not handled by Kaigai Kogyo, such as those taken care of by various overseas associations. Consequently, the emigrants being handled by overseas associations were treated as a single group and assigned a room.