Kobe and Jewish Refugees

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[Translators' Note]

Errors that were identified in the original Japanese text have been corrected in the English translation.

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【訳注】

参考文献を確認した結果などから判明した日本語原文の誤記を訂正したうえで英文に翻訳しています。

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1. Introduction

The Western powers, with the United Kingdom at the forefront after its victory in the first Opium War, transformed China into a semi-colony and then turned their attention to Japan, a small country in the Far East. Nine years after the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate opened in 1859, the Westerners set their sights on Kobe. Jewish people were among the Westerners who rode the wave of the Industrial Revolution and risked their lives to seek profit. Some Jewish people came to the East as adventurous traders, while others arrived as sailors on merchant ships. However, the Jewish people who lived through adversity in Kobe since the opening of the port have often been recorded by their nationalities, such as British, and seldom as participants in Jewish history.

The next time Jews became part of Kobe's history was during World War II, when they fled Europe and sought refuge in Japan. On July 20, 1939, Chiune Sugihara was appointed as acting consul to the Japanese consulate in Kaunas, the capital of Lithuania. He arrived on August 29, 1939, just three days before the outbreak of World War II on September 1, when German forces invaded Poland. In late July 1940, Sugihara began issuing Japanese transit visas to Jewish refugees in large numbers. By July 1941, over 4,000 Jewish refugees had flooded into Kobe. Seventy-five years later, their presence lingers only in the fading memories of a limited number of people. Moreover, most of the records and documents related to Jewish refugees residing around Yamamoto-dōri in Kitano-chō were destroyed in wartime fires.

This paper seeks to collect as many remaining Jewish-related documents, literature, refugee memoirs, newspaper reports, and testimonies as possible to present the facts objectively. Although further analysis is required, I hope to shed light on the footsteps of the Jewish community in Kobe since the port first opened in the latter half of the 19th century.

2. Jews in East Asia

Following its defeat in the first Opium War in 1842, China ceded Hong Kong to the UK as a colony and agreed to open ports such as Shanghai. Britain turned Shanghai into a city open to foreign trade and residence, attracting people from all walks of life to develop land and promote commerce. Jewish people seized this opportunity and moved to Shanghai, where they settled in those areas and utilized the business opportunities. In the early 1840s, the Sassoon family resided among many entrepreneurs in Baghdad. From the late 18th century to the early 19th century, many of them relocated to British-ruled India. David Sassoon, who was born in Baghdad, moved from Bombay to Shanghai in search of opium trade rights. There, his family engaged in business, freely practiced their religion without interference, and gained the freedom to thrive. Britain generated significant wealth for the city of London through the drug trade that exploited silver from China and Asia. The largest British bank, The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Limited (HSBC) was

established in 1868 using money earned from the opium trade. Its principal shareholder was David Sassoon's fifth son, Arthur Sassoon.

The Sassoon family and other Jews were highly religious and strove to establish small Jewish communities with at least ten members wherever they went. They did the same in Shanghai, where the Sassoon family reached the pinnacle of social and economic influence. They were involved in opium and tea trading, expanded into real estate, and ventured into the transportation industry, controlling half of Shanghai's transport sector. David Sassoon's great-grandson, Victor Sassoon, was knighted for bringing benefits to Britain. The Sassoon family acted as an outpost for Britain. In competition with the Sassoon conglomerate, Jardine, Matheson & Co. fiercely vied for control over the East India Company's opium and tea interests. Its founders, William Jardine and James Matheson, were both Jews from Scotland. The Jardine, Matheson, Sassoon, and Rothschild families eventually became related by marriage. Thomas Glover, who played a significant role in the Meiji Restoration, was an employee of Jardine, Matheson & Co. His Nagasaki-based Glover & Co. was an agent of Jardine, Matheson & Co.

3. Jews in the Meiji Era (1868–1912)

There are theories that the first Jewish people to come to Japan were either Portuguese explorers in the 15th century or Dutch traders who stayed in Dejima, Nagasaki in the 16th century, but these theories remain unconfirmed. Subsequently, it was necessary to wait until the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry for the opening of Japan. While it is believed that Jewish people arrived in Nagasaki as sailors from the very beginning of the Nagasaki Foreign Settlement's establishment, according to Professor Brian F. Burke-Gaffney of the Nagasaki Institute of Applied Science, the first identifiably Jewish individual was Elias Tolman, a Jewish-American of Walsh & Co. After the late 19th century, Jewish people from Eastern Europe and Russia began to arrive in Nagasaki and Yokohama via Shanghai, working as traders and sailors.

Kobe, which opened its port in 1868, attracted foreign merchants and trading companies that had eagerly awaited its opening. More than 400 foreigners disembarked in an area where the settlement and port were not yet fully established. They were traders from Shanghai, as well as Yokohama and Nagasaki, which had opened their ports earlier, who did not want to miss their business opportunity.

In the first auction of the settlement in 1868, HSBC, run by the Jews and the largest British bank, and Walsh, Hall & Co., an American Jewish trading firm, won the second block at a high price of 10 *bu* per *tsubo* (about 3.3m^2). The highest-priced land was 84 Kyōmachi-dōri, secured by Glover & Co., an agent of Jardine Matheson, a Jewish trading firm. Jewish names such as Goldman, Gottlinger, and Grinberg can also be found in the Kobe directories of 1871 and 1872. In June 1870, Thomas Glover, of Tatsuki and Glover, arrived from Nagasaki and leased parts of Hanakuma-mura, a mixed residential area (6-3 and 4, Nakayamate-dōri, which were 1,221 *tsubo* [4,036m^2] and 315 *tsubo* [1,041m^2] respectively), in perpetuity from Ikeda Ichizaemon and others. There is no room for doubt that Jews of various nationalities, including British, Dutch, French, and American, resided in Kobe. Glover & Co. and Walsh, & Co. were also established in Kobe, as in Nagasaki, but their traces are recorded only as British or American nationals, not as Jewish.

Harold Williams's *Jewish Community in Japan* includes the following passage. Shortly after the port of Kobe opened, the English newspaper *The Hiogo News* reported on April 26, 1868:

> A Japanese man attempted to embezzle goods worth 5,000 *bu* from the Marks Trading Company. He ordered several items and paid with five packages containing what appeared to be 400 *ninbun-gin*. When Mr. Marks opened them, he found lead inside. (1)

From the article, as well as other records related to the Marks company by Harold Williams, it can be confirmed that the Jews named Henry Marks and Alexander Marks indeed came to Kobe in 1868.

An obituary in the October 27, 1869, issue of *The Hiogo News* reported, "At 11 p.m. on the 25th instant, at the Japanese Hospital. ALFRED SINGLETON, late Constable at H. R. M.'s Consulate." (2) His tombstone is in the Shiogahara Foreign Cemetery, section 4, plot 193. The current foreign cemetery in Shiogahara was divided according to religion when it was relocated from the Kasugano Cemetery in 1952. Singleton's tombstone is in the section for unknown religions. It seems the tombstone was moved to this area without confirming that the inscription was in Hebrew. The inscription was deciphered by Professor Ber Kotlerman, a leading Yiddish scholar from Israel. It reads:

1st line: "PN" means "Here lies" in Jewish grave marker format.

2nd line: "Our teacher and rabbi" This is a formal phrase to honor the deceased. "Itzhak" is a Hebrew name which typically is rendered as "Isaac" in English, yet "Alfred" was used instead.

3rd line: "Shimon" may be a second name. "Halevi" may be a surname or indicate his religious status. This indicates that he is from the tribe of Levi, one of the twelve tribes of Israel.

4th line: This line is illegible.

5th line: "in 1868 or 1869"

6th line: "LEPAK" represents the method of counting years.

7th line: "TENATSEVA" is a prayer word for the deceased. "Rest in peace."

"Our teacher and rabbi, Itzhak (Alfred) Shimon Halevi was buried here in 1868 or 1869. Rest in peace."

Alfred Singleton's gravestone

It is presumed that Alfred Singleton was Jewish as the tombstone is written in Hebrew. Furthermore, the content of the tombstone's inscriptions confirms that Alfred Singleton was indeed Jewish and was buried as a Jew. Singleton's tombstone is not only the oldest Jewish tombstone remaining in Kobe but also the oldest clear evidence of Jewish presence in Kobe.

The Hiogo News of December 7, 1870, reported a marriage notice: "On Sunday, Dec. 4th, at the Synagogue, Kobe, Japan, by the Rev. Getlinger, GASSON BLASS, of Kobe, to SOPHIA, daughter of MICHAEL BLASS, of Memphis, Tennessee." (3)

Sophia was likely Gasson's cousin, considering the scarcity of foreign women at the time and that Jews practiced consanguineous marriage. According to the article, it appears that a Reverend (Christian) conducted the wedding ceremony in a Jewish synagogue. I investigated whether such an occurrence is possible within Judaism, which is strict and faithful to religious rules. Among the convincing and authoritative opinions I found, this one was provided by Professor Kotlerman:

> The term "Rev." typically applies to Christian clergy, but in English-speaking countries, Jews often refer to their rabbis with this title. As the married couple were Americans and the bride's father was from Tennessee, it is natural that they would call their rabbi "Rev." Normally, a rabbi is indispensable in Jewish weddings. If the synagogue in Kobe were a true synagogue, a rabbi would necessarily have to be at the wedding ceremony. (Therefore, it is possible to interpret "Rev." as an indication that a Jewish rabbi conducted the wedding.)

Here, we are once again faced with the question of whether a synagogue was definitely established in Kobe soon after the port opened in 1870. Goldberg, a journalist in New York, stated, "If there are at least ten men, any place becomes a synagogue." Professor Kotlerman also stated:

> In 1870, it appears that a synagogue existed in Kobe, albeit a simple one or one set up in part of a house. In order to have a synagogue, a minimum number of people (ten men) is required to read the Torah scroll. However, the establishment of a synagogue is not dependent on the quorum (the minimum number required for prayers) or the minyan (the term for the group of ten or more males over the age of thirteen required for public worship in Judaism). "Rev." Getlinger likely refers to Rabbi Getlinger, which suggests that a rabbi was already present in Kobe at that time.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the Sassoon family strove to establish small Jewish communities wherever they went. They likely did the same in Kobe, gathering at least ten people to form a community. Considering the above, it is possible that a synagogue as a sacred place for Judaism existed in Kobe in 1870, yet confirmation remains a topic for future research.

Additionally, information provided by Professor Yakov Zinberg from Kokushikan University indicates that *The Jewish Messenger* dated June 15, 1900, contains a brief article stating that a synagogue was planned to be established in Kobe, Japan. Similarly, an article about the Jewish community in Hong Kong, dated August 17, 1900, in the same *Jewish Messenger* mentions that Jews had opened branches of trading companies in the ports of Kobe and Yokohama in Japan. A Jewish congregation had recently started in Kobe, where there was a community of 35 Jews. (4)

After the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Nagasaki's Jewish community disbanded, and those Jews moved to Kobe. However, the existence of a synagogue and a 35-member community prior to this remains unconfirmed. On the other hand, considering this information was sourced from *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, it appears credible.

In any case, taking all of the above into consideration, it can be confirmed that after the port of Kobe opened in 1868, Jews landed in Kobe and at least ten of them settled and lived there. By 1900, this number gradually increased to form a community of 35 people, and it is believed that a synagogue had been established by then.

4. Jews from the Late Meiji Era to 1939

In 1903, a year before the Russo-Japanese War, Jewish neighborhoods and others were attacked throughout Russia while the government looked the other way, leading to pogroms (collective persecution). As a result, some refugees fled to Kobe following the Russian Revolution of 1905.

The previously active Jewish community in Nagasaki disbanded and collapsed during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905. During that time, the Nagasaki Jewish community handed over the Torah scroll (the Five Books of Moses) to a Jewish community in Kobe. Among the Kobe Jewish community were soldiers who had been captured and freed after the 1905 Revolution. From the early to mid-1900s, the Jewish community in Kobe mainly consisted of Jews from Russia and the Middle East. In many cases, Jews from Russia came to Japan via Harbin in Manchuria. There were three synagogues and one Jewish school in Manchuria, where about 30,000 Jews lived. Jews from the Middle East, known as "Baghdadi Jews," came to Kobe not only from Yemen and Iran but also from present-day Iraq and Syria. Additionally, some people came from Central and Eastern Europe, particularly Germany.

The Russian Revolution (the Bolshevik Revolution) in 1917 resulted in several White Russian Jews coming to Kobe. After the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, some Jewish families relocated to Kobe from Yokohama. Around 1920–1921, there was no organized Jewish community in Kobe, but about 200 Jews lived there. By around 1940, about 50 Jewish families were living in Kobe. There were both Sephardic (Middle Eastern Jews) and Ashkenazi (European Jews) synagogues.

S. David Moche, an authority on the Jewish history in Kobe, affirms that there was a Sephardic synagogue in 1940 by saying, "The synagogue was really a Jewish place of worship in someone's house. The place was plainly furnished with a simple ark and a reading desk made by a local carpenter." (5) Moche mentions the two leaders of the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities. One notable member of the Russian Ashkenazi Jewish community was Sam Evans (born in Ewanoffsky, Odessa). He came to Kobe around 1919. For many years, he was a leader in the Jewish community, businessman, and philanthropist. He was undoubtedly the first Jew to obtain Japanese citizenship. The first Ashkenazi synagogue in Kobe was created in a rented house. It also served as a gathering place for the Sephardic community. In January 1936, Rahmo Sassoon arrived in Japan from Aleppo, Syria. He became responsible for the Sephardic synagogue. The synagogue was named "Ohel Shelomoh," after Rahmo Sassoon's father, Shelomoh Sassoon. When he arrived, the Ashkenazi community was larger than the Sephardic community. (6) Moche describes the pre-establishment state of the Jewish Community of Kobe (JEWCOM), which played a significant role in accepting Jewish refugees.

By around 1935, both Sephardic and Ashkenazi synagogues, the centers of Jewish faith, had been established in Kobe, growing into large communities, and it shows that they were taking on a considerably religious form.

In 1937, Anatole Ponevejsky, who later became the leader of the Jewish Community of Kobe, arrived in Kobe from the Jewish community in Harbin. There were about 25 Jewish families in Kobe, living separately without much interaction. Before World War II began, there were about 15 Ashkenazi Jewish families in Kobe. Ponevejsky worked to unite the 15 Ashkenazi Jewish families into one community. At that time, there was already a Sephardic Jewish community in

Kobe. Eventually, these two communities combined to form a group of 100 people, living as neighbors without social interaction.

The Jews in Kobe were part of the approximately 3,000 foreign residents, most of whom were involved in trade. There were Russian, Turkish, German, French, and Portuguese communities. Social interaction with these non-Jewish groups occurred but was rare. (7)

5. Jewish Refugees from Europe (1940–1941)

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, marking the beginning of World War II. The influx of Jewish refugees to Japan from Europe is attributed to this event. When Hitler came to power in 1933, anti-Semitic activities such as boycotts of Jewish businesses were implemented throughout Germany. In September 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were enacted, which relegated Jews to second-class citizenship and stripped them of their political and public rights. These laws defined Jews as anyone with three or four Jewish grandparents, including Catholics, Protestants, or those who became nuns after converting from Judaism. In November 1938, an event known as Kristallnacht, or the Night of Broken Glass, triggered a nation-wide pogrom in Germany, during which 91 Jews were killed, and over 30,000 were arrested and detained in concentration camps.

Figure 1

Europe Before World War II

Pogroms had been a frequent occurrence in various countries in Europe since the 11th century. Jews have constantly faced persecution by the populace and authorities, enduring a history of expulsion and diaspora.

5.1 Polish Refugees

There are no exact records of the number of Jewish refugees who traveled from Europe to Kobe. Documents from the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) contain only partial accounts of the number of Jewish refugees at specific times.

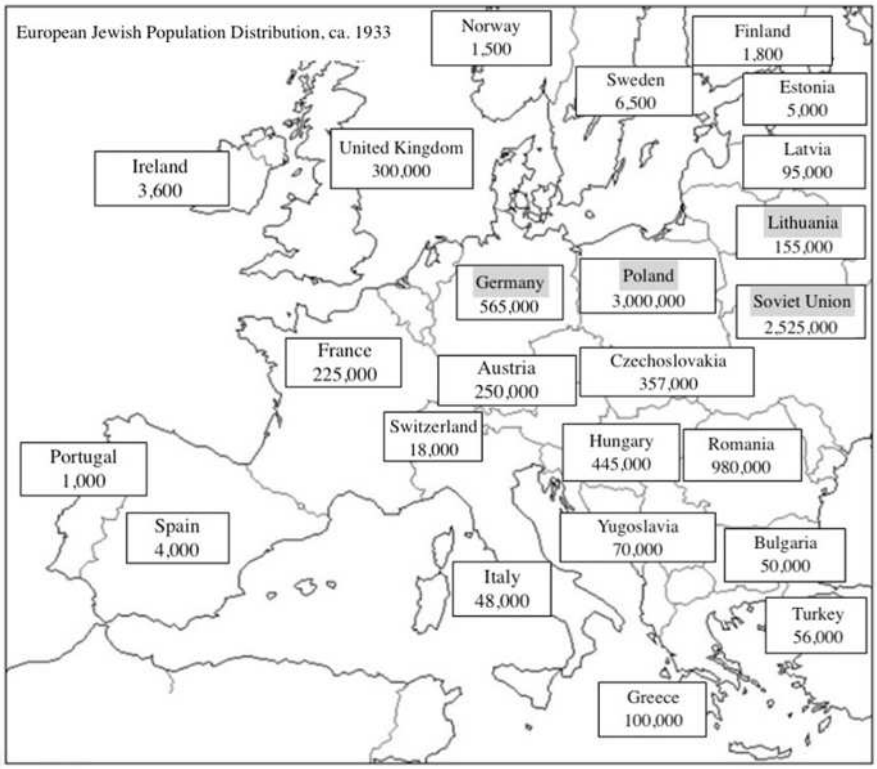
Looking at the number of refugees, according to a report sent to the Joint Relief Committee in New York by the Jewish Community of Kobe on March 12, 1941, 806 was the total number of Jewish refugees who arrived in Kobe in February. Of these, 747 were Polish, 43 were German, and 16 were of other nationalities. (8) Poles constituted approximately 92.6% of the total. Moreover, according to a report from the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as of April 8, 1941, the total number of Jews residing in Kobe was 1,562, of which 104 were German, 1,393 were Polish, 30 were from Lithuania, 21 were Czech, and 14 were of other nationalities. Among them, Poles comprised approximately 89%. Thus, Polish Jews constituted the majority of the Jewish refugees. (9) Given their predominance, when examining the situation of Jewish refugees in Kobe, it seems appropriate to focus on the Polish Jews, who made up the overwhelming majority. On the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, Zorach Warhaftig says:

> Hitler's invasion of Poland was not a total surprise; it had been a distinct possibility ever since the Nazi rape of Czechoslovakia. […] The savage persecution of the Jews in Germany, widely regarded as the acme of Western culture, set an ominous example for East European countries, where anti-Semitism was deeply ingrained. (10)

Around 1933, the total Jewish population in Europe was about 9.5 million, with the majority living in Eastern Europe. Poland housed three million, the Soviet Union 2.5 million, Germany 560,000, France 220,000, Romania 980,000, Czechoslovakia 350,000, Lithuania 150,000, and the United Kingdom 300,000. The vast majority of Jews, approximately 5.5 million, lived in Poland and the Soviet Union. (11)

Figure 2

European Jewish Population Distribution, ca. 1933



In January 1939, the ruling party in Poland cited the rapid spread of violent anti-Semitism in Poland as due to, firstly, the excessive number of Jews in Poland, and secondly, the surge of anti-Semitic sentiment sweeping across Europe. As exclusionary measures, the Polish government promoted emigration to Palestine and other countries to significantly reduce the Jewish population, which made up 10% of Poland's population, and pushed for the expulsion of Jews from economic sectors, offering their positions to Poles instead. In February 1939, the Polish government announced policies encouraging Jews to emigrate abroad and excluding them from economic activities. Thus, it was not only in Germany but also within Poland itself that the government and citizens openly carried out acts of Jewish exclusion and attacks. (12)

When the German Army invaded Poland and the war broke out, what actions did the Jews in Poland take? One family expressed, "There was a certain relief that the war everyone expected had finally begun, mixed with a vague anxiety about the imminent future." (13)

Perla Frankel, a survivor saved by the Sugihara visas, recalls that around 1933 in Poznan, Poland, anti-Semitism was rampant, and signs stating "No dogs or Jews allowed" were posted at all cafés. She said, "At that time, we didn't think we would be killed. Nobody thought that we would be killed, or that the Germans could be so cruel. […] We only thought at worst we might be taken to work camps." (14) Nonetheless, Perla's family acted quickly. They sold their car and rented a bus a few days before the war started. On September 2, just after the war began, they left Krakow for Lublin on that bus. Initially, their aim was not to flee the country but to seek refuge in safer parts of their own country. The roads were not yet filled with refugees.

Members of the Peter Baruch family in Łódź had the general opinion: “The Germans were not as bad as the many stories coming out of Germany depicted. We should stay in Poland.” (15) At that time, Łódź was the third largest city in Poland, with a population of 700,000, one-third of whom were Jews, one-third Germans, and one-third Poles. When the German Army invaded Poland, the parents, especially the mother, who had realized the seriousness of the anti-Semitic wave spreading across Europe, decided to escape from Poland to neighboring Lithuania. Warhaftig states that the Luftwaffe periodically rained death from the skies. […] Jews had started to leave Warsaw. There was a mass flight by train, car, horse and carriage, even on foot. The wave of refugees became massive, moving north and east. […] On September 8, the streets there teemed with refugees pouring in from Warsaw and the surrounding areas. (16)

On September 17, 1939, just two weeks after the German invasion, the Soviet Union also invaded Poland. Germany occupied the western half of Poland, while the Soviet Union took the eastern half.

News spread that Vilnius would soon be annexed to Lithuania, as Poland was defeated by the Soviet Union and became an occupied country. Many Jews set out for Vilnius because once it became part of Lithuania, a city in a neutral country, it would be possible to travel from there to Palestine. They had to reach Vilnius before the new border between Lithuania and the Soviet Union was drawn. On October 10, 1939, the Vilnius district came under Lithuanian control, leading to a large influx of Jewish refugees from Poland to Vilnius. Vilnius absorbed about 150,000 Polish Jewish refugees. The escape to Lithuania was difficult and dangerous from the German-occupied areas, so most escapes were from the Soviet-controlled areas. Germany had prohibited Jews in occupied territories from moving away from their places of residence on November 24, 1939. By March 1940, the border between Poland and Lithuania was completely sealed, making it impossible to cross.

On June 15, 1940, an unfortunate event occurred for the Jewish refugees: the Soviet Army invaded Lithuania. This put the Jewish refugees who had fled to Lithuania in the same position as those in the Soviet-occupied areas of eastern Poland. The refugees desperately tried to escape the terrifying Soviet regime to places like Palestine. Perla said, “We were afraid of being sent to Siberia, or being under Russian rule, which could mean being thrown into a cell to wither away for many years.” (17) Warhaftig says:

> Individuals with large sums of money at their disposal, who maintained close ties with their relatives in Western countries, contrived to acquire the nationality and passports of certain Latin American countries, e.g., Paraguay, Uruguay and others. […] Only a few dozen refugees succeeded in solving their problems by this method. (18)

5.2 Issuance of Sugihara Visas

There were many seminaries in Poland and Lithuania, gathering Jewish theological students from the Western world at that time. Among them, students from the Netherlands were stranded in Lithuania when the war broke out. Given that the Netherlands was occupied by the German Army, these students became refugees. Two Dutch students visited Warhaftig and told him that they had consulted with the Dutch consul about the possibility of fleeing to the Dutch colonies. They had been informed by the Dutch consul that it was possible to go to Curaçao and Suriname in the

Caribbean without a visa. This was going on in July 1940, when Europe was in the midst of war, making escape to the south impossible. With no escape routes available, Jewish refugees were completely sealed in Lithuania. Warhaftig thought that Curaçao could be a way to break through this impasse. He conceived a route from Lithuania through the Soviet Union, Japan, the Pacific Ocean, and the Panama Canal, a plan which necessitated gaining a transit visa from Japan. (19)

Jan Zwartendijk was the Dutch consul in Kaunas of the time, having been appointed as acting consul in June 1940. Zwartendijk discussed the option of granting entry permits for the West Indies with his supervisor, De Decker, the Dutch ambassador in Latvia. On July 11, 1940, De Decker issued visas allowing entry to Curaçao and Suriname. On July 22, 1940, Zwartendijk issued a "SAFE CONDUCT PASS," literally meaning a wartime safe conduct pass, copying De Decker's information directly onto them. (20) Although occupied by the Soviet Union, Lithuania still maintained partial independence. Foreign consulates were operational, but it was impossible to obtain safe visas. The "SAFE CONDUCT PASS" issued by Zwartendijk essentially functioned as a visa. News of the Curaçao visa quickly spread among the refugees, who then flocked to the Dutch consulate.

The approach by De Decker and Zwartendijk triggered an unexpected chain reaction. Jewish refugees rushed to the Japanese consulate in Kaunas with the Curaçao visas in their hands. Chiune Sugihara had been serving as acting consul since August 1939. On the morning of July 18, 1940, Sugihara woke up to a commotion and discovered that a large group of Polish refugees had gathered outside the fence. On July 25, 1940, Sugihara telegraphed Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister, about the situation but received no reply. Years later, Sugihara wrote:

> I finally understood that no matter how much I consult with Tokyo, it was all in vain. I was just losing time. Regardless of whether refugees could provide documents proving they could travel to another country, I issued a transit visa to everyone who came to me. (21)

From July 29, 1940, Sugihara began issuing many transit visas for Japan to Jewish refugees. According to records from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Sugihara issued transit visas primarily to Polish Jewish refugees who had Zwartendijk's visas. By the grace of the courageous and humanitarian actions of the Dutch consul, Dutch ambassador, and Japanese consul, the lives of over 6,000 Jewish refugees were saved.

5.3 Leaving the Soviet Union

In order to pass through the Soviet Union, a Soviet transit visa (exit visa) was required. The Soviet authorities were against emigration to other countries, and the borders were tightly closed. At that time, even travel within Soviet territory was generally prohibited. Under these circumstances, obtaining permission to leave the Soviet Union was impossible. Perla said, ''The most difficult thing about leaving Lithuania was obtaining an exit visa from the Russians. The Russians did not want their people to leave the country and they had the right to refuse it.'' (22)

However, at the end of July 1940, the Soviet authorities suddenly announced that they would issue exit visas (transit visa). Unlike Perla, Baruch said that obtaining a Russian exit visa required small bribes, but it was not very difficult. (23) Berl Schor, the Sugihara survivor, described it as follows:

> The most unbelievable event was the fact that about 5,000 Jewish refugees were allowed to leave the Soviet Union. As far as I know, there has never been another time before or after Stalin's rule that such a large group of people was allowed to leave one of the Soviet republics. (24)

The reasons why the Soviet Union granted exit visas to Jewish refugees have never been clearly explained. Some suggest that the purpose was to make use of the large amounts of US dollars circulating in the Russian black market through expenditures on services such as the Trans-Siberian Railway. In contrast, others suggest Stalin was annoyed by the massive influx of Jews from Poland into Russia. There are other opinions that negotiations by individuals such as Warhaftig with the Soviet authorities regarding the acquisition of transit visas played a role.

This sudden measure by the Soviet Union connected a single route from Lithuania through the Soviet Union to Japan, establishing a possible route for Jewish refugees to escape from Europe to destinations such as Palestine. However, in both Lithuania and the Soviet Union, Jewish refugees were sent to Siberia for various reasons and some for no reason at all.

On January 1, 1941, the Soviet Union notified all refugees in Lithuania that they were required to obtain Soviet nationality by January 25. Failure to comply meant deportation to Siberia. As a result, hundreds of Polish Jewish refugees holding Sugihara visas rushed to the Trans-Siberian Railway station in Moscow.

The travel of Jewish refugees with Soviet exit visas was handled by Intourist, a Soviet travel agency. The problem was that all travel expenses had to be paid in US dollars. Many refugees struggled to raise travel funds. Surprisingly, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, a Jewish relief organization from America, came all the way to Lithuania and Moscow to provide limited assistance. Refugees sold valuables such as jewelry to obtain dollars or took loans from Jews who held foreign currency accounts. Perla explained:

> The next thing we had to do was get tickets. They were very expensive. Despite it being illegal to hold dollars in Russia, we have been told by Russians that tickets had to be paid in dollars (Holding dollars was considered as an offense to foreign exchange laws and resulting in immediate arrest). Fortunately, we had sent money to friends in New York. Many Jews had sent money abroad before the war started. As soon as we contacted them, they directly transferred funds to travel agency Intourist. This saved our lives. Even with an exit visa, we couldn't leave the country without paying travel expenses. (25)

The journey from Moscow to Vladivostok generally took about 10 days, and sometimes 12. In the Trans-Siberian Railway trains, Russian soldiers stole a gold and enamel brooch from under Perla's babushka (a headscarf) and her pearl wedding ring. Even after finally arriving in Vladivostok, valuable items including the jewelry in the luggage were confiscated during luggage inspection. In Perla's case, after the exit inspection was completed, she immediately boarded the ship Amakusa Maru. Baruch stayed one day in Vladivostok and boarded Amakusa Maru the next day. Warhaftig stayed for six days waiting for a ship and then took about two days to reach Tsuruga in Japan.

According to Berl Schor, the Jewish refugees did not know they would go to Kobe until they reached Vladivostok, where a member of the Jewish Community of Kobe informed them that

they would travel from Tsuruga to Kobe. [26] Baruch described the trip from Moscow to Vladivostok:

> We arrived in Moscow. There, thanks to the Joint, we stayed at the New Moscow Hotel for a few days. The cost of the Intourist ticket and travel expenses to Vladivostok was 200 dollars per person. By that time, most of the Jewish refugees had become penniless, so the Joint covered the shortfall. We were among the few fortunate people who could obtain Siberian Railway tickets because the funds available to the Joint were limited. Refugees who could not travel to Vladivostok were sent to Siberia, where only a few could survive the harsh natural conditions. The Trans-Siberian Railway departed from Moscow to Vladivostok twice a week. The journey time varied depending on the natural conditions but took between four and 10 days. We were in the middle of winter, so the journey was slow. The view from the train window was magnificent, and the train stopped frequently, allowing us to buy food. There were beds available. More importantly, we were finally escaping, gradually moving away from the war, which brought a sense of happiness among the refugees. When we arrived at the eastern exit of Russia, Vladivostok, we stayed one night in a hotel. In Vladivostok, the Russian military confiscated the few valuables we had left. We could not hide them. We boarded the livestock transport ship Amakusa Maru, built in 1901, weighing 6,152 tons, and sailed for three days. […] We mainly ate apples and hardtack. Despite all of that, we had passports to freedom, so the refugees were filled with gratitude and happiness. When we saw the green mountains of Tsuruga, we offered prayers of thanks for our survival. A new life was about to begin. [27]

6. Jewish Refugees Who Arrived in Kobe

Kobe and the main point of departure for many Jewish refugees, Lithuania, are approximately 6,000 miles (about 9,600km) apart. This section will explore the various types of Jewish refugees, where they lived in Kobe, how they spent their time there, and when and how they eventually left Kobe.

6.1 Number of Jewish Refugees Who Came to Kobe

Martin Kaneko cites David Kranzler's statement that "Between July 1940 and November 1941, 2,116 German Jews, 2,178 Polish Jews, and 315 others, totaling 4,609, arrived in Kobe." [28]

Warhaftig states that "Between July 1940 and the end of May 1941, 2,498 German Jews and 2,166 refugees from Lithuania, totaling 4,664, arrived in Kobe. Furthermore, between July 1940 and August 1941, 2,718 Polish Jewish refugees came to Japan." [29] Most of these Lithuanian refugees he referred to were Polish Jews, hence it seems reasonable to consider the total of German and Polish Jews from Lithuania as 4,664.

Additionally, a credible report titled "Situation of European refugees fleeing to Japan" from the American Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan dated April 15, 1941, mentioned:

> European refugees began arriving in increasing numbers around April and May 1940. By the end of 1940, 2,071 had arrived, and by February 1941, another 973, totaling 3,044

> (Approximately 1,700 remained in Japan). On the other hand, the number of transit visas issued to European refugees by various Japanese embassies in Europe from January 1940 to mid-March 1941 was 5,580. Therefore, at least 2,500 who were granted transit visas have not yet arrived in Japan. (30)

Considering that most Jewish refugees who came to Japan landed in Kobe, it seems appropriate to estimate that about 3,000 Jewish refugees arrived in Kobe between 1940 and February 1941, as the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported 3,044.

A report titled "The situation of Jewish refugees in Kobe" to the president from Kazuo Takahashi, the manager of the Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha Kobe Branch, dated April 9, 1941, stated:

> As of March 31, according to a survey by the prefectural foreign affairs section, approximately 70% of the 1,713 refugees are men, mainly Polish and other than about 100 German Jews. [...] Since last summer, approximately 4,000 Jews who passed through here have already left the country. (31)

If we simply add the 1,713 who stayed and about 4,000 who left, more than 5,700 Jewish refugees arrived in Kobe. Thus, it is estimated that at least 5,000 Jewish refugees arrived in Kobe between July 1940 and November 1941.

6.2 The Situation of Jewish Refugees Entering Japan

In February 1941, the Jewish Community of Kobe reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in New York about the movements of Polish, German, and other Jewish refugees who arrived in Kobe in December 1940 and January 1941. (32) However, the December Polish refugees were excluded from the tally, and only those from January were counted.

From Table 1, 57% of the Polish refugees in December, and 183 out of 201 (91%) in January did not have their final visas. For German refugees, 21% in December and 48% in January did not have their final visas. Regarding refugees of other nationalities, 35% in December and 73% in January did not have their final visas. On September 30, 1940, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had issued instructions regarding Jewish refugees at the Japanese embassies in Europe as follows:

> Among the European refugees passing through our country, a significant number either have not completed the entry procedures for their destination countries or have minimal funds. Therefore, (1) entry visas should not be granted, and (2) transit passengers must have completed the entry procedures for their destination countries and must have enough funds for their travelling expenses, as well as their lodging expenses in Japan, estimated at a minimum of 25 yen per day.

Table 1

Summary of Jewish Refugees in Kobe (December 1940 – January 1941)

The Jewish Community of Kobe, March, 1941

…: Data Uncertain, —: No Data

Section	Polish Refugees		German Refugees		Refugees other than German & Polish	
	Dec 1940	Jan 1941	Dec 1940	Jan 1941	Dec 1940	Jan 1941
Number of families	…	130	66	36	13	20
Number of family members	35	201	106	64	23	33
Male	…	143	61	35	13	14
Female	…	58	45	29	10	19
Number of people who left Kobe	…	18	84	31	15	9
Number of people who remained in Kobe	…	183	22	33	8	24
Ages 0–1	…	1	—	—	—	—
2–11	…	11	5	3	3	4
12–15	…	1	2	2	—	—
16–21	…	12	3	4	3	5
22–34	…	82	7	8	7	8
35–44	…	54	14	11	5	6
45–59	…	31	31	17	4	5
60+	…	7	31	9	1	2
Number of people who did not hold a final visa	20	183	22	31	8	24
Number of people who had a final visa	15	18	84	33	15	9

The Jewish refugees from Europe who arrived in December 1940 and January 1941 in Kobe mostly came without a final destination visa. Considering the fact that already a large number of Jewish refugees had entered Japan without visas, the situation was quite different from the instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was primarily due to the visas issued by Chiune Sugihara in Kaunas, but visas issued by other diplomatic establishments in Europe and “SAFE CONDUCT PASS” issued by the Polish government-in-exile and Lithuanian authorities might also have served as entry visas to the final destination countries. Even without the final visas and required cash, the fact that these refugees reached Kobe suggests that the Jewish Community of Kobe provided the necessary funds and guarantees in Vladivostok.

At Tsuruga, the Jewish Community of Kobe also acted as a guarantor, allowing many Jewish refugees with insufficient visa requirements to enter Japan. According to Takaharu Furue in Tsuruga, on December 3, 1940, the transit visa of Sofia Finkelstein (German, visa issued on July 24, 1940, No. 8 of the Sugihara list) stated the following:

> This person has applied for a visa to North America in Japan. If unable to obtain the visa, she must leave Japan as directed by the Japanese authorities and go to any country as a condition of entry, proven by the Jewish Community of Kobe. Entry permission from December 3, 1940, to January 3, 1941, Fukui Prefecture. (33)

After February 24, 1941, some transit visas for Jewish refugees bear the following notation:

> Although this person has a visa for the destination country, they “did not hold” the

> necessary cash for a stay in Japan and "did not have" a reserved ticket as well, so "entry" was specially permitted with a guarantee from the Jewish Community of Kobe. (34)

Both examples confirm that the immigration office in Fukui Prefecture had specially granted entry permits to Jewish refugees with insufficient visa requirements, based on guarantees from the Jewish Community of Kobe. Warhaftig describes the situation of Jewish refugees entering Japan as follows:

> German refugees had no problems with Japan as they possessed permits to enter Shanghai and sufficient funds for a short stay in Japan. In Yokohama, HIAS (the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) set up a German Jewish Refugee Committee with funds from the Joint, which specialized in dealing with German Jewish refugee issues. Polish refugees seeking assistance were referred to a committee set up by the Jewish community in Kobe. […] The issues of refugees from Lithuania who came to Japan were handled by the committee of the Jewish Community of Kobe. About 30 Ashkenazi families became one rescue committee, turning synagogues and other community facilities into refugee centers. The Sephardic community showed no interest and did not cooperate with the committee. The committee welcomed refugees at Tsuruga Port and took care of them during their stay in Japan, including financial and material assistance. The Kobe committee depended entirely on the Joint in America for funding. The committee did not handle the refugees' emigration from Japan; the refugees themselves carried out the procedures for leaving Japan. (35)

Many refugees sought valid final destination visas after entering Japan by visiting consulates in Kobe, Yokohama, and Tokyo. The period of Sugihara's transit visa issuance was from July 9 to August 31, 1940, issued to 2,139 families. Instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 7, 1941, the embassies in Europe reported that they had issued transit visas to the following number of people from January 1940 to March 1941, "Hamburg 1,414, Vienna 786, Berlin 691, Stockholm 338, Moscow 152, Prague 71." (36)

According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, reports from German and Austrian refugees who arrived in Japan indicate that, unlike Polish refugees from Lithuania, most German and Austrian refugees had completed documents, stayed in Japan for a short time, and continued their journey to their final destinations.

Table 2, "Polish Jewish Refugees Arrived in and Left Kobe in January 1941" shows that the destinations were the United States (9), Argentina (4), Brazil (4), and Australia (1), with only 18 out of 201 (approximately 9%) able to depart. The majority of these refugees were from Vilnius (179 people, 89%) and Kaunas (19 people, 9%), and 3 were from other places. An overwhelming majority of Polish refugees were from Vilnius and Kaunas.

Table 2

Polish Jewish Refugees Arrived in and Left Kobe in January 1941

The Jewish Community of Kobe, January 31, 1941

No	Nationality	Came from	Date arrived at Kobe	Left for	Date departed from Kobe
1	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13, 1941	Australia	Jan 31, 1941
2	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 15	USA	Jan 25
3	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 21
4	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
5	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
6	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
7	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 25
8	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 25
9	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 25
10	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 25
11	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Brazil	Jan 21
12	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Brazil	Jan 21
13	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Brazil	Jan 21
14	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 21
15	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 21
16	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 7
17	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 7
18	Poland	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	Brazil	Jan 21

Table 3, “German Jewish Refugees Arrived in Kobe in December 1940” shows that 84 out of 106 people obtained final visas, with many heading to Central and South America, and most leaving Kobe within about two weeks. These were the results of strict final destination visa inspections by consuls at Japanese embassies in Europe, such as Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Hamburg, and Stockholm, who faithfully followed directives from the homeland on issuing entry visas to Japan. Some German Jewish refugees without final visas did not stay in Kobe, where the Jewish Community was placed, but moved to Yokohama, where there were many embassies. Out of the 106 people, 11 came from Kaunas, 6 with unspecified destinations, and 1 listed as going to Curaçao. These were refugees who, although they received visas from Sugihara in Kaunas, did not intend to go to Curaçao but aimed to escape the war in Europe with a transit visa from Japan.

Table 3

German Jewish Refugees Arrived in Kobe in December 1940

The Jewish Community of Kobe, January 31, 1941

…: Data Uncertain, ―: No Data

No	Nationality	Came from	Date arrived at Kobe	Left for	Date departed from Kobe
1	Germany	―	Dec 14, 1940	―	―
2	Germany	―	Dec 14	―	―
3	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	―	―
4	Germany	Vienna	Dec 10	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 24
5	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	―
6	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Santos (Brazil)	Jan 21, 1941
7	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Santos (Brazil)	Jan 21
8	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	Curaçao	―
9	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	Bolivia	Dec 30
10	Germany	Hamburg	Dec 14	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
11	Germany	Hamburg	Dec 14	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
12	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
13	Germany	Trubou	Dec 4	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Dec 24
14	Germany	Trubou	Dec 4	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Dec 24
15	Germany	―	Dec 27	―	―
16	Germany	―	Dec 27	―	―
17	Germany	Berlin	Dec 23	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
18	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 16
19	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 16
20	Germany	Vienna	Dec 10	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
21	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
22	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	―	―
23	Germany	Vienna	Dec 16	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 25
24	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	―	―
25	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 5	USA	―
26	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 5	USA	―
27	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 5	USA	―
28	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 28
29	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 28
30	Germany	Düsseldorf	Dec 27	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
31	Germany	Düsseldorf	Dec 24	―	―
32	Germany	―	Dec 24	―	―
33	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
34	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
35	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
36	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
37	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
38	Germany	Vienna	Dec 10	Manzanillo (Panama)	Jan 21, 1941
39	Germany	Vienna	Dec 10	Manzanillo (Panama)	Jan 21

40	Germany	Heiligenstadt	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
41	Germany	Heiligenstadt	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
42	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Montevideo (Uruguay)	Jan 21, 1941
43	Germany	Prague	Dec 4	—	—
44	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 14	—	—
45	Germany	Berlin	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
46	Germany	—	Dec 24	—	—
47	Germany	Wrocław (Poland)	Dec 27	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
48	Germany	Wrocław (Poland)	Dec 27	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
49	Germany	Leipzig	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
50	Germany	Leipzig	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
51	Germany	Münster	Dec 19	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 31
52	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	—	—
53	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	—	—
54	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	—	—
55	Germany	Kaunas	Dec 24	—	—
56	Germany	Lviv	Dec 4	—	—
57	Germany	Lviv	Dec 4	—	—
58	Germany	Berlin	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
59	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 24	—	—
60	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 24	—	—
61	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 24	—	—
62	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
63	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
64	Germany	Copenhagen	Dec 24	Los Angeles	Dec 30
65	Germany	Copenhagen	Dec 24	Los Angeles	Dec 30
66	Germany	—	Dec 24	—	—
67	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 26, 1941
68	Germany	—	Dec 14	San Francisco	Dec 16
69	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 23
70	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 14	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
71	Germany	Stockholm	Dec 14	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
72	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
73	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
74	Germany	Vienna	Dec 9	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
75	Germany	Vienna	…	…	…
76	Germany	…	…	…	…
77	Germany	…	…	…	…
78	Germany	…	…	…	…
79	Germany	…	…	…	…
80	Germany	…	Dec 24	Yokohama	…
81	Germany	…	…	Yokohama	…
82	Germany	…	…	Yokohama	…
83	Germany	Cologne	Dec 8	Yokohama	…
84	Germany	Cologne	…	Yokohama	…

85	Germany	Berlin	Dec 25	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
86	Germany	—	Dec 25	Yokohama	Dec 15
87	Germany	—	Dec 25	Yokohama	Dec 15
88	Germany	Hamburg	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 28
89	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
90	Germany	Berlin	Dec 24	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
91	Germany	Berlin	Dec 23	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
92	Germany	Berlin	Dec 23	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 30
93	Germany	—	Dec 14	Yokohama	Dec 15
94	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21, 1941
95	Germany	Vienna	Dec 24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	Jan 21
96	Germany	—	Dec 14	Yokohama	Dec 15
97	Germany	Vienna	Dec 12	Bolivia	Dec 25
98	Germany	Vienna	Dec 12	Bolivia	Dec 25
99	Germany	—	Dec 14	Yokohama	Dec 15
100	Germany	—	Dec 14	Yokohama	Dec 15
101	Germany	Prague	Dec 28	—	—
102	Germany	Prague	Dec 28	—	—
103	Germany	Munich	Dec 26	—	Dec 30
104	Germany	Munich	Dec 26	Yokohama	Dec 30
105	Germany	Vienna	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 24
106	Germany	Vienna	Dec 26	Balboa (Panama)	Dec 24

Table 4, “German Jewish Refugees Arrived in Kobe in January 1941” shows that 29 out of 64 (45%) did not have final visas. Of the visas issued by consuls at Japanese embassies in Europe, 19 were issued in Berlin (11), Prague (3), Stockholm (3), and Hamburg (2), with 16 obtaining final visas and 3 without specified destination countries. The Japanese consulates abroad also processed the visas of these German Jews according to directives. The destinations were Chile (9), Manila (10), Argentina (5), Manzanillo (3), San Francisco (3), Balboa (2), Montevideo, Palestine, Shanghai (1 each). Again, Central and South America were the most common destinations, with only a few going to America and Palestine, reflecting entry restrictions. Out of the 9 from Kaunas, 5 had destination visas, but 4 did not. The age groups were 22–34 years old (8 people, 13%) and 35 years old and above (37 people, 58%), with the latter being the majority.

Table 4

German Jewish Refugees Arrived in Kobe in January 1941

The Jewish Community of Kobe, January 31, 1941

—: No Data

No	Nationality	Came from	Date arrived at Kobe	Left for	Date departed from Kobe
1	Germany	Berlin	Jan 7, 1941	Manila	Jan 21, 1941
2	Germany	Berlin	Jan 7	Manila	Jan 21
3	Germany	—	Jan 19	—	—
4	Germany	—	Jan 9	—	—
5	Germany	Opole (Poland)	Jan 13	Manila	Jan 21
6	Germany	—	Jan 14	Manila	—
7	Germany	Ollmuth (Germany)	Jan 14	Manila	—
8	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
9	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
10	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 3	Argentina	Jan 21
11	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 3	Argentina	Jan 21
12	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
13	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
14	Germany	Munich	Jan 8	Montevideo (Uruguay)	Jan 24
15	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 14	—	—
16	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
17	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
18	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
19	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
20	Germany	Berlin	Jan 3	Shanghai	Jan 30
21	Germany	Berlin	Jan 3	—	—
22	Germany	Berlin	Jan 3	—	—
23	Germany	Berlin	Jan 13	Bolboa (Panama)	Jan 24
24	Germany	Berlin	Jan 13	Bolboa (Panama)	Jan 24
25	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
26	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
27	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
28	Germany	—	Jan 25	—	—
29	Germany	Bamberg (Germany)	Jan 9	Manila	Jan 21
30	Germany	Bamberg (Germany)	Jan 9	Manila	Jan 21
31	Germany	Prague	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 24
32	Germany	Prague	Jan 13	Chile	—
33	Germany	Prague	Jan 13	Chile	—
34	Germany	Cologne	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 24
35	Germany	Rsseinei	Jan 13	—	—
36	Germany	Ulm	Jan 12	—	—
37	Germany	Ulm	Jan 12	—	—
38	Germany	Ulm	Jan 12	—	—
39	Germany	Ulm	Jan 12	—	—

40	Germany	Burünn (Germany)	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 21
41	Germany	Burünn (Germany)	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 21
42	Germany	Burünn (Germany)	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 21
43	Germany	—	Jan 19	—	—
44	Germany	Riga	Jan 14	San Francisco	Jan 23
45	Germany	Riga	Jan 14	San Francisco	Jan 23
46	Germany	Riga	Jan 14	San Francisco	Jan 23
47	Germany	Berlin	Jan 19	Manila	Jan 21
48	Germany	Berlin	Jan 19	Manila	Jan 21
49	Germany	Berlin	Jan 19	Manila	Jan 21
50	Germany	—	Jan 21	—	—
51	Germany	Ramygara (Lithuania)	Jan 21	Palestine	Jan 20
52	Germany	—	Jan 19	—	—
53	Germany	Berlin	Jan 28	—	—
54	Germany	Hamburg	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 24
55	Germany	Hamburg	Jan 13	Chile	Jan 24
56	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	—	—
57	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	—	—
58	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	—	—
59	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 21
60	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 21
61	Germany	Kaunas	Jan 2	Argentina	Jan 21
62	Germany	Stockholm	Jan 2	Manzanillo (Panama)	Jan 31
63	Germany	Stockholm	Jan 2	Manzanillo (Panama)	Jan 31
64	Germany	Stockholm	Jan 2	Manzanillo (Panama)	Jan 31

Table 5, “Jewish Refugees (Other than Polish & German) Arrived in Kobe in December 1940” shows that out of 23 people, 2 (9%) did not have final visas. Those who obtained final visas were 21, according to collected results from the Jewish Community of Kobe. These two people were likely Dutch nationals who came from Lithuania.

Table 5

Jewish Refugees (Other than Polish & German) Arrived in Kobe in December 1940

The Jewish Community of Kobe, January 31, 1941

—: No Data

No	Nationality	Came from	Date arrived at Kobe	Left for	Date departed from Kobe
1	Bulgaria	Sofia (Bulgaria)	Dec 4, 1940	San Francisco	Dec 16, 1940
2	Bulgaria	Sofia (Bulgaria)	Dec 4	San Francisco	Dec 16
3	Bulgaria	Sofia (Bulgaria)	Dec 4	San Francisco	Dec 16
4	Bulgaria	Sofia (Bulgaria)	Dec 4	San Francisco	Dec 16
5	Bulgaria	Sofia (Bulgaria)	Dec 4	San Francisco	Dec 16
6	USA	Berlin	Dec 10	San Francisco	Dec 12
7	Demark	Uppsala (Sweden)	Dec 24	Manila	—
8	Hungary	Copenhagen (Denmark)	Dec 14	San Francisco	Dec 16
9	Hungary	Copenhagen (Denmark)	Dec 14	San Francisco	Dec 16
10	Netherlands	Telšiai (Lithuania)	Dec 24	—	—
11	Denmark	Uppsala (Sweden)	Dec 24	Manila	—
12	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
13	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
14	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
15	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
16	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
17	Nicaragua	Lviv (Poland)	Dec 24	Manila	—
18	Norway	Stockholm (Sweden)	Dec 24	Balboa	Jan 31, 1941
19	USA	Prague (Czechoslovakia)	Dec 24	San Francisco	Jan 23
20	Hungary	Helsinki (Finland)	Dec 24	Rio de Janeiro	Jan 21
21	Netherlands	Telšiai (Lithuania)	Dec 24	—	—
22	USA	Prague (Czechoslovakia)	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 26, 1940
23	USA	Prague (Czechoslovakia)	Dec 24	San Francisco	Dec 26

Those Dutch nationals from Telšiai received the Sugihara visas numbered 1264 on August 6, 1940. Since the final destination of the visa was Curaçao, they did not report a destination country. They knew that no landing permits would be issued because their visas did not allow for official entry.

Table 6, "Jewish Refugees (Other than Polish & German) Arrived in Kobe in January 1941" shows that out of 33 people, 24 (73%) did not have final visas. The significant increase in refugees without final visas compared to December in Table 5 is because 29 out of 33 people (88%) included those of Lithuanian and Czechoslovakian nationalities coming from Vilnius, as well as others from Vilnius and Kaunas. These refugees were helped by Chiune Sugihara and arrived in Japan with what are known as Curaçao visas, understanding well that these were not official entry visas, and they did not record a final destination. They were to stay in Kobe until a final destination was determined.

Table 6

Jewish Refugees (Other than Polish & German) Arrived in Kobe in January 1941

The Jewish Community of Kobe, January 31, 1941

—: No Data

No	Nationality	Came from	Date arrived at Kobe	Left for	Date departed from Kobe
1	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13, 1941	—	—
2	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
3	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
4	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 25	Shanghai	Jan 30, 1941
5	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 25	Shanghai	Jan 30
6	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 25	Shanghai	Jan 30
7	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
8	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
9	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
10	Czechoslovakia	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
11	Lithuania	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
12	Lithuania	Utena (Lithuania)	Jan 13	USA	Feb 13
13	Lithuania	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 7
14	Lithuania	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	USA	Jan 7
15	Lithuania	Alytus (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
16	Lithuania	Alytus (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
17	Lithuania	Kaunas	Jan 13	—	—
18	Lithuania	Butrimonys (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
19	Lithuania	Butrimonys (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
20	Lithuania	—	Jan 2	—	—
21	Lithuania	Alytus (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
22	Lithuania	Alytus (Lithuania)	Jan 13	—	—
23	Lithuania	Kaunas	Jan 2	—	—
24	Lithuania	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	—	—
25	Netherlands	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	—	—
26	Netherlands	Vilnius (Lithuania)	Jan 2	—	—
27	Nicaragua	Kalisz (Poland)	Jan 2	—	—
28	Nicaragua	Kalisz (Poland)	Jan 2	—	—
29	Luxembourg	Kaunas	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
30	Luxembourg	Kaunas	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
31	Luxembourg	Kaunas	Jan 13	USA	Jan 25
32	No nationalities	Panevėžys (Lithuania)	Jan 2	—	—
33	No nationalities	Leningrad	Jan 24	—	—

On either January 2 or January 13, 1941, 14 Lithuanian nationals arrived in Kobe. The Soviet Union annexed Lithuania on August 3, 1940. Based on this, the Soviets considered Lithuanian nationals as Soviet citizens and did not permit them to leave the country. However, they allowed Poles to transit and leave the country. Thus, these 14 Lithuanians were exceptionally

fortunate. Escaping the clutches of the Nazis and Soviets and reaching Kobe was miraculous enough, but for these 14, their luck was compounded, making it a true miracle.

6.3 The Situation of Jewish Refugees and Their Visa Holdings in Japan

Table 7, based on the report from the American Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs released on April 15, 1941, titled "Situation of European refugees fleeing to Japan" shows that as of March 20, 1941, out of 1,559 refugees, 1,351 (87%) were Polish, followed by 152 Germans (9.7%). Others included Czechs, Lithuanians, and people of other nationalities. By destination country, the Dutch Caribbean Island of Curaçao had 1,153 (74%), followed by North America with 132 (8.5%), Central and South America with 94 (6%), Palestine with 47 (3%), and visas without a destination country totaled 86 (6%). The so-called Curaçao visa holders' number reached 1,153, and adding those without visas, the total comes to 1,239, approximately 80% of all refugees.

Table 7

Situation of Jewish Refugees Remaining in Japan, as of March 20

—: No Data

Destination Nationality	North America	Dutch Curaçao	Central America & South America	Palestine	Others	Unclear since not holding visas	Total
Poland	80	1,074	49	39	23	86	1,351
Germany	41	57	35	2	17	—	152
Czechoslovakia	2	4	—	—	—	—	6
Lithuania	3	10	7	6	7	—	33
Others	6	8	3	—	—	—	17
Total	132	1,153	94	47	47	86	1,559

Note. The American Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Situation of European Refugees Fleeing to Japan," April 15, 1941.

Next, Table 8, based on the report from the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted on April 18, 1941, titled "Possession Status of Visa for Third Country at the Stage of Entering Japan" which recorded the visa possession status and final destinations of Jewish refugees, shows that as of April 8, 1941, out of 1,562 individuals, 919 (approximately 59%) held the Curaçao visa. Adding 458 individuals without a visa, the total becomes 1,377, indeed reaching 88%. Since the term "visa for third country" implies a visa for a country not necessarily intended as the final destination but as one of the planned destinations, it can be suggested that a significant number of "visas for third country" were Curaçao visas. Of the 919 Curaçao visa holders, 867 (94%) were Polish nationals. The next largest group included 75 out of 1,562 (approximately 5%) holding U.S. visas. Others were heading to Palestine (18), Panama (31), and Haiti (17), among others, with a few holding visas for various Central and South American countries. The presence of 458 individuals without any visa at the time of entry is notable. This indicates the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' flexible approach to its immigration directives.

Table 8

Possession Status of Visa for Third Country at the Stage of Entering Japan

As of April 8, 1941

—: No Data

Nationality Third country visa	Germany	Poland	Lithuania	Czech	Romania	Hungary	Bolivia	Nicaragua	Netherlands	Total
USA	19	52	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	75
Curaçao (Netherlands)	30	867	2	16	2	2	—	—	—	919
Palestine	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Panama	22	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
Chile	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Paraguay	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dominica	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Honduras	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Haiti	1	1	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
Thailand	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Philippines	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Cuba	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Santo Domingo	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Australia	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
British Africa	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Bolivia	2	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	5
Nicaragua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mexico	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Without a visa	10	423	5	2	1	—	1	6	2	458
Total	104	1,393	30	21	3	2	1	6	2	1,562

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Matters Concerning the Mass Investigation of the Jews,” April 18, 1941.

Furthermore, the report by the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 18, 1941, titled “Visa Acquisition Status” shows that as of April 8, 1941, out of 1,562 individuals, 184 (approximately 11.8%) had already obtained visas, and 969 (approximately 62%) were about to be given a visa but still in the process of acquiring one, totaling approximately 73.8% suggested the potential of leaving the country. The remaining approximately 26%, or 409 individuals, were likely to continue staying in Japan.

Table 9

Visa Acquisition Status

As of April 8, 1941

—: No Data

Situation / Visa issuing countries	Finished	Processing		Difficult	Total
		Possible	Uncertain		
USA	76	759	172	133	1,140
Palestine	47	138	48	41	274
Canada	—	25	—	2	27
Mexico	4	1	1	—	6
Argentina	6	8	1	—	14
Brazil	—	5	—	—	6
Chile	4	3	—	—	7
Bolivia	4	—	—	—	4
Uruguay	2	—	—	—	2
Venezuela	—	1	—	—	1
Paraguay	1	—	—	—	1
Dominica	5	—	—	—	5
Honduras	1	—	—	—	1
Nicaragua	6	—	—	—	6
Cuba	2	—	—	—	2
Santo Domingo	5	—	—	—	5
Martinique (France)	4	—	—	—	4
UK	—	2	—	—	2
Myanmar	—	12	4	—	17
Australia	2	6	2	—	1
British Africa	2	6	—	—	8
Thailand	5	2	—	—	7
Shanghai	6	—	—	—	6
Philippines	2	1	2	—	5
Curaçao	—	—	—	2	2
Total	184	969	230	179	1,562

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Matters Concerning the Mass Investigation of the Jews," April 18, 1941.

Most of the 1,562 refugees, 1,140 (73%), aim for the United States, followed by Palestine with 274 (18%), and Canada with 27 (2%). Out of 1,562 total refugees, 919 initially held Dutch Curaçao visas upon entry (See Table 8), this number was drastically reduced to only two. This reduction clearly indicated that the refugees knew the Curaçao visa was not valid as a final destination visa.

Table 10, according to the report from the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 18, 1941, titled “Jewish Refugees Currently in Japan,” as of April 8, 1941, Polish-born Jewish refugees constituted 1,393 out of 1,562 individuals (approximately 89%), German refugees numbered 104 (approximately 7%), Lithuanians were 30 (approximately 2%), and a few remaining refugees came from countries including Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua. Hence, it can be said that the majority of Jewish refugees remaining at that time were Polish refugees.

Table 10

Jewish Refugees Currently in Japan

As of April 8, 1941

—: No Data

Nationality Sex	Germany	Poland	Lithuania	Czechoslovakia	Romania	Hungary	Bolivia	Nicaragua	Netherlands	Total
Male	65	1,110	16	16	3	1	1	3	1	1,216
Female	39	283	14	5	—	1	—	3	1	346
Total	104	1,393	30	21	3	2	1	6	2	1,562

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Matters Concerning the Mass Investigation of the Jews,” April 18, 1941.

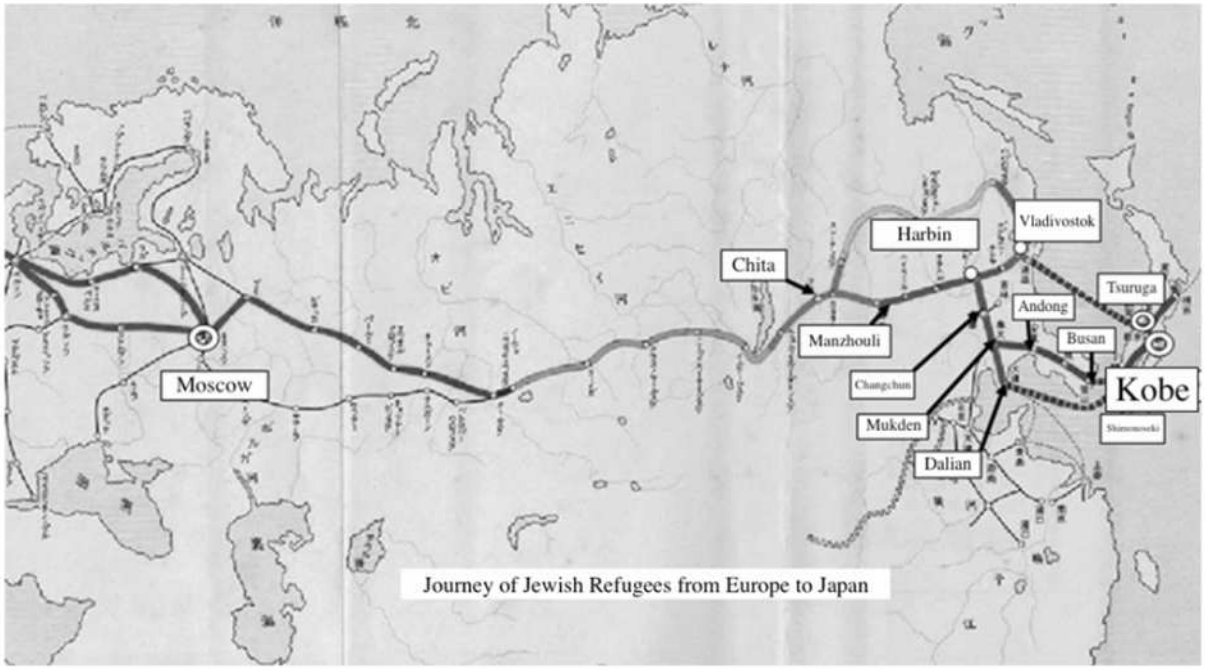
6.4 The Route of Jewish Refugees to Kobe

The route from Lithuania to Kobe spans about 6,000 miles (approximately 9,600km) via Siberia and Vladivostok. Most Jewish refugees clung to the slim chance of survival and barely managed to cross this vast distance. Many of them were refugees who had fled Poland, traveled to Lithuania, entered Russia, reached Moscow, and then followed this route: Moscow, Siberian Railway, Vladivostok, Tsuruga, Kobe (Route 1). Information gathered from the people of Kobe about the Jewish refugees described their arrival: “My father was a former Japanese military man, and he told me about how Jews kept arriving by train in Manchukuo’s Hsinking (Changchun) and how the police inspected the Jews at the station.” The exact time remains unclear but is estimated around 1940–1941. This suggests that there were routes other than Route 1 for Jewish refugees to reach Japan. Furue detailed the journey of Jewish refugees from Germany through Manchukuo to Japan as follows:

> On August 12, 1940, Hiroshi Kawamura, the Consul General of the Japanese Empire in Hamburg, issued a transit visa to a Jewish couple living in Germany, and on the same day, Sawaguchi, the Acting Consul General of the Manchurian Empire in Hamburg, issued a transit visa through Manchukuo. (37)

Figure 3

Journey of Jewish Refugees from Europe to Japan



The couple then traveled to Irkutsk, Manchuria (Manchukuo), Harbin, Hsinking (Changchun), Mukden, Andong, Gyoengseong, Busan, Shimonoseki, Kobe and Yokohama via the Trans-Siberian Railway (Route 2). As of August 1940, Route 2 allowed the couple to travel to Manchuria and Harbin via the Trans-Siberian Railway, then to Hsinking, Andong, Busan, Shimonoseki, and on to Kobe via the Manchurian Railway. This Jewish couple had already obtained transit visas for Japan and Manchukuo while they were in Germany, indicating that they had secured final destination visas by that time. Furue also mentioned a third route involving the Trans-Siberian Railway, Manchuria, Harbin, Dalian, Moji, and Kobe (Route 3). According to Furue:

> Although the Soviet Union permitted the transit of Jewish refugees, it had kept an eye on their domestic travel and stay. The Soviet Union had requested Japan to permit the entry of Jewish refugees staying in Vladivostok as soon as possible. Since the Soviet Union suggested it was difficult for the approximately 800 Polish refugees to move as soon as possible, on February 3, 1941, the USSR requested the Japanese government to allow some of the Jewish refugees staying in Vladivostok to transit through Manchukuo. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded in March 1941 that "transit through Manchukuo would be limited to 100 people." (38)

6.5 Location of the Jewish Community of Kobe

The Jewish Community of Kobe was mentioned in reports to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee as "THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF KOBE (ASHKENAZIM), No.6,

YAMAMOTO-DORI, 1-CHOME, KOBE, JAPAN." This community was a primary haven for Jewish refugees. It was located several dozen meters from the Ichinomiya Shrine in the current Chūō Ward, Kobe City. Currently, about ten meters of the original stone wall remains, but none of the buildings where over a thousand refugees came to shelter had survived. The Ashkenazi Jews of Kobe formed a relief committee for Jewish refugees, providing various forms of care. Warhaftig described the Jewish Community of Kobe:

> The attitude of the committee toward the new arrivals was warm and solicitous, as those who were now aiding their fellow Jews had themselves been refugees from Russia. […] Most of the refugees were transferred from Tsuruga to Kobe, where they were received compassionately by Jews and Japanese alike. […] Yet, there were open expressions of sympathy among the Japanese. […] My companions and I stayed in Kobe only a few days, whereupon we proceeded to Yokohama together with some of the Poalei Zion functionaries. Most of these people, however, soon returned to Kobe, the nerve center of Jewish and Jewish refugee activities in Japan. (39)

The Jewish Community of Kobe played a significant role in supporting the lives of refugees by providing money, clothing, shelter, and arrangements for other necessities. Their dedicated and compassionate care earned the trust of the Jewish refugees and became a comforting presence for them.

6.6 Residences of Jewish Refugees

Although the locations of specific residences of the 4,000-plus Jewish refugees who stayed in Kobe remain largely unknown, the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture reported the addresses of the Jewish refugees to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other departments on April 8, August 30, and September 21, 1941. Based on these reports, the Kobe City Archives reconstructed the contemporary maps of the residential areas of the Jewish refugees using the map of residence at that time.

In September 1940, due to the signing of the Tripartite Pact (Berlin Pact) between Japan, Germany, and Italy, the U.S. government issued evacuation advisories to British and American nationals residing in Japan. Some foreigners had started leaving Japan before the evacuation was issued. Hence, many Western-style houses in Kitano and Yamamoto areas in Kobe became vacant. The Jewish Community of Kobe rented these houses for the Jewish refugees. However, these accommodations were insufficient for housing over a thousand Jewish refugees, so many stayed in homes of Jews in Kobe or in apartments by themselves. Wealthy Jewish refugees stayed in hotels on their own.

As of April 8, 1941, there was still a possibility of more Jewish refugees arriving. At that time, 1,562 Jewish refugees stayed in Kobe, with 1,060 in communal housing, 209 in hotels and boarding houses, and 293 in private homes. The addresses of 1,269 refugees in communal housing, hotels, and boarding houses were clearly marked on maps. Their residences were concentrated in the area between Kitanozaka and Tor Road, largely because the Jewish Community of Kobe was located at 1 Yamamoto-dōri. In addition, Jewish refugees needed to visit there twice a week to receive living expenses and food, and to obtain information about their homeland and relatives. Large vacant houses and apartments were utilized, and many Jewish refugees also stayed as far as

north of Hankyu Rokkō, Aotani, Nada Ward, and along Suidōsuji. These areas, though distant from the Jewish Community of Kobe, were accessible by city trams and buses, enabling communication with the community.

By September 21, 1941, the number of Jewish refugees in Kobe had significantly decreased compared to April earlier the same year, totaling only 122. The steamship Taiyō Maru heading to Shanghai, which departed from Kobe Port on September 17, 1941, was reportedly the last ship to carry Jewish refugees from Kobe. However, some had to remain, including the sick and their caretakers, infants with their guardians, and representatives of theological schools. Their residences are illustrated on the map, some in Suidōsuji and Shironouchi-dōri, Nada Ward, and Nakajima-dōri and Kamitsutsui-dōri, Fukiai Ward, though most were located around Kitano and Yamamoto-dōri.

6.7 Living Conditions of Jewish Refugees in Kobe

The manager of the Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha Kobe Branch submitted a report, "The Situation of Jewish Refugees in Kobe," to the president on April 9, 1941: "First, as of March 31, a survey by the Hyogo Prefecture's Foreign Affairs Division showed that approximately 70% of the 1,713 refugees were men, predominantly Polish, except for 100 Germans." It is stated that approximately 1,600 out of 1,700 were Polish Jews.

> Second, approximately 1,000 out of 1,700 refugees had almost no living expenses and received remittances from the American Jewish Community through the Jewish Community of Kobe. Each person received 1.2 yen, which served as pocket money. Accommodation and meals were collectively managed by the Community. One loaf of bread per day was provided by the mediation of Hyogo Prefecture's Foreign Affairs Division to prevent them from wandering the city in search of bread.
>
> These 1,000 people were scattered mainly in Nada, Aotani, Kitano, and Yamamoto-dōri, and lived in 21 Western-style houses, with sometimes up to 12 people sharing accommodation, leading a very miserable life. […]
>
> Approximately 700 others, who arrived penniless, received remittances from relatives and friends in the U.S. and stayed in various hotels and apartments. Although they were not directly under the aid of the Jewish Community of Kobe, they rarely ate meals in hotels and instead prepared their own food such as bread and vegetables in their rooms.

Each refugee was initially given 1.5 yen, which was later reduced to 1.2 yen. The allowance of 1.2 yen per day, along with the provided bread, was considered sufficient to maintain a modest lifestyle from the perspective of ordinary people, as entrance fees for bathhouses were 0.06 to 0.08 yen, the train fare was 0.08 yen, and curry rice cost between 0.2 to 0.3 yen. The disparity in the financial status between German and Polish Jews could be attributed to many German Jews having passed through Manchukuo without being plundered by Russians as in Vladivostok. Germans had restrictions on the amount of money they could take abroad, approximately 10 dollars, and their situation upon departure was similar to that of the Polish Jewish refugees who only had their own clothes that they wore. It is also stated that German Jews could afford hotels in Kobe because they received remittances from relatives and friends in America. Berl Schor, in his memoirs, describes his life in Kobe from February to August 1941, as follows:

> Refugees were not allowed to work with their transit visas, and because of this, they relied on allowances provided by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. This allowance covered foods and other daily expenses, but nothing more. Everyone lived on this allowance without complaint; there was nothing luxurious. Our family lived in a house set aside for refugees, with seven people in a room. […] Our house had toilets and laundry facilities, but we had to go to a public bath. (40)

Jewish refugees lived in Kobe for periods ranging from one week to six months until they obtained visas for their next destinations. They felt a momentary peace and enjoyed the limited freedom they had; they enjoyed interacting with the people of Kobe.

6.8 Departure of Jewish Refugees from Kobe

On April 18, 1941, the Governor of Hyogo sent a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others entitled "Matters Concerning the Mass Investigation of the Jews." It stated that as long as there was no sudden influx of Jewish refugees, the process of sending them to the third destination could be handled smoothly. However, the situation changed drastically after the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces occupied southern French Indochina on July 28, 1941, which led to a severe deterioration in Japan-U.S. relations and economic sanctions such as an oil embargo against Japan. Subsequently, on August 30, 1941, the Governor of Hyogo's report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others entitled "Matters Concerning Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan," stated that due to the complete suspension of international shipping routes to North America, Canada, India, Australia, and South America, it had become impossible to travel directly from Japan to these destinations. The only option was to travel to Shanghai first and then take foreign ships via Manila or Hong Kong. Following the freezing of Japanese assets in the U.S., there was a concern about the potential for severe circumstances since the refugees could no longer receive financial aid from America due to the cessation of remittances from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to the Jewish Community of Kobe. As a result, Hyogo Prefecture advised the Japanese government that all Jewish refugees, regardless of whether they had obtained visas, should be quickly sent to Shanghai and should obtain visas there. Table 11, "Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan (August 1–August 31)," shows that in August 1941, three ships named Kamakura Maru, Asama Maru, and Tatsuta Maru, transferred a total of 783 Jewish refugees to Shanghai. According to Table 12, "Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan: Acquisition of Visa for Third Country," 625 out of 783 people did not have visas, accounting for approximately 80%. Only 20% (158) had visas, with the majority destined for Palestine (76), followed by New Zealand (28), the United States (21), Canada (17) and Australia (5). This arrangement was a response to British permission to accept refugees in their territories such as New Zealand, Canada, and Australia, due to American restrictions on refugee inflows.

Table 11
Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan （August 1 – August 31）

Date of departure	Ship name	German			Polish			Others			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
August 2	Kamakura Maru	11	10	21	95	28	123	2	1	3	108	39	147
August 20	Asama Maru	11	4	15	227	22	249	9	14	23	247	40	287
August 28	Tatsuta Maru	12	9	21	263	61	324	2	2	4	277	72	349
Total		34	23	57	585	111	696	13	17	30	632	151	783

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Home Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others, August 30, 1941.

Table 12
Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan: Acquisition of Visa for Third Country

—: No Data

Date of departure	Ship name	Palestine	USA	Canada	Australia	New Zealand	Brazil	Argentina	Cuba	Mexico	No Visa	Total
August 2	Kamakura Maru	34	—	1	2	28	—	—	—	—	82	147
August 20	Asama Maru	26	7	11	1	—	2	6	—	—	234	287
August 28	Tatsuta Maru	16	14	5	2	—	—	—	1	2	309	349
Total		76	21	17	5	28	2	6	1	2	625	783

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Home Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others, August 30, 1941.

Looking at Table 13, which the author prepared using the table provided by Hyogo Prefecture on August 30, 1941, entitled “Jewish Refugees Remaining in Japan,” after transport, the number of Jewish refugees remaining in Kobe had decreased dramatically to 322. Of these, 278 were Polish (86.3%) and only 25 were German refugees (7.7%). On September 21, 1941, the Governor of Hyogo submitted a report to the Home Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs entitled “Matters Concerning Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan.” It stated:

> The departure of Taiyō Maru from Kobe Port on September 17 would probably be the last opportunity to send off Jewish refugees due to difficulties in scheduling other ships. We cannot miss this opportunity to send off Jewish refugees. Despite the ongoing security measures at Kobe Port, negotiations with customs and military police units allowed the 199 Jewish refugees to board Taiyō Maru.

Table 13
Jewish Refugees Remaining in Japan

Nationality	Poland	Germany	Czechoslovakia	Lithuania	Chile	Netherlands	Total
Remaining	278	25	13	3	1	2	322

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Home Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others, August 30, 1941.

According to Table 14, "Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan," out of 199 people who departed on Taiyō Maru, 158 were Polish (79.4%), and 18 were German (9%). The remaining Jewish refugees in Kobe were 128, including the sick and their attendants, infants with their companions, and representatives of the theological schools. Although it was challenging to arrange their send-off in large numbers, plans were made to expedite their departure as swiftly as possible. According to an article in *Kobe Shimbun* of September 18, 1941, entitled "Farewell, Jewish Troops, Rear Guard," the last group of Jewish refugees totaling 199 in all, who had been resting in the port city for six months, departed at 3 p.m. on September 17 aboard Taiyō Maru bound for Shanghai. The article noted that approximately 70 others, primarily sick people and children, remained and were scheduled to leave soon on the next available ships.

Table 14

Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan

As of September 17, 1941

Date of departure	Ship name	German			Polish			Others			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
September 17	Taiyō Maru	10	8	18	118	40	158	13	10	23	141	58	199

Note. The report from the Governor of Hyogo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Matters Concerning Jewish Refugees Leaving Japan," September 21, 1941.

The departure route for Jewish refugees from Kobe included customs inspections at Meriken Dockside, then traveling by bus or tram to Takamatsu Station, assembling at the plaza of quarantine station at Cape Wada, and boarding the waiting ship by barge or directly at the third or fourth piers. Local residents recalled seeing many Jewish refugees boarding ships from the quay at Cape Wada:

> In the fall of 1940, I saw many Jewish people departing overseas from the pier at Cape Wada. They boarded the barge when the mothership arrived. They carried as much luggage as they could and wore multiple layers of clothing. Due to wartime reductions on international routes, the quarantine facilities were less crowded and provided space for Jewish refugees to wait for their departure.

6.9 Jews in Kobe Before 1939

According to the *Kobe Shimbun* of December 18, 1941, there were still over 90 Jews residing in Kobe after the send-off of the refugees. Diplomats of the Axis powers and civilians, including other foreigners residing in Japan, were relocated to areas such as Karuizawa for safety after 1943. The Jews remaining in Kobe were evacuated before the beginning of the intensive air raids by the U.S. forces. Between March and April of 1945, they moved to a cultural village northeast of Arima Onsen (Arima Hot Spring) in Kita Ward, Kobe City.

Cultural Village in Arima-chō, Kita Ward, Kobe City

7. Interaction with the people of Kobe

In late 2015, by way of public announcements and the media, the city of Kobe called for contributions of information regarding Jewish refugees from 1940 and 1941. Over fifty valuable pieces of information were provided. The city's enthusiasm to preserve Kobe's precious and fading historical memories, lost through war damage and the passage of time, resonated with the local people. Full of goodwill, they provided advice and documentation. Although the information sent was limited, the warm nature of the people of Kobe was evident.

Episode 1:

On February 13, 1941, a Polish couple, 38-year-old lawyer, Alfred Zauberman, and 40-year-old Irena Zauberman entered Japan from Vilnius, Lithuania. It is unclear if they were married. They had received visas from Chiune Sugihara on July 29 and August 5, 1940. In February 1941, while exploring the Kitano Yamamoto area, they probably noticed a sign that read "Attorney at Law" on 3 Yamamoto-dōri. They visited this law office, and perhaps because Alfred found a sense of familiarity and reassurance in the shared profession with the Japanese lawyer, rented a residence that was used as a storage room by the office, and stayed there for about a month. The Jewish Community of Kobe tried to provide housing for them, but all facilities were full and overcrowded at the time. The newspaper *The Osaka Mainichi* on February 15, 1941, reported under the headline "Dressed Only in What They Wore on Arrival, 300 More Arrived in Kobe Yesterday." The article reported:

> From the firestorm that is Europe, […] at 4:48 p.m. yesterday, Jewish refugees arrived in Kobe again at Sannomiya Station. Guided by the Jewish Community of Kobe […] they entered the hotels in Yamato, Kobe, and Fuji, but it was too crowded with already 440 Jews waiting. This caused a stir to rent and wholly occupy two private houses on 2 Nakajima-dōri, Fukiai Ward, and the apartment, Sanrakusō in 4 Aotani-chō, Nada Ward.

This article records exactly when the Zaubermans arrived in Kobe. Written on the back of a photo they left were the words "We express our highest gratitude, March 24, 1941" likely intended to

convey their thanks before departing Kobe. No record exists of when or from where they departed. We can see the open-hearted and compassionate attitudes of the people of Kobe from the Japanese lawyer family, accepting and providing housing for them promptly upon hearing about their circumstances. From the information that the lawyer family was outraged when they heard from Zaubermans that their cousins were being persecuted in Europe for being Jewish, we could tell they understood well that they were Jews and accepted them accordingly.

Episode 2:

In the summer of 1941, 25-year-old Meno Mozes Walden and Cila Walden, who are presumed to be married but not specified, arrived in Kobe from Hamburg, Germany. They had received visas from Chiune Sugihara on August 7, 1940. Along with a Jewish refugee named Sheffer Max, they visited a grocery store in the Suidōsuji, Nada Ward, where the contributor (nine years old at the time) lived. The contributor's father worked as a subcontractor for the customs office and could speak with foreigners, which is why a local woman brought them to the store. It is speculated that Sheffer Max might be the Polish Jew, Scheffer Mejer, listed as number 1647 on Sugihara's list. Mejer came to Kobe in January or February 1941. They were invited to the contributor's family home on Kuraishi-dōri, where the host family welcomed them with their mother's homemade dishes and their sister's performance of "The Flea Waltz" on the piano. The family also provided them *yukatas* for photographs. At another time, they were dressed in traditional Japanese attire and were photographed at a nearby photo studio. Foreigners' presence was not unusual as they occasionally visited the contributor's home. The contributor did not join them for meals as the contributor was not notified that the guests were coming. At the time, nobody in the family knew they were Jewish refugees. It was only later, during the war, that they learned of their Jewish identity. There were no anti-Semitic remarks heard in their surroundings. During that era, speaking with foreigners could arouse suspicions of being a spy, but the contributor's family interacted with them just as they would with any other foreigner, in a typically open and generous Kobe manner. Walden left a signed photo dated September 16, 1941, presumably as a token of gratitude before leaving Kobe. The contributor remembers the Waldens saying they were heading to the U.S. via Shanghai.

Episode 3:

Followers of the Protestant Kobe Holiness Church, aware of the plight of Jewish refugees, arranged to send apples for assistance. On February 22, 1941, *The Osaka Mainichi*, under the headline "A Gift of Apples for the Jews in Kobe" on February 21, reported "The Kiyome Christian Church of Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe donated 13 boxes of apples to the Jewish Community on Yamamoto-dōri. The refugees, who came to receive their bread distribution at 3 p.m., were delighted by this act." Learning about the plight of Jewish refugees and organizing activities to help them in any way possible was a courageous and humanitarian effort during a time when gatherings were prohibited. According to the church pastor's eldest daughter (17 or 18 years old at the time), the donation of apples was not a one-time event but occurred several times. She recounted how she and others joyously saw off the Jewish refugees at the port, who were ecstatic about their departure and danced in celebration.

Episode 4:

Jewish refugees were frequently seen around Kitano-chō, Yamamoto-dōri, and other parts of Kobe during 1940 and 1941. In Kitano, during the winter of 1941, some locals observed refugees with insufficient clothing, suffering from frostbite on their hands due to the cold Japanese climate. There were also sightings near Ichinomiya Shrine and Hunter Slope. In the winter of 1940, at the Hatahara Market in Nada Ward, individuals witnessed two or three Jewish women with worn-out shoes collecting radish leaves at the back of a greengrocer, possibly to save on food costs so they could afford travel expenses.

Episode 5:

A local contributor who lived in Shinohara-Minamimachi, Nada Ward, recounted childhood memories from 1941 when the contributor was nine years old. Across the river east from the current Nada Police Station was a dilapidated three-story wooden house where about 20 Jewish people resided. The contributor's family owned an oil shop. This person remembers his mother carrying things over to the Jewish residents in the evenings, after dark, and was instructed never to talk about it. There was no idea to what exactly she was carrying, but this person recalled observing Jewish refugees wearing tattered overcoats and hats. There were many people who wanted to help Jewish people in need. However, even in the international port city that is Kobe, it was a time in history when it was generally frowned upon to have close contact with foreigners, including Jewish refugees. This period also saw the rise of anti-Semitic sentiments in news coverage. Yet, this compassionate housewife discreetly helped the refugees. It seems that the modest yet firm way of extending a helping hand to troubled foreigners, albeit discreetly, symbolizes the demeanor of the people of Kobe at that time. It wasn't about making a grand gesture to help them; rather, they were helping Jewish refugees while instructing their sons, "Don't tell anyone." The contributor mentioned that there was a sense of hesitation about offering supplies or associating with Jews who had fled from Europe. She wrapped items in her apron to deliver them unnoticed, understanding their plight perhaps due to her employment at a trading company. She carried out her actions quietly without seeking any return, and her deep-rooted strength and warm human love that transcended race strongly resonate with us. Such understated yet meaningful interactions between the people of Kobe and Jewish refugees might have been occurring in various places. These gestures were likely carried out subtly, as those of the woman mentioned. Some reason for the lack of reportage may be the deterioration and loss of memories; there aren't many stories left about communications with Jewish refugees. However, such neighborly relations might have been seen as routine and not something particularly noteworthy for the people of Kobe who were accustomed to exchanges with foreigners.

News reports and other records captured daily interactions with Jewish refugees in Kobe: one record details how forgotten change was returned to a Jewish refugee the following day; another describes the commotion that ensued whenever refugees entered a bathhouse; a third recounts how a Jewish woman negotiated prices at the market using gestures to overcome language barriers; and the list goes on. Mr. Arie Leo Hanin's wife took care of hundreds of refugee children. Whenever children fell ill with colds, fevers, or diarrhea, they were brought to her for care. There was also a Japanese doctor in Kobe known to the refugee children as "the rabbit doctor" because he kept rabbits in his garden. This doctor, Dr. Yoshimura, was reportedly remarkable in that he never accepted medical fees from the Jewish refugees.

Episode 6:

Around 1941 (when the contributor was around 11 years old), there was a large Western-style mansion in the southwest area of 4 Kitano-chō where 20 to 50 Jewish people resided, including children and women. Although the people of Kobe knew that they were war refugees, many were unaware that they had fled persecution. As one group would leave, another would arrive. All that was generally known about them was that they were "waiting for a ship." The contributor wanted to speak with the refugees, but there was little to no interaction as they seldom ventured outside. There were no neighborly interactions either. Compared to other foreigners in Kitano, the refugees' clothing appeared modest and impoverished.

In March 1941, Hyogo Prefecture implemented "Regulations for Jewish Refugees" consisting of 10 items to manage the increasing number of Jewish refugees. These regulations included the following:

- Those wishing to travel outside of Kobe were required to apply for permission through the Jewish Community of Kobe and the prefectural foreign affairs office.
- Refugees were encouraged to refrain from aimless outings and to rest at their accommodations.
- Each lodging was to appoint a person in charge and at least three night-duty officers to maintain order and sanitation. Violators would face repatriation or other severe penalties.

Jewish refugees were encouraged to stay in their lodgings and not go out much. Episode 6 suggests that this rule restricted the refugees' freedom to go out.

Perla Frankel, Berl Schor's sister, recalled, "We had no money, so the allowance from the Jewish Community of Kobe was much appreciated." Her family of four lived in communal housing on a hill in 1 Kitano-chō for about six months. Although they were advised to stay at their lodging, they needed to go out for daily life necessities. There must have been many interactions between the people of Kobe.

> When going outside, we used gestures to communicate, as neither we nor the Japanese locals spoke each other's languages. Luxuries such as sugar and jam were rationed, but we managed to procure them for the children. […] Berl occasionally earned small change by helping a Japanese milk delivery person, which led to a police investigation due to the suspicion of him working without permission. However, the officer showed no interest in our story and simply said, "(I know) you can't get money if you don't work," and left.

The police did not punish Berl and forgave him out of compassion. Through the gestures exchanged during daily shopping, the relationship between the Jewish refugees and the people of Kobe likely grew closer and more intimate.

Berl Schor, who was 14 years old at the time, became friends with a Japanese boy. They hunted together with air guns in the woods behind their homes. Berl remarks, "It is interesting that a boy from Poland and a Japanese boy became true friends without a common language." In his memoir, Berl describes scenes such as Japanese people catching cicadas and hanging the small insect cages under the eaves, and his experiences with them at public baths. It is inferred that he interacted and formed close relationships with various people, from adults to children, in areas such as Kitano-chō and Yamamoto-dōri.

Every time I encounter information provided by the people of Kobe, I am reminded anew that the people of Kobe at the time interacted with foreigners (Jewish refugees) with a healthy, everyday international sensibility, extending a warm, neighborly hand. Such rich, everyday international sensibility cannot be developed overnight. It should be seen as a legacy cultivated by the 150-year history since the opening of Kobe Port.

8. Post-War Jewish Community in Kobe

In June 1945, the synagogue was destroyed by fire during an air raid. Kobe's Ashkenazi community dwindled as World War II drew to a close. It is said that most Jews had left Japan by the early 1950s. Moche explained:

> Jacob Gottlieb was the only Ashkenazi among the Sephardic Jews. At that time, the religious rules of Judaism were eclectic; some observed the Sabbath while others did not, and dietary habits varied with some keeping kosher and others not. There were about 18 to 20 families during 1952 to 1965.

From 1968 to 1969, all the Jewish congregants contributed to converting a warehouse into a proper synagogue. Albert Hamway facilitated the transportation of a Sefer Torah (Torah scroll) from New York to Japan. In 1970, the current Ohel Shelomoh Synagogue was completed, coinciding with the establishment of the Jewish Community of Kansai. Moche noted: "Victor Moche and Albert Hamway worked together to build the synagogue. The required Minyan gathered on Saturday mornings, but not on Friday nights."

The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995 caused significant damage to the synagogue, breaking the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments. The chimney fell onto the synagogue's roof, damaging part of the roof and causing damage to the building's exterior walls. Moche also noted:

> Around the year 2000, 50 people visited the synagogue weekly. Visitors rose to between 170–200 people during the Jewish holidays and Passover. There were visitors every Sabbath. Visitors would stay in the houses of Jewish families or the rabbi's apartment. The community maintained a Sunday school for five to six children, but during holidays, it saw about 30 children. Services were conducted with a mixture of Sephardic, Ashkenazi, Israeli, and Hasidic customs. The congregation was remarkably young, with most members in their 30s.

9. Conclusion

From January to October 2016, extensive time was devoted to meticulously examining and analyzing a vast number of documents and literature related to the Jews. Although I started writing late and my analysis and consideration were insufficient, I endeavored to approach a clear and comprehensive overview of the Jews in Kobe. Therefore, there are quite a few citations. Most of the materials and data that formed the basis and support for this manuscript were provided by Kobe City. I am grateful to those involved for their cooperation in researching, collecting, organizing, and providing information, even when the materials were uncertain. During the research, former Jewish refugee Peter Baruch happened to revisit Kitano-chō and provided invaluable testimony. Although limited in number, there were more than 50 reports from the people of Kobe, some of

which were essential to clarifying the history of the Jews in Kobe. There were also heartwarming episodes unique to Kobe, a city once called an international port city. Some memories were unclear, and unfortunately, could not be used as records. I feel proud and happy to have reaffirmed that there were people in Kobe who warmly extended a helping hand to Jewish refugees during the wartime period. However, I may be reprimanded by those who believe such actions are simply natural.

Notes

(1) Williams, H. S. (1867–2000). *Jewish community in Japan and China*. Papers of Harold S. Williams. National Library of Australia.

(2) *The Hiogo News.* (1868, October 27).

(3) *The Hiogo News.* (1870, December 7).

(4) *The Jewish Messenger.* (1857–1902). ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger. p. 4.

The American Hebrew. (1857–1902). Jews at Hong Kong. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger. p. 372.

(5) Moche, S. D. & Sopher, L. (2009). *History of Jewish Kobe, Japan*. https://historyofjewishkobejapan.blogspot.com/2009/

S. David Moche, born in Kobe in 1950, published History of Jewish Kobe, Japan on the internet, a valuable record of his research into the history of Jewish people in Kobe, with Lisa Sopher. The framework of this paper is based on his research.

(6) Moche, S. D. & Sopher, L. (2009). *History of Jewish Kobe, Japan*. https://historyofjewishkobejapan.blogspot.com/2009/

(7) Moche, S. D. & Sopher, L. (2009). *History of Jewish Kobe, Japan*. https://historyofjewishkobejapan.blogspot.com/2009/

(8) It is mentioned on page one of a document sent to the Joint Relief Committee on March 12, 1941. It is signed by Leo Hanin and Moise Moiseeff.

(9) The report from the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture (1941, April 18). *Matters concerning the mass investigation of the Jews* [Yudayajin issei chōsa ni kansuru ken].

(10) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. p. 21.

(11) Holocaust Encyclopedia. (n.d.). *European Jewish population distribution, ca. 1933*. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/map/european-jewish-population-distribution-ca-1933

(12) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. p. 27.

(13) Schor, B. (2011). *Days of grief and days of joy*.

Berl Schor is a Polish Jewish refugee. He came to Kobe when he was 13 years old and stayed there from February to August 1941. He was with his elder sister, Perla Frankel, as a member of her family. They lived at 1-85 Kitanochō, with the family of Peter Baruch, another Polish Jewish refugee.

(14) Frankel-Shalev, P. & Don, M. (2006). *A true story of a family's escape*. K, Dondushansky.

p. 22.

Perla is the elder sister of Berl Schor, a Polish Jewish refugee. She was 20 years old at that time and fled Europe with her husband Wilek Frankel and two-year-old son, Bertie.

(15) Baruch, P. (2016). *My story part one: Escape from Poland*. Jewish Museum of New Zealand. https://www.jewishlives.nz/our-people/peter-baruch-my-story-part-one-escape-from-poland

At the age of two, Peter Baruch had escaped from Poland with his father Klemens and mother Marysia, and lived with the Frankel family at 1-85 Kitanochō from February to August 1941. In May 2016, he visited Kobe for the first time in 75 years.

(16) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. pp. 29–33.

(17) Frankel-Shalev, P. & Don, M. (2006). *A true story of a family's escape*. K, Dondushansky.

p. 34.

(18) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. p. 95.

(19) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. p. 102.

(20) SAFE CONDUCT PASS is a ticket to secure the conduct of holders during wartime, unless disrupting the peace, law and safety of the passing nations.

(21) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (2001). *Flight and rescue: US Holocaust Memorial Museum.* Holocaust Pubns. p. 66.

(22) Frankel-Shalev, P. & Don, M. (2006). *A true story of a family's escape*. K, Dondushansky.

p. 39.

(23) Baruch, P. (2016). *My story part one: Escape from Poland*. Jewish Museum of New Zealand.

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(24) Frankel-Shalev, P. & Don, M. (2006). *A true story of a family's escape*. K, Dondushansky.

p. 41.

(25) Frankel-Shalev, P. & Don, M. (2006). *A true story of a family's escape*. K, Dondushansky.

p. 43.

(26) Personal Information from Peter Baruch & Perla Frankel.

(27) Baruch, P. (2016). *My story part one: Escape from Poland*. Jewish Museum of New Zealand.

https://www.jewishlives.nz/our-people/peter-baruch-my-story-part-one-escape-from-poland

(28) Kaneko, M. (2003). *Kobe Jewish refugees 1940–1941* [Kobe yudayajin nanmin 1940–1941]. Mizunowa Shuppan. p. 241.

(29) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. p. 156.

(30) American Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (1941, April 15). *Situation of European refugees fleeing to Japan* [Honpō torai ōshū hinanmin no jōkyō]. *Number of Arrivals and Visas granted* [Toraishasū oyobi tūka sashō fuyosū].

(31) Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha. (1941, April 9). The report from the Kobe branch Manager of Nippon Yusen to the president. *The situation of Jewish refugees in Kobe* [Tōchi tairyū yudayajin hōkoku]. Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

(32) American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. (1941). *Complete Japan set 3 refugees arriving in Japan 1941*. JDC. (Partially kept at JDC, donated from the Jewish Community of Kobe).

(33) Furue, T. (2014). An insight to refugees' landing at the Port of Tsuruga [Tsurugakō ni okeru hinanmin jōrikujiken ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu]. *Journal of Maritime & Geography Studies of Japan*, (13), p. 85.

(34) Furue, T. (2014). An insight to refugees' landing on port of Tsuruga [Tsurugakō ni okeru hinanmin jōrikujiken ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu]. *Journal of Maritime & Geography Studies of Japan*, (13), p. 87.

(35) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the holocaust*. Yad Vashem. pp. 156–157.

(36) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (2001). *Flight and rescue: US Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Holocaust Pubns. p. 72.

(37) Furue, T. (2014). An insight to refugees' landing on the port of Tsuruga [Tsurugakō ni okeru hinanmin jōriku jiken ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu]. *Journal of Maritime & Geography Studies of Japan*, (13), p. 88.

(38) Furue, T. (2014). An insight to refugees' landing on the port of Tsuruga [Tsurugakō ni okeru hinanmin jōriku jiken ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu]. *Journal of Maritime & Geography Studies of Japan,* (13), pp. 87–88.

(39) Warhaftig, Z. (1988). *Refugee and survivor: Rescue efforts during the Holocaust*. Yad Vashem. pp.157–158.

(40) Schor, B. (2011). *Days of grief and days of joy*.

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