

Shanghai as a Mosaic and Microcosm of Eurasian Jewish Identities, 1850–1950

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In a 2010 article in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, York University Professor Joshua A. Fogel cited a cornucopia of recent publications about Shanghai in Chinese, English, and Japanese, which one would expect, but also in French, German, Hebrew, and Russian, and in English translation from German, Polish, and Yiddish. Most Shanghai studies focused on the Chinese population within the city, notably Linda Johnson's seminal 1995 monograph *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port 1074–1858*. The multilingual diversity of the recent publication boom suggests an additional dimension of Shanghai studies: Shanghai as a truly international city which, since the mid-eighteenth century, has played a pivotal role in international commerce and has attracted a wide variety of residents from abroad as well as from many parts of China.¹

The Shanghai experience was distinct for each residential group. This study will focus on the Shanghai Jewish experience. Several aspects of this topic have already been exten-

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- 1 Joshua A. Fogel, "The Recent Boom in Shanghai Studies," in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (April 2010) 2, pp. 313–333. Recent works about Shanghai in English include Linda Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port 1074–1858* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1995); Yeh Wen-hsin, *Wartime Shanghai* (London: Routledge 1998); Yue Meng, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2006); and the writings of the late Frederic Wakeman, whom Fogel calls "the unofficial dean of Shanghai studies in the West" (p. 328). Other recent publications include Alain Roux, *Grèves et politique à Shanghai: les désillusions, 1927–1932* (French; Strikes and Politics in Shanghai: Disillusions 1927–1932) (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales 1995); E.E. Aurilene, *Rossiiskaia diaspora v Kitae* (Russian; Russian Diasporas in China) (Kharbarovsk: Chasnaia kollektsiia 2008); the exhibition catalog *Derekh Eretz Sin* (Hebrew; Passage Through China) (Tel Aviv: Nahum Goldman Museum of the Jewish Diaspora 1986); Irene Eber, *Sinim vi-yehudim: Mifgashim ben tarbuyot* (Hebrew; Chinese and Jews: Encounters between Cultures) (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute 2002); David Ludwig Bloch, *Holzschnitte. 木刻集. Woodcuts. Shanghai 1940–1949* (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal, Germany: Monumenta Serica Institute – Steyler Verlag 1997); Georg Armbrüster, "15.000 appellieren an die Welt" (German; 15,000 Appeal to the World), in: Amnon Barzel (ed.), *Leben im Wartesaal: Exil in Shanghai 1938–1947* (German; Life in the Waiting Room: Exile in Shanghai 1938–1947), exhibition catalog (Berlin: Jüdisches Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin 1997), pp. 74–77; and Georg Armbrüster – Michael Kohlstruck – Sonja Mühlberger, *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947* (German; Shanghai Exile 1938–1947) (Teetz, Germany: Hentrich & Hentrich 2000). A recent collection of translations is Irene Eber's *Voices from Shanghai: Jewish Exiles in Wartime China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2008), discussed elsewhere in this article.

sively examined, notably the mechanisms whereby Jews fled Hitler's Europe and reached Shanghai by sea; how upper and lower class Chinese perceived Shanghai's Jews; and how Jews perceived Chinese.² While I will touch on each of these well-studied facets of the Shanghai Jewish experience, my emphasis will be on less-examined questions:

- Why did mid-nineteenth century Jewish businessmen relocate to Shanghai from the Pearl River Delta [Canton/Guangzhou]?
- What was the role of “a closed door in the Philippines” in stimulating Jewish immigration to Shanghai in late 1930s?
- What were the mechanisms whereby many Jews fleeing Hitler reached Shanghai by railroad, rather than the traditional sea route through the Indian Ocean?
- To what degree did Jews assimilate into Chinese society?
- Poshek Fu has examined the ethnic Chinese response during the Japanese occupation, Marcia Ristaino has extensively researched the ethnic Russians, and Joshua Fogel has discussed Japanese residents. Yet as Hebrew University Professor Irene Eber has pointed out, while wartime occupation of the city meant exploitation to fervent opponents of Japan, including some Jews, for many other Jews “occupied” Shanghai meant salvation and an opportunity for cultural and political expression. What were the distinct cultural and political expressions of Shanghai's Jewish, as opposed to its ethnic Chinese, Japanese, or Russian populations?³
- What motivated the post-World War Two exodus of virtually all of Shanghai's Jews to multiple “new Jerusalems”? Why did a handful of Jews stay behind? The choice of whether to stay behind or choose a new destination was in many cases influenced by an individual's residential experience in wartime Shanghai and environs.
- Finally, what is the legacy of a century of Jewish cultural and intellectual achievement in Shanghai? How do today's ex-Shanghaianders evaluate their past history and transnational identity?

2 On the seaborne exodus of Jews from Hitler's Europe to Shanghai see Avraham Altman – Irene Eber, “Flight to Shanghai, 1938–1940: The Larger Setting,” in: *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem) 28 (2000), pp. 51-86; and Gao Bei's *Shanghai Sanctuary. Chinese and Japanese Policy toward European Jewish Refugees during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press 2013), pp. 116-120, which was in press while this lecture/article was being written and which does include background material on both the maritime and overland escape routes. On Chinese perceptions of Jews and vice-versa, see Irene Eber, *Chinese and Jews: Encounters between Cultures* (London: Valentine Mitchell 2008); and Irene Eber, *Voices from Afar: Modern Chinese Writers on Oppressed Peoples and Their Literature* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 1980).

3 Eber, *Voices from Afar*; and Eber, *Chinese and Jews*. On relations between Jews and the Shanghai municipal authorities and on collaboration and dissent during the Japanese occupation, see Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–45* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1993); Bernard Wasserstein, “Ambiguities of Occupation: Foreign Resisters and Collaborators in Wartime Shanghai,” in: Yeh, *Wartime Shanghai*, pp. 24-41; Marcia R. Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2001); Christian Henriot – Yeh Wen-hsin, *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004); and Thomas Kampen, *Chinesen in Europa – Europäer in China: Journalisten, Spione, Studenten* (Grossenberg, Germany: Ostasien Verlag 2010). On the left-wing Japanese community of Shanghai, see Joshua Fogel, “The Other Japanese Community: Leftwing Japanese Activities in Wartime Shanghai,” in: Yeh, *Wartime Shanghai*, pp. 42-61.

The Commercial Context: The Relocation of Jewish Businesses from Canton to Shanghai

In 1842 Shanghai had been important for Chinese short-haul commerce for over a millennium. It was the center of a junk trade that carried goods from inland areas and along the coast, especially bulk cotton, yarn, lace, and other woven fabrics. During the eighteenth century Shanghai also handled foreign commerce from Korea, Japan, the Ryukyu Islands, and Southeast Asia. The city even imported small quantities of what appear in tariff lists as “Western products” such as rice from Southeast Asia, cotton yarn from India, and knives, paper, and tobacco from Japan. Shanghai was prominent for its role in the export of the durable brownish-yellow cotton fabric originally loomed by hand upriver at Nanking/Nanjing. Because of the source of this product, it became known in pidgin English as *nankeen*. By the late eighteenth century, *nankeen* fabric was woven and finished in Shanghai, dyed indigo blue, shipped in bulk to Canton, and from there overseas. It became early America’s original workaday dungaree fabric.

Shanghai opened to direct trade with Britain, France, and the United States under the terms of the international treaty settlement of 1842 to 1844, which fundamentally changed the city’s traditional trade patterns. With its central location on the China coast, Shanghai replaced Canton as China’s major entrepot for East-West commerce. It also became China’s major port for **importing** cheap foreign-manufactured cotton goods, as well as increasing amounts of opium from India. In 1870 the American journalist Horace Greeley observed the reversal of China’s traditional foreign trade pattern:

*in my early boyhood, Chinese cotton fabrics known as Nankins were extensively worn even by the poor in New England. Now, and for some years past, cotton cloths are shipped from Boston for Calcutta and Canton. They usually cost from eight to ten cents per yard, and have been exported to a large amount. They are found, in most cases, a better remittance than dollars or bills of exchange.*⁴

Shanghai merchants took maximum advantage of this trade reversal, and, in the process, made the city one of the world’s largest seaports. In 1842 it was a walled town and county seat; its population grew exponentially as Chinese flocked there from many regions for residential and economic opportunities after the disastrous Taiping rebellion of 1850–1864.⁵

Shanghai did not evolve in a cohesive way like China’s Tang dynasty capital of Chang’an, a prominent example of pre-modern urban planning; rather, it emerged as a series of interlocking and interrelated areas, each with its own administration and police force. Foreigners flocked to an area to the north of the city walls, with a favorable location along the Huangpu River. Much of this area, including land on both sides of Wusong jiang (Soochow or Suzhou Creek) became known as the “International Settlement” or, more popularly, as simply “The Settlement.” It included a section known as Hongkou or Hongkew (simplified Chinese: 虹口区; traditional Chinese: 虹口區), which was to the northeast of the

4 Horace Greeley, *Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy* (Boston: Fields Osgood 1870), p. 45.

5 Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port*, pp. 13, 161, and 170.

creek and was governed by the Shanghai Municipal Council. The Council, which from the start was largely British, over the years became more diverse, and included some representatives from the International Settlement's American, Chinese, and Japanese communities. Next to "The Settlement" was the French Concession, which was governed by a French Consul who wielded considerably more authority than the awkward bureaucracy of "The Settlement." In the parts of Shanghai that were not under foreign control, there was no fully functioning Chinese municipal administration, handling a variety of types of governmental responsibilities, until after the Chinese Nationalists (Guomindang) gained control of those parts of the city in 1927.

By 1937 Shanghai was a modern city of over 3,500,000, with a wealthy Chinese middle class. Among its most successful residents were members of the Song family, whose progenitor, Charles Jones Song (Pinyin: Song Jiashu 宋嘉樹, 1863–1918), had migrated to Shanghai from a village on Hainan Island in the mid-nineteenth century. His daughters Song Ailing 宋藹齡 (1888–1973), Song Qingling 宋慶齡 (1890–1981), and Song Meiling 宋美齡 (1898–2003) would marry, respectively, H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, 1881–1967), a direct descendant of Confucius, the wealthiest banker in Shanghai, and a future Finance Minister of the Republic of China; Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan 孫中山, 1866–1925), the "George Washington" and founding president of the Republic of China; and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, 1887–1975), Sun Yat-sen's successor as president of the Republic of China. In the late 1920s, Chiang Kai-shek's conquest of Shanghai and rout of its Communist Party ensured the financial dominance of Shanghai over all of China. It also ensured the privileged life style of his kinfolk within the city and that of their native and foreign associates for the next two decades.⁶

In 1937 Shanghai had 58,688 foreign residents, a minuscule fraction of the city's total population. Apart from a continuous and isolated Jewish presence in what had been China's Song dynasty capital of Kaifeng, Jews began to populate China's foreign enclaves in the late eighteenth century. From approximately 1790 to 1846 American China traders, some of whom were Jews, followed the patterns of their British, Armenian, Parsi, Portuguese, and Gujarati Muslim competitors and established themselves in China's Pearl River Delta. Benjamin Etting (1798–1875) and Horatio Etting (1805–1891), Philadelphia merchants of German-Jewish origin, traded and resided in Canton and Macao (Aomen). A Joseph Moses arrived in Canton and was still there in 1846. A Gelustan Moses, who may have been Armenian rather than Jewish, appears in the censuses of January 1843 and 1844.⁷

In 1844 Elias (Eliyah) Sassoon (1820–1880), a Baghdadi Jew and second son of merchant David Sassoon of Bombay, followed the example of Britain's Jardine, Matheson & Company. He began shipping his own goods from Canton and Macao up the China coast

6 Because of whom the daughters married, the joke about these three Shanghai siblings was that Ailing loved money, Meiling loved power, and Qingling loved China. Emily Hahn, *The Soong Sisters* (New York: Doubleday Doran 1941); Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper & Row 1985); and Israel Epstein, *Woman in World History: Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yatsen)* (Beijing: New World Press 1993).

7 Letter: H. [full name unknown] Murray (Canton) to Lionel Moses (Macao), March 15, 1855, American Jewish Historical Society Library, New York City; and Malcolm Stern, *First American Jewish Families* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives 1978), p. 209.

and providing small-scale merchant banking facilities to others. According to Sassoon family historian Stanley Jackson, Elias quickly became that family's first "China trade specialist." In 1850 Elias sensed better prospects further north, left a representative in Canton, and, after a brief inspection tour of Hong Kong and its opium trade, chose Shanghai as his base for commercial operations. Elias thus became the progenitor of a Eurasian-Jewish presence in Shanghai. There appears to be only one Jewish China trader who lingered in Macao once Shanghai opened: Lionel Moses (1825–1895), from New York and apparently of Spanish- or Portuguese-Jewish origin, was still pursuing the China trade in Macao as late as 1855.⁸

Despite domestic upheavals and military conflicts, Shanghai's Jewish community experienced continuous growth thereafter, even under the strain of the Pacific or Second World War, which Chinese see as beginning with the "Mukden Incident" of September 18, 1931. Its population reached its height of well over 20,000 in the years 1942 through 1945, when Japanese forces occupied the entire city.⁹

Shanghai Jews, like their brethren in many parts of the world, first assumed prominence as merchants, entrepreneurs and financiers. Other professions followed, including accountants, actors, actresses, architects, composers, concert musicians, editors, engineers, journalists, lawyers, movie directors, novelists, painters and engravers, pharmacists, physicians, playwrights, poets, printers and publishers, singers, and teachers and students of a wide range of subjects. Jews arrived in successive waves which created in Shanghai, by the early 1940s, a vibrant microcosm of Eurasian-Jewish identities. This multicultural mosaic came together under the protective umbrella of Western and Japanese jurisdictions grafted onto an overwhelmingly Asiatic society. Baghdadis came first, then Russians, and finally Central Europeans fleeing Hitler. Distinct secular sub-cultures formed across established ethnic Jewish boundaries, notably among diplomats, artists, journalists, and other literati from a wide variety of countries and political persuasions. With the mass migration of Central European Jews, totally secular Jews united with ethnic Chinese and

8 Stanley Jackson, *The Sassoons* (New York: E. P. Dutton 1968), pp. 23-24; [Arnold Wright], "The Oriental Merchant Community," in: Arnold Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong* (Singapore: Graham Brash 1990), pp. 224-227; and Ezra Yehezkel-Shaked, *Jews, Opium, and the Kimono* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass 2003), pp. 14-15. The Sassoons were of Babylonian origin and should not be confused with Sephardic Jews, their co-religionists who were exiled from the Iberian Peninsula and retained medieval Spanish or Portuguese as a lingua franca in multiple lands of exile. On the growth and difficulties of international trade in the Pearl River Delta in the nineteenth century, see Jonathan Goldstein, *Stephen Girard's Trade with China 1787-1824: The Norms versus the Profits of Trade* (Portland, Maine: MerwinAsia Publishers 2011); and Jonathan Goldstein, "A Clash of Civilizations in the Pearl River Delta: Stephen Girard's Trade with China, 1787-1824," in: Paul A. Van Dyke (ed.), *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2012), pp. 17-31. On Jewish China traders in Canton and Macao, see Benjamin Etting, "Journal of Voyages to Canton 1822-1837," Philadelphia Maritime Museum; Letters: Henry McKean (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Etting (aboard ship Liberty), June 25, 1835, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; *The North American*, March 23, 1913; Solomon Moses, "Solomon Moses' Journal on a Voyage to Madras and Calcutta," January 3, 1798 to April 23, 1798, American Jewish Historical Society Library, New York; Letter: John Heard (Canton) to "Capt. Graves," May 5, 1844, Heard Papers, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston; Letters: Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman (Macao) to sister, November 3, 1844; Nathaniel Kinsman to Rebecca Kinsman, December 4, December 17, 1844, Peabody Essex Museum Library, Salem, Mass; *Canton Press*, September 3, 1842; *China General Price Current* (Canton), September 6, 1842; *Chinese Repository* (Canton) 8 (January 1844), pp. 6-7; and Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, p. 209.

9 Irene Eber, "Overland and by Sea: Eight Centuries of the Jewish Presence in China," in: *Chinese Journal of International Law* 4 (2005) 1, pp. 247 and *passim*.

with non-Jewish Westerners in forming illegal associations which opposed the Axis in general and the Japanese occupation in particular. The largest, truly multiethnic Jewish cultural experience in Shanghai was that of Zionism. That movement would arrange an orderly exodus of Jews of multiple nationalities to the newly-independent State of Israel after its rebirth on May 15, 1948. The waves of Jewish arrivals in and departures from Shanghai will be discussed in chronological order.

Baghdadi Jews

As already noted, pioneer American-Jewish China traders in Canton, such as the Ettings and Moseses, were followed by the Baghdadi Elias Sassoon, who relocated to Shanghai by 1850. Baghdadi-Jewish merchants were already well established in the opium trades of Bhagalpur, Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata), Dinapur, Ghazipur, Rangoon (Yangon), and Singapore.¹⁰ Shanghai Baghdadis quickly transferred their often problematic investments in opium into the production and shipping of textiles – trades the ethnically Chinese merchants of Shanghai had been engaged in for centuries. Elias's business activities were soon overshadowed by those of other Baghdadis. The trading dynasties of Sir Victor Sassoon and Sir Elly Kadoorie specialized in portside real estate and banking. Silas Aaron Hardoon, who arrived penniless in Shanghai in 1874, rose to own so much Shanghai real estate that he was reputed, by the 1930s, to be the richest person East of the Suez canal, surpassing even the Birlas and Tatas of India.¹¹

The Baghdadis were far more numerous than the handful of American-Jewish China traders and were intensely Anglo-philic. Most admired and emulated their competitors in Jardine Matheson, Swire, and other firms, as well as Anglo-Catholics of Jewish origin such as Henry Morriss, and took out British passports and citizenship.¹² Baghdadis also enjoyed substantial support and ethnic networking from their Bombay, Bhagalpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Dinapur, Ghazipur, Hong Kong, Rangoon, and Singapore brethren. Unlike the American Jews in Canton and Macao, Baghdadis distinguished themselves in establishing

10 In 1798 Shalom Obadaiah Hakohen established in Calcutta what would soon become a thriving Baghdadi-Jewish trading community. Members of that tightly-knit merchant community quickly embraced the opium trade not only from Calcutta, a site of major auctions, but also from such hinterland outposts of opium production as Bhagalpur, Dinapur, and Ghazipur. In 1828 David Sassoon (1792–1864) left Mesopotamia penniless and arrived in Bombay. He and his eight sons expanded their opium trade further east, eventually reaching Singapore and, in the case of his son Elias Sassoon, Canton, Hong Kong, and ultimately Shanghai. Nathan Katz, *Who Are the Jews of India?* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2000), pp. 130-132 and 139-140; Jackson, *The Sassoons*, pp. 23-24; and Jonathan Goldstein, "Across the Indian Ocean: The Trade, Memory, and Religiosity of Singapore's Baghdadi Jews, 1795–2013," in: *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, forthcoming.

11 *Rosenstock's Directory of China and Manila* 14 (January–June 1909), pp. 137-138; "The Oriental Merchant Community" in: Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong*, pp. 224-227; *Chinese Recorder* 20 (January 1851); *Shanghai Almanac*, published by *The North China Herald*, 1852–1858, 1860, 1861, and 1863; Peter Hibbard, *The Bund Shanghai: China Faces West* (Hong Kong: Odyssey Books & Guides 2008), p. 142; Chiara Betta, "Myth and Memory: Chinese Portrayals of Silas Aaron Hardoon" in: Roman Malek (ed.), *From Kaifeng ... to Shanghai. Jews in China* (Sankt Augustin – Nettetal, Germany: Monumenta Serica Institute – Steyler Verlag 2000), p. 377; and Jackson, *The Sassoons*, pp. 23-24. A second Baghdadi, Isaac Rubin, took up residence in Shanghai in 1851.

12 Henry Morriss (1835–1911), a staunch British imperialist, arrived in Shanghai from Bombay in 1860. After his marriage to Una Pickford he took a controlling interest in the city's daily *North China Herald*, which had been established in 1850. According to one source, "for most British in the city life without the Far East's leading British newspaper and bastion of empire would have proved unthinkable." Hibbard, *The Bund Shanghai*, p. 177.

in Shanghai what Ashkenazi Jews call a *yiddishe gemeente*, a multi-institutional Jewish community. They formed a burial society, built graveyards, synagogues, and schools, and imported ecclesiastical personnel to teach Judaic subjects to their children, conduct religious services, prepare kosher food, and correspond with religious authorities in Baghdad, Jerusalem, and London on questions of rabbinic law. On January 23, 1921, the community of Baghdadi Jews in Shanghai dedicated the newly built structure that was to hold the Ohel Rachel Synagogue. Named for Lady Rachel Sassoon, the late wife of Sir Jacob Elias Sassoon, and situated on Seymour Road, today's North Shaanxi Road, it was designed in the Greek Revival style of London's Bevis Marks and Lauderdale Road synagogues.

The Baghdadis also developed an interest in re-Judaizing their ethnic Chinese co-religionists who had lived in the aforementioned city of Kaifeng, in Henan province, since the Middle Ages. In 1900 the Baghdadis organized a "Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews" which aimed to study Kaifeng-Jewish history and preserve its sites and relics – an activity which was never quite completed and continues among Shanghai, Hong Kong, and pockets of world Jewry up to the present day.¹³ Shanghai Baghdadis also created a Jewish presence in the city in ways beyond mere commercial expansion and the establishment of religious institutions. A significant number of Jews found employment in the multiethnic "Shanghai Volunteer Corps." First formed in 1853, this constabulary consisted of volunteers from 27 countries, including a Jewish company which, by 1933, consisted of 120 members who wore Stars of David on their uniforms. The Yiddish poet Meylekh Ravitch (Zecharye-Khone Bergner, 1893–1976), visiting Shanghai in 1935, marveled that Shanghai "is the only place where Jewish soldiers with guns and the Star of David can be seen."¹⁴

Russian Jews

By 1927 approximately 6,000–8,000 Russian Jews were living at Shanghai, adding a new dimension to the city's Eurasian-Jewish flavor. Russian Jews in Shanghai outnumbered the Baghdadis, who never amounted to more than a thousand individuals. Most Russian Jews fled to the relative safety of Shanghai as a consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the Russian Civil War of 1918–1923, and the Japanese takeover in the early 1930s of China's three northeasterly provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning, where Jews had worked in the fur and import/export trades for decades. In 1933 White Russians in Harbin (Ha'erbin, Ha-erh-pin), in collusion with ethnic Japanese *kempei* (police) officer Kostya Nakamura, kidnapped, tortured, and murdered Russian-Jewish pianist Semion Kaspé. Even Kaspé's French citizenship could not spare him from brutal treatment. This

13 The first Jewish burial in Shanghai occurred in 1863, that of the Baghdadi Joseph Rahamim, son of Isaac Rubin. Mendel Brown, "The Modern Jews of China-Shanghai-II," in: *Israel's Messenger* 33 (December 4, 1936) 9, p. 10; and Arthur Sopher, *Chinese Jews* (Shanghai: The China Press 1926). As of 2013 Michael Freund's Jerusalem-based Shavei Yisroel organization continues to "educate" ethnic Chinese Jews and urge their immigration to Israel under strict rabbinical supervision.

14 Ravitch's unpublished travelogue can be found in the Jewish National and University Library's Ravitch Collection, Jerusalem, file 2:374, pp. 138-189; Eber, "Overland and by Sea," p. 248. By 1935 the Zion Mule Corps and other predominantly Jewish units formed under British auspices during World War One had been disbanded.

incident stirred fear among the Jewish residents of Harbin and other parts of Japanese-controlled Manchuria. A final factor motivating Jews to move south was the Soviet Union's sale in 1936 of Manchuria's Chinese Eastern Railroad to Japan. Who knew what other consequences and crises might follow? In addition to fleeing Harbin, Jews left the Russian-speaking Jewish enclaves in Changchun (Ch'ang-ch'un, Hsinking), Dalian (Dairen, Ta-lien), Hailar (Haila'er, Hai-la-erh), Manzhouli (Man-chou-li), Qiqiha'er (Tsitsihar, Ch'i-ch'i-haerh), Shenyang (Mukden), and Tianjin (Tientsin, T'ien-chin). Transplanted Russian-Jewish businessmen included Walter Citrin, Ben Levaco, and Yana (Ya'acov) Liberman, all of whom ultimately would settle in California. Finally, in September 1939, Harbin social worker Meir Berman (a.k.a. Meyer Eliash Birman, b. Ponevezh [Panevezys], Russian Lithuania 1891, d. New York 1955) relocated to Shanghai in order to manage that city's office of the American-based Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, which serviced Shanghai's burgeoning immigrant Jewish population.¹⁵

As Shanghai's Jewish population expanded, several Jews of Russian origin featured prominently in the city's Chinese nationalist and revolutionary experiences. These included Morris "Two-Gun" Cohen (1887–1970), who was both Dr. and Madame Sun Yat-sen's (Song Qingling's) personal bodyguard and a Major General in the Chinese National Revolutionary Army. In October 1939, in order to mobilize support for the anti-Japanese war effort, Cohen accompanied senior Guomindang official Wu Te-chen, who was also a Guomindang general of the 1920s, a mayor of Shanghai from 1932 to 1936, and a member of the Guomindang's Central Committee and its Board of Overseas Affairs, on a goodwill tour of the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and Malaya. George Sokolsky (1893–1962), son of a Russian émigré rabbi, was born in Utica, N.Y., graduated from Columbia University School of Journalism and, after covering the Russian Revolution, arrived in Shanghai with one dollar in his pocket as special correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *London Daily Express*. Sokolsky acted as an informant and propagandist for sundry conflicting Asian and Western clients. He became a political adviser and friend to Sun Yat-sen and also wrote for Sun's English-language *Shanghai Gazette*. He befriended colorful characters who ranged from "Two-Gun" Cohen to Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Song Meiling). Sokolsky identified Chiang Kai-shek as "the only revolutionist in China who could make the revolution stick." Sokolsky's 14-year stint in China enabled him to hold himself out as an expert on Asian matters upon his repatriation to the United States. He was also active in the Shanghai-based Society for the Rescue of Chinese Jews.

Adolf Joffe (Yoffe) and other U.S.S.R. officials of Jewish descent came to Shanghai on behalf of the Soviet Union shortly after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the city in 1921. Joffe concluded a 1923 agreement with Sun Yat-sen to help reorganize

15 Telegram: M. Birman, HIAS, Shanghai, to H. M. Picard, HIAS, San Francisco, June 9, 1947, Magnes Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, reproduced as an illustration accompanying this text; Birman correspondence in New York City's YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (Yiddish; Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut); Matthias Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China* (Lanham, MD: Lexington 2012), pp. 27–28. On the Kaspe incident, see Isaac Shapiro, *Edokko: Growing up a Foreigner in Wartime Japan* (New York: iUniverse 2009), pp. 11–12, and 16; and John Stephan, *The Russian Fascists* (New York: Harper & Row 1978), pp. 81–89.

the Guomindang into a tight party structure but without communist ideology.¹⁶ In the wake of the Third Internationalists, Shanghai had its Jewish Trotskyites: the South African journalist Frank Glass and the American Harold R. Isaacs (1910–1985). Isaacs was the Manhattan-born son of a Russian-Jewish real estate magnate. He wrote for the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* until 1932, when he and Glass established their own weekly, the *China Forum*. Isaacs was in close personal communication with Leon Trotsky, who wrote the forward to the first edition of Isaacs's classic 1938 text, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*.¹⁷ To monitor these renegades, in 1938 the NKVD sent British communist David Crook, the son of a Russian-Jewish furrier, to Shanghai. Crook already had experience monitoring Trotskyite activity in Republican Spain. He remained a well-paid NKVD agent in Shanghai for two years, after which he was summarily and inexplicably dropped from NKVD service. Crook then travelled inland, where he fell in love with and later married the daughter of a Canadian missionary. After wartime service with the Royal Air Force, Crook and his wife Isabel Brown returned to the People's Republic and established what is today's Beijing Foreign Studies University, where Crook taught English until his retirement. He and Isabel were authors of several well-known studies of rural China. Crook died in 2000.¹⁸

Journalists and writers of Russian-Jewish descent established their own secular Shanghai-based sub-culture. Sam Ginsbourg, a Russian-Jewish teacher and writer, lived in Shanghai from 1926 to 1946. That year he left Shanghai for what would become the Shandong liberated area. He later became a citizen of the People's Republic and for forty years was a university professor of both Russian and English.¹⁹ Anna Ginsbourg and Vic Schneirson worked freelance in Shanghai for John Benjamin Powell's *China Weekly Review*.²⁰ Nathaniel Peffer wrote for Shanghai's English-language daily *China Press*, the first American newspaper founded in Shanghai in 1911. Warsaw-born Israel Epstein, who grew up in the

16 Wu Tiecheng preferred to romanize his name Wu Te-chen but is also referred to in documents as Wu Te Chen and Wu T'ieh-ch'eng. In 1929 he became a member of the Guomindang's Central Committee and served as Secretary General of that committee from 1941 to 1948. In 1939 he assumed the rank of Minister, GMD Board of Overseas Affairs. Chinese Ministry of Information, *China Handbook 1937–1944* (Taipei, Taiwan: Cheng wen 1971, reprint), p. 621; Chinese Ministry of Information, *China Handbook 1937–1945* (New York: Macmillan 1947, revised and enlarged edition), p. 701; Randall Gould, *China in the Sun* (New York: Doubleday 1946), pp. 354–355; and Daniel S. Levy, *Two-Gun Cohen: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press 2002), pp. 136–257. Joffe's Jewish counterpart in Canton, Hankou, and Wuhan was Michael Borodin, born Mikhail Markovitch Gruzenberg in Vitebsk in 1884 and the creator of the Guomindang's Soviet-modeled central executive committee. Borodin also helped to write China's 1924 constitution. Photo: Morris Cohen with Michael Borodin, in: Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China*, p. 101; and Yehezkel-Shaked, *Jews, Opium, and the Kimono, passim*.

17 Harold R. Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg 1938); David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men – The Autobiography of David Crook* (1990), www.davidcrook.net/simple/main.html, *passim*.

18 Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men, passim*; Delia Davin, "David Crook, Ex-Stalinist Agent, Dies in China," in: *The Guardian*, December 18, 2000; and Levy, *Two-Gun Cohen*, pp. 117ff. The Crooks published *Revolution in a Chinese Village, Ten Mile Inn* (London: Routledge & Paul 1959; reprinted: New York: Pantheon Books 1979) and *The First Years of Yangyi Commune* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966).

19 Sam Ginsbourg, *My First Sixty Years in China* (Beijing: New World Press 1982), translated into Chinese as *Wo zai Zhongguo de liushi nian* (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe chuban faxing 1991); and Israel Epstein, "On Being a Jew in China: A Personal Memoir," in: Jonathan Goldstein (ed.), *The Jews of China. Volume Two. A Sourcebook and Research Guide* (Armonk – New York – London: M. E. Sharpe 2000), pp. 85–97, here pp. 95–96.

20 Anna Ginsbourg, *The Jewish Refugees in Shanghai* (Shanghai: China Weekly Review 1940).

Russian-Jewish enclave of Tianjin in North China, spent his Shanghai years writing for *The New York Times*, working with Song Qingling's (Mme. Sun Yat-sen's) China Defense League, and fleeing with her to the relative safety of inland China, where he interviewed Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong, and Zhu De. Theodore White, the Boston-born son of Russian-Jewish immigrants and a future Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, visited Shanghai as a journalist for Time-Life publications. Fresh out of Harvard, White immediately fell in with Shanghai's Jewish literati. He took a special interest in Emily Hahn, the budding American novelist and biographer of the Song sisters. Hahn lived in the city from 1935 to 1941 and wrote regularly for *The New Yorker*. White considered Hahn a "... superb mad woman. Brilliant, beautiful, Jewish, extraordinarily clever, smokes cigars, talks Chinese, writes like a saint, has every man in love with her, lives with a Chinese poet. I like her immensely."²¹

Finally, Shanghai hosted or absorbed numerous musicians of Russian-Jewish origin. Composer Aaron Avshalomov was born in 1894 in Nikolayevsk-on-Amur, Siberia and arrived in Shanghai in 1932. His tone poem "The Hutungs (alleyways) of Peping [*sic*]," described as "a sketch in sounds," was performed as the first part of a two-part show in Shanghai in March 1935. The second part was Avshalomov's pantomime ballet *Incense Shadows*. His pantomime ballet "The Soul of Ch'in" (Qin) and opera "The Great Wall" opened in Shanghai. Avshalomov produced the first orchestration of Nie Er's "March of the Volunteers," which later became the national anthem of the People's Republic. Much in the way American President Franklin Pierce appointed his Bowdoin classmate Nathaniel Hawthorne to head the Salem Customs House, the Shanghai Municipal Council appointed Avshalomov Director of its Public Library, in order to help this promising artist keep body and soul together. Avshalomov then found himself caught in an intellectual bind between Communists and Nationalists and ultimately fled to the United States.²² Other Jewish and non-Jewish musicians and performers and singers of Russian Empire background who lived at Shanghai or visited there to give performances included Sergei Aksakov, Abel' G. Bershadsky, Mischa Elman, Serge Ermoll (Sergei Ermolaeff), Grigorii B. Fidlon, Ignaz Friedman, Leopold Godowsky, Jascha Heifetz, Mischa Levitski, Oleg Ludstrem, Henry and Irene Margolinsky, Benno Moisewitch, Cecilia Hanson, Gregor Piatagorsky, Vladimir Shushlin, Alexander Sloutsky, P. Tebnev, the Ullstein brothers, and Boris Zakharov. Elman, Fidlon, Friedman, Heifetz, Levitski, Moisewitch, Piatagorsky, and Sloutsky were definitely Jewish, as were the three Ullstein brothers. Levitski was American but born in the Ukraine. Bandleader Mike Goldstein was presumably Jewish and of Russian background. The violinist Mischa Riskin was both a soloist and concertmaster in the Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra. This vast and cultured addition of Russian musicians,

21 Letter: Theodore White, China, to "Mama, Gitty, and Bobby," Boston, January 23, 1940, in: "Theodore H. White Papers," Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass., Box 2, Folder 7; Ken Cuthbertson, *Nobody Said Not to Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn* (Boston: Faber and Faber 1998); Epstein, "On Being a Jew in China," pp. 85-97; and Qu Wei - Li Shuxiao (eds.), *The Jews of Harbin* ([Beijing ?]: Social Sciences Academic Press 2006), pp. 138-143.

22 Xu Buzeng, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," in: *Points East* 5 (August 1990) 2, pp. 1 and 10-12.

performers, and singers, alongside political activists, journalists, and other literati, would soon be augmented by Central European Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler.²³

Shanghai as a Destination for Central European Jews Fleeing Hitler

Three international events – the rise of Hitler in 1933, the November 25, 1936 Japanese-German Anti-Comintern Pact, and the intensification of Japanese-Chinese hostilities in 1937 – all had major consequences for the Jews of Shanghai. Apart from the brutalities of war associated with these developments, they also had the result of enriching the cultural life of Shanghai Jewry and of the city as a whole.

A conflict which had been simmering for years was transformed into a full-blown Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) after a July 7, 1937 skirmish near Beijing between the Republic of China's and the Imperial Japanese armies. The war escalated rapidly, with the Japanese soon occupying Shanghai. In August 1937, in an extraordinary gesture, Germany's Nazi-controlled government offered all Germans in Shanghai free passage to the Philippines if they wished to escape Sino-Japanese hostilities. At the request of the German Consul-General in Manila, U.S. High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt and Philippine President Manuel L. Quezon jointly authorized the admission of these refugees on the condition that they would not become a public burden. The immigrants were to be supported by their fellow nationals in the Philippines. In Shanghai about three dozen ethnic Germans plus twenty-eight German Jews took the Nazi government up on this offer. The ethnic Germans and the German Jews arrived together in Manila on September 8, 1937 aboard the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamship Gneisenau. Manila's ethnic German community took care of its brethren. A hastily-organized Jewish Refugee Committee assumed the formidable task of providing for what was easily the largest Jewish refugee group ever to have landed in the Philippines.

The Manila exodus of August 1937 indicates that, even at that late date, Shanghai was a city not only to which German Jews immigrated, but also from which some of them fled. However, immigration quotas imposed by the Manila Jewish community and a lack of support at the Manila end effectively cut off additional mass Jewish immigration to the Philippines. Occurring as it did alongside other immigration restrictions worldwide, a "closed door" in the Philippines caused Shanghai once again become a premier destination point for Jews, even while the city was under Japanese bombardment and then occupation.²⁴

23 Xu Buzeng, "Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai," pp. 230-238, and Harriet P. Rosenson, "Jewish Musicians in Shanghai: Bridging Two Cultures," pp. 239-250, both in: Jonathan Goldstein (ed.), *The Jews of China, Volume One. Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Armonk, NY – London: M. E. Sharpe 1999).

24 (Manuel E. Quezon), *Messages of the President V*, Part One (Manila: Bureau of Printing 1941), p. 427; John Griese, "The Jewish Community in Manila," unpub. M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1954, p. 28; Frank Ephraim, *Escape to Manila: From Nazi Tyranny to Japanese Terror* (Urbana – Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2003), pp. 15-77. On complications which arose with Jewish immigration to the Philippines, see Irene Eber, *War-time Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter 2012), pp. 63-64.

Gerhard Weinberg has argued in a pathbreaking article of over fifty years ago that on February 20, 1938 Nazi Germany, sensing greater economic opportunities with Japan and with Japanese-occupied regions of China than with unoccupied China, recognized Japan's puppet regime of Manchukuo (traditional Chinese: 滿洲國; Pinyin: Manzhouguo; literally "Manchu state") or Manshū-koku (Japanese: 滿州国). Germany, under its new Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946), inched ever so closer to Japan with whom it previously had ambivalent relations and away from Nationalist China with which it had extensive military ties. The Nationalists saw no other option than to look towards the Soviet Union, and others, for military assistance. On March 12, 1938 Hitler marched into Austria to a euphoric welcome. He subsequently annexed that country to the Third Reich and imposed anti-Semitic legislation. That same year Hitler expelled Polish Jews from Germany and unleashed the wave of terror popularly known as *Kristallnacht*, or "Night of the Broken Glass." These events convinced many heretofore-complacent Central European Jews to contemplate emigration for the first time. The chief question for them then became not whether to flee but rather which country might accept them. With Manila out of the question, Shanghai, even in the midst of the Second Sino-Japanese War, became a more and more desirable option for large numbers of Central European Jews.

On September 27, 1940 the German-Japanese-Italian relationship further solidified with their Tripartite Alliance. On July 1, 1941 Germany recognized Japan's puppet regime of Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883–1944) in China. Significantly, even at this late date Germany had still not specified genocide as its solution to the "problem" of European Jewry. The German government continued to focus on forced emigration of Jews and improved economic ties with Japan. Germany's Nazi leaders were quite content to see Central European Jews dumped in Japanese-controlled regions of Asia.²⁵ Jews with final destination visas were encouraged to leave Germany, albeit with a grand total of twenty Reichsmarks. However, this artificial impoverishment posed a new conundrum: it **closed** the doors of virtually every nation on earth, including those of the United States, to these penniless refugees. Conversely, Shanghai, with no monetary restrictions, became an ever more attractive immigrant destination. Shanghai wound up receiving perhaps as many as 18,000 impoverished Central European Jews.

Shanghai did **not** have a self-conscious policy of Holocaust rescue. Rather, "rescue" was a product of bureaucratic inertia. As already suggested, the city was a hodgepodge of multiple jurisdictions with overlapping and conflicting administrations. There was no coherent immigration policy. Between July 1937 and the end of 1941, due to the Sino-Japanese War, neither the Japanese, the Chinese Nationalists (Guomindang), nor the Wang Jingwei puppet regime posed obstacles to Jewish entry. Passport control simply ceased to exist. Travel documents were no longer checked for validity or for the all-important presence of an entry visa. Jews or anyone else who could physically reach Shanghai could simply walk ashore. Getting there was a problem, but not the essential matter of official entry documents. Ernest Heppner, from Breslau, Germany, marveled that when he and his mother got off the boat at the Shanghai Customs House on March 28, 1939,

25 Gerhard Weinberg, "Japanese Recognition of Manchoukuo [*sic*]," in: *World Affairs Quarterly* 28 (1957), pp. 149-164; and Gao, *Shanghai Sanctuary*.

*it was difficult to believe that no one asked for our papers as we passed through ... Hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe were trying to find a country permitting them entry, and here Jews could just walk ashore.*²⁶

While grandiose plans for settling Jews in other regions of China were discussed by a variety of parties, including an ambitious scheme by Shanghai German-Jewish businessman Jakob Berglas to settle Jews in remote Yunnan province, the exodus from Lithuania to Shanghai was distinct both in terms of the innovative mechanisms it utilized and the sheer numbers of individuals actually saved.²⁷ Despite valiant and well-publicized Holocaust rescue efforts in many parts of the world, the Lithuanian exodus was only surpassed in scale by the rescue which Raoul Wallenberg and Carl Lutz orchestrated in Budapest in 1944–1945. The Lithuanian evacuation involved approximately 1,000 Polish and Lithuanian Jews who were stranded in that neutral country in the summer of 1940, as it was about to be engulfed first by the Soviet Union and then by Nazi Germany. Armed with destination visas to Curacao provided by sympathetic Dutch diplomats, these refugees secured passage across the Trans-Siberian Railroad from the U.S.S.R. consul in Kovno (Kaunas) and then seven-to-fourteen day transit visas through Japan. No one realistically expected 1,000 Jews to reach the West Indies. Once in Japan a lucky handful secured passage to the United States and Palestine. The vast majority, aided by Kobe's miniscule Russian-Jewish community, secured passage to Shanghai, where they remained for the duration of the war. Once in Shanghai, all Central European refugees were housed and fed through cooperative mutual assistance and through relief provided mainly by Shanghai's wealthy resident Baghdadi Jews. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provided a resident social worker and sporadic assistance through funds transferred via Switzerland. While the Japanese tolerated this relief effort, they played no active part in it. Irene Eber concludes that "the Japanese authorities believed that the established Jewish communities were responsible for impoverished Jews."²⁸

The Lithuanian exodus has been reenacted in the full length movie "Escape to the Rising Sun," featuring Polish Zionist leader and future Israeli Minister of Religions Zorach Warhaftig. "Escape" emphasizes the transport to Shanghai of virtually the entire rabbinical academy of the Polish city of Mir, today located in Belarus. According to Rabbi Chaim Lipschitz, the Mir exodus included 305 teachers, students, and their families and was the

26 Ernest Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1994), p. 40, translated into German as *Fluchtort Shanghai: Erinnerungen 1938–1948* (Bonn: Weidle Verlag 1998).

27 On Berglas's wishful scheme, see Gao Bei, "The Chinese Nationalist Government's Policy toward European Jewish Refugees during World War Two," in: *Modern China* 37 (March 2011) 2, pp. 219–214; Gao, *Shanghai Sanctuary*, pp. 37–50; Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, pp. 117 and 146; and Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe*, pp. 66–70.

28 Altman – Eber, *Flight to Shanghai*, pp. 51–86; Jonathan Goldstein, "Motivation in Holocaust Rescue: The Case of Jan Zwartendijk in Lithuania, 1940," in: Jeffrey M. Diefendorf (ed.), *Lessons and Legacies VI: New Currents in Holocaust Research* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press 2004), pp. 69–87; Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe*, p. 2. Among the tales of mutual assistance, German refugee Sonja Muehlberger (née Krips) records that "I would have died of dysentery if not for a direct blood transfusion from my father ordered by our pediatrician, Dr. Mosse. I had lost a great deal of weight and was only skin and bones. My father's blood was compatible to mine and I survived. My father wanted to give the good doctor his only valuable possession, a gold watch, but Dr. Mosse refused to take either the watch or money." Sonja Muehlberger, "From Shanghai to Berlin," in: *Points East* (Menlo Park, Calif.), 13 (July 1998) 2, pp. 10–11.

only Eastern European rabbinical seminary to survive the Holocaust intact. The survivors of Mir, as well as several hundred additional Shanghai refugees from the rabbinical seminaries of Lublin and Otwock in Poland and Telz (or Telshai or Telsiai) in Lithuania, revere the contributions of the two Dutch diplomats who provided them with end visas, namely Dutch Consul Jan Zwartendijk in Kovno and Dutch Ambassador to the Baltic States L. P. J. de Decker in Riga, Latvia. Some of these refugees have elevated to near-saintly status Sugihara Chiune (1900–1986), the Japanese counterpart of the two Dutch consuls. Stationed in Kovno in 1939–1940 technically as Vice-Consul, Sugihara was in a position to issue numerous transit visas. Republic of China consuls in Amsterdam, London, Rome, and Vienna and Manchukuo diplomats in Berlin, Hamburg, and Rome also provided visas which enabled European Jews to escape incarceration in Germany and Austria and to flee to Shanghai and other destinations, even though, as already noted, entry visas were not technically required for entry into wartime Shanghai.²⁹

At the January 1942 Wannsee Conference top Nazi officials announced their plans for genocide of the entire Jewish population. The German leadership favored, where feasible, a Holocaust of all Asian as well as European Jews, with the possible exception of certain individuals of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish background. But this would have been difficult in Japanese-controlled regions of East and Southeast Asia – and Hitler knew it. Japan had signed a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. in April 1941. It remained intact until August 1945. Not willing to imperil that agreement and thereby have to station vast numbers of troops on its Soviet rather than its Southeast Asian frontiers, Japan dared not persecute any of the thousands of Russian Jews and non-Jews under its administration. The head of the Japanese Navy's Advisory Bureau on Jewish Affairs from April 1939 to March 1942, Captain Inuzuka Koreshige (1890–1965), helped Jewish refugees settle in Japanese-occupied (and Navy-administered) Shanghai. As a precaution against sabotage, on February 18, 1943 Japan segregated stateless individuals and non-Russians from Western na-

29 On the hagiography of “this incredible man, Sugihara” see, for example, Chaim U. Lipschitz, *The Shanghai Connection: Based on the Hebrew “Nes Hatzalah”* (New York: Maznaim 1988), pp. 18, 24, 33, and 42. Some Orthodox Jewish survivors saw their encounter with Sugihara as “the story of a miracle, in which every step is another miracle, and every miracle built on previous miracles, as though prepared especially for this occasion.” Lipschitz, *The Shanghai Connection*, p. 5; and Chaim Shapiro, “Escape from Europe: A Chronicle of Miracles,” in: *The Jewish Observer* (New York) (May 1973), pp. 20–24. The movie “Sugihara: Conspiracy of Kindness” also celebrates the role of this Japanese Vice-Consul. Sugihara survivor Samuil Manski of Arlington, Massachusetts took the lead in erecting a memorial stone honoring Sugihara outside Temple Emeth in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Ted Seifer, “Documentary explores efforts of ‘Japanese Schindler’ Sugihara,” in: *The Jewish Advocate* (Boston), May 6–12, 2005, p. 28. See also Elkhanen Yoysef Hertsman, *Mirer Yeshiva in Goles, ven di velt hot gebrent; Inhalt ... Bilder fun gedole Yis’ra’el, oykh fun Mirer Yeshive, un tragedyes fun Shankhayer geto* (Yiddish; Mirer Yeshiva in Exile: When the World Was on Fire Including: ... Pictures of Great Sages, also of the Mirer Yeshiva and of the Tragedies of the Shanghai Ghetto) (Brooklyn, NY: Chuna Herzman 1950; reprinted Amherst, Mass.: National Yiddish Book Center 1999); Yechezkel Leitner, *Operation Torah Rescue: The Escape of the Mirer Yeshiva from War-torn Poland to Shanghai, China* (Spring Valley – New York: Feldheim 1987); Isaac Lewin, *Remembering the Days of Old: Historic Essays* (New York: Research Institute of Religious Jewry 1994); Zorah Warhaftig, *Refugee and Survivor: Rescue Efforts During the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 1988); David Mandelbaum, *From Lublin to Shanghai* (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Mesorah 2012); Altman – Eber, “Flight to Shanghai,” pp. 51–86; and Goldstein, “Motivation in Holocaust Rescue,” pp. 69–87. According to Eber, “Manchukuo consulates in European cities, like Rome, Berlin, or Hamburg, did not pursue a consistent policy. Visas might be obtained at one, while none were issued at another, although the official policy was that a visa could be obtained upon evidence of a work contract, and there was no official prohibition on immigration into Manchukuo.” Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe*, pp. 61–62.

tions at war with the Axis in the aforementioned residential area of Hongkou (Hongkew) northeast of Suzhou Creek, without ever mentioning the word “Jew” or “ghetto.” Eyewitness Ernest Heppner describes “barriers” and “checkpoints” at the edges of this segregated area, which held some 18,000 stateless refugees, most of whom happened to be Jews.³⁰

Japan’s segregation of Jews, unlike that which the Nazis practiced in Europe, was hardly a blanket confinement. From 1943 until the severe deterioration of Japan’s military situation in 1944, approximately three hundred Mirer Yeshiva students were given passes valid seven days a week, from 7 AM to 11 PM, to walk from their residential area to the Beth Aharon synagogue in downtown Shanghai. Other Jews simply slipped by the barricades. Heppner mentions that his friend Les “Seppl” Salter

*never once bothered to get a pass; he knew exactly where to sneak out and back in and took his chances of getting caught at a checkpoint or by one of the roving military patrols that checked ID cards.*³¹

And, as already suggested, specific categories of foreigners were totally exempt from segregation: those from countries allied with Japan, which included, on ironic occasions, German Jews with or without a large capital “J” stamped in their passports; passport holders from Vichy France who could “prove” or in some other way demonstrate their “allegiance” to the Axis; and some individuals possessing a potpourri of Filipino, “Far Eastern Republic,” Iraqi, and “Nansen International Refugee Committee” documentation. In Hong Kong a British citizen successfully used a dubious claim of Irish nationality to avoid internment in the Stanley camp, and this may have also happened in Shanghai. In Tokyo Isaac Shapiro’s stateless Russian family, formerly of Harbin, were untouched throughout the war. Some Americans of at least partial Chinese ancestry in Shanghai were also not ghettoized. Finally, as already noted, those not segregated included holders of passports issued by the Soviet Union, which maintained its non-aggression treaty with Japan until August

30 Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge*, pp. 109-116. According to Hebrew University Japanologist Avraham Altman, until December 7, 1941 Inuzuka and his Japanese Army counterparts Colonel Yasue Norihiro (1888–1950), liaison officer with the Jewish community in Harbin in Japanese-occupied Manchuria (Manchukuo), and Major General Higuchi Kiichiro (1888–1970), chief of military intelligence in Harbin from August 1937 to July 1938, were both “using the Jews as tools in [their] government’s efforts to get the U.S. to remain neutral.” Letter: Avraham Altman to *Jerusalem Post*, May, 1982; and Ernie Meyer, “A Present for Purim,” in: *Jerusalem Post Magazine*, March 12, 1982, p.10. See also the book by Inuzuka’s wife Kiyoko, *Yudaya mondai to Nihon no kosaku. Kaigun Inuzuka Kikan no kiroku* (Japanese; The Jewish Problem and Japan’s Strategy: The Record of the Inuzuka Agency of the Navy) (Tokyo: Nihon Kogyo Shimbunsha 1982), pp. 375-380; Pamela Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees: A World War II Dilemma* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger 1998); and Gerhard Krebs, “The ‘Jewish Problem’ in Japanese-German Relations, 1933–1945,” in: Bruce Reynolds (ed.), *Japan in the Fascist Era* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire – New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), pp. 113-115, 120, 124-125, and 129. On Higuchi, see Maruyama Naoki, “Facing a Dilemma: Japan’s Jewish Policy in the Late 1930s” in: Guy Podoler (ed.), *War and Militarism in Modern Japan* (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental 2009), pp. 22-38.

At a minimum, until December 7, 1941 these Japanese officials saw Jewish influence in the United States as a means of lessening an American economic embargo against their country. Whatever their motivations, they saved Jews at a time when most of the world was closed to Jewish refugees. Hebrew University Japanologist Ben-Ami Shillony concludes that Inuzuka, Yasue, and Higuchi all preached an ideological anti-Semitism but, at the same time, professed a “practical friendship” for Jews who wished to settle in Japanese-occupied parts of China and thereby positively influence American foreign policy. Ben-Ami Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle 1991), pp. 182 and 187. See especially pp. 201-207, “Israel and Japan” and Shillony’s article “Japan and Israel: The Relationship that Withstood Pressure,” in: *Middle East Review* 18 (Winter 1985/1986) 2, pp. 17-24.

31 Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge*, p. 114.

1945. The stateless Israel Epstein, who was held in the Stanley camp in Hong Kong, bitterly referred to Soviet passport holders as “radishes”: they were “red” on the outside but were simultaneously free to engage in capitalism, black-marketeering and racketeering. In principle Japan’s tightened residential restrictions were less severe than the United States’ forced incarceration of Japanese-Americans in barbed-wire enclosures with watch towers in the American West. The often abusive and arbitrary conduct of the Japanese official Kanoh Ghoya (who liked to call himself “king of the Jews” in enforcing Shanghai ghetto restrictions) appears to be at least arguably anti-Semitic. But by no stretch of the imagination can the Japanese incarceration policies be classified as genocide.³²

Nazi Germany grumbled but tolerated the policies of its Asian ally much in the way it put up with Mussolini’s half-hearted attempt to implement anti-Semitic policies from May 22, 1939 on, when Il Duce formally allied Italy with Germany in their “Pact of Steel.” Isolated residentially and under myriad restrictions, the Central European Jews who fled Hitler would become by far the most numerous sub-community of Shanghai Jewry. And, within the modest confines of a residential area, many would also flourish culturally and intellectually.³³

32 Isaac Shapiro, who lived in Japan throughout the war, writes that, after the fall of France in the summer of 1940 “the Japanese government began discriminating between those French who sided with the new Vichy government and those who chose to follow De Gaulle. Many of the latter were imprisoned, including French Consul General Gallois in Yokohama.” Shapiro, *Edokko*, pp. 4 and *passim*. The Japanese authorities did not make a distinction between Czarist, Nansen, DVR (Dalnyvostochnaya Respublika, or “Far Eastern Republic”), and Soviet passport holders. All were considered “Russians” and were untouched within Japan and in the territories it occupied. The Russian Jew Misha Kogan, founder of Taito Corporation, lived in Japan throughout the war, had a Russian passport, was not only unharmed but was even allowed to go to Tianjin in 1944. Isaac Shapiro writes that his family, who were stateless Russians, “were never referred to by the Japanese authorities as ‘Jews.’ That was one distinction the Japanese did not make. The only whiff of anti-Semitism during the war came with the publication of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* ... I noticed its presence in a neighborhood bookstore. To my surprise, right next to a stack of *Protocols* was a stack of books entitled *History of the Jewish People* ... I was surprised and delighted to see that the history book was rapidly selling out, while the *Protocols* did not seem to be selling at all.” Shapiro, *Edokko*, p. 104; Interview: Israel Epstein, Beijing, September 1990; Lipschitz, *The Shanghai Connection*, pp. 91-95; and Yehezkel-Shaked, *Jews, Opium, and the Kimono*, pp. 193-195. Lipschitz makes the unsourced allegation of Japanese attempts to build camouflaged “gas chambers” in Shanghai to use against Jews. He maintains that when Nazi Colonel Josef Meisinger, “the butcher of Warsaw,” visited Shanghai in the winter of 1944-1945, this official requested that “plans” be prepared for such “chambers.” According to Lipschitz, these “plans” were found in the German Embassy in Tokyo after World War Two. There is no corroborating evidence for Lipschitz’s statements nor for those of Yehezkel-Shaked, who mentions a July 1942 visit to Shanghai by Meisinger and S.S. officer Hans Heiman and plans to drown Jews en masse in the Pacific Ocean. Meisinger’s 1944-1945 visit, in particular, occurred when Japanese military fortunes were nearing their lowest ebb. The Japanese armed forces had far greater priorities than killing Jews. Their primary aim was preserving Japan’s critically-important non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union while waging a full scale, losing war in East, Southeast, and South Asia. Persecuting Russian Jews would imperil that treaty. And it is unclear from Lipschitz precisely for whom these potential “death chambers” were intended: the Japanese were also experimenting with chemical weapons to be used against the Chinese. In any case, according to Lipschitz, the Japanese never activated, or even completed, such “chambers.” Nor did they ever seriously contemplate a scheme to drown Jews in the Pacific. Lipschitz, *The Shanghai Connection*, pp. 106-107; Yehezkel-Shaked, *Jews, Opium, and the Kimono*, pp. 197-199; and Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe*, pp. 170-173. On “radishes,” see also Stephan, *The Russian Fascists*, pp. 320-321. On the wartime conditions of interned Japanese-Americans, see Lauren Kessler, *Stubborn Twig* (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press 2008).

33 David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis, and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav 1988).

Central European Professional and Cultural Activity in Shanghai

The Central European Jewish exodus to Shanghai included individuals who represented a wide variety of religious and political persuasions. Even under Japanese occupation and segregation most of these refugees enjoyed freedoms unimaginable in their countries of origin. Evolving within this protected crucible, this massive third wave of Jewish arrivals immensely enriched the Eurasian/Jewish professional and cultural mosaic that already existed in the city.

Perhaps most famous among the Central European arrivals was the Viennese physician Jakob Rosenfeld, born in 1903 in Galician Lemberg, today's Lviv in Ukraine. Rosenfeld matriculated in medicine at the University of Vienna with a specialty in urology. After imprisonment in the German concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald, he managed to flee to Shanghai in 1939. Rosenfeld opened a practice on Avenue Joffre which specialized in liver, bladder, and prostate ailments. After making contact with his Galician counterpart Hans Shippe (see below) and with Dr. Shen Qizhen, a Chinese physician secretly working for the Chinese Communist Party, Rosenfeld volunteered to serve Chinese troops in "liberated areas." From 1941 to 1949 he was a medical officer with the Chinese Communists' New Fourth, Eighth Route, and Northeast People's Liberation armies. While Rosenfeld worked under battlefield conditions in those areas, a heart ailment he contracted in the concentration camps grew progressively worse. In 1949 Rosenfeld, who by then had become a Chinese Communist Party member, felt compelled to leave Shanghai for recovery and rehabilitation in the West. He immigrated to a reborn State of Israel in 1951 and died there from his heart problems in 1952. His tomb in Tel Aviv has become a pilgrimage destination for anti-Fascists of all sorts and for diplomats and tourists from the People's Republic in particular.³⁴

Another prominent Central European immigrant in Shanghai was the Viennese-born educator and journalist Ruth F. Weiss (1908–2006), also known as Wei Lushi 魏璐诗. Like Rosenfeld, Weiss matriculated at the University of Vienna, where she majored in German and English literature. In 1933 she travelled to Shanghai and stayed for four years, fascinated by the social and political goals of the unfolding Chinese Revolution. Initially she worked as a freelance journalist, then taught at the Shanghai Jewish School, and ultimately relocated to West China Union University in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, where David Crook and his future wife Isabel Brown were also teaching. From 1952 to 1965 she was a translator for the Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur (German; Publishing House for Foreign Literature) in Beijing. In 1965 she worked as a journalist for *China im Bild* (*Renmin huabao* 人民画报). Weiss was one of about one hundred foreign-born residents to receive Chinese citizenship in 1955. In 1983 the Communist Party of China named her one of eleven foreign expert members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, one of the highest honors any Chinese citizen can receive.³⁵

34 Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China*, *passim*. Several biographies of Rosenfeld have been published in China. For photos of him, many from a memorial picture exhibition which was mounted in China in April 2003, see Qu – Li, *The Jews of Harbin* (2006), pp. 130-137.

35 Ruth Weiss's publications include a German version of Eve Siao's *Die Peking-Oper* (Beijing: Neue Welt 1958); *Das kleine China-Handbuch* (Beijing: Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur [German; Publishing House for Foreign

The central European Jewish exodus also enriched the graphic arts and music of Shanghai. The Austrian Jewish artist Friedrich Schiff arrived in Shanghai in 1930 and thus was technically not a refugee from Nazi persecution. The German-born Jewish painter and engraver David Ludwig Bloch was a refugee in Shanghai from 1940 through 1949 and carved woodcuts depicting local life.³⁶ German-Jewish refugee musicians included the pianist Karl Steiner and the composer Julian Schloss. Violinist Ferdinand Adler, who had won the Ibach prize in Germany some years earlier; violinist and composer Otto Joachim and his cellist brother Walter Joachim; and the composer, violinist, and violist Wolfgang Fraenkel all raised the standards of the Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra, which was then conducted by an Italian Jew, Arrigo Foa. Viennese choir director Erwin Marcus and pianist and violinist Alfred Wittenberg both taught at the Shanghai Conservatory. Fritz Kuttner taught Western musical theory and history at Shanghai's St. John's University. His colleague was the British communist and spy David Crook, then under cover as a teacher of world literature. Noted German-Jewish contributors to the athletic culture in Shanghai included the boxer Max Buchbaum and the physical education instructor Leo Meyer.³⁷

Shanghai's Orthodox Jews did everything possible to maintain their high level of religiosity and spirituality. The Mir, Lubovitch, and Lublin constituencies each established their own religious seminaries, or *yeshivot*. They republished numerous works in Aramaic and Hebrew, including a twenty-volume edition of the *Gemora* which has come to be known informally as "The Shanghai Talmud." In 1941 Pinsk Yeshiva's Rabbi Lazer Briks published a collection of articles on Talmudic themes. His was the first Hebrew-language book published in Shanghai not as a reprint of something already published elsewhere. Books compiled by Reverend Mendel Brown and published in the 1930s for religious services at the Ohel Rachel synagogue essentially consisted of reprints of religious texts that had been published outside Shanghai. In 1944 the Mirer Yeshiva began publication of its Hebrew- and Yiddish-language journal *Meor Torah* with an essay by the distinguished Brisker (Brest-Litvosk) Rabbi Yitzchok Zev Soloveitchik ("The Blatt," 1886–1959), who by then had immigrated to Palestine. The Lubavitch Hasidic community published its own texts. Agudat Yisroel published two Yiddish newspapers reflecting their rigorously Orthodox point of view: *Di Yiddische Stime fun vaytn Mizrekh* (The Jewish Voice of the Far East) and *Dos Vort* (The Word). At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum Shanghai's secular Jewish community published the Russian language paper *Nasha Zhizn* (Our Life), which contained sections in English and Yiddish. (See special September 7, 1945 English edition of *Nasha Zhizn* included on next page. It celebrated the Allied victory over Japan.) The largely non-religious German-speaking refugees published about ten newspapers. Most were short-lived. The Polish-language *Echo Szanghajskie* printed an extra edition in Yiddish. *Der Yiddisher Almanach* appeared in English, German, Russian, and Yiddish.

Literature] 1958); *Die Briefmarken der Volksrepublik China* [German; Postage Stamps of the People's Republic of China] (Beijing: Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur 1958); and *Am Rande der Geschichte – Mein Leben in China* [German; My life in China] (Osnabrück, Germany: Zeller-Verlag 1999; rev. ed. 2005).

36 David Bloch, *Holzschritte*.

37 Xu Buzeng, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," pp. 10-12; Xu Buzeng, "Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai," pp. 231-235; Rosenson, "Jewish Musicians in Shanghai," pp. 245-246; and Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men, passim*.

Special "V" Issue

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Long Live Allied Victory!

The day has come when we, victims of Fascist aggression in Asia, can join our voice to that of the rest of our nation liberated by Allied victory from the death menace of Treblinka and ghettos and cry out in boundless joy: we are saved!

We are saved, and our salvation is not only inseparably bound with Allied victory, it is part and parcel of it. All of us like one man knew that the alternative would be extinction and we have fought this war on the Allied side if not on the actual battlefield then in our hearts and minds. Six million Jewish victims who met their death not as gallant war heroes but in gas-cells and ghettos, is no mean contribution to the Allied cause, the contribution which the post-war world of Freedom and Justice will not be prone to minimize.

We say "The post-war world of Freedom and Justice", for we firmly believe that the world emerged out of the carnage and chaos of the past decade would have to be a much more decent and cleaner place for each man to live in. And in that world we, Jews, should win back our place of honour and dignity both as individuals and as a nation.

There is no doubt in our minds that we should be willing to become the most zealous architects of this future world, in ways big and small, knowing that we are building a solid abode for our children uninhabited by ghosts of hatred and prejudice that would scare them at night.

In the years gone by it was often said that Jewish children should not be born into the world that has no place for them and, perhaps, this cruel sentence was true. Their unborn souls have at least escaped the futile quest of the Blue Bird of Happiness so well depicted by Meterlinck! Let all those who have been born, however, not regret that a part



of their lives was spent in the dark. "The darker was the night, the brighter will be stars", and still brighter the dazzling sun, the dawn of which we are welcoming at present.

It would be erroneous to expect, however, that heavenly manna would be dropped for us from the clear skies without any effort on our part. To build the life on principles of equality, freedom and justice would require years of hard toil in all spheres of human endeavour; it would mean waging an ideological war against all remnants of poisonous doctrines implanted in the minds of thousands of people and preaching the new democratic gospel from all the pulpits and forums of the world.

It would be no exaggeration to say, however, that of all nations we, Jews, should form the most receptive audience for such a gospel. We are instinctively predisposed towards democratic principles which alone secure us, a weak minority, rights and freedom on a par with those nationals among whom we live. And whenever these principles are lacking, we are faced with restrictions of our most primitive rights, "Designated Areas", yellow armbands and other similar manifestations of inequality and exploitation.

The war that has just ended has retrieved for humanity its place in the twentieth century civilization which it had lost in the last decade. It has recovered the human values trampled into the mud by wild Teutonic hordes.

And it has given Jews both as individuals and as a nation a new lease on life.

Long Live the Allied Victory!

Long live the peoples and leaders who have achieved it!

A. G.

"OUR LIFE"
Extends Heartfelt Felicitations
to its Friends and Readers
on occasion
of
ROSH HASHONO
and
"V" DAY

Let's Be Faithfull to the Memory of Millions of Jewish War Victims!
Let's Achieve Liberty and Happiness for Our People!

English Supplement to *Our Life* newspaper (Yiddish: *Unser Leben*; Russian: *Nasha Zhizn*), Special "V" issue, published in Shanghai on September 7, 1945. Credit: Alvin I. Fine Papers, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

Central European refugees also helped run such multilingual bookstores and art galleries as the Book Mart, the Lion, the Western Art Gallery, and Paragon.³⁸

Assimilation into Chinese Society: Exceptions to the Norm

Hebrew University Sinologist Irene Eber has published sample memoirs of Central European refugees in her 2008 anthology *Voices from Shanghai*. This collection of translations from German, Polish, and Yiddish concerns personal flight from adversity, anti-Fascism, Jewish life in Shanghai, and the life of Shanghai's Chinese rather than its Jewish population. A fourth category of memoir which goes largely unrepresented in Eber's volume is Jewish assimilation into Chinese society, to the point of miscegenation and intermarriage.³⁹

This phenomenon did occur within Chinese-Jewish society, albeit rarely. The German play "Fremde Erde" deals with a German refugee woman's relations with a Chinese man. Impoverished Jewish prostitutes in Shanghai were presumably available to Chinese men, and vice-versa. There may have been some mixed-race offspring from these liaisons. George Sokolsky broke a social taboo by marrying a woman of mixed Caribbean-Chinese blood. Silas Hardoon, the aforementioned Baghdadi Jewish immigrant, had a Chinese wife and several adopted ethnic Chinese as well as Jewish children. Polish-born Lazar Epstein (1886–1979), a fervent atheist, while never suggesting that Jewish immigrants to China adopt Chinese religion, did advocate Jewish empathy for and adoption of other Chinese cultural characteristics. On October 21, 1931, writing in the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, the most influential English-language paper in China north of Shanghai, he pointed out that in the West immigrants by the second generation knew the language of their new homelands and contributed to their cultures. Jews in China, by contrast, lived on cultural "scraps from Europe ... Does China lose by this lack of cultural intercourse? Probably not, but the permanent Jewish resident here does. He ... has sunk no roots into the soil where he shall probably spend all of his days, and his children theirs." Lazar Epstein's son Israel went perhaps the furthest of all European Jews in his commitment to becoming Chinese. In addition to his aforementioned literary and journalistic achievements, Israel threw himself into the nascent Chinese Revolution, met Mao, wrote a biography of Song Qingling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), edited *China Reconstructs* magazine, and became a Chinese

38 On Jewish publishing in Shanghai, see Avishai Elboim, *Defusei shanghai ve'she'arit ha-plitah* (Hebrew; Shanghai Publishing and the Surviving [Jewish] Remnant), in: *Ha-Ma'ayan* (Jerusalem: Mosad Yitzhak Brayer 1999–2000), pp. 75–86; "First Talmudic Book Published in Shanghai," in: *Nasha Zhizn* 23 (October 10, 1941), p. 8; Xu Buzeng, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," p. 11; Lipschitz, *The Shanghai Connection*, pp. 70 and 77; and Mandelbaum, *From Lublin to Shanghai*, pp. 68–72. Religious texts in Hebrew and Russian had been previously published by Harbin's Levitin publishing house, notably the works of Rabbi Aharon Moshe Kisilev, who served that city from 1913 until his death in 1949. See his *Mishbere Yam: Sheelot U-Teshuvot Be-Arbaah Helke Shulkan Arukh* (Hebrew; *The Waves of the Sea: Responsa on the Four Parts of "The Set Table"*) (Harbin: Defus M. Levitin 5686 [1925 or 1926]; reprinted Brooklyn, N.Y.: Katz Bookbinding 1981) and *Natsionalizm I Evreistvo: Stat'i, Lektsii, I Doklady* (Russian; *Nationalism and the Jews: Articles, Lectures and Reports*) (Harbin: Evreiskaia Zhizn 1941). For secular publication, see, for example, the English-language front page of Shanghai's *Nasha Zhizn* of September 7, 1945, headlined "Long Live Allied Victory," Magnes Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, on the previous page; and Eber, *Wartime Shanghai and the Jewish Refugees from Central Europe*, pp. 137–146.

39 Eber, *Voices from Shanghai*, *passim*.

citizen. Like Ruth Weiss, he was elected a member of China's National People's Consultative Conference. Late in life Israel Epstein, like Sokolsky, Hardoon, and the American-born Jew Sydney Shapiro, also a member of the National People's Conference, married an ethnically-Chinese woman. Epstein and his Chinese wife adopted two ethnically-Chinese children in addition to the two he already had adopted during an earlier marriage to a Caucasian.⁴⁰

Eber's Shanghai anthology, therefore, is a literature of exiles and transitory migrants rather than one of immigrants who became a part of a new motherland. The Jewish immigrant to China and his or her Eurasian offspring or adopted children, while a vital part of the Jewish experience, are – with the exception of one vignette by Joseph Fishman – beyond the scope of Eber's anthology. Eber of course is to be congratulated for translating and publicizing testimonies to a notable part of the Shanghai Jewish experience.⁴¹

Clandestine Political Activity in Shanghai

Those basically left alone within the segregated residential area or permitted to do business outside of it tended to be pro-Japanese. But Shanghai's toleration – be it under international ordinance or simple benign neglect – was insufficient for some Jewish residents. The activities of some militant anti-Axis and anti-Japanese foreign residents of Shanghai

40 Shapiro, *Edokko*, p. 8; Sidney Shapiro, *I Chose China: The Metamorphosis of a Country and a Man* (New York: Hippocrene 2000); and Levy, *Two-Gun Cohen*, pp. 117ff. Another well known Russian Jew who intermarried with a Chinese was Isaac Shickman, head of the Soviet Citizens Committee in Beijing. Qu – Li, *The Jews of Harbin*, pp. 188–189. On Lazar and Israel Epstein, see Israel Epstein's autobiographical "On Being a Jew in China," pp. 85–97; Qu – Li, *The Jews of Harbin*, pp. 138–143; "Leaders Say Final Farewell to Epstein," in: *China Daily*, No. 7845 (Beijing, June 4–5, 2005), p. 1; „Jiang Celebrates Birthday of a Journalist," in: *Beijing Xinhua in English*, April 20, 1995; Jonathan Goldstein, "Israel Epstein in China: A Case Study of Father/Son Conflict in Jewish Ideological Formation," in: Raoul David Findeisen et al. (eds.), *At Home in Many Worlds: Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures. Essays in Honour of Irene Eber* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 2009), pp. 295–311; Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign [sic] Serve China* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield 2003), pp. 90–118 and *passim*; Brady, "Red and Expert: China's 'Foreign Friends' in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 1966–1969," in: *China Information* 11 (1996), pp. 113–114, 131, and 135; and Anne-Marie Brady, "Treat Insiders and Outsiders Differently: The Use and Control of Foreigners in the PRC," in: *The China Quarterly* 164 (December 2000), pp. 943–964. Israel Epstein's other published writings include: "A Return to a Battlefield," in: *China Reconstructs* 32 (April 1983) 4, pp. 36–40; *History Should Not Be Forgotten* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), Chinese version: *Lishi bu ying wangji* (Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe 2005); *The People's War* (London: Victor Gollancz 1939), Chinese version: *Renmin zhi zhan* (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 1991); "Vignettes of Past and Present," in: [no editor given], *Living in China by Twenty Authors from Abroad* (Beijing: New World Press 1979), pp. 277–306; *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist* (San Francisco: Long River Press 2005), Chinese version: *Jianzheng Zhongguo: Aipositan huiyilu* (A Memoir of More than 80 Years in China) (Beijing: Xin shijie chubanshe 2004); and *Woman in World History*. In November 1956 Israel Epstein mailed his parents a first edition of his book *From Opium War to Liberation* (Beijing: New World Press 1956). It is inscribed "To dearest Mom + Dad --Izzy." Copy courtesy of R. Stevenson Upton of Concord, New Hampshire, USA. This book appeared in three English-language editions, all published in China, and was translated into Chinese, Italian, Japanese, and Portuguese. Gal Beckerman wrote in a review of Epstein's *My China Eye* in *The Forward* that "there has been no real airing of the horrors perpetrated by the regime that Epstein proudly supported. Epstein's book is the portrait of a man whose professed idealism was more precious than anything reality could dish up." "Seeing Red," in: *The Forward* (English edition), October 28, 2005 (book section), p. 16.

41 Eber included Jacob H. Fishman's 1947 short story "A Wedding," which describes a German-Jewish man's love affair in Shanghai with an impoverished ethnic Chinese woman. The boy's parents have reluctantly accommodated to their daughter's marriage to an Orthodox Eastern European Jew. But their son's potential marriage to a Chinese is more than they can handle. It is unclear whether Fishman's sketch is fact or fiction.

fell into a murky limbo which historian Bernard Wasserstein has called the “ambiguities of occupation.”⁴²

Anti-Japanese zealots like Israel Epstein, David Crook, and Jakob Rosenfeld left Shanghai entirely. Members of the Shanghai Municipal Police were trapped in the dilemma of whether to obey orders from their Japanese superiors to crack down on anti-Japanese and anti-Axis dissidents or to leave them alone. Some collaborated and some did not. Some militant activists chose to remain in Shanghai and take their activities underground.

Among the most prominent anti-Axis operatives was Hans Shippe, born in 1896 or 1897 in Galicia, which was then a predominantly Polish part of Austria-Hungary. His original name may have been Mojzesz (Moses) Grzyb. Shippe reached Shanghai in 1925 and became a correspondent for a variety of leftist as well as centrist publications, including the *People's Tribune*, the mouthpiece of the left wing of the Guomindang; the Soviet newspaper *Izvestiia*; the Shanghai-based *Voice of China*; *The New Yorker*; *China Today*; and *Pacific Affairs*, the monthly journal of the Honolulu-based Institute of Pacific Relations. In 1933, after the rise of Hitler, Shippe, under a variety of aliases, founded a group of about fifty “illegal German anti-Fascists”: the *Schulungsgruppe*, or “training unit.” Herman and Ilse Krips, the parents of Sonja Muehlberger, joined the *Schulungsgruppe* after the Kripses' arrival in Shanghai in 1939. They met covertly in the offices of “Gebrüder Paulick” architects. Richard Paulick wrote under the pseudonym “Peter Winslow” for the *Voice of China* magazine, which he founded. The *Schulungsgruppe* also included non-Jewish Communists like Johannes (Hans) Koenig, who later became the first ambassador from the German Democratic Republic to Beijing and who was married to a Jewish woman. On November 30, 1941 Shippe was killed on the battlefield during a Japanese attack.⁴³

In 1943, in the spirit of Republic of China–American wartime amity, the United States took the lead in abrogating unequal treaties of the eighteen- and early nineteen-hundreds, thereby technically returning Japanese-occupied Shanghai to Republic of China sovereignty. After the liberation of Shanghai by American forces in 1945 the city came under the direct control of the Guomindang (see photo of American soldiers enjoying a Passover celebration in the city on next page).

The once-underground *Schulungsgruppe* emerged as two legal groups: the still left-leaning “Austrian Community, Shanghai” and the “Association of Democratic Germans in Shanghai” (Gemeinschaft der Demokratischen Deutschen in Shanghai). The “Community” and “Association” were, like the *Schulungsgruppe*, clearly anti-Fascist but also included a wide range of political views. Some members, like Shippe's Jewish wife Trude/Trudi Rosenberg, immigrated to the United States. The “new Jerusalem” for approximately twenty-five other militants would be neither the United States nor China but rather a

42 Wasserstein, “Ambiguities of Occupation,” pp. 24-41; Henriot – Yeh, *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun, passim*; and Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration, passim*. On the occasions when anti-Fascist sentiment in Shanghai escalated to the level of espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, see Kampen, *Chinesen in Europa – Europäer in China*, pp. 26-28; and Charles A. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy: The Sorge Spy Ring* (New York: Dutton 1952).

43 Shippe's other names and aliases included Morzec Crzyb, Asiaticus Grzyb, Heinz Grubb, Heinz Moller, Erich Moller, and Hansi Xibo. Genia Nobel – Günter Nobel, “Als politische Emigranten in Shanghai,” in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 21 (1979) 6, pp. 883-886; Epstein, “On Being a Jew in China,” p. 95; e-mail: Sonja Muehlberger to the author, October 15, 2012; Kampen, *Chinesen in Europa – Europäer in China*, pp. 32-36; Wasserstein, “Ambiguities of Occupation,” pp. 24-41; and Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China, passim*.



1945 Passover Seder for American G.I.s, in Shanghai. On the background wall are the flags of the United States and the Republic of China and portraits of leaders Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek. U. S. Army Chaplain Alvin I. Fine led the service. He was involved with several aid organizations bringing relief to the Jewish refugee community of Shanghai. After military service Fine was rabbi at San Francisco's Temple Emanu-El from 1948 to 1964. Credit: Alvin I. Fine Papers, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

future German, and possibly an Austrian, Democratic Republic. Some repatriated to Germany and Austria aboard the U.S. troop carrier *General Gordon*, which left Shanghai on April 30, 1947. The Krips family were among 295 refugees who departed for Germany and Austria on the *Marine Lynx* on July 25, 1947. A movie in the Jewish Museum of Berlin records the ecstatic welcome which fellow anti-Fascists accorded these former Shanghai-landers when the group finally disembarked in Europe. Other Germans and Austrians returned to their birthplaces not out of ideological conviction but rather for family or other personal reasons. Examples included situations in which one partner was not Jewish and still had family back home; an elderly person who did not wish to try starting over in another country; or an individual who felt especially strong ties to German language and culture.⁴⁴

The Multiethnic Zionism of Shanghai and the Sino-Judaic Exodus

One cannot conclude a discussion of the richness of the Eurasian-Jewish cultural mosaic in Shanghai without mentioning Zionism, the nineteenth and twentieth century movement of Jews and non-Jews to reestablish a Jewish homeland on land from which Jews had been expelled by the Romans in 70 A.D. In 1904 Baghdadi immigrant Nissim Elias Benjamin Ezra (1883–1936), a religiously-devout Sassoon employee, founded the secular Shanghai Zionist Organization and became the long-time editor of its English language monthly *Israel's Messenger* (Hebrew: *Mevasser Yisrael*), the most widely read mainstream

44 Georg Armbrüster, of Berlin's Verein Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand, provides the figure of "about 25 people" among the fervent anti-Fascists who returned to build the German Democratic Republic and/or its Austrian counterpart. Letter: Georg Armbrüster, Berlin, to the author, October 7, 1998. Walter Czollek, Jacob and Annemarie Fass, Max Lewinsohn, Berthold Manasse, and Genia and Günter Nobel were among the Germans active in Shanghai's underground anti-Fascist associations. Telegram: JOINTCO, Shanghai, to JOINTDISCO, New York, July 24, 1947, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives, New York; "The Austrian Community, Shanghai" and "Association of Refugees from Germany," in: Ossie Lewin (ed.), *Almanac: Shanghai 1946/47* (Shanghai: Shanghai Echo 1947), p. 81; e-mails: Sonja Muehlberger (Berlin) to the author, October 12 and 15, 2012; Georg Armbrüster, "15.000 appellieren an die Welt," pp. 74-77; Armbrüster – Kohlstruck – Mühlberger, *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947*, pp. 12-19; Muehlberger, "From Shanghai to Berlin," pp. 1 and 10-11; Nobel – Nobel, "Als politische Emigranten in Shanghai," pp. 882-894; Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge*, p. 40; and Kampen, *Chinesen in Europa – Europäer in China*, pp. 32-36.

Zionist publication in East, Southeast, or South Asia during the first half of the twentieth century. Its politics were those of Theodor Herzl's World Zionist Organization. Zionist Revisionism, the militant offshoot of mainstream Zionism represented in Israel today by the Likud party, reached Shanghai via the Russian-speaking Jewish enclaves in Manchuria and North China. As Russian Jews fled south to the relative safety of Shanghai, so did Zionist Revisionism. With the war over, on October 14, 1945 mainstream Zionists and Revisionists held a joint rally at the Kadoorie School in Shanghai's former Hongkew ghetto calling upon the British government to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine (see poster on page 43). Judith Ben-Eliezer (née Hasser) lobbied the Guomindang, including Sun Yat-sen's son, Sun Fo (or Sun Ke 孫科, 1895–1973), who was Vice-Chairman of the Nationalist Government from 1947 to 1948, for international recognition of a Jewish state. Mordechai "Motti" Olmert, the father of future Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, raised tens of thousands of dollars in Shanghai for the Jewish underground army in Palestine. Once the State of Israel was reborn in May of 1948, hundreds of immigrants departed from Shanghai in a formal exodus largely organized by Revisionist leader Yana (Ya'acov) Liberman, who would later become Israeli Prime Menachem Begin's cabinet secretary. Many Jews left China and went to Israel for ideological reasons. Others, including the aforementioned Jakob Rosenfeld, a committed Chinese Communist party member, left China for such practical reasons as medical treatment and family reunification.⁴⁵

Many Shanghai survivors had problems trying to enter the United States, the most sought-after destination for refugees even prewar. The problem for refugees generally, and especially for those originally from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, was that a national quota system made for long delays. As a result, many refugees returned home, especially to Austria, or chose Canada or Israel as springboards for eventual immigration to the United States.

Several dozen Jewish families who were longtime residents of China were among the 5,000 to 8,000 Russians who voluntarily repatriated to the U.S.S.R. between 1945 and 1948 for ideological and economic reasons. The ethnic Russians included the Speshnev family, whose son's first language was Chinese and who later became an interpreter for the Soviets in their 1969 negotiations with the Chinese over Damansky Island. We have only fragmentary evidence about how most Jewish repatriates fared. Many Jews, especially those who headed for the so-called autonomous Jewish region of Birobijan, were never heard from again, vanishing into Stalin's gulags or being executed in one of his purges. One Jewish repatriate whom we do know about was Joseph Shapiro. His brother Isaac Shapiro writes that after the war, Joseph found himself in Harbin in Soviet-occupied Manchuria.

Ever the radical Socialist, Joseph eagerly greeted the Soviet occupation troops and went voluntarily to the Soviet Union, where he was immediately conscripted into the uniformed NKVD and put to work interrogating Japanese prisoners of war. Many years later, when I first saw him again in Moscow in 1959, Joseph told me

45 Rosenstock's *Directory of China and Manila* 14 (January–June 1909), pp. 137–138; Qu – Li, *The Jews of Harbin*, p. 147. On joint action by varied Shanghai Zionist groups, see, for example, the poster headlined "To all the Jews in Shanghai! APPEAL," Coordinated Committee for United Zionist Action, Hongkou, Shanghai, October 14, 1945, Magnes Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, see on page 43.

that, soon after he arrived in Soviet Russia, his commanding officer called him in, and, wonderstruck, asked, 'Do you mean to tell me you came here voluntarily? Are you mad?' Joseph later realized he had acted foolishly and confessed to me that it was the worst mistake he had ever made in his life. Nevertheless, he remained in the USSR, married a Russian woman, and had two daughters. He spent most of his life working as a professor and a freelance translator and interpreter. During the 1990s, after Skadden, Arps, of which I was a partner, opened its office in Moscow, Joseph did translation work for our firm. Joseph died in Vladivostok in December 2002 at the age of seventy-six.⁴⁶

Conclusion: The Legacy of the Shanghai Judaic Experience

According to Shanghai historian Xu Buzeng, between 1939 and 1945, 1,681 members of the Shanghai Jewish refugee community died there, the equivalent of 13.3% of the total community. Many had been physically weakened by the suffering they had endured under Nazi rule, the vicissitudes of travel to Shanghai, and deprivation and malnutrition in the city during wartime. Some were victims of battlefield combat or bombing raids. Little remained of the Shanghai Jewish community after the mass exodus to multiple destinations in the years shortly after World War II. As late as 1967, apart from the ethnically-Chinese Kaifeng Jewish community, there were a total of twenty-eight Jews in all of China, thirteen of them in Shanghai. A Council of the Jewish Community tended to the needs of this mostly elderly handful of survivors through funds which the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee transmitted via Hong Kong.⁴⁷

The People's Republic of China confiscated much of Shanghai's Jewish communal property, including its club, three synagogues, and hospital. It attempted to relocate Jewish graves to a newer cemetery, losing many in the process. The Council was compensated for some of these lost properties. In the spring of 1985 ex-Shanghailanders Walter and Judy Citrin, then of Tokyo, revisited their former hometown. In a classic statement about the demise of old Jewish Shanghai as well as their lives in newer and safer environments, Judith wrote that her "biggest disappointment" was that "we couldn't locate the 3 (*sic*) graves of our loved ones we had left behind: my grandfather, my father, and Walter's mother. We

46 Shapiro, *Edokko*, p. 215; Stephan, *The Russian Fascists*, pp. 328-354; Ginsbourg, *My First Sixty Years in China*, p. 199; Yaacov (Yana) Liberman, *My China: Jewish Life in the Orient 1900-50* (Jerusalem – Hewlett, NY: Gefen 1998), pp. 57, 95-97, and 151-165; and Isador A. Magid, "I Was There: The Viewpoint of an Honorary Israeli Consul in Shanghai, 1945-1951," in: Jonathan Goldstein (ed.), *China and Israel, 1948-1998: A Fifty Year Retrospective* (Westport, Conn. – London: Praeger 1999); Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge*, pp. 172-174; immigration certificate of June 9, 1947 for Benno Beitowitz, a German-Jewish refugee who was leaving for the United States, issued by Meir Birman of the Shanghai office of The Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau for Immigrants, commonly known by its Russian-language acronym DALJEWICIB; and telegram: November 8, 1948 from Rabbis Abraham Heschel and Chune Herzman of New York to Sam Hirsch, an employee of the San Francisco office of HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), asking for assistance for a family who recently immigrated to San Francisco. Copies of immigration certificate and telegram appear on pages 44 and 45.

47 Xu Buzeng, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," p. 11; Letter: Zvia Shickman-Bowman (London) to the author, September 25, 1999; and Maxwell Brem, "End of an Era in China," in: *Jewish Chronicle* (London), April 7, 1967.

*Kadoorie School
Hongkew 14 Oct 1945*

To All the Jews in Shanghai! APPEAL

The war is over. Victory has been won. The prolonged sufferings and horrible days have come to an end. Jubilation and happiness reigns everywhere. A new, delivered world has been born, where people should live safe from want and fright.

The freed and victorious nations are emerging steadily from the chaos and ruins to rebuild their destroyed homes, repatriate their dispersed countrymen, and establish the final score of their casualties and losses.

One nation alone wanders over the debris of the world, like a lamenting Jeremiah searching, with his pilgrim's cane, in the ashes of the huge conflagration, for the broiled remnants of his children.

The Jewish people lost in this war all its best and dearest that will never be again. The entire European Jewry and its largest Polish community are dead... We Jews of every citizenship and every language, scattered over all lands, are united today in the grave pain that fills our hearts. No joy and no celebration can erase the sorrowful realisation that a grim and bloody crime, which has not its equal under the sun, was committed against us in this war.

Even more painful, however, is the fact that though our distress is so human, our tragedy so great, it does not evoke on the part of the outer world, that encouragement and solidarity, that spontaneous campaign for rehabilitation it calls for. The world seems to be right now "too busy" to concern itself seriously and definitely with our problems too. It is only the criminal nature of the enemy, his bestiality and degeneration that are spoken of and appraised; no word, however, is heard of the great victim himself, of the Jewish Nation's terrible and irretrievable loss.

Even the living corpses, the accidentally saved remnants of the Jewish people in Europe, are still being kept in isolation camps. For those most unhappy victims of Nazi tyranny, for those who led an unequal and desperate struggle with Hitler since his rise, the gates of all lands are still locked.

An open, ignoble bargaining is being conducted between the Great Powers and statesmen about some entrance certificates, not to American Countries nor the British Dominions by any means, but to our own, promised Homeland—Palestine, a land saturated with Jewish sweat and Jewish blood.

Under the banners of all Allied Nations, a million Jewish soldiers fought in this war! Thousands of Jews met their death in underground resistance movements and guerrilla units, all over Europe; nevertheless the White Paper is still in force; the gates of Palestine still locked. There is still no home for the homeless people. Will also to-day the wandering Jewish refugees be met on the shores of their historical motherland with pointed guns? Will they be forced out again into the open sea?

Jews: We face at present, an unprecedented crisis in our existence. At all critical stages in our history, we gave birth to prophets, messiahs and champions of freedom. Our pain and sorrow we moulded into strength and endurance; and we have lived to see the evil powers shattered.

To-day also, let us strengthen ourselves in the belief of the eternity and rejuvenation of the Jewish people, and final victory of its case.

JEW, remain Jew! Be strong and dignified.

For any price will Palestine be Jewish! Let reconstructed Eretz-Israel stand out as a living monument to those millions that loved Palestine so strongly and were so tragically murdered, away from her sacred soil!

Jews of Shanghai!

Let all of us show our solidarity and express our will for freedom and independence by appearing at the great national mass meeting of the Jewish population in Shanghai on Sunday, Oct. the 14th, at 3p. m. at the ground of the "Kadoorie School" in Hongkew.

Rally in Force!
Forward under the Banners of Allied Nations!
Forward under the Banner of Zionism!

**COORDINATED COMMITTEE
FOR UNITED ZIONIST ACTION**

Shanghai, October 1945

Rally Poster. "To All the Jews in Shanghai! APPEAL." Victory notice that the war is over and asking Jews to rally for Zionism and for a Jewish homeland in Eretz-Israel. The rally was held at the Kadoorie School, Hongkou (Hongkew), Shanghai, October 14, 1945. Credit: Alvin I. Fine Papers, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

had paid the authorities in charge when the graves were moved, but the subject was taboo. It was painful. In spite of all this we were glad we had come."⁴⁸

48 "The Autobiography of Judith Zirinsky Citrin" (1918–2004), unpublished manuscript, ca. 1993, courtesy of Jack Citrin, Berkeley, California, p. 111; Shickman-Bowman, letter, September 25, 1999; and Xu Buzeng, "The Influence of Jewish Refugees on the Musical and Intellectual Life of Shanghai," p. 11.

The Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau For Emigrants
SUFFERERS OF WAR & OTHER CALAMITIES
FOUNDED IN 1917
AFFILIATED WITH HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA

IN YOUR REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
 No. 67180

“HIAS”
 SHANGHAI
 24, CENTRAL ROAD, ROOM 206

ADDRESS FOR LETTERS
P. O. BOX 1425
 CABLE ADDRESS: "HIAS"

Shanghai, June 9th 1947
 Phone: YU kon 0601
 60601

Mr. H. M. Picard
 Representative of "HIAS"
 593 Market Street
 San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir,

The bearer of this letter Mr. Benno BEITOWITZ
 is/are leaving Shanghai by ss "General Meigs" on June 17th 1947
 to join his uncle
 Mr. Gerald G. LOWDEN, 811, Eastwood Ave. Chicago Ill.

Mr/MRS. BEITOWITZ is/are Jewish Refuge(e)s from Berlin
 and has/has been registered with us since his/her/their arrival
 in Shanghai on 9.VII.1939 His/her/their particulars are:
 Mr. Benno BEITOWITZ, born 26.VIII.1906 in Budwethen Germany

We shall be much obliged if, in case of necessity, you would
 kindly extend to him/her/their any moral and juridical assistance
 required.

Thanking you in anticipation for your kindness, we remain
 Yours very sincerely
 M. Birman, Manager.

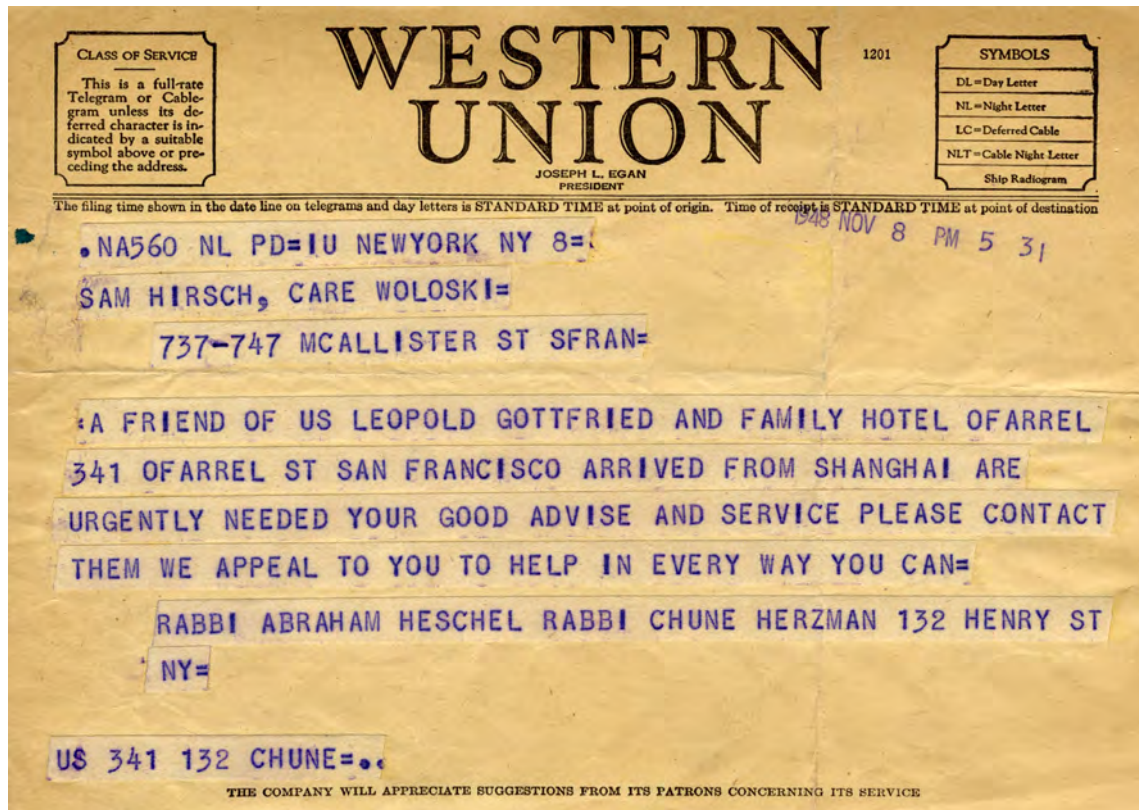
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E/ml

Immigration certificate for Benno Beitowitz, a German-Jewish refugee in Shanghai who was leaving for the United States on June 9, 1947. The document was issued by Meir Birman of the Shanghai office of "The Far Eastern Jewish Central Information Bureau for Immigrants," commonly known by its Russian-language acronym DALJEWICB. Birman was simultaneously the Shanghai representative of HIAS, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, founded in New York in 1881 and headquartered there. Credit: Gregory Grossman collection on Jews of the Far East, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

To its credit, the People's Republic transferred reparations money to the State of Israel in a complex transaction that was handled via Switzerland. Chinese funds financed the construction of a Synagogue of the Jewish Communities of China on Ha-golan Street in the northern Tel Aviv suburb of Ramat Ha-hayal. Every Chanukah since 1956 there has been a reunion in Tel Aviv of ex-Shanghaianders and other former Chinese Jews organized by their immigrant association, or *Landsmannschaft*, the Igud Yotzei Sin (Organization of Former Jewish Residents of China). It is a happy event. The Igud annually grants scholarships to descendants of Chinese Jews who now live in Israel and to approximately one hundred ethnically-Chinese students who now study in the Jewish state, many in high-tech agricultural and industrial fields.⁴⁹ At the December 16, 2012 Igud celebration the Chinese Ambassador to Israel donated \$10,000 to the Igud scholarship fund. The activities of the Igud are perhaps the fullest expression of the distinct form of transnational Jewish

49 Philip Jay, "In Tribute to the Late Teddy Kaufmann, Founder of Igud Yotzei Zin (sic)," in: *Jewish Times Asia* (Hong Kong) 7 (September 2012) 5, p. 1; Qu – Li, *The Jews of Harbin*, pp. 225-226 and 231-234.



A November 8, 1948 telegram from Rabbis Abraham Heschel and Chune Herzman of New York to Sam Hirsch, an employee of the San Francisco office of HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), asking for assistance for a family who recently immigrated from Shanghai to San Francisco. Credit: Samuel Hirsch Family Papers and Photographs Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

identification experienced by ex-Shanghaianders. With the active encouragement of both the Chinese and Israeli governments, the Igud reinforces ties between Jews of the world and the city of Shanghai which, as much as any other place on this planet, harbored Jews and enabled them to enjoy a meaningful and multi-faceted cultural existence in the darkest days of the horrific tragedy we know as the Holocaust.

About the author: Jonathan Goldstein is a Professor of East Asian History at the University of West Georgia, U.S.A., and a Research Associate of Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies. His books include *Philadelphia and the China Trade* (1978), *Georgia's East Asian Connection* (1982), *America Views China* (1991), *China and Israel* (1999), and *The Jews of China* (2 vols., 1999 and 2000), and *Stephen Girard's Trade with China* (2011).