

6-28-1991

Horowitz, Rose oral history interview

Steve Hochstadt
Bates College

Follow this and additional works at: http://scarab.bates.edu/shanghai_oh

Recommended Citation

Hochstadt, Steve, "Horowitz, Rose oral history interview" (1991). *Shanghai Jewish Oral History Collection*. 5.
http://scarab.bates.edu/shanghai_oh/5

This Oral History is brought to you for free and open access by the Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library at SCARAB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Shanghai Jewish Oral History Collection by an authorized administrator of SCARAB. For more information, please contact batesscarab@bates.edu.

Interview with Rose Horowitz by Steve Hochstadt
Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project
Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee

Horowitz, Rose

Interviewer

Hochstadt, Steve

Transcribers

Pelofsky, Jeremy

Hochstadt, Steve

Date

6/28/1991

Extent

2 audiocassettes

Place

Los Angeles, Californai

Use Restrictions

© Steve Hochstadt. This transcript is provided for individual **Research Purposes Only**; for all other uses, including publication, reproduction and quotation beyond fair use, permission must be obtained in writing from: Steve Hochstadt, c/o The Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, 70 Campus Avenue, Lewiston, Maine 04240-6018.

Biographical Note

Rose Horowitz was born as Rahma-Rose Jacob on November 3, 1924 in Shanghai. Her mother's family was among the oldest Jewish settlers in Shanghai. After the Japanese takeover of Shanghai in December, 1941, the Jacob family lost jobs and possessions. Horowitz and her mother went to Canada in 1949, and then to the United States. She married George Horowitz, a Viennese refugee from the Nazis, who also spent the war in Shanghai. They live in Los Angeles. Rose Horowitz is active in the Skirball Museum's work on Jews in China.

Transcript

Steve Hochstadt: Let me just start here . . .

Rose Horowitz: Before that, the funds from the Joint were, do you, do you want me to sit there . . .

SH: It doesn't matter . . .

RH: . . . or move this a little closer . . .

SH: It doesn't, you can sit wherever you are comfortable.

RH: You don't mind, you don't mind, we'll work it any way you want.

SH: This is fine, this will pick up everything.

RH: Okay.

SH: So the funds from the Joint were coming through right after the war.¹

RH: Much, much more rapidly. People came out from the Jewish Welfare Board, even before that. The very first planeload of Americans to come in consisted of Red Cross and medical personnel to assess what was needed, and among those were two American officers who happened to be Jewish, and they flashed the word back, that conditions were bad. Though I would say that most organizations in this country would have known, because there was contact through the Red Cross throughout the war. There were a certain amount of funds sent from the Red Cross to the Jewish ghetto throughout the war, way insufficient to keep people comfortable, but by and large it kept body and soul together.

SH: Who were these American officers?

RH: The two, the one I can think of is Major Shoyer and his aide was a captain, and I don't, I can see his face, but I can't remember the name.

SH: They were not chaplains, though, they just happened to be Jewish officers?

RH: Yes. They, they were with the medical corps. They came to assist what help was needed, not for the Jewish ghetto, but specifically for the civilian internees, Americans, British, I think the Dutch were also interned, a few others, in the camps in and around Shanghai. They flew in on the

¹ The "Joint" refers to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which sent funds and personnel to Shanghai to support Jewish refugees before, during, and after the war.

very first plane, with a handful of nationalist Chinese officers. And they were stationed in the hotel, the Park Hotel, which is across from what we called the race course, which is now the People's Park in Shanghai, you were there. So you know where the People's Park is? Directly across from it, on what was then called Nanking or Bubbling Well Road, it's still called Nanking actually, there is a bunch of theaters. Now if you are facing from the, from the race course, the first one is a movie theater called the Grand Theater. Then next to it was, if I remember aright, the YMCA. Next to that was the Park Hotel, which at the time was the tallest building in town, and then next to that was an old hotel called the China United, which was renamed the Pacific Hotel, and then a little beyond that after crossing what was then called Tibet, or Yu Ya Ching Road, was the main department store, which is now Number One Department Store at Sun Company.

SH: What was it called then?

RH: The Sun Company.

SH: I see.

RH: And in that Park Hotel were stationed the American officers and, I put it wrong, it should have been the Chinese officers and their counterpart American officers, who came as sort of aides to them, but specifically on the behalf of the American and European allies to care for their nationals who had been interned, to see whomever needed help and they did, they got medical help to them immediately. Those that needed, they shipped out on the hospital ship all the way back to San Francisco to Letterman Hospital.

SH: So Shoyer was there for a different purpose and just noticed by-the-by that the . . .

RH: Yes.

SH: . . . the Jewish ghetto . . .

RH: I don't know whether he contacted the Jewish community, because he had been alerted by Jews in the States or the chaplains, who were aware of it back in the CBI theater, or locals contacted him, I don't remember. But immediately he got word back and help came and they flew in, the JWB flew in Harry, his surname started with an H too, and I think of Harry Hawkins, but of course he wasn't Harry, who was a dear who worked, and the American Jewish chaplain, who I believe now is living in Portland, Oregon, Al Fine, they came in and they did a splendid job. They flew in a handful of about five or six Americans who were prepared, plunged into it and did a stellar job caring for the people. Okay, people griped here and there, but by and large . . .

SH: About what?

RH: Oh, this was a nationalities issue. They were all Jewish, they all were locked in the ghetto. But the Germans griped about the Poles, the Austrians griped about the Germans, [laughs] you know, sort of, "You're helping them first, and you're helping them first." And in the end everybody was helped. In the end everybody got out with some sort of help or other, and by and large most made good lives for themselves in spite of that. And one thing else hit us. We felt very

sorry for ourselves in periods during the war, but as the news seeped through, for the likes of us who had belonged in the Orient, my roots go back to the 1840's, we realized how very much worse it had been for our parallels in Singapore and Hong, and Manila, Hong Kong we knew was wiped out. And for the others, the Holocaust hit home. We knew about it earlier, and the word was whispered here and there, but most who were in Hongkew refused to accept it. They either couldn't or wouldn't comprehend. But now the war was over, and now they had to face that, very harsh for them to swallow. And I think that part of the reaction was this, it had been there before, but I think it aggravated this, this intensive friction between the different groups.

SH: I can't remember whether I had done this all or not.

RH: You want to try it, because I know what I do . . .

SH: No, I'm sure . . .

RH: . . . after getting a little bit I go back and save every stop and see if I've got it.

SH: Now you said, going back to people outside of the ghetto . . .

RH: Right.

SH: . . . what was it that reduced your circumstances during the war? Was it inflation, was it the inflation, was it wartime difficulties?

RH: Partly both, but mainly the lack of access to funds. I can talk personally about ourselves. We were officially Iraqi citizens, unofficially we were Jews. We did not have British, American, or French passports, which most tried to get. My father had been born in the Ottoman Empire. He got out through Iraq, eventually he got, when they formed the country of Iraq, at first when he came to China, got there in '06, he was given British protective papers. Most of the old timers, I'm talking of the Jewish people there, had papers from either the British or the French, because you had to have some sort of protection. The only country that was a real stickler for nationality was the United States. They were really precise that if an American married somebody else there, only he was entitled to American protection. The non-American spouse was treated as any other non-American.

SH: What did American protection mean?

RH: The Marines, the Marines were there. The gunboats were on the Whangpoo. If there was any trouble, you were taken into a compound and protected. And, now the British and French were, I feel, very generous with us Jews. Most of us were Near Eastern Jews, who really had no call on their nationality. We had, in an sense, what's this word, not ingratiated ourselves, but associated ourselves with them and their administrations there, and they accepted it and did give protection. I'll go back to the 1937 war, where after the mistaken bombings of the Settlement by the Chinese Nationalist Air Force, where they were trying to hit the Japanese command ship, the

“Idzumo”, and hit the Bund in Shanghai and Nanking Road, and the Great World.² The foreign consulates decided to evacuate their nationals. The Americans very, very carefully took only those who could prove American citizenship on American ships to Manila. The French took a few others other than French to Saigon on their ships. The British took any foreigner, quote unquote, meaning Caucasian on their ships to Hong Kong, housed, fed them in civilian camps until they were ready to come home. They had to pay their own way home, and some of them griped about paying their own way home, [laughs] but this led to very strong feeling of respect, of gratitude, of almost security from the likes of us towards them. But then, after Pearl Harbor, they weren't there. The Americans weren't there, the French were there, but they were officially Vichy. You were on your own. You could not earn a living if you were an enemy national, and we were considered enemy nationals, we were second-class enemies. You, you were thrown out of your job, your assets were either confiscated or, for instance, they came into our homes, they stuck a poster on the gate to say that this is, this property is under the protection, quote unquote, of the Emperor of Japan, Hirohito. They came into the houses and stuck a little sticker on every piece of furniture, the table we ate off, the seats we sat on, the beds we slept on, wardrobes, chifforobes, anything, belonged to them, could not be removed, it was their property.

SH: So you couldn't sell it in order to make money.

RH: Nope, nope. You could only sell things that they did not know of. For us, we had my father's coin collection and some of my mother's jewels, the ones she declared, we could not. And we sold some of the cut glass. The things we had not declared that they, they said, “What do you have in this?” We brought out some, we didn't bring out all. If they said, “Bring it all,” we would have brought it all, you know, if they come in with their guns and they are the overlords, you do what they say. If they said, “Do you have any of this?” We would bring out some and they would put the sticker on. The things they didn't put the stickers on, I personally sold on the black market.

SH: Were you able in any way to prepare for this? Did you know they were visiting other houses and this was going to happen to you and therefore you could stick something under a sofa?

RH: No, the word went around, “Don't show them everything.” Or, or, you know, wait, if they yell at you bring out a little more each time. So, those are the things we sold and lived on, and the worst was after the war, because nobody wanted to buy anything any more and you still had to raise money and you still had to eat, as I say, and if you got a job, it didn't pay enough to keep the family going. So as I say, my brother had two jobs and I had two jobs that winter after the war. And gradually we sort of inched ourselves up and made it. And what made it worse was that my father had collapsed during the war. He had a stroke after the Japanese questioned him, don't know if they did more, can't prove it. And so there were, we did not have to pay for medicines and doctors. We had a doctor, a family doctor, who was a German Aryan. What he said to us, he said, because I said, “Doctor, I'll write all this down and we'll take care of it after the war.” He said, “After what my people did to your people, anything I can help for any Jew.” He would bring us medicines from the hospital in his own pocket and give them, he treated the whole family on his own, and he would tell me, he said, “Tell me if there is any Jew that needs anything, and I'll

² The Great World was a famous amusement center.

bring it for him.”

SH: Who was this? What was his name?

RH: Hans Mertens, I'll never forget it, because I'm grateful. There weren't many that did that and he did. I was thinking of him just this past week when we were driving through Hannover, because that was his hometown in Germany. He's dead now. We looked him up the first time we went to Europe. He and his wife were outspokenly anti-Nazi. They, the, the system was, if you were working in China and you had a home, you got home leave every five years, you got a six-months home leave. This was done by the British and all the Europeans and the Americans, and he was home with his wife, they had no children, on home leave, and the Nazis decided this man was anti-Nazi, so they would not issue him a new passport to come back to China. And I was just telling my husband, George, this story when we were in Hannover, which was just last week, Thursday, a week ago yesterday, that he and his wife pretended to go on a bicycling tour. They got on their bikes, and these people were already in their fifties, and they rode all the way to Czechoslovakia, and they went to the German consulate in Czechoslovakia, this was just before Munich, before they took over Czechoslovakia, and said that they had been attacked by hoodlums on the road and lost everything including their passports, and got new passports issued to them in Czechoslovakia, and then they came back to China. But they came back with not much more than the clothes on their backs, because they had taken this backpack riding tour and they got out.

SH: And then stayed in China?

RH: Yeah, and the wife died during the war. In fact, she died the same night my father died, it's crazy. He was one of my father's closest friends and that's when I called him to say that dad had died and he said, “Rose, I would like to come and see him, so that I'd write the certificate, but I am going to take the nurse's word,” the nurse, we had a nurse in the house and he died at home. He said, “But I can't leave my wife now, she probably won't last the night,” and she didn't. He was a good man, and I have to say that for him, he was a very good man. There are good people in every race. It gives you hope to go on, you needed to know that there are.

SH: And he went back to Germany after the war.

RH: They shipped him back. The Nazis rigged the paperwork to say he was a high Nazi, and the one that they covered for, stayed on in China. There was a doctor who was a very influential Nazi, who stayed on, and they shipped Mertens back as that man, they faked the papers. The Americans went through all the papers, which were the Nazis, they took, they went down to the German school, which was their headquarters, and checked through the names and his name was there. And we tried. We, I went to the American Jewish chaplain and I said, “This is an absolute miscarriage of justice,” and he looked me up and down, and he said, “Do you know what they did to our people?” I said, “I know, Rabbi, I know.” And he said, “And this man's a Nazi.” And I said, “God forgive me, he is not a Nazi.” “He is a Nazi, his name is on the list.” That was, they shipped him back. He went back to Hannover, and his home was occupied by refugees from eastern Germany, so he had a summer retreat in the Bavarian hills, quite close to, what was the name of that place that Hitler had?

SH: Berchtesgaden.

RH: Yes, very close to Berchtesgaden. And we looked him up there, when we went to Vienna the first time, because we were in the Alps, so we went and looked him up. And he started crying and he said, “Somebody remembered me.” And I said, “How can I forget you? You saved my life three times.” And then he looked after us in our darkest days. Yeah, he helped, was a good man.

SH: So did the Iraqi community generally suffer in that way during the war . . .

RH: Some did . . .

SH: . . . as second-class enemies?

RH: Yes, to an extent. If you had assets, they were gone. If the wage-earner or the head of the family had contacts that could do some sort of underhand black market business, which was true in the ghetto too, by the, by the way, but to a much smaller extent, you got by. So there were families that got by very comfortably, there were families that took a wallop.

SH: But everyone in general lost assets, savings accounts . . .

RH: Our savings accounts were wiped out by the inflation. When I was born, my parents started a savings account for me, and every month, faithfully, my father put something into it, every month, I think it was ten dollars a month, or something like that. Well, during the war, I closed out that account and bought one pair of shoes, and those were paper shoes, not leather. That was inflation.

SH: Did people try to buy American dollars?

RH: Yes, there was a, there was a major black market in two items, either American dollars, actual cash, greenbacks, or gold bars, and anything you dealt with. The third item that came into currency went off for a bit and came back just before the Communists took over during the Revolution, that Revolution, were silver dollars that had once been in currency in China, even including a few of the old Mexican dollars, because the currency when I was a child, there was the Chinese paper money and used Mexican silver dollars, which was the staple currency in the whole of the Orient. So you talked of a dollar, whether it was either a Chinese dollar or a Mex. For instance, when we had the display at Skirball, and also they had one at the Beth Hatefutsoth in Tel Aviv, the Diaspora Museum, on the material in China. I sent Beth Hatefutsoth the copy and to Skirball we exhibited the original of my mother's *ketuba*, you know what a *ketuba* is, the Jewish marriage contract, and it always states a certain amount of money as part of a contract. And that stated Mexican silver dollars, spelled out in Hebrew letters, “Mexican dollar”, because that was the amount, that was the currency in the Orient. This was the ship that went from Acapulco to Manila, the “Black Galleon”, once a year carrying silver to, and the Spaniards held both there and they minted the dollars and they sent them from Mexico, because they had lots of silver in Mexico, to the Spanish colonies in the Orient across the Pacific. And those dollars hung around and remained in currency, sort of like the Maria Theresa dollars in Africa, the Mexican dollars in the Orient.

SH: I had no idea about that. But there weren't enough American dollars to, to go around to, in order to deal with the inflation, to prevent the inflation effects?

RH: No, because the American dollars were strictly the black market currency, as was the gold bars. The inflation was the local currency. Now officially, if you worked and if you did business, everything was stipulated in the local currency. You might wink at the fellow and say, "I want," we called them gold dollars, you didn't say American, you were afraid to say the word American out loud, oh, gold dollars, and they would pass it to you under the table. But any paperwork you signed, anything you did officially always was in the local currency. We originally had the, what we called the *fapi*, which was the Nationalist money. Then when the Japanese set up their puppet government, there was the CRB, or the currency issued by their Ta Tao group. After the war, they brought back *fapi*, which was getting more and more worthless. Eventually the Communists brought in their JMP. But the only thing stable was the American dollar. By the way, do you want to turn this off for a minute? I wrote all this . . .

BREAK IN RECORDING

SH: Let's start this again. Tell me about dealing on the black market. Who did you, who do you sell things to, who was, who were the black marketeers?

RH: Usually it was some one you heard about or you met, or someone would come up to you. Like if you were traveling in Europe now, somebody comes up and says, "Do you want a watch? I can get you a watch," you know, something like that. People used to do that. After two or three times, you might do a small deal with somebody, and then you eventually you felt secure enough to do bigger deals, and word of mouth, people said so-and-so has something to sell or so, or someone has money to buy. You had to have something of value. The local currency was useless. There weren't sufficient American bank notes really to go around for everything, nor was it safe to have them openly. Everybody had them, but you didn't carry them in your pocket and go into a store and take it out. You would have to go and exchange before you bought your food. Immediately, for instance, if you got your pay, and this was after the war, during the inflation, you would immediately go out and buy American dollars or gold bars and then sell, and you wanted the small gold bars, not the big ones, because then as you needed food, you would sell in the black market again, go out and buy your food and come back. Because if you waited from the morning to the afternoon, it would cost you more. So, this is the way it worked and everybody dealt in the black market. I don't think any, you could not have survived there if you did not. I'm sure the Japanese did too, except that I never dealt [laughs] with them on the black market. My dealings with them were totally different. But it was essential that you have some other source, and as I say, anything of value, my mother's good tablecloths, the old sterling cup, the ring, her jewels as I said, my father's coins, for the gold con-, and silver content. What else was there? Never anything large, because that would be missed, and just the moving of it would draw attention to you, it could not be done. Something you could carry in your pocket, one or two or three pieces at a time. And then you brought back the American dollars or the small gold bars, and you would sell each as you needed something.

You had rationed allotments of rice, bread, soap, and fabric, I think that was the sum total. And none of those allotments for which you paid the formal, official price, which was dirt cheap really, was sufficient to keep you going for, once a month you got your allotment for through the month. So you absolutely had to deal on the black market to get things. Now you could get anything and everything, and what you got may have been the real McCoy or it may have been a cheap substitute, and you didn't know until, for instance, you've bought some canned goods, you didn't know until you opened them what they were. They faked, say, Del Monte labels, the American labels, you opened the can and it was something else and you knew it wasn't that. You'd bought it and that's all, and the fellow you bought it from, you never saw again and that was the end of the story. Over half the time what you got, strangely enough, was right, it was the real thing. But you've taken your chances. You had to. It became second nature, this walking around and looking around, no Jap soldiers. You find an area and all of a sudden you notice people are congregating some place and that's where the buying and selling is going on. Like, like, I've seen the likes on TV in those flea markets in Moscow, same idea.

SH: And were these all Jews?

RH: No, no, Chinese, Chinese. Yes, Jews were involved, Jews were involved, everybody was involved, but some were Jewish, some were not, as far as if you dealt with the foreigners. If you were dealing in the Hongkew area, then, of course, it was predominantly Jewish, because they were locked into the ghetto, and the Chinese they were locked in amongst were at the, not the poorest level, but pretty close thereto. So they had to deal amongst themselves. There was no escaping it. I don't want to sound racist or cast aspersions, but by and large the sharpest black market dealers were the Polish Jews. It was almost as though they had this sixth sense of what would make money one day and wouldn't the next. I don't know how it worked, but there was that. But everybody was in it, and everything was wheeling and dealing, always officially under the counter. You had to and you tried to, because if you could make an extra buck, then you were that much ahead.

SH: The Japanese must have known all this was going on.

RH: Of course they knew. I'm sure they knew. But there was no way they could, they could control it, they'd keep sort of a halfway lid on it. So it wasn't blatantly out in the open, but it was there, everybody had some. You, if you pretended you didn't, you weren't there at the time. You didn't survive there at the time. Unless, even the Axis people like the Germans and the Italians, they could not get sufficient of their funds to their people due to war conditions, so that they could go out and buy. The Russians who were there, now there were large numbers of Russians, at least as many as Jews, because they had come as refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution, and they were just sitting in Shanghai. The ones who could get out and the ones who couldn't remained. They too had these conditions, some of them lived well. Some of the Russian Jews who had been sort of at the lower level of earnings and living up to the war, with the black market and the changed conditions, did pretty well for themselves during the war.

SH: The changed conditions were that they were not any, they were not the Japanese enemy.

RH: Right. And they were, they could come and go freely. They could do certain business freely

and the Japanese were terrified of antagonizing the Soviet Union. They knew that the minute they had to fight the war on what we would have called the second front, meaning the north over the Yellow River, it was over. So, now this is what happened, most especially with the Russian Jews. If they got into any trouble with the Japanese, then one or another member of the family would immediately go to the Soviet consulate and apply for Soviet citizenship. All these Russians who first came were, came because they were anti-Soviet or they wouldn't have had to leave, and here they were under rather distressed conditions living in Shanghai. And then all of a sudden, you've got yourself a Soviet passport and you were sitting on top of the world, because anything, the Japanese came and you pulled out the passport, "Oh, very sorry, very sorry," off they went, they left you well alone. They were not going, they knew all about incidents. Their whole war scheme was based on what they called incidents. They were not going to have an incident with a Russian, no way. So this and the ones who took the greatest advantage and did well in it, and I find no fault with it, were the Russian Jews. I can't fault them for that, I think they finally found their chance and did well.

SH: Was this a major social reversal that the . . .

RH: Yes.

SH: . . . Iraqi . . .

RH: Yes, yes, the . . .

SH: . . . community . . .

RH: . . . the, the Sephardi community had been not just the oldest, it was the smallest, not just the oldest, but it was established and exceedingly wealthy, a handful, a handful were exceedingly poor and lived on community welfare throughout. The rest of us lived middle class, some upper, some lower middle class, depending on the position and earning power of the head of family. Nine out of ten of the women did not work. Came the war, these Iraqis were by and large naturalized British, a handful were American, a few were French, and the rest had the Iraqi passports whether they came from Iraq or not, [laughs] but the British consulate helped us all get Iraqi passports, because they were looking after, quote, Iraqi interests in China. So, all of a sudden, very soon it was in the early twenties and right through the decade of the twenties, the Russians kept pouring in, and there was this great effort to help them. They did help get some funds from B'nai B'rith in America to put up the hospital, but local funds were spent to put up the Jewish School and they were reasonably helped, not put on their feet, but given a chance to start out by the older Jewish community, I'm talking about the Russian Jews, not the non-Jewish Russians.³

Then in '33, we got a trickle of German Jews, maybe doctors who had, someone or somehow had heard that you could practice in the foreign community in Shanghai, and a group of maybe, up to about 30 to 50 families, no more, came from Germany and professionals, a couple of engineers, a couple of architects I know of, settled down, were absorbed into the Jewish

³ The Shanghai Jewish School, next to the Ohel Rachel synagogue, was founded in 1902 by the Kadoorie family.

community and the larger Caucasian community, and fitted in very well. Then after *Kristallnacht* came the flood, boatload after boatload. And all of us were overwhelmed, and we turned to the American Jews for help, and they did help, but they weren't thoroughly organized yet at the point where, in fact so many came that there was talk of stopping the entry. You've probably heard about all that. And then the entry stopped completely after Hitler invaded Russia, because the first groups came by boat, I believe your grandparents came by boat. How did they do it, they went to Italy and took the Italian ship?⁴ Nine out of ten did, a handful went to Bremen or Hannover and took German ships out, a very small handful, because they were treated very shabbily on the German ships, where they were treated decently on the Italian ships. After '39 when Britain declared war on Germany, and the Russians split Poland with Hitler, a trickle continued to come by taking the Trans-Siberian railroad, ending in Vladivostok, and taking ships from there, or the train to Dairen and then down to Shanghai and they always ended in Shanghai. You've probably heard about the Polish yeshivahs, how they went to Japan first and then came, but they all ended in Shanghai. But after this German invasion of Russia, not another one came through. So that was the cutoff point.

And very soon thereafter came Pearl Harbor, when the Japanese took over, and then it took the Japanese about a year to decide what they would do. The Germans, of course, kept urging them to turn these Jews over to them. They never quite did, but they decided to take a half-measure and put them in the ghetto. We heard stories when we were there, now everyone has denied them since, but we heard stories, and the reason I give them a certain amount of credence is that my father was, until he collapsed, on these, on the Jewish Community, Committee, of the Germans putting up plans for a death camp in Pootung, and the Japanese stalling them, they never told them, "You don't do it." But there was talk of that and as my father said it, the man who came out to set that up, and he was there, and I saw him there. He used to go around in what we called a broker's trap which was a horse and buggy contraption, Baron von Puttkamer, who was one of Hitler's buddy-buddies, he was one of the old line Nazis that came to Berlin with Hitler, and he sent him there to work on the Jewish question, and I know he was there, but nobody has found any documentation, you cannot prove anything.⁵ As I say, judging from my personal experience, where I know that they alter the documentation of their own people, they did a pretty good job. They had from May 8th, '45, to August 15, '45, to play games with their paperwork and they did it as efficiently as Germans usually do things.

SH: To cover up . . .

RH: Yes.

SH: . . . Nazi activities.

⁴ See interview with Amalia Hochstadt, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Santa Monica, California, May 5, 1987.

⁵ The rumor that construction began on gassing facilities on the island of Pudong (formerly Pootung) are widespread, but no documentation has been found which would confirm this.

RH: Right. Right. Some of the ones who were not shipped back to Germany after the war ended up in Baghdad helping the likes of Saddam Hussein. They went, they literally went to the Arabs. I could name, I know that that Dr. Daust, the one that they replaced with Dr. Mertens did. It's a crazy set-up. But you know, the ghetto was not all bad, yes, and the war years were not all bad. There were some horrible things that, hateful things that happened, but there was this to be said that was good, there was an awful lot of social interchange. There were more parties, Dutch parties where you had to bring your own, because nobody else had anything. You know, you, you, we lived on cracked wheat. The Swiss Red Cross gave us an allocation of cracked wheat every month, and the things you did with cracked wheat, and somebody tells me now that they like cracked wheat bread, I shudder. [laughs] Just the word hits me. But you know, you would make this or that. We had parties, we had dances, we had the windup gramophones and sometimes we turned them into all night parties because there was, the Japs would lock us up and say, "Blockade," and you couldn't get out of the area. If something happened, somebody attacked a Japanese civilian or soldier, they would literally blockade the area and not allow anybody out until they searched to try and find the culprits. If they didn't find the culprits, they would just take some hostages, sometimes shoot them, just, just to try to force your hand. And, you, you were not, there was the bad and the good all mixed in, because, okay you were stuck all night, you went on partying all night. It sounds so outrageous, it doesn't make sense, but that's what happened.

SH: In what social circles did these parties happen? Did they happen between the different groups or would . . .

RH: Well, you had your own groups and this is where I say I got to know your Aunt Mia, because it so happened she ended up in our group.⁶ It was mainly the ones, your groups, the people you associated with by and large were the people you had gone to school with. And if you had gone to the public school as she and I had, then that was the group that you fell in with. There was the Jewish School group, there was the French school group, there was the American school group, there was the German school group. You, you associated with the people, there was a very hoity-toity English . . .

END SIDE A, TAPE 1

BEGIN SIDE B, TAPE 1

SH: So these school groups had less to do with nationality than, or origin than . . .

RH: Than congeniality because . . .

SH: . . . coincidence of . . .

⁶ See interview with Mia Blocker, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 28, 1989.

RH: . . . apparently . . .

SH: . . . which parents sent which kids to which school.

RH: Right. And by and large, it ended up in, it's a horrible thing to say, but it was more class structure, because your background and your racial and class background guided you as to which school you sent your children to.

SH: Would you do that for me, tell me about different schools and how . . .

RH: Okay.

SH: . . . how that worked?

RH: Okay. Now there was the American school, because let's talk American, this being America, which was founded by missionaries mostly for missionaries. Most of the Americans there, there were some in trade, they came and they went, but the ones that stayed on long term were the missionaries. And they are still, they have reunions and everything still here in the States. They're still a very active group, they still associate with each other forty years later across an ocean and a continent. They're, then was the French school, and the French were the first to start schools in China. The French Catholics, Jesuit fathers and the nuns started the schools and taught the children in French. And it ended up where outside of the French children, the most ones that went to the French schools were the Russians, mostly the non-Jewish Russians by and large, a handful of the Jewish Russians, but mostly the non-Jewish Russians. The Jewish Russians went to the Jewish School, which was built more for them than for anyone else. That had been a sort of skeleton school set up for the children whose parents could not afford to send them to what we called the public schools. The public schools originated as schools that the Freemasons set up for the children of foreign parents, who were living in China, who wanted to educate their children in English. The curriculum was based on the English public school curriculum, meaning the private sch-, the English public school is the English private school.

SH: Right.

RH: And these became the public schools. Then there were another series of schools put up which were called the Thomas Hanbury schools. They were put together for a slightly lower level, say the lower middle-class, who also wanted the English education, by and large the ones in there were Eurasian, the mixed, and Portuguese, well, the Portuguese were Eurasians from [unintelligible] . Then, more recently than those schools were founded, the English founded a Cathedral School, which was a church school hooked on to the Holy Trinity Cathedral, the Anglican church there, and that was almost exclusively for the English who had come out in trade and were the executive level and they sent their children to that. Russian schools per se, they weren't the, the Russians were the largest foreign element. And there were Chinese schools for the Chinese children and Japanese schools for the Japanese children and this was the way it worked.

SH: And then how did Jews separate themselves into these schools?

RH: Okay, if you grew up speaking English, you either gravitated towards the British or the American. If you did to the American, a handful did and a handful were American, had come from the States, then you sent your children to the American school. The rest, if you could afford it, you sent your children to the public school. You see, you had to pay fees, there were no free schools, and so you sent them there for that British public school education, which is what all of us had and that's the school that Mia came to. If you couldn't afford it, then you went to the Jewish School, which was community supported. There was a structure of fees which would not have covered costs, but it was pay what you can, if you can't, we will still make sure your children get the education. That was predominantly Russian Jewish. There were a handful of the Sephardi children where the families could not afford to go to the public school and they sent their children there.

SH: So even though that school . . .

RH: Considering, pardon?

SH: Even though that school was right next to the Sephardi temple, the, it was mainly a Russian . . .

RH: Right, right.

SH: . . . Russian-Jewish school.

RH: . . . the Russian-Jewish school. The teachers in it taught Hebrew with a Sephardi accent, which sounded so outrageous until, when they got to Israel, they found that it stood them in good stead, [laughs] they knew what was going on. They said their prayers in the Ashkenazic, but they went to school and learned the other. Now, when the refugees came out, those who could afford it, the ones who first came, that thirty-odd families, they sent their children to the public school, made sure they got the English education. A couple sent them to the French, a couple actually sent their children to the German school, and very soon thereafter, the Germans asked them to remove their children. They did not want Jewish children in their schools, and they then moved to our schools. They were professional, they were earning sufficient, because this was the level, your sort of upper-middle-class level.

The first handful of refugees that came, that got there before the end of '38, managed to get their children either into the Jewish School or the Thomas Hanbury, and then those had reached saturation point. So then they set up schools, this industrialist who's still in Hong Kong, Kadoorie, set up schools in Hongkew for the children, they called them the Kadoorie schools.⁷ They were abandoned school buildings after the Japanese-Chinese war, and he rummaged up teachers, because there were teachers amongst those, but he insisted that everything be in English, and I think that was a very wise decision, rather than in German, because they knew that as these children finished school, they would go out in the world and have to make their living in English,

⁷ Horace Kadoorie, whose father came to China from Iraq, was a major benefactor of the German-speaking refugees. The school he organized in Hongkew, named the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association School, came to be called the Kadoorie School.

not in German. So they gave them the schooling such as it was in German. Now my husband and his personal friends, the one we're still closest with, Arthur Bronner, a dentist in San Francisco, got there at the end of November '38, so they got into the Jewish School and they finished their schooling there, and that was sufficient for them when they came to this country to immediately get into UC Berkeley and get their advanced education in this country. So, the schooling such as it was, and the schools were put together, the teachers, three-quarters of them had not been to college, let alone have teaching credentials, but they did a commendable job and they got those kids through. There was, of course, the usual Jewish eagerness to learn amongst the kids, and somehow it worked, there was something that worked. It was thrown together and yet it worked, and the same thing at the Kadoorie school. Though there, they occasionally did have teachers with credentials that had come from Europe, but they had to function in this strange and foreign language for them.

Again, the kids, when they came to this country, those who chose to, went to college and did splendidly. They did the drive, you had the eagerness to make something of yourself after the war. We have a chance, let's do something with it. So you tended to associate with the people, to come back to your original question, that you had originally associated with, you'd grown up with. Those were the ones you dated, those were the ones you went to party with, those were the ones occasionally your parents associated with, or if they chose to associate with somebody, that would be the circle they would associate with. Yes, it was stratified and stratified by both language and class.

SH: Was there much crossing of the ghetto line during that period, during the ghetto period, of either Russian or Sephardi Jews going into the ghetto voluntarily?

RH: Yes, yes, it was free, we could go in and out. Like, for instance we wore the armband, we had those pink armbands, we were second-best enemies, which meant that we were limited as to our coming and going. You could only, there were curfews, and more stringent on us than others, but you could come and go. If you could afford the transportation, now the only transportation you really could afford was you got yourself a bike and rode. Occasionally the buses and streetcars ran. If there was an air raid, or if they ran out of gas or elect-, or they closed down the elect-, the power plant, which happened, then you were just stranded and you walked your way home. The streetcar and bus terminus was outside the ghetto. There was no transportation within it. It was a small area and you could walk from anything to anything, but there was, if you needed any transportation, if you were lucky, you could find a rickshaw or a pedicab, otherwise you were on your own. We could, I, I remember taking the tram, I remember taking the bus. More often the tram than the bus, because the Japanese, there were fewer buses left, the Japanese confiscated, they took their own stuff and shipped it back to Japan, like they took all our cars and shipped them to Japan. And, not that you could have gotten gasoline, even on the black market it was unobtainable. If you wanted to keep your car going, you converted it to charcoal burning. But mostly, you went by bike or pedicab.

And yes, people went back and forth, we knew some, we met others. It was very much easier for the likes of us to go in and come out than for them to go out and come back, because they had to get the passes, and they had to get the passes from Ghoya.⁸ And that was not easy.

⁸ Kanoh Ghoya was a Japanese official in the Bureau of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

For instance, my husband had a pass, because he was working for the Municipal Council when the war started, but he managed to get it extended, I don't know how, but he could come and go, but most of his friends right there. They had a group they called the Old Scouts, they had all been Boy Scouts either earliest age he was at the Jewish School when he was there or some of them still in Austria. The Germans, this was limited to Austrians, partially because they wanted it so, but secondly because there weren't any German ex-Scouts, there was no Scout movement in Germany, it was all Hitler Youth and of course Jews were excluded. But these Jewish boys who had been in Austria, mainly Vienna, of course, and had belonged to Boy Scouts, or when they came to Shanghai, joined the local Jewish Boy Scout troop. They founded another troop there and then when they found that they were too old, they formed a sort of summer scout club. [Phone rings] Excuse me.

BREAK IN RECORDING

SH: You were talking with her about going to Vienna.

RH: Yeah.

SH: And it made me think about lots of the people that I have talked to for whom the idea of going back to Europe is, or German-speaking Europe is absolutely out of the question.

RH: Right.

SH: And so that made me wonder whether knowledge about the Holocaust created different kinds of reactions among what you called Asian Jews or Jews with their roots in Asia, and the German-speaking Jews, for whom it was families who, or close families, immediate relatives who died, or is that just way off the mark?

RH: No. Not at all. I would say, I have spoken with Jews who had no member of their family affected, as I can say none of mine were in the Nazi Holocaust, who will not set foot in Germany or Austria, and I don't blame them one bit. I would not have chosen to go and it was until this very visit an absolute ordeal for my husband, but he made himself do it, because the Nazis had confiscated, possibly similar to your grandparents, his parents' assets, and they had some very appreciable assets in Vienna. They owned a hotel, a large apartment house, they lived in a villa, they had acreage out in the countryside. His father had a chain of five shoe stores, all of which the Nazis had confiscated and given to local Viennese Nazis. And he inherited most of it after his mother died, because it was in his mother's name and she had, it had come, part of it had come down to her from her family, and in this case, there were direct relatives who were shipped east and never heard of before. We have no proof positive that they were killed, you and I know they

Ghoya was charged with issuing passes for refugees who wished to leave the ghetto for business purposes during the day. His capriciousness and occasional brutality are remembered by all who came into contact with him.

were killed, whether they died en route or whatever, they were murdered as far as we're concerned.

And to clear up that mess, to regain title, to rehabilitate those terrible conditioned buildings that had been left to deteriorate, and to eventually sell them, it was necessary, after his mother died in 1970, we started in '71, we made our first trip back, George would go once or twice a year. He used up all his vacation time from work concentrating on that, and finally cleaned up and sold out the last. Actually he sold the last parcels, plots of land, only last year, but the last real hassle was the apartment building, and he sold that in 1985. And every single trip was so much of an ordeal for him, that for three or four weeks before he left, he was on edge. We were squabbling about anything and everything and nothing, he was so tense. And in a sense, I reflected it, and for up to a month after he came home, this is why she asked me, she said, "Was it smooth? Did you have any friction on the trip?" She asked me this very morning while you were sitting here, and I said, "No." This time we went back and it was a totally different story. I don't think we'd have chosen to go to Vienna, but he was going to give a talk there about one of his dams, because this was a dam conference, an international conference on large dams that was held in Vienna, and he went to give this talk. And when we got there, there was the opening ceremony, and the Deutschmeister band was sitting there playing marches to welcome us into the hall. They put on a fantastic show for us. That evening the mayor of Vienna gave a reception for the participants in the City Hall, and George was so excited. He said, "I must have seen the outside a thousand times, but now I go in." He was there, he was shaking, he grabbed me and he said, "In 1938 they threw me out, and now I am a guest, an honored guest of the mayor." He said, "We've come a long way." And then where we stayed the next night, and that night they gave us a concert in the *Konzertsaal*, I don't know if you've ever seen those concerts in Vienna for New Year's Eve that they put on by the symphony?

SH: No.

RH: All the old Austrian specialties and, you know, when I walked into that concert hall, I looked at the floor which was all scraped up, I looked at those old wooden chairs with the pull-down seats, and I said, "You know, they could do better for themselves. They didn't even upgrade this." And then, when I heard the music, I said, "I take it all back." The acoustics were so superb, I've never heard anything that good in my life and nor do I ever expect to again, it was so good. And it wasn't just I, they caught every one of the participants, they had an enthusiastic audience who applauded so much, that they put in their usual extra that they do, which was to play the Radetsky march with everybody clapping in time. It was such a beautiful experience and after that, the next morning, we packed up and we left Vienna. So it was a high as we went in, it was a high as we left, it was unadulterated happiness while we were there. This is the first time we were in Vienna, and as we drove around, we had a car and we drove, he would stop each time, "You see that window? That's where my aunt jumped out. You see that house? This is where so-and-so put the head in the oven and gassed himself. You see this one? This is where so-and-so lived. You see that one? This is where so-and-so drowned herself in the bathtub." You know, it was, those were his memories of Vienna all these, this year, if they crossed his mind, he didn't utter them. And this is why I had to tell Eleanor about it, because she knows, she, one of her parents is from Vienna, one from Berlin, I don't know which is which, but she's our background, too, and her husband was George's, his parents were Viennese, and he went to school with George in Shanghai and he went to school with George in Cal Berkeley, and he's his best friend. So I had to share it with them that

this, this was, I said, “We'll talk about it when we get all four on the phone,” because this was a moving and a happy and a good experience, and if neither of us ever goes back again, it's the first time it doesn't leave that bad taste in the mouth, can you understand? Because Vienna was always something that we were uptight about and that hurt so darn much, you didn't know whether to scream or cry or what.

When you got to Germany, western Germany, it was somehow different. If you talked to people and they did talk, they were open and friendly, and they asked how come your husband spoke German. I said, “Because he was born in Vienna, he escaped the Nazis in '38.” I was very open about it. “You are Jewish?” “Yes.” “We apologize to you.” Not one but fifty of them have said that. It shocked me. Never a soul in Vienna, never a soul. In fact, what hurt him so much was when he went into that apartment, that's the first time we went, he was just looking around and he started to talking to some of the tenants and he said, “You all get on?” The man said, “Oh, *ja*. We all get on. You see this was a Jew house and we all came in at the same time, so we're a whole group of friends.” And I stood behind George and held his arms because I thought he was about to collapse, you know the way it hit him. This was his parents' property, you know that. And the fellow hadn't the faintest idea that he was the owner, he was the son of the people they had taken it from. And as George says, there were thirty-eight apartments in that building, all Jewish, not one came back, not one. Maybe a handful got to America or England or Australia, but you and I know the rest are dead, they were killed.

SH: Did he have difficulty in regaining title to the property?

RH: Yes. They had nothing, his father had regained title through lawyers there, but it took them twenty years, and then it took him twenty years to clean up the mess, because it was so long 'till they got it. Maybe if they'd got it earlier it would have been easier, I don't know, I'm not pretending to say. All I know is that that whole thing from '71 to '85 dominated our lives, and it not only brought back the Holocaust, it brought back everything constantly. The kids used to beg him, “Dad, give the thing away.” And he said, “I [unintelligible] to keep it. They stole it from us.” He says, “If I throw it away, but I am going to make sure I've got it back, and it's mine to dispose of.” In the end, he sold the building to the Soviet emigré, a Jew. He took a much lower price than he had been asking for. He said, “Okay, I will give it to him, but I won't give it to any of them.” Do you understand, do you get this picture? This was our going back, yes, we've gone back, and we have enjoyed Europe, but Vienna was always, ordeal is a mild word for what it did to us. We met so many people and they say, “Oh Vienna, we had such fun there.” This time we had fun in Vienna. We didn't expect it, we knew it was not going to be as bad, because it wasn't going to be the tussle and the tension. But we didn't expect to enjoy it, but we did. We really did. So part of the sting is taken out of the word. I'm glad, I'm glad he had that, I'm very glad. And it was then and there, he decided to retire, maybe he felt he was ready to. Because he was fourteen when that happened. The day after the *Anschluß* he was going to school. He had always walked with his best friend who lived a block down, they'd meet each other at a corner and walk to school. His best friend was not Jewish. When his best friend saw him coming that day, he crossed the street and never spoke to him again. This, he actually took me and he said, “You see, this is the point where I stood to meet my friend. I found I didn't have a friend any more.” And he's just one of millions, I should say thousands, because only thousands survived. Now, so you caught the nuance here and you were very right.

SH: So did that, did you notice that in Shanghai also that this different view of what the Holocaust meant to German speakers or to Sephardic Jews or Russian Jews? Was that at all apparent?

RH: No, what I caught, what I caught was that the German-speaking Jews, by and large, were trying in their hearts and souls to negate it, to say it didn't happen, hoping that it would go away if they closed their eyes and then reopened them and knew it had happened. The news had seeped through. Again, I knew because my father was on the committee and he was told. I got that in, when they taped me for the Holocaust Memorial Museum, which was one of the tapes they used on that broadcast, I don't know if you heard that one last year. I got that . . .

SH: Susan Stamberg?⁹

RH: Yeah, yeah. I got that in and she used it there and I'm glad she did. Because the word seeped through, "They're all dead, they're all dead." They had been deliberately killed. Okay, we heard the stories, they were moved east and all that sort of thing, but that they would go out and in this scientific, modern way and kill them and render their fats and pull the gold from their teeth. It shakes you. Okay, I'll tell you how it shakes, you said Sephardi, the Iraqi background, take my mother who was born in Shanghai, one of the oldest families there, no real contact with Europe. Watergate, she used to listen avidly to the radio, watch the news on TV. She called me, she said, "Did you hear the news?" That was the day they fired, Nixon fired Haldeman and Ehrlichman. And I said, "Yeah, Nixon fired his Nazis," because people had used that term, I just said the word, thought nothing of it. The next day my daughter comes and says, "You know, Mom, Granny called me and she told me, she called me and Frank," that's my son, "over and she said, 'Susie and Frank, I want you to be very careful, because your mother told me that there are Nazis in this country and that Nixon had them. You're Jewish, don't ever forget, be very careful what you do.'" My mother was way into her eighties at the time, but this was the reaction, the first reaction, she heard the word Nazi, how do I protect my Jewish grandchildren. Yeah, it's affected every last one of us. Our generation won't live it down too easily, I hope yours will learn to live with it better.

SH: It's much easier, there's no doubt about that.

RH: It should be, it should be, because we have known that there was a hell on this earth, beyond the wildest nightmares of hell outside the earth. And as Jews, our generation has seen the new birth of Israel. It's been a blessed and a cursed generation. Sometimes I get frightened that the two are intertwined. Maybe better when ours passes on, that it's left to people who didn't experience the day to day shock. But the reaction by and large, in the Hongkew ghetto was disbelief, rejection. We were fed so much propaganda, okay, this is that much more propaganda.

SH: This is still during the war or even after, too?

RH: Yes, during the war. After the war the anger came out, there was, there was more anger than

⁹ On September 17-18, 1990, National Public Radio broadcast a report on "The Jews of Shanghai," featuring interviews done by Susan Stamberg.

grief. And I think, this is why I see this connection between that and Israel. I think that anger was what played a part in the fantastic fighting that established Israel. After the war it was such sharp anger rather than grief, that you couldn't start talking about it. I went as representative of the youth groups I was in to a couple of the memorials, and you couldn't even discuss anything. The minute something started, the young ones, even younger than me, were so furious, they were livid with rage, and at that time I said, "You cannot go out and just look for revenge, we want to kill, we want to kill. You can't do that," I said, "because then the killing will not stop. If they didn't know how to do it, then we must be big enough to stop the killing." And I was almost lynched for saying that. I was told, "It was not your families that were killed." I agree, it was not my families that were killed. But the hurt is there. We've been to Europe all these times, I have not gone into one of the concentration camp's memorials. We drove by two of them this time last week, Theresienstadt, Terezin outside Prague, we drove by Bergen Belsen between Hannover and Hamburg, and George asked me, "Do you want to go in?" And I said, "No, I can't face it." I did go to Yad Vashem, but I don't think I could face that even though it is not me or my family. I feel strongly about that. So, my generation has to go. We do have stories to tell, and among others let it not be forgot, there must be time for healing, there must. There must be a future, because if you don't feel, there is no future. I pray that the next generation will have it less harsh than ours, and the next. You know I've never gone back to Shanghai?

SH: Why not?

RH: Too many ghosts. I may be able to get in. For one thing, I am not sure they would allow me in, because they didn't give me an exit visa, and I left under fake papers. The Reds didn't give me an exit visa. But even if they were to, I don't know how I'd react. I saw how George reacted in Vienna and again it's too many ghosts, it's too many of the people, people I grew up with, the foreigners, gone. The Chinese that I knew and loved, and there were very many of them, that I felt I was part of, would be gone too, because most of them are so violently anti-Communist, they wouldn't have survived. And to just to see the brickwork, the streets, the buildings, I don't know if I could do it without screaming. There'd be ghosts haunting every inch.

There's a part of me that wants to, you know, when the Tiananmen thing happened, I got so excited. I would wake up at night and tell George, "Maybe I can go home again." And he'd say, "Calm down. Don't get your hopes up." I'm trying because I identified with those kids. When I was their age or just a little, their age, one of the things I did during the war, I taught English at a college extension course for graduate students who were preparing to come to the States after the war and continue their education. And it was all kinds of questions about America, I don't know what I told them for what I knew, I was coming to America, I'd spent my whole life concentrating on America. My one ambition in life was to come to America and I satisfied it. But I told them, I told them about all kinds of other things and there was this kinship. I felt I belonged with them, and they, I think, accepted me as one of themselves, and these ideas that those kids were speaking of, yes, it was about two generations behind, but it was part of a life that I lived. And here they were trying to get it and there was a part of me that felt so damn guilty, because I had it and they didn't, when they were there. There was a part of me that was exulting, that was elated, and there was a part of me that was torn to shreds. I don't know how I'd do if I got back, I don't think I will, if things change maybe I will go. You did go. What was your impression?

SH: Well, I'd heard so much about streets filled with beggars and people dying. All of that has

been cleaned, and also about the fact that Shanghai was a city that was run by foreigners and with this large foreign community and influence, and all of that has changed. Shanghai is a totally Chinese city and it's a, it's a clean one, it compares well with New York. So that . . .

RH: People still very brash?

SH: I . . .

RH: They always were . . .

SH: . . . I can't say.

RH: You can't say, you wouldn't, you wouldn't know what the rest of China was like.

SH: No, no, I can't make any comparison. I didn't meet enough people to be able to say that. But the place is bustling and looks prosperous and . . .

RH: Healthy.

SH: . . . healthy. So that was, that was certainly quite different and the city is totally Chinese, there are none of these English, signs in English, other foreign languages.

RH: The people you went with, what were their reactions? Had any of them had been born in China or had they, they were all people who had, just had to spend the war years there?

SH: No, they, there were only two German speakers. There were three Russians, one of whom had been born in China and whose parents had come before the Revolution to Manchuria, working on the railroad . . .

RH: Railroad, railroad, Trans-Sibirski.

SH: And then there were two Sephardic Jews who had both been born . . .

RH: Which ones?

SH: . . . in Shanghai. Sasson Jacoby . . .

RH: Oh yeah, from, from Israel. He writes for the Jerusalem Post occasionally.

SH: Yes, he is semi-retired now.

RH: Yes, yeah . . .

SH: And one of the Russians is George Leonof, who also writes . . .

RH: Yes.

SH: . . . for the Post, and they were good buddies.¹⁰

RH: Yes, my brother is retired now and he is substitute night editor for the Post, he lives in Jerusalem. He was with United Press in China and then when he went to Israel, he got into their foreign service and then he finally retired and he went back to journalism.

SH: And, what was I going to say, Yehuda Halevy was the other Sephardic Jew, who was at one time President of Israel Bonds, he was the youngest one by far, he was just a fairly young child during the war.¹¹ So their reactions were, Halevy's reaction was, was strongest to going back to his neighborhood where he was born and raised as a young child, meeting people who knew his family there, Chinese people. He had been raised in a slum, so that, so there hadn't been foreigners, so the Chinese people were still there.

RH: Yeah.

SH: So that was a very strong reaction. The Germans were somewhat subdued, interested and skeptical. The Russians and the Sephardic Jews were much more kind of openly interested in the place and . . .

RH: We'd been there longer, we'd been there longer.

SH: They'd been there longer and had, obviously had much, because of their experiences, had a much more, much more happy memories of it.

RH: Yes.

SH: So, so they were, they were, they just had a different perspective on it than the German speakers, who remembered it, who both said, "This place saved us from the fate of the rest of our families, but it was hard and difficult."

RH: It was, it was, that it was.

SH: But it was such a small group of us, only seven, us, I'm not part of it, seven veterans of Shanghai there so that, and then more hangers-on than Shanghai Jews.

RH: Susan Stamberg wanted to go, but they, this was after Tiananmen, and they wouldn't, she was planning it for the week that was just after or just before the first anniversary, and they didn't

¹⁰ See interviews with Sasson Jacoby, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Beijing, April 24, 1989, and George Leonof, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Shanghai, April 19, 1989.

¹¹ See interview with Yehuda Halevy, Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project, Beijing, April 25, 1989.

want any Americans with mikes marching around. And she said that if she were going to go, she'd ask to take me on as part of her staff, so that I could show her what the neighborhoods were like, you know, which was which. But she asked me to send the passport, so they could try and I told her, I said, "First of all, you get your visa, then try for mine, because I don't want the whole group to be canceled out because they don't want me." But they, they refused them, so she said mine didn't even come up at the time. But once there was a conference on dams in Peking, Beijing, and George was supposed to attend and one of the Chinese-Americans who is in that field of, you know I've met very well, called me and said, "Will you come and address us in Chinese, because they will be very flattered there if you speak." And I said, "Of course I will, let's see if they'll let me in." They not only didn't let me in, they didn't let George in. So I don't know how they'll react, another time. I don't think, I don't want to try and be rebuffed again, it's not worth it.

SH: Did Susan Stamberg, or did the people who put that broadcast on, tape any new interviews themselves, or did they . . .

RH: Of yes, they, they, they taped, they went around the country and they taped, and their tapes, now if you want access to them you should be able to get them . . .

END SIDE B, TAPE 1

BEGIN SIDE A, TAPE 2

RH: . . . ship as you came from Europe, and nine out of ten elected to remain. You were there, we were there, we were only transferred down here because my husband was working for an oil company, and they sent us here for eighteen months, we've been here for over thirty-six years, because he switched jobs, and anyway, they weren't going to take us back. So we just stayed on, but that was the focal point.

SH: Yes, I have yet to go to San Francisco, but that certainly . . .

RH: Yeah, you . . .

SH: . . . a major . . .

RH: . . . you will need to focus on the people there. Again, I'm 66, I don't think you're going to find anybody below 60 who has memories that really knew what was what. They will remember isolated incidents, but by and large this is an older, dying generation by now. So you will have to, if you want material on what happened then and there, locate them while their minds are still clear enough to remember. In fact, some of the ones my age will call me and say, "You know, I don't remember what happened. There was something that happened at so-and-so time, what was it?" Frankly, in some respects I envy them, because I think you're better off if you don't remember things too sharply.

SH: Did things change noticeably for the Jewish community when the Communists took over?

RH: It changed for everybody. You could no longer make a living there, you had to get out, and they encouraged you to get out.

SH: Did jobs just disappear, is that . . .

RH: Yeah, because most of the business was trade, import-export, there wasn't any more. So, you did not have a source of livelihood. Your presence was most unwelcome. You tried your best to get out. Every last one wanted to come to America. Now for the German-born, affidavits was the hassle. For the Austrian, it was worse because the Austrian quota was much smaller than the German quota. For us China-born, the quota became nonexistent, because they used to have two quotas for China. They used to have a hundred a year each for China-born racial, meaning Orientals, and China-born non-racial, meaning everyone else. And when the American soldiers came after the war, so many of them married local girls, who were allowed into the States immediately under the GI Bill, but their numbers were taken off the quotas, so it was a twenty-year wait for the rest of us who had not married an American. You had two ways of doing it, you could come here if you were young enough to go to college and hope you'll marry an American, or wait, or aim for someplace else. I kept waiting. My mother and I went to Vancouver, because we got Canadian visas and waited there, and in the end we came in under the DP law, because Senator Knowland had put in this clause to help the Russians, the White Russians in Shanghai. [phone rings] Excuse me.

BREAK IN RECORDING

SH: There was one question that occurred to me that you would be an excellent person to answer. Is there some pattern to the eventual destinations of Shanghai Jews, different patterns for say Germans or Russians or Sephardic as far as choosing Israel or the United States or making other ch-, or going back to . . .

RH: Europe.

SH: . . . Europe.

RH: Okay.

SH: Or stay-, or another to put this . . .

RH: Or even . . .

SH: . . . staying on in China as opposed to, to leaving right away as soon as they could.

RH: The main thrust from the day the war was over was how soon can we get out, where can we go? We knew that things were far from stable. The Nationalist set-up was insecure, the

Communists pressed their civil war. We didn't know it would come that soon, but we knew it was going to reach us, and get out. Now get out took three things: a passport of some sort or traveling papers, which in the end most got; a place to go to, meaning a visa to enter; and a means to get there, because without the means, they didn't get the visa, the two were intertwined. Everybody wanted to go to America. The main limita-, the two limitations were number one, quota, there was this quota system, there still is but it was wholly different before the McCarran Act and has been changed since again, and, quote, the affidavit, you needed someone to sponsor you.¹² By and large, the affidavits for the Hongkew community, the refugee community, were, if they could not attain them independently, and many did have contacts or friends or relatives who had gone and were sufficiently established by the end of the war. People like your father would have been sufficiently established, you probably did send his parents or, I don't know how they worked it, but there were such cases. Then the American Jewish community, the Joint, what they called AJDC, helped them and worked it out and got them there. Then there was a very major group that emigrated to Australia, and the Australians, after their horrifying experience with the Japanese almost reaching their shores, decided they needed a lot more people. So they sent an immigration group to Shanghai, established an immigration office where they processed people, and I'd say thousands went from all the communities. They only wanted the white, well, they got, they got the Jews, they got the Russians, they got the Eurasians, who went to Australia. The crazy thing about the Eurasians, they'd look, if they looked past, they could pass for white, they accepted them as white, if they looked Oriental, they said they wouldn't take them. [laughs] This happened with the Americans too. If they, the ones looked too Chinese, they required they go on the racial quota. Our country did the same thing.

SH: Was there a particular group that went to Australia, or was it just any . . . ?

RH: The ones that didn't have contacts in America, and it was quick and easy and you got the passage, they brought the ships, they encouraged you to go, it was a chance to get out. Like George's aunt and uncle and cousins, they went to Australia, this very family, the Horowitz family, I can tell you about. The brother of one of the aunts had gone to Australia from Vienna, and he was established and he sent for his sister and brother-in-law and their son, these were our, George's cousins, George's uncle, aunt and cousin, and so when the other Australians, the other, the Australians came and they were soliciting immigrants, the rest of the family said, "Oh well, we'll go, we'll, we already have someone we know." You know what it's like, you go someplace where you know someone, you have relatives even, and they went. And so there are established communities in Melbourne and Sydney.

Then the Communists were coming. This was, we realized it when they were on the north shore of the Yangtze River facing Nanking in late '48. Israel was established in May '48, this was about October. The three Jewish communities, which were always at some sort of loggerheads with one another, got together and sent a telegram to Ben-Gurion, and said, "Would you consider sending blanket visas, so that we can get our people out of Shanghai before the trouble hits?" The Israelis were still fighting for their lives, they had not signed the first armistice yet. Ben-Gurion sent a telegram back, "Visas en route for everyone. We are contacting the United Nations to see if

¹² Horowitz refers here to the McCarran-Walter Act, or the Immigration and Nationality Act, of 1952, which tightened controls on immigrants and aliens.

we can charter ships to bring you here.” And they did, they chartered ships, people went in them.

My brother was one of the first, he didn't mean to, he was going to Australia, he had his visa. But he was engaged to marry this Russian-Jewish girl and she hadn't gotten her visa yet, she had put in for it but it had not come in yet. And they were waiting for her visa and they'd go to Australia, and he was working for United Press, I told you. Well, he had written some article that the Communists didn't like, and so they blacklisted him. He was the United Press man in Nanking and all of the sudden the Communists were facing Nanking, they were ready to cross the Yangtze and take the one-time capital, and he heard, and someone of our wartime contacts contacted me too, because we had done a little, very tiny helpful stuff for the Nationalists during the war, said, “Tell Joe to get out, because he's on their blacklist, which means that the thugs are after him and he could get shot.” It's like tussling with the Mafia or the, this is the way we felt about the Communists, or the Colombian cartel. Well, he heard about that and he came on down and that very week, this first ship was coming, it was called the “Wooster Victory”, it was going to take Jews from Shanghai, the first load, to Israel. So he and his girlfriend decided they'd get married, go to Israel, and await their, their visas for Australia, because they couldn't go to Australia right away, they wouldn't take her in. So they went to Israel and they fell in love with it. They weren't scientists or anything like that. They just stayed on and made it their home.

So the ones who could come to America. Of the ones who went back, I know of a handful who went back to Europe, they were mainly older ones who could not adjust to Shanghai, meaning the English speaking, and every place you went to was either English-speaking or even worse, should I say, Hebrew-speaking. So they went back to Europe. There were a handful that did. Couldn't understand them, but I guess that's the way they felt about it. So, now this was true of all the communities. The first to get out and to get the papers and get everything organized were the Polish, because the yeshivas here had everything ready for them and brought them over, as not as immigrants but as either religious leaders or teachers. They got them the paperwork and brought them into the States immediately. So the ultra-Orthodox got out first. They took care of their own. The rest, a handful chose to remain, a very tiny handful would not leave China. I think the last one died maybe about six or seven years ago, it was in the papers.

SH: And who were they, the ones who remained? Is there any way to characterize them?

RH: The crazy thing is, they were misfits then and they remained misfits to the end. And any other place they'd have gone, they'd have been misfits, the ones I knew and they just sat.

SH: Did they tend to be older ones? Ones who . . .

RH: Older than me at the time I was there, yes. I left, I left in my early twenties, they were older than that. I don't know anybody my age who remained. I know of three or four others who remained because they were dedicated Communists and they stayed to help. And they married Chinese and were naturalized and blended in. I know of three individuals who did that. I also know of some who were amongst the Russian Jews and some who were amongst the non-Jewish Russians, who went to the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union having issued all these passports gave them the option, quote, of coming home and some did. Most of those, nobody ever heard from them again. As a matter of fact, recently, I don't know who it was, yes I do, there was a woman on our tour of Scandinavia, which we did two weeks ago, who was telling me, she is now in San Francisco, she is a Soviet emigrée and she said, she goes, there is a Russian-Jewish

club in San Francisco, and she said she went there and I told her, I said, "Did anybody ever hear?" I asked her because she speaks to the old, the Russians who had been in Shanghai and they still speak Russian and what have you, and have their *zakuski*'s, etcetera, I said, "Did anybody ever hear of the ones who went to the Soviet Union?" She said, "Yes, one just got out. I don't know if they went to San Francisco or Israel, but they met their family again, there was a reunion." Because of the ones that went and some were good friends of ours, not we, not anybody, not their immediate family, brothers, sisters, parents, cousins, uncles, aunts, heard from them again. A handful did go to Russia, don't even know where they ended up in Russia, they left and that was it.

Where else did people go? Well, wherever they could, they, a few of the very wealthy went to really fancy places like Monte Carlo and Nice, lived the life of Reilly if you went to Switzerland. But by and large, even in the old China reunions, a lot of the British went back to England. Some of the British Jews, some of the Iraqi Jews who were naturalized British went to England and lived there. Canada, a handful, mainly Australia and the United States, outside of Israel.

SH: Did, were the more religious people more likely to go to Israel?

RH: No, the Zionists were. The more religious people were complaining that the Israelis were not sufficiently religious for them.

SH: So they were more . . .

RH: They went to New York, they went to New York and such places, where they blended in with their own. No, it wasn't the religious that went to Israel, it was a lot of the young, a lot of them. I told you about this fierce anger and wanting to fight, felt, "Now we can go fight." And even before this evacuation, handfults volunteered to go and fight in the Israeli war of independence and did. Jacoby, I'm not sure if it was one of his brothers or his cousins, one of them did that too, it was like that, they went. It was the Betar organization, Begin's group, that trained these young boys and then snuck them out, smuggled them into then Palestine to fight. One of our Sephardis with a French passport, was so moved by the Holocaust, he could still speak Ladino, and he went for a while to Spain. You know, some of us were tempted with the idea. Franco, Francisco Franco issued an amnesty to us Jews, not that we had done anything wrong, they had done wrong when they threw us out. [laughs] And we could go back to Spain and a lot of us thought, "Should we do that?" Anything became feasible if it was a way out. It was like when your parents were in Vienna. Maybe I can go there, well he did, he went to Spain, blended in and then went to Argentina to try and find Eichmann. But the Nazis found him first and killed him. This is what I am saying about the anger that came out after. First it was shock and disbelief, and the grief came much later, then the anger. There was a great rage and I don't think it was only us, it was probably our whole generation. Maybe it was more focused on us because we had had our emotions roiled to a such an extent by the local conditions. But there was this huge rage and it was a question of channeling it or focusing it. I think today, it is too big to grasp. You get one detail, you can get into it and sense it, but when it gets so vast, and how [unintelligible] .

SH: Are there big questions which, about Shanghai Jews, which you think nobody's touched yet? I mean in a sense I'm asking you as expert for a little guidance about how I might direct my further researches. Are there kinds of questions that you think I ought to ask that haven't really

been asked yet?

RH: Something that has been glossed over is something I mentioned to you before was the attitude towards the Japanese. Some of them, some of us are violently opposed and there is a definite group that feels that the Japanese helped and saved the lives of so many by permitting them in. My thinking is Japanese had no business permitting anybody and it wasn't theirs in the first place to permit and they didn't permit anybody, it was happenstance, but a lot of them look on the fact that the Japanese, quote, permitted them entry to China and gave them in a sense protection from the Nazis, and there is, as I told you, a sense of friction there. You've heard of this rabbi who wrote The Fugu Plan.

SH: Tokayer.¹³

RH: Yeah. I don't know if you've ever gone to see him.

SH: No, I haven't, I just read his book last week.

RH: I read his book. I have heard excerpts of his talks which were taped by someone and passed on to me, and he is convinced that they did this, because of this theory he has. It's one theory, it's not the whole story. This may have been part of it, but it wasn't the whole, I feel. What's more, his having living in Japan amongst the Japanese and seeing them at their best, where we had lived in China and saw them at their worst. You're talking apples and oranges. You're not talking about the same people and the same thing. And there is a lot of friction. He, he came here recently and was giving a symposium and I was invited to go. I said, "I don't want to," because I think I would either say something nasty or do something nasty, or just get up and walk out. I would prefer not to be there, because I would take him on on some of his points and others I would not dispute. And this was Temple Isaiah, one of the big ones, was it Isaiah? One of the big ones out west, you know, in the Jewish community, and she said, "You know, Rose, you are not the first one that said that to me." She said, "I have called ten people and seven who were in China at the time and seven of them, including you, have come up with this reaction." I said, "I didn't realize I was in the majority. I wasn't sure whether it was a majority or minority." I said, "I don't know that that is a sufficient number to extrapolate," but that is a theme I think that one could touch on and delve into, and the people you talk to sense what their reaction is.

Anyway, when I first came to the United States, my husband and I, we were invited to the home of these, we were all Shanghai refugees in San Francisco, and I don't know what someone said about, someone brought up the word Japanese and I braced myself. And he started saying how good the Japanese were, I got up and walked out of the room, because I was ready to explode. The first time I saw a Japanese-American, American-Japanese, you could sense right away, it's like American-Chinese, you know that they are American. The first time I saw a Japanese, it was, I went up in the elevator with one about six months after I got to the States, and I didn't get to the States till May '51, so this was way after the war. The elevator operator let him off at the sixth floor and took me up to the thirteenth where I worked, and he stopped and he said, "Rose, can I

¹³ Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz, The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews during World War II (New York: Paddington Press, 1979).

help you out?" because I even looked sick, I was so shaken. I thought I was going, I was nauseous, I probably looked gray, I felt gray. My, my legs were shaking, I felt so bad. I didn't expect that, but it hit me. It's, it's like some of them would say if they walked in and saw a German, I felt that strongly and I still do, because you see it wasn't just '41 to '45, we were up against them in '31, '32, '37, '38. We had this constantly that their own country wasn't good enough, they had to come and grab something else. So, I feel very strongly, so I'm not equipped to give you a balanced approach on something like that. However, I just wonder if there is anyone who was there who can give a balanced approach to either take this side or the other. It was too, too sharp an experience to be able to sit back and analyze and in calm terms say on the one hand and on the other. I don't pretend to do it and I don't say just because I can't, nobody else can. But it would take someone or something very unusual to be able to do that and it may make sense to look into this.

SH: Okay, that's a good suggestion.

RH: Other than that, the usual frictions between the three different groups, the latest coming and earliest leaving Poles, the Germans who were there the longest, and then the Austrians. And all the books that are written and all the stories and everything are done by the Poles, who knew everything. They came last, went first and knew everything [laughs] including Tokayer, who's, who's got all his data from the Poles.

SH: Yes, it's all Poles that he . . .

RH: Yes, yes.

SH: . . . talks about.

RH: There were two or three such. You, you look down and it is strictly the Polish. Well by God, there were thousands of the rest of us there, what happened to us, we didn't count? I mean there definitely was an imprint on that city from everybody who came. You don't just focus in narrowly on this one group.

SH: Do you think that Kranzler's book is also overly focused on Poles?¹⁴

RH: Yes, slightly more than normal, but he tried to balance things out. He took a sort of pedantic, pedantic school-marm style, but he tried to get the data, he really made. I know because I dealt with him and others I know of dealt with him in the stages. You know his, he started it as his doctoral dissertation, which I have a copy of, you know, the original, and that's when I wrote to him and he asked for material and he said, "If there is something, give it to me, because I'd be very happy to correct it before I publish my book." You know, he, and that to me is, is the criterion, the sole criterion, if somebody wants to write something, tries to, nobody has a completely open

¹⁴ The first major work on Jews in Shanghai is by David Kranzler, Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945 (New York, Yeshiva University Press, 1976).

mind, you can't but tries, puts in the effort, and not says, "I already know it, nobody else knows anything." And, and I feel this, so I feel somewhat, considerably more warmly toward him, because he made the effort and what, one thing else Kranzler had, he not only looked up documentation, he has assembled an awful lot of materials. He's got a collection, I don't know what he's going to do with it, but that's vital to anybody who ever wants to study anything Jewish in Shanghai, because all our paperwork was thrown to the four winds. There's nothing really left except what he managed to assemble. This, of course, makes it so much easier for others who come up with theories, because you cannot demolish the theory unless you have something to prove or disprove it. So, when people ask me about the Fugu plan, I give you a Scotch verdict, not proven, because I can't bring up the data to disprove it. Deep down I'm convinced it wasn't the fact that the, this may have entered, this was part of the discussion, certainly, but a hundred things were discussed and were bounced back and forth. To take one and say, "That's it because I found it," I question the man's veracity, I'm sorry.

SH: Well, you are not the first to . . .

RH: No, and I found that out too, you know, I found that out, as I say, when this, when this thing came up that she told me, she said, "You know, I was surprised," she said, "that this came by with that." But again, as I say, there is this, and now that is something, that in a very gentle, gentlemanly fashion you could point out that the Polish person, may be applicable to them, but they did come last and leave first.

SH: What about the question of what difference it made that this Jewish community was in China as opposed to somewhere else? How . . .

RH: All the difference in the world.

SH: What were the Chinese influences on the Jewish community?

RH: On the refugee community, not very much. On the likes of me, it was very strong. Deep down, I'd say when you scratch me, you'll find a Chinaman. I was fourth generation there, we felt we belonged. Okay, officially we were foreigners, I didn't feel foreign, I was at home, it was the only home I'd known. The language the people spoke, well, I spoke it with my *amah* before I spoke English with my parents. It, we, we were wholly bilingual as children. You went to school and then you were segregated. Until you went to school, you were part and parcel of whatever your home was. The Chinese influence could not have been as great as it should have been, because of two factors. One was the International Settlement that was run by and for the foreigners. And the International Settlement, as you probably realized when you got there, was only the small part of Shanghai, and you also have to realize that there was no city until they put that in. There were two Chinese areas that were populated in these mudflats along the Whangpoo, this tributary of the Yangtze, one was in Nantao, the old Chinese city, did you go to it, with the winding bridge?

SH: No.

RH: You didn't even see that.

SH: No, they didn't take us there.

RH: And the other was the pagoda by the, which was torn down by the whites, I am sorry to say, on the Soochow Creek, about where the bridges are, you crossed the bridges going . . .

SH: The Garden Bridge?

RH: . . . to Hongkew, okay, yeah, that. There was a small fishing village there and it was an established old city, a walled city of perhaps ten, twelve thousand people in Nantao. And then there were a few villages of maybe a hundred and fifty people here and there. So there was no city before the foreigners came. The British wanted a treaty port at the mouth of the Yangtze for trading purposes. They wanted something in that region. They looked at where the Woosung forts were, but the Chinese offered them this land and they settled for it, because the Chinese felt these were mudflats and nobody could build anything on that, it was a swamp. The fact that people came into Shanghai, these huge numbers, was not just trade, it was China, it was war.

This land was taken in 19-, 1849, sorry, I don't want to jump a hundred years, in 1849. In 1853 came the Taiping rebellion, the civil war in China where one group was killing another. Refugees poured in, now the original thing said that no, only foreigners could live within the enclave. Refugees poured in for safety, because they knew that no armed Chinese would attack, the British soldiers were around. America later sent Marines. There were so many that they enlarged the perimeter. They were into this enclave, they started setting up their Marines and soldiers and tommies, a little farther out, and it got larger and larger every time there was some sort of civil war in China or foreign war. And this was constant because this is part of the ongoing Chinese revolution. Tiananmen is just one more phase in it. The Chinese revolution isn't over just because Mao Tse Tung took, took over in Peking.

It's been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century and each time and all this happened in that, so the Chinese, let's get back to your story, your basic question, the Chinese could not influence the foreigners to attempt, the extent the foreigners influenced them, because the foreigners meant safety and security for them. And they kept coming in and somehow the city grew and there were jobs, not for all because a lot starved to death, but the ones who starved to death were the refugees. The theme I have always thought if, everybody says write a book, if I wrote a book, you know what I would call it? Sounds mad, Shanghai, City of Refuge, because Shanghai was built on refugees, everybody, all of us from way back, the ones, the scum, the flotsam and jetsam that ended, the British and American and French and Portuguese and everything else that came, were the ones lost in their own countries and ended up there and sat there. And it was always a refuge for someone or another. It didn't, it wasn't a high sounding place, it wasn't a fabulous place or anything, but by and large the greatest number that sought refuge there survived. And this went on until the Communists came in and they stopped that. So China did not influence the people who came to that extent.

Then from '37 on, as far as the Hongkew area was concerned, the Japanese were in occupation. So when, but they kept up the pretense that they were protecting the Settlement and this is why they let the other whites in, the Jews, because they were protecting them and this is why they say, "Well, they saved us." But you didn't need a visa, not because of the Japanese, but because the treaties with the Chinese, you didn't need a visa, you could come in. And so every last group that you talk of there were refugees from something or other until now. They're there because they happen to live there. It's not as though it was an indigenous population that had been there in the beginning, that this was imposed upon. The land was there, the people lived around it in much smaller numbers, minuscule numbers in comparison to what there is today. And every time that there's some terrible fear, people poured in there for safety, the foreign guns they complained about. And for those of us alive today, it worked. This is another theme, somewhere along the line. It isn't the whole story, any more than any of the other themes are the whole story, but it is one part of it, because it gave sanctuary to the likes of us who were running away from the Arab riots under the Turks. It gave sanctuary to a lot of people from all over the world, sailors who were getting, running away from home, and then they found someplace they could settle, stayed on. Surprising number of the foreigners and their families were sailors who had jumped ship, picked up a Chinese woman, the origin of Eurasians by and large who were the largest single group were that. Then came the Russian refugees, then came the Jewish refugees. The greatest number, by the million, were Chinese refugees, millions, and I mean millions. We had three million before the '37 war, we had six million in '38, doubled the population overnight with refugees from the countryside who came in for protection from the Japanese. Most unlikely situation, a city of sin, and yet a city of refuge.

SH: Now was it a city of sin?

RH: To an extent, yes . . .

SH: And how . . .

RH: . . . because, because it was colored, number one by the foreign sailors, and sailors anywhere and everywhere in the world, you get a port town and you got a lot of that, go look at Hamburg, I just saw it. [laughs] I mean things like that, okay. It also was a city of sin because there were the Chinese, what they called them, the tongs and the opium dens and everything freely. There were the, there was the Chinese mafia, the wharf coolies who ran things wildly like the mafia do literally. You would also find there, not just ordinary people, but some really saintly people there. There was everything there. If you talk of a cosmopolitan city, it was cosmopolitan, if you talk of a Chinese city, it was Chinese, if you talk of a British colonial enterprise, it was that. It was not all things to all men, but so many different things all melded in, in one sense, it gave me, personally, a tremendous education, because I feel at home and at ease with almost anyone, because I've been up against them in my childhood. There were Germans, there were Russians, there were Japanese, there were Filipinos, there were Portuguese. We had African, we had American black musicians whose kids came to our schools, because they wouldn't go to the American school. And they were English speaking, they were part of the community, that's all. You, you did not feel strange with anyone or with any language, because you heard all the languages. You picked up snatches of a little bit of everything. So that colored everything, not only the Chinese, not because the Chinese weren't strong enough, they weren't in

the position to do it. Not just because the rest of us imposed ourselves on us, on them, which we did, but because there was such a volatile situation in the whole country, in the whole region, that's gone on, to my knowledge, for two centuries now, that that is part of it. And for that hundred years we were there, exactly, 1849 to 1949, I'd say we colored them more than they colored us. I know they colored me a lot, but if I'm talking of the whole picture, because I've talked to others who have visited China, and they always come back and I say, "Well, did you see this, did you see that, did you speak to this, and what about Shanghai?" And each one says Shanghai is different. And then one pinpointed it for me, he was a professor [unintelligible] from some Midwestern college, and we were flying back from the Orient, George and I went, and he said, "You know, Shanghai is a frame of mind." I think you've got it, if it's a frame of mind today, so was it from the first. [phone rings] Excuse me, somebody else discovered the phone works.

END SIDE A, TAPE 2

END OF INTERVIEW