

Sport and Jewish identity in the Shanghai Jewish Community 1938-1949

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Introduction

Between 1938 and 1949 around 18,000 Jewish refugees occupied a small ghetto in the Hongkou¹ area of Shanghai, a district that had been devastated by bombardment during the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. The Jewish community existed in crowded unsanitary conditions, a stateless people, many with little or no money. Mostly from Germany and Austria, they lived in a culturally alien city with an unbearable climate. Yet within a short time this group, with an uncertain future, began to revitalise the region they lived in, and crammed into tiny flats, they opened businesses, schools, hospitals and developed the social networks and facilities required for modern living.

Part of the organisation of life included the foundation of sporting clubs and competitions. Throughout the Second World War and the long wait in Shanghai thereafter, sport was an important element of communal life that provided the community with a sense of normalcy. As Joseph Bradley has pointed out in another context: 'sport has contributed considerably to ideas about identity . . . images and ideas which inform and concern community, nation and culture. It has also meant that no single notion of identity can explain the social, cultural and political formations and structures which people employ in the context of a variety of circumstances'.² Jewish identity and consciousness elude precise definition, for the Jewish people are, at one and the same time, a religious group, an ethnic nationality group and a cultural group, and many would not even consider themselves to be religious.³ Nevertheless, their principle binding characteristic is Judaism and its attendant way of life.

For Jews in Shanghai during this period participation in sport was often more than just a way to pass the time. European Jews, especially the Zionists among them, brought as part of their cultural baggage a history of regarding sport as a means of expressing their Jewishness and denying stereotypes of the Jew as weak, watershy and bookish. The idea of Muscular Judaism was an integral part of the Zionist movement.⁴ In Shanghai, this philosophy informed much of the discourse of sport. In particular a branch of the revisionist Zionist Betar movement was founded and had as its slogan 'Success to the Betariad-Spiritual and Physical Unity of our Far Eastern Movement'.⁵ There were also members of Hakoah Wien⁶ and other prominent European Jewish sporting clubs in Shanghai who carried with them clear notions of the utility of sport as a vehicle for group self expression. Importantly, Shanghai Jews were not an homogenous group. While sporting teams were often seen as representing 'the community', for example in

football matches against the White Russian or the Italians, through sport we can identify cleavages extant in Shanghai's non-Chinese society. In many ways the Shanghai Jewish community was a microcosm of world Jewry with its various internal clashes between Zionist and non-Zionist, observant and secular, reformed and orthodox, Ashkenazi and Sephardim. As a result, sport here can at once be seen as a unifying force, an expression of Jewishness and at the same time the site where we can identify these fractures, informed as we are by Bradley's notions of separate identities determined by a variety of circumstances.

This article discusses some of the sporting experience of the Shanghai Jewish community and its meanings. There have been some studies and memoirs of this community, particularly in the last decade. Some of these refer to sport briefly; some not at all. At the time of the centenary of organised Jewish sport, it is timely to examine the phenomenon of sport in the Shanghai ghetto. Such a study also offers the opportunity of analysing the meanings of sport in a society in transition: a refugee society caught in limbo between its lost home and an unknown final destination for an unknown length of time. Questions I explore include: To what extent was sport a vehicle for religious/ethnic self expression? What influence did Muscular Judaism have, if any? How was sport regarded by the community's leaders, particularly the Rabbis? Did sport help create links with other ethnic communities? How did it affect relations with the Chinese and the Japanese occupation authorities during the war years? Was anti-Semitism evident at sporting contests? What was the extent of sporting activity in the community and what sports were played?

Why Shanghai? The leaving of Europe

In Germany the Nuremberg Laws came into force on 15 September 1935, effectively ending life for Jews in that country. In 1938, Jews were banned from practising law, medicine or owning a business. Adolf Hitler's anti-Semitic policies thus created a refugee problem of immense proportions. For Jews who wanted to flee Nazi Europe most doors were shut. Between 1933 and the occupation of Austria in March 1938, approximately 130,000 Jews had fled Germany and some 32,000 of these remained refugees. The annexation of Austria added a further 190,000 potential refugees to this. Reports of ill treatment of Jews in Austria and of thousands trying to cross into neighbouring countries led to President Franklin Roosevelt calling for a conference to try and relieve the situation.⁷ The conference held at Evian in France in June 1938 came up with inadequate answers to the refugee problem. In the climate of appeasement, after the German invasion of Austria and before they annexed Czechoslovakia, there was recognition of the massive problem being created by Hitler's anti-Jewish policies, though there was little will to do much about it: 'The United States of America and Great Britain showed no inclination to admit a larger number, with the smaller countries following suit, while political considerations on the part of Whitehall severely limited admission into Palestine'.⁸ Jews tried desperately to gain entry to western countries – through friends, relatives and various Jewish aid

agencies. There were long queues outside South American Consulates such as that of Uruguay but few visas were issued.⁹ At the Evian conference, Australia agreed to admit 15,000 refugees over three years and had taken in about 7,000 before war broke out. There was, however, one place in the world people could go without a visa – Shanghai.

Following the Opium wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60 Shanghai had been ceded to western nations and was a free port. European powers operated autonomous governments in separate enclaves known as the international settlements. Japan controlled much of China after 1937 including Shanghai but it did not encroach on the international settlements. Despite being allies of Nazi Germany the Japanese allowed Jews fleeing Europe entry because they believed them to be influential in international affairs.¹⁰

The first Nazi related immigration to Shanghai began in 1933 when twelve families arrived.¹¹ A small but steady flow of mostly professional people followed in the 1930s. After Kristallnacht in November 1938, even the most patriotic German Jews could see what the future had in store, and there was a mad scramble to leave the country. The German government had seized property and frozen bank accounts so those who succeeded in leaving left only with some clothes and twenty German marks in cash (later reduced to 10). In 1939, as panic in Europe spread, the numbers wanting to travel to Shanghai increased sharply. By Passover (April) 1939, 7,000 refugees had reached the city.¹² By the end of the year it was nearing 20,000, which led to efforts to restrict numbers. Before the outbreak of war in September 1939 the final number of refugees is estimated at about 18,000 Jews, mostly from Austria and Germany. Laurel Margolis, an administrator with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, an organisation established to assist Jewish refugees, wrote of this situation:

In 1939-40 Lloyd Trestino ran a sort of 'ferry service' between Italy and Shanghai, bringing in thousands of refugees a month – Germans, Austrians, a few Czechs – and virtually dumping them on the Bund, the long street bordering the waterfront.¹³

This massive influx caused enormous problems for the authorities. Added to the Jews were thousands of Chinese war refugees streaming into the city from the countryside. There were shortages of the essentials of life as well as living space.

Significantly, these refugees were not the first Jews in Shanghai nor in China and it is thus important to briefly describe the history of the Jews in Shanghai. Some of the infrastructure and conditions for successfully establishing a workable community on a large scale existed well before 1938 and this applies equally to the means to set up organised sport. A Jewish community had existed for hundreds of years in the city of Kaifeng until assimilation ended it by the turn of the century. Shanghai's status as a great trading city and open port had attracted Sephardic (Baghdadi origin) Jews. Foremost among these were the Sassoon family and later the Kadoories and

the Harpoons. By the turn of the century, there were about 1,000 Sephardic Jews in Shanghai from among the wealthiest families in Asia.¹⁴ The second phase of this history began in 1900 when new waves of mainly Russian (Ashkenazi) Jews began to arrive. These newcomers were primarily shopkeepers and restaurateurs, though some were wealthy Jews who had fled the 1917 communist revolution and who survived by selling the jewellery and gold they managed to get out of Russia. By the 1930s there was a well organised community of about 5,000. Some Russian Jews had settled in Harbin after 1917 and had been forced south after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1937. Added to this mix in 1941 were one thousand Polish Jews who had made it through Eastern Russia to Kobe in Japan. The Japanese moved this group on to the Shanghai Ghetto in order to consolidate the Jews under their control.

Conditions

Ernest Heppner described his first view of Shanghai:

As the Potsdam eased into the muddy, winding Whangpoo River, total silence fell over the passengers. We were horror-stricken. At first the countryside was flat farmland dotted with villages, but all along this shore we saw mounds of rubble. As we came closer, we saw a large power plant, oil storage tanks, wharves and warehouses . . . lining the shore, but behind them, as far as the eye could see, nothing but buildings in ruins.¹⁵

They did not know the area they were looking at was their new home. The Hongkou district had once been densely populated but had been heavily bombed during the Japanese invasion of 1937 and the retreat of the Chinese army. James Ross described the living conditions in the summer of 1943 when most refugees had been there at least four years:

The housing conditions were so crowded that many refugees lived in tiny concrete rooms that housed the electric meters . . . the oppressive summer heat and humidity, it seemed impossible to breathe inside the houses, where mould and mildew grew on food, clothes, linens and inside shoes closets and chests. Few people could use fans because electricity was strictly rationed. The ubiquitous insects and mosquitoes added to the discomfort.¹⁶

The climatic conditions were unbearable for Central and Eastern Europeans. Shanghai's temperature ranges from minus ten in winter to forty-five degrees Celsius in summer with very high humidity. Drinking water had to be purchased and food was scarce, a significant problem for Germans who were used to hearty meals. In the winter there was little or no heating. From 1943 to 1945 several hundred children and elderly folk died of illness and

weakness. Men who had been wealthy professionals begged for money and food in the streets and some women sold themselves into prostitution. Despite all these deprivations the community did create a life for itself. A Red Cross letter of 1943 described conditions:

the conditions are very grievous and steadily becoming worse. . . . The worst distress exists among the German-Jewish immigrants, of whom at least 6,000 are on the point of starvation and about 9,000 more are not far better off. . . . The comfort of heating can be dismissed as a dream, and the little threadbare clothing gives no protection against coldness and humidity of the Shanghai winter climate.¹⁷

The Jewish Sporting Culture in Shanghai

Organised sport on the western model was well established in Shanghai by the 1930s. A range of sports were played including cricket, rugby, football, tennis, bowling and boxing, whilst gambling on sport was an important activity. 'On Sundays, nearly all the British society convened at the Shanghai racecourse to drink and bet on the ponies. Even British customs like cross country horse riding contests were transported to Shanghai'.¹⁸ The Shanghai Jews were involved in these activities, and the Jewish Recreation Club (JRC), established by Russian Jews in the French concession in 1912, was an important institution for promoting sporting and cultural activity before and after the arrival of the refugees. Indeed, it was a site where Sephardi and Ashkanazi Jews found rare common ground. In keeping with the traditions of Jewish sporting clubs it had a heavy Zionist leaning:

It served to unite disparate Russian Jewish refugees in Shanghai and became a centre of creative Jewish spiritual and cultural life . . . a Jewish defence league was organised in the club premises with the stated purpose of fighting anti-Semitism, helping victims of discrimination, and developing friendship between Jews of different countries.¹⁹

As in many western outposts, when it came to sport, teams were often formed on the basis of ethnicity; there were Italian, Russian French and British teams. Therefore, when the refugees arrived and began to think about how to occupy themselves and their children, a sporting infrastructure was already in place. Alfred Smolienski was a young boy of nine years when his family escaped to Shanghai from Gliewitz in Germany. He remembers playing in a well-organised junior soccer competition. The highlight of the week was going to watch the senior team do battle against the leading teams from the various ethnic communities. He maintains sport was a very important supplement to education for Jewish boys and girls – keeping them active in their spare time, which was an important consideration given the potential for boredom in their morale sapping and restricted environment. While there was a wider range of

sports available to boys, girls were also encouraged to participate; their main sports were tennis, table tennis and handball.²⁰ The large numbers of refugees arriving in Shanghai meant that there were many levels of sporting ability in the Jewish population, offering the opportunity to form teams representing the community as well as enough to make up intramural leagues.

Refugees had begun forming their own sporting clubs as early as April 1939. An appeal for football players to attend training at Moulaman Rd was made in Shanghai Woche early that month. The event was free and a cheap meal would be provided afterwards.²¹ Soon the Maccabi Club was founded.²² The organisers in Shanghai, led by Willy Kurtz, were committed Zionists and all hailed from Germany and Austria. The criteria for membership are significant: the colours had to be blue and white; applicants had to be refugees and Zionists. The initials ZSC (Zionist Sports Club) were to be worn on their jerseys. Blue and white were the colours adopted by the Zionist movement and later became the colours of the Israeli flag, and thus by wearing blue and white, the ZSC identified themselves clearly. Allowing only refugees also set them apart from others, especially Russian Jews. While cooperation would develop between the Russians and the western Europeans, the latter were making important statements about their identity from the outset. These external symbols were reinforced in the sporting arena by the use of the German language as the means of communication.

David Kranzler maintains sport played a more important role in the lives of both adults and children than it would have done under normal circumstances:

For the adults especially the many unemployed in the *Heime* and the even larger number idle during the difficult times of the Ghetto, sports achieved the status of obsession rather than as a mere pastime. People would spend their last penny for their inexpensive tickets to a soccer match and come in droves to cheer for their team or a particular idol on the playing field of Cahufoong Road *Heime*. It became the chief topic of conversation for many to create some excitement for an otherwise dull existence.²³

Maccabi's first game of football occurred when their 'A' team played the Ward Road Camp, another refugee group. Willy Kurtz appealed to the community to support the match: 'You Jew and You Jews – have the compulsion to watch this game You will help our children'.²⁴ In an appeal to the growing community and to the Shanghai Jewish establishment, Kurtz published an article on the importance of sport to world Jewry.²⁵ He saw sport as an important philosophy of life and as vital to the promotion of any national identity as well as a provider of role models for the young. Applied to Zionist principles it was 'most urgent' for Jews wherever possible, including Shanghai to organise sport. He had no doubt of the Jewish sporting pedigree, claiming

that if all the Jews who took part in the 1936 Olympics had participated for a country called Palestine results show they would have been in the top six nations.²⁶ He stresses the Herzilian concept of work in depth in Jewish sporting clubs referring to sport as preparation for Palestine.²⁷

Members were also obliged to participate in club gatherings, especially political lectures. For example members were informed in the press they must attend the talk to be give by Dr Rosenberg, of the Zionist group Kadimah at the Cafe Corso on Broadway.²⁸ The commercial benefits of a large new groups forming a sports club was not lost on the shopkeepers of Shanghai with advertisements being placed in the Jewish dailies for sportswear including Football (\$9.75), Rugby (\$12.50) Jerseys and strapping (\$5).²⁹

The idea of the Jewish male as weak and frightened is an ancient stereotype. Since the rise of organised sport, Jews everywhere have by their sporting prowess sought to destroy this myth. Often their success led to accusations of match rigging and other underhanded tactics. One arena where it was difficult not to recognise the toughness, spirit and craft of the Jew as athlete was in the boxing ring. In the United States boxing was often the game of the migrant, a way out from poverty. Peter Levine has written:

Despite its reputation as a disreputable sport, no other activity provided such a clear way to refute stereotypes of the weak, cowardly Jew that the anti-Semites employed to deny Jewish immigrants and their children full access to American opportunities. Nor did any other sport that the Jews engaged in provide better connection to an historical tradition of Jewish physical strength and power employed on behalf of Jewish protection and survival in a hostile world.³⁰

Bearing this in mind it is important to note that Jewish boxers in Shanghai were among the best. The first refugee boxing matches were organised in July 1939 by Max Buchbaum,³¹ a refugee and a German amateur boxing champion.³² These continued until the Japanese banned the sport in 1941. The best of the refugee boxers, Sam Lewko, Kid Ruckenstein and Laco Kohn defeated the top Japanese, French and American fighters in that first summer of 1939. Lewko was billed as the Maccabi Champion of Berlin. The Jewish boxers developed a solid following among all nationalities that flocked to the stadium. Crowds quoted as 'several thousand' watched up to eight fights per night. Ringside was frequented by 'elegant Russians and Europeans' while the 'serving classes' were also in attendance.³³ The Jew as boxer was successful in appealing to the broad spectrum of Shanghainese society. Sam Lewko created a sensation when he knocked out a Japanese professional heavyweight brought especially from Tokyo to demonstrate the power of the nation of the conquerors.³⁴ Boxing was banned by the Japanese in 1942. Significantly many Jewish victories at this time were against American sailors as they would be again between 1945 and 1949 when boxing was revived. Training took place at the American Marine Club and was watched as avidly

by the press as the events themselves. Coverage in the Jewish press (in English and German) was constant emphasising the importance of the events to the community.

Many of the Jewish boxers were committed Zionists, and their boxing went beyond fighting for 'exercise' or a purse. The Betar movement, committed to militant Zionism, was active in training Jewish youth for possible future military engagements. Their organisation ranged from boy scouts to armed militias. Many of the boxers were members of Betar and their Jewish identity was on the line every time they stepped into the ring, while success reinforced their own sense of Jewishness as well as that of the community. At the same time the viewing 'others' were put on notice that these Jews were not taking a backward step. They were organised, tough and prepared to be belligerent.

Football was the most popular sport among the refugees in Shanghai. Sunday tournaments were often attended by as many as 2,000 spectators. There was also a mini soccer (seven-a-side) competition. The JRC first team competed in the top Shanghai league and the arrival of the refugees, many of whom were professionals, dominated the team as they did many sport.³⁵ Soon they formed their own teams to compete in the Shanghai league and had enough players to form an independent league with matches played at the Kingchow Rd Camp. Many businesses saw the opportunity to promote themselves through sport and sponsored teams: for example 'Barcelona' as named after a popular cafe and 'Shanghai Jewish Chronicle' after the newspaper. The sports pages were full of articles about refugee stars such as Erich Zomma, Hy Wind, Max Kopstein and Karl Marishel, who was very popular with the Chinese fans. One of the leading players was Leo Meyer.³⁶ He was a sports teacher and had been a professional in Dusseldorf. Meyer was an influential figure in education in Shanghai who emphasised the role of physical education for the youth of the community. On the football field he was an agile centre forward and always among the leading scorers in the Shanghai league. An indication of the impact of the refugees on local football was their coming second to the Italians in the championship of 1939. In that same summer, Meyer led his team to the mini-football championship. The arrival of so many refugees had caused some resentment in Shanghai and placed pressure on jobs and food supply in a shrinking economy. The football stars, who were often mobbed walking through the city, helped defuse this resentment with the enjoyment they provided for the masses.

At its height the Shanghai Jewish football league had eight teams and leagues existed for field hockey, table tennis, volleyball, tennis, handball, mini soccer, gymnastics and chess. The Betar were particularly active in volleyball tournaments held at the YMCA. Here they competed against the powerful White Russian ROS team (Russian Sports Club). There was little institutionalised anti-Semitism in Shanghai but among the White Russians it was endemic. These sporting contests were sites where this could be confronted directly in a controlled environment, challenging the Russian stereotype of the Jew as weakling.

Table tennis was also enormously popular and was easy to organise. Several star players emerged from the Shanghai Ghetto including George Kanzevolsky, captain of the Betar team, who became undefeated champion of Shanghai at age fifteen.³⁷ Others were Kurt Defris and his wife Steffi. Kurt had played on the wing for Hakoah Wien and also played Table Tennis for the Fair Unitas club in Vienna, home of seven-time world champion Richard Bergman. He was prominent in the JRC and brought the Hakoah ethos to bear on this organisation. He left Shanghai in 1949 and settled in Melbourne where he instituted a JRC in memory of Shanghai and became heavily involved in Melbourne Hakoah. He won many Victorian table tennis premierships and was instrumental in improving the standard of the game in Australia.³⁸ Another gain for Australia from Shanghai was Peter Nash (formally Nachemstein), a refugee from Germany, who learned his football and table tennis in Shanghai. In Sydney, Nash played first grade full back for Hakoah and represented New South Wales. In table tennis he represented both Victoria and New South Wales. His father Herbert was an official of the Shanghai Chronicle Soccer team which its members called AHV (*Alte Herren Verein* or the 'Old Gentlemen's Club').³⁹ These examples speak for the quality of sport in Shanghai and the impression playing sport had on the members of the community there.

Evidence that sport was used as a means of expressing Jewishness can be seen from the *Yom Hammaccabi* organised by the JRC.⁴⁰ In this festival athletic events were held for all ages with the opportunity in the adult events for representative teams to compete against guest team. The program for 1940 indicates the Jewish team competed against The Shanghai Municipal Police, The U S Fourth Marines, The Foreign YMCA, and The British Military forces. These festivals brought together all the best athletes in Shanghai and for Jews were a powerful expression of their identity in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds.

Conclusion

In peacetime Jewish societies there has often been debate between the Rabbis and the secular community over the playing of sport on the Sabbath. For the most part the Jewish faith has accommodated sport and often harnessed it for its own purpose. For example from the 1920s in Australia, sport was used in the fight against exogamy, a vital tool in the fight to maintain the community.⁴¹ In Shanghai sport was seen as vital to the community's wellbeing. It had a practical use in that it kept people occupied, it contributed to the health of the community and as discussed above it had a political purpose in preparing youth for the fight for the Zionist dream and as such was heavily influenced by ideas of Muscular Judaism.

Sport played a role in all the educational institutions set up by Kadoori and others after 1938, indicating clerical approval. It appears the Japanese authorities also saw a purpose for sport. Throughout the war years and even during the ghetto period between Pearl Harbour and the surrender of Japan there were no restrictions placed on sport apart from a brief period during the

1944-45 season.⁴² Even then these restrictions did not extend to schoolchildren. Boxing was the one sport they refused to allow at this time. During the war years many Europeans from the international settlement and the French quarter were interred. Presumably this brought an end to the big gambling sports like dog and horse racing and establishment games like polo, though there is no evidence of whether this happened. In war, armies have a long history of allowing prisoners held in large groups in camps to organise sport. There is much evidence of this from the American Civil War through the Boer War and other great conflagrations of the twentieth century. Sport in this way is utilised as an opiate, a defence against boredom and a means of pacifying and directing pent-up energies. It also allows discourse between victor and vanquished outside the dominant relationship between belligerents. Sport in the Shanghai ghetto fulfilled these same sorts of roles.

NOTES:

1. In some instances this is spelled Hongkew. I have preferred the Chinese spelling used today.
2. J. M. Bradley, *Sport, Culture and Scottish Society: Irish immigrants and the Gaelic Athletic Association* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1998), 2.
3. W. D. Rubenstein, *Judaism in Australia* (Canberra: AGPS, 1995), 5.
4. The philosophy of *Muskeljudentum* (Muscular Judaism) was developed by Zionist Max Nordau. He first spoke of it at the second Zionist Congress in Basle in 1898. He outlined his theory for the need for a 'reinvigorated Jewry' in order to combat stereotypes and to prepare Jews for the battle to gain the Zionist objective of a Jewish national homeland. See 'Muskeljudentum', *Judische Turnzeitung* no. 2 (June 1900): 10-11.
5. Y. Liberman, *My China: Jewish Life in the Orient 1900-1950* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1998), 113.
6. Hakoah Wien was formed in 1909 and became the most successful and famous Jewish multi-sports club in Europe until it was destroyed by the Nazis after the Anschluss in 1938. Hakoah were dedicated to the philosophy of Muscular Judaism and used sport as a proud beacon in the fight against anti-Semitism as well as a defensive mechanism against anti-Semitic attacks, particularly as these increased in the 1930s. Much has been written on Hakoah. For a definitive history, see J. Bunzl, *Hoppauf Hakoah, Jüdischer Sport in Osterreich* (Vienna: Junius Verlag, 1987).
7. S. Adler-Rudel, 'The Evian Conference on the Refugee Question', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook XIII* (1968), 236.
8. Adler-Rudel, 'The Evian Conference on the Refugee Question', 260.
9. E.G. Heppner, *Shanghai Refugee: A Memoir of the World War II Jewish Ghetto* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 25.
10. M. Tokayer & M. Swartz, *The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews During World War II* (New York: Paddington Press, 1979). The Japanese were

convinced by the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Lacking an anti-Semitic tradition, they sought to use a relationship with world Jewry to enhance their own Empire building ambitions in Asia and the Pacific region.

11. A. Mars, 'A Note on the Jewish Refugees in Shanghai', *Jewish Social Studies* 31, no. 4 (October 1969), 286.
12. Mars, 'A Note on the Jewish Refugees in Shanghai', 238.
13. L. Margolis, 'Race Against time in Shanghai', *The Survey Graphic* 33 (March 1944), 168.
14. Pan Guang, ed., *The Jews in Shanghai* (Shanghai: Shanghai Pictorial Publishing, 1995), 2.
15. Guang, *The Jews in Shanghai*, 37.
16. J. R. Ross, *Escape to Shanghai: A Jewish Community in China* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 173.
17. Heppner, *Shanghai Refugee*, 99.
18. Heppner, *Shanghai Refugee*, 24.
19. R. Krasno, *Strangers Always: A Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA: Pacific View Press, 1992), 166.
20. A. Smolienski, interview by author, December 1997, Canada Bay, Sydney.
21. *Shanghai Woche*, 6 April 1939.
22. Maccabi (Makkabi) was the given to the world union set up by the Zionist congress 1922 to coordinate international Jewish sport, and its philosophy was based on Nordau's *Muskejudentum*. Branches were established throughout the world and most Jewish sporting clubs owed allegiance to a Maccabi national governing body. In 1935 the first world Maccabi games were held in Palestine.
23. D. Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938 to 1945* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976), 393.
24. *Shanghai Woche*, 21 April 1939.
25. W. Kurtz, 'Jüdischer Sport', *Shanghai Woche*, 27 July 1939.
26. Kurtz claims these figures were compiled by a 'famous sporting expert' but offers no evidence.
27. Kurtz, 'Jüdischer Sport'.
28. *Shanghai Woche*, 21 April 1939.
29. *Shanghai Woche*, 21 July 1939.
30. Peter Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 162.

31. Ross, *Escape to Shanghai*, 74.
32. *Shanghai Woche*, 28 April 1939.
33. *Shanghai Woche*, 5 May 1939.
34. Liberman, *My China*, 140.
35. Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 393.
36. Ross, *Escape to Shanghai*, 74.
37. Liberman, *My China*, 145.
38. Peter Nash, interviewed by author, December 1997, Willoughby, Sydney; *Maccabi Leisure and Sport* (September, 1989), 15; Watchman, 'Table Tennis as Top Sport', *Australian Jewish News*, 25 March 1983, 25.
39. Peter Nash, interview, 1997; N. King, 'A Name in Sport: Peter Nash', *Melbourne Jewish News*, 21 September 1962.
40. Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 394.
41. See A. Hughes, 'Muscular Judaism and the Jewish Rugby League Competition in Sydney 1924 to 1927', *Sporting Traditions*. 13, no. 1 (November, 1996) 61-81; A. Hughes, 'The Jewish Community', in *Sporting Immigrants: Sport and Ethnicity in Australia*, eds., P. Mosely et al (Sydney: Walla Walla Press, 1997) 103-16.
42. Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, 394.