

it appears in a frieze alongside a pentagram and a swastika.

In the Middle Ages, the Star was used as a decorative motif by Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. Called the Seal of Solomon by the Arabs, the term was borrowed by the Jews and the Star was used as a manuscript illumination design. Also through the Arabs, the motif acquired a magical significance and was used by Jews in *mezzuzah* covers and in amulets. In Jewish tradition, the Shield of David assumed magical protective powers because it initially was formed of or inscribed with the names of God. Later, the sign itself was used.

At various times and in various places in the Middle Ages, Jews were forced by Muslim and Christian rulers to wear distinctive garb. Such discriminatory garments took the form of

hats, special colors, or circular badges. The Shield of David, however, was never used for such purposes.

The first official use of the Magen David as a symbol for a Jewish community came in Prague in 1354 when Charles IV granted the Jewish community the privilege of bearing its own flag, namely the hexagram or "King David's flag." Use of the symbol gradually spread through Moravia to Austria, Southern Germany and Holland during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The widespread use of the Magen David as the symbol of Judaism really began in the 19th century as Jews sought a sign to symbolize Judaism the way the cross does Christianity. This led to the use of the Star of David on Jewish ritual objects, as seals and on letterheads. Conversely, it was precisely at this same time that it was

used to represent Jews and Judaism in anti-Semitic materials as well. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Star was adopted as a symbol of the Zionist movement, as a badge of shame by the Nazis, and most recently as the central emblem of the Israeli flag.

Since the Star of David is a European Jewish symbol, primarily of modern usage, one should not expect the Chinese Jews to recognize it as a Jewish symbol. Better to take them an image of the seven-branched *menorah* (candelabrum), a much more ancient and legitimate Jewish symbol. This *menorah* is discussed in detail in the Torah, was used in the Temples in Jerusalem, is featured on the Arch of Titus in Rome, is utilized to this day as a Jewish architectural and design motif, and was chosen as the official symbol of the State of Israel.



## Join The Sino-Judaic Institute

The Sino-Judaic Institute was founded on June 27, 1985, in Palo Alto, California, by an international group of Jewish scholars and activists. The purpose of the Institute is to work with the Chinese Government and the Kaifeng Jews in the study and preservation of Chinese Jewish life, culture and artifacts.

At this initial meeting, the Institute adopted the following goals and purposes:

- 1) To support the establishment of a Judaica section in the new Kaifeng museum.
- 2) To assist and promote scholarship and research regarding the history of, contacts with, and the contemporary experience of the Chinese Jews.
- 3) To serve as a briefing and information center for those interested in the subject and for travelers to Kaifeng.
- 4) To publish information and scholarly material on the Jews of China.
- 5) To promote friendship with and understanding of the Jews of China.
- 6) To develop close cooperation with Chinese and Jewish groups on matters of mutual interest.

*Membership in the Institute is open and we cordially invite you to join in supporting our endeavor, the first such effort since 1924. Our annual dues structure is as follows:*

Senior citizens and students	\$20	Corporate/organizational	\$ 250
Regular membership	\$50	Benefactor	\$1,000

I wish to become a member of the Sino-Judaic Institute and to receive Points East. Enclosed is my cheque for \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

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Mail to the Sino-Judaic Institute, 3197 Louis Rd., Palo Alto, CA 94303



# POINTS EAST

An occasional publication of The Sino-Judaic Institute

VOL. I, NO. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1986

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS ED CHAO'S SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

By Ed Chao

\* January 1985. I stepped into the locker room of my regular work-out gym. In one corner there sat a young man with a blue yarmulka (Jewish head-covering). I approached him and said, "I like your yarmulka. I am delighted to see someone like you here in California. I am a Kaifeng Jew." "I'm surprised," he responded, "but, yes, I have heard of the Kaifeng Jews. My name is Howard Epstein." Mr. Epstein passed me his business card and told me to come to his house for Shabbath dinner one night. I can't quite believe he accepted me as a Jew.

\* Five days later. A gentleman by the name of Leo Gabow called me and said that he had been to Kaifeng and that he had things to show me. The next day Mr. Gabow came to see me with a photo album. He showed me pictures of the Kaifeng Jews, including a fellow by the last name of Chao. I was speechless for a while and asked myself if this was a dream, for my life-long dream is to go back to Kaifeng to search for my roots. But I knew I wasn't dreaming.

My name is Edward Chao. I was born in 1952 in Laos, the third of four children in the Chao family, the first son of the two sons. My father was an Air America pilot who was born and raised right outside of Kaifeng. He looked very different from other Chinese. I recall that while I was still a young boy my sister Alice said she had read a book by Pearl Buck concerning the Jewish settlement in Kaifeng which, due to intermarriage, later disappeared. Alice highly suspected that Dad was the descendant of these Jews.

We decided to ask Mom if she ever had met our Grandma and what she looked like. Mother said she had black hair, a very light complexion, and looked like a foreigner with bound feet.

One afternoon, while Dad was home, my sister Alice asked Dad why

he looked so different. He replied, "Because I am very handsome." No further questions were asked by us because Dad was a very private man. He never said much about his past. All we knew was that he joined the Nationalist Chinese Air Force during the Japanese occupation of China and that he was trained in Arizona as an Air Force officer. My uncle, my father's brother, took the opposite route. He became a member of the Communist Party, was a graduate of Yen-an (Mao's famous homebase), and later worked for the railway system in Beijing and Dongbei. Unfortunately we totally have lost contact with him and his family. The issues that divided my Dad and my uncle belong to the past. I feel we are one family and want very much to visit China and especially Kaifeng.

In 1958 we moved to Bangkok, Thailand. My father often had said he wanted to give us a good education, especially in English, so all of us would make a good life in America some day. He sent all four of us to the Holy Redeemer school in Bangkok, for that was the only English school available at that time. There I was taught English and the New Testament, about the Catholic religion and about Jesus Christ. But I felt really uncomfortable about going to Mass every morning and eating fish for lunch every Friday.

A few years later, in 1964, we moved back to Laos where my father started his own commercial airline. Then, in 1965, we four kids and Mom were sent to Hong Kong to continue our education while Dad worked very hard in Laos. We only got to see him once every six months or so. Two years later, in 1967, my father was reported missing during a flight somewhere over Vietnam. We later learned he was working for the CIA. After that we moved to Taiwan. There I finished my high school.

In 1973, mother started to send us, one at a time, to Hawaii to pursue college educations. First my sister Alice went, then me. As soon as I landed in Hawaii I was anxious to meet other

(continued on page 5)

## WESTERNERS WRITE Carl Alpert Visits China on a Tour Organized in Israel

Reprinted from The Jerusalem Post  
Wednesday, March 19, 1986

NOW THAT Israelis have already swarmed through most of the popular tourist sites of Europe and the U.S., their eyes are turning to the Far East.

We were privileged to be a member of one of the first organized tours from Israel. Many of our group carried Israel passports, which were courteously honoured by the Chinese authorities. There were no problems in procuring the necessary visas. In China we made no effort to hide our identity, and at times our group marched through tourist sites behind a small flag of Israel. Those of our party who wore skullcaps attracted attention only from North America or Latin American tourists who identified the "uniform" and came up to us with excited greetings of "Shalom."

Nothing that members of our group did, including putting on *tefillin* and praying in public places, created any real excitement. The Chinese have become accustomed to the fact that all Westerners do strange things. In our case, Shabbat candles were lit in the privacy of our rooms, and we were spared the experience of one American traveller who told what happened when he and his wife lit their candles at their dinner table in the hotel. The waiters held a quick conference and then, in order to please, marched around the surprised couple singing "Happy Birthday!"

Three weeks in China, by bus and by boat, by plane and by train as well as on foot. At all times we felt perfectly free from any kind of surveillance or limitations to which visitors to the U.S.S.R. are said to be subjected.

We had ample opportunity to observe, discuss with people and ponder many fascinating aspects of China today. But as Israelis and Jews we had a perspective of our own. For one thing,

(continued on page 6)

**From the Editor:**

As promised, this issue of *Points East* features a number of articles on European Jewish sites in China. This "new" subject reflects the Sino-Judaic Institute's decision to study this aspect of Chinese Jewish life as well as that of the Kaifeng Jews. The two subjects complement each other: at various points in time, the European Jewish communities, and that of Shanghai in particular, reached out to the Kaifeng community in an effort to assist in its preservation.

One point emerges from these articles that clearly warrants some attention. We lack specific information on what sites exist in which cities, and directions to visit each. To compile this data would be of great benefit to both scholars and tourists alike.

Also in this issue are two intriguing articles on exotic communities related to the Kaifeng Jews, one by our own Leo Gabow on the Jews of Manipur, the other by Lindsey Shanson on the Jews of Tiddim, Burma.

Lastly, a call for the submission of articles to this office for publication in *Points East*. Our next issue will come out in December, so put pen to paper or fingers to keyboard, and send us that article you've put off writing.

Anson Laytner

**Points East:**

An Occasional Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute

Anson Laytner, Editor

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**IN THE FIELD**

Articles of a scholarly nature are requested for the SJI's new academic journal *Sino-Judaica*. Submissions should be sent together with a stamped, addressed, return envelope to Prof. Al Dien, 232 Lexington Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Mr. Chen Libo, head of the China International Travel Service, Kaifeng Sub-branch, is leading a delegation on a business tour of the United States at the invitation of the Sino-Judaic Institute and will visit SJI chapters in various cities on his itinerary.

Speaking of chapters: If you are interested in forming an SJI chapter in your community, please contact Leo Gabow, 3197 Louis Road, Palo Alto, CA 94303 for the names of other SJI members in your area.

Rabbi Marvin Tokayer, Dr. Fred Kaplan, Prof. Andrew Plaks and Dennis Leventhal have been elected to the SJI Board.

SJI, through the efforts of Prof. Andrew Plaks and Wendy Abraham, is attempting to arrange for the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati to send copies of the Chinese-Hebrew Memorial Book as gifts on permanent loan to Prof. Wang Yisha, curator of the Kaifeng Museum. HUC is also exploring ways by which to copy its collection of rubbings from Kaifeng to send to that city's Museum as well.

Lady Jakobovits, wife of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, will visit China on a kosher tour in November. Included on her itinerary are visits to Jewish sites in Kaifeng, Shanghai and Hong Kong. The tour will be welcomed by the All China Women's Federation, a state body.

The distinguished Chinese scholar, Gao Wangzhi, has been made an honorary member of SJI. Prof. Gao was born in Shanghai in 1927. He is a graduate of Qinghua University in Beijing, where he specialized in Western Languages and Literature. He has served as Secretary General and Director of Christian Studies in the Institute for Research in World Religions, and as a member of the Academic Council of World Religions. He is presently professor of religious studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. In accepting his membership, Prof. Gao wrote: "I am much honored by your offering of an honorary membership . . . Surely I accept it. Thank you very much."

SJI is playing an integral role in developing the program for a symposium sponsored by the University of San Francisco and the Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History.

Featured speakers include SJI Board member Prof. Donald Daniel Leslie and SJI honorary member Prof. Gao Wangzhi. The symposium, entitled "Culture, China and the Jews," is scheduled for December 5-7, 1986 and will take place in San Francisco.

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

May 19, 1986

The Editor — Points East:

I recently learned of your existence and was fascinated to hear more about your Institute. Being one of the few rabbis "in the neighborhood" to China, I would be interested in possibly becoming involved in your efforts and would like to know if I can be of any assistance.

Rabbi Michael J. Schudrich  
Jewish Community of Japan  
8-8, Hiroo 3-Chome, Shibuya-Ku  
Tokyo, 150, Japan

June 22, 1986

To the Editor:

I wish to congratulate you upon the inauguration of the Sino-Judaic Institute.

The Ben-Zvi Institute has about twenty books on Jews in China, including bibliographies.

We will be pleased to collaborate with your Institute.

Ben-Zvi Institute for  
the Study of Jewish  
Communities in the East  
Jerusalem, Israel

**CHINA TO SEND LEADING SCHOLAR TO THE U.S. TO STUDY JEWISH HISTORY**

By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, Aug. 7 (JTA) -- The People's Republic of China has agreed to send one of their prominent scholars on Christianity and Judaism to the United States early next year to study modern Jewish history.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, an interfaith group, who just returned from a visit to China, told a press conference at the Overseas Press Club here Thursday that the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has accepted an invitation by the Foundation to send Prof. Gao Wangzhi to undertake this task. The professor is China's leading authority on Christianity and Judaism, Schneier said.

Schneier, who led an interfaith delegation to China which included the Rev. Vincent O'Keefe, former president of Fordham University, and Dr.

At the Ju Shi Lin Restaurant in Beijing we enjoyed a hearty and tasty meal. After the last dish and the last bottle of beer, one of the more strictly observant members of our party picked up a menu which had an English translation -- and turned pale. On the list he found such items as saute shredded eel, sweet and sour pork chops, fried shrimp balls, turtle with brown sauce, fried sausage with sugar, saute crab flour and others. He was ready to sink through the floor and regurgitate on the spot. Urged to read further, he found an explanation that all ingredients were exclusively vegetarian, and the foods were made to resemble "the real thing."

AS OUR BUS rolled through the Chinese countryside, one of our group put a cassette of Israel songs in the bus tape recorder, and we rode along by the rice paddies to the music of *Hevenu Shalom Aleichem, Jerusalem of Gold* and *Yibbaneh Hamikdash* being played in these precincts for the first time in two thousand years.

During our trip we heard a rendition of *Hava Nagila* in Chinese, and acquired a cassette with that unique number.

We were all interested in Chinese traditional medicine, and a number of the highly educated Chinese intellectuals to whom we spoke, including American-trained physicians, indicated their belief in many of these practices.

During our curious survey of medicaments on the shelves of several pharmacies we found packages labelled "Essence of Chicken," prescribed as a general cure-all. Could this have a distant relationship with the traditional Jewish cure-all, chicken-soup?

**A VISIT TO SHANGHAI**

By Rabbi Arnold Mark Belzer

Our group of 10 arrived in Shanghai on a Friday morning. I booked a conference room for a Friday evening Kaballat Shabbat service and posted a notice on the bulletin board of the Shanghai Hotel inviting all those who wish to join us. Our service was attended by members of our group and others, including a very curious group of Chinese staff members of the Hotel who watched from the door. It was a very emotional service in that all of us felt the significance of being in Shanghai, a place which had once had a thriving Western Jewish community, a city which had a number of synagogues and flourishing Jewish institutions but was now virtually Judenrein (except,

of course, for the many Jewish tourists and business people). As part of the service, we read from the writings of Dr. J. Preuss of Shanghai who had written a manuscript about the Jews of Kaifeng which was published by the Museum Haaretz in 1961.

It was my experience that a very significant percentage of American and Canadian tourists in China were Jewish. Many of the guides that we encountered indicated that they are regularly asked by these Jewish tourists about Jews and Judaism in China. Obviously, aside from the very knowledgeable guides in Kaifeng, the majority of the guides know nothing whatsoever of either the presence of Western Jews in China prior to 1948 or the story of the Jews of Kaifeng. We sought out the synagogue on 500 Xian Road and were taken by our guide to what was supposedly the former Sassoon Synagogue. The building we saw had much scaffolding around it. We went inside and found it broken up into a warren of rooms, but I discovered absolutely no sign, whether in architectural feature or an indentation where a mezuzah might have been that the building actually had been a synagogue. It would be most helpful for us in the future to have a more exact description of what to expect of the site of the former Sassoon Synagogue and any other Jewish sites from the period of Jewish settlement in Shanghai.

**THE AFFAIR OF THE STONE MENORAH**

(continued from page 7)

were able to convince him that their call was a friendly one, a mere attempt to save the stone, and in no way a form of protest or complaint.

At that point the meeting became more relaxed. The professors found their hosts extremely cordial and helpful. Although the Chinese did not want the stone removed from Shanghai, they assured the professors that it would be preserved for eventual display. What started out as a half-hour appointment wound up as a meeting of nearly two hours, characterized by expressions of mutual good will and affirmations of Chinese-American friendship. There was a presentation of gifts to the professors as they departed.

The professors thanked the consulate general for its role in making the meeting possible, and hoped that at some future date Jewish visitors to

Shanghai -- perhaps former refugees like their parents -- would be able to see the stone in a museum here.

We have now been informed that the stone is in the hands of the Shanghai Commission for the Preservation of Relics, in the Shanghai Museum building. Perhaps one day it will be displayed in a museum in Shanghai which specializes in the city's history.

**FUNDS NEEDED**

Discrete Inquiries Invited

The Sino-Judaic Institute is engaged in a number of projects which it can only accomplish if it receives significant financial assistance. "What sort of projects?" you ask. Tele-casting the miniseries *Holocaust* on Chinese television, for one. Bringing a museum exhibit, like the "Jews of Kaifeng" exhibit that is currently touring the United States, to China as well, eventually to become a permanent exhibit in Kaifeng, for another. Or possibly producing a film documentary on the Kaifeng Jews, for a third. Even publishing *Points East* costs over \$800 per issue.

We are doing some very innovative work in a very unique field. If you can be of assistance in some way please contact us. We'd love to hear from you and remember, we are fully tax deductible. Be an angel and call us.

**THE STAR OF DAVID: NOT A JEWISH SYMBOL**

By Rabbi Anson Laytner

In the second issue of *Points East*, Wendy Abraham noted in her article that the Kaifeng Jews whom she met did not identify the Star of David as a Jewish symbol. For their sake and for the sake of all travellers to Kaifeng, I would like to paraphrase the *Encyclopedia Judaica* on the use of the hexagram as a Jewish symbol.

The Star of David, the Magen David (literally, the Shield of David), is a very ancient decorative motif common in much of the ancient world, from India to Britain and from Mesopotamia to the Iberian Peninsula. The oldest Jewish artifact bearing this motif dates from the 7th century B.C.E. In the synagogue of Capernaum (2nd or 3rd century C.E.),

## T. K. TONG VISITS CHINA IN SEARCH OF JEWISH SITES

By Prof. T. K. Tong

Just a brief note from Manchuria, PRC, to report that I have found an abandoned synagogue, a Jewish hospital and a Jewish bank in the city of Harbin. The old buildings are occupied now by some government offices. According to the local people, some Chinese citizens of Jewish descent may be still living in the city area. I've entrusted the searching work to some trained historians from the Harbin Normal University . . .

This is my last report from China. Under the encouragement and support from President Harleston and faculty members of CCNY I've visited a number of leading universities and historians in China . . . I've been surprised by my discovery of what the former Jews have left in China for the past thousand years.

Besides the Chinese Jews long discovered in the city of Kaifeng, for instance, there are similar discoveries elsewhere. A large group, misidentified as the "Blue Cap Moslems" have been found in North West China. More than 19 centers in the PRC have been reported.

In addition to what I've found at Harbin, Jewish centers have been found at Qingdao. Nine centers were reported in Shanghai . . . I visited a few of them including a remarkable synagogue in the former French concession in Shanghai, now being rebuilt and used as an auditorium for a College of Education Music School. A few other Jewish centers also impressed me. They are used for various purposes, but according to official Chinese information, these abandoned Jewish properties are only being "temporarily managed" by the Chinese government, and can be claimed by the "original owner(s)".

Old Jewish newspapers and other archives are preserved in good condition and can be easily reproduced. I also visited Prof. Sam Ginsburg who has become a Chinese citizen and married a Chinese woman. They have three handsome half Chinese - or Sino-Judaic - children. The youngest one, a girl, is hoping to advance her higher education in the U.S.

After all, my discovery is indeed sensational and exciting. I've rounded

up nearly all the Sino-Judaic experts in China. We all agreed to work together in the future.

## TIANJIN'S SYNAGOGUE

By Wendy Abraham

Opposite Kissling's Russian Restaurant, on Shengli Lu (Victory Road) in Tianjin, stands a most curious building. Upon close inspection one can make out a menorah carved into its facade, as well as clearly visible Stars of David across the front gates.

I discovered this building during the summer of '81 on one of my many solitary jaunts into town while a student at Nankai University (Zhou Enlai's alma mater). Most tourists in China do not visit the industrial city of Tianjin -- one of China's three municipalities (Beijing and Shanghai are the other two). But there is no difficulty finding the place should one take the time to do so.

When I approached the former synagogue and attempted to gain entrance, I was rebuffed with the excuse that it was presently "under construction". It did not look as if it were undergoing any construction at all, however, as the building was in quite a state of disrepair with broken windows and an overgrown lawn. I was told it was now a warehouse, but it looked to me as if people were actually living inside. (This was not surprising, since at the time housing for many people, who were given all sorts of temporary shelter after the devastating earthquake of 1976 in neighboring Tangshan, had still not been completed.)

Undaunted, I was determined to at least discover the history of this synagogue. A curious story emerged. According to Professor Pang Bingjun of Nankai University, who grew up in this area, the synagogue was built by and for the Russian Jews who came to Tianjin in the 1920s and 30s. They later returned to Russia, leaving behind this synagogue without caretaker or congregant. It remains standing on Victory Road, looking much as it did then, but in a state of disrepair.

Six months ago, while on the train from Canton to Beijing during my fifth trip to China, I met a young man from Tianjin. He was familiar with the synagogue, and claimed to know that the Jews could have it back any time. He said it was in a state of disrepair because the government did not have the funds to renovate or refurbish it. This man has since written to me, and



has sent new photos of the synagogue, as well as of the old Jewish Club in Tianjin—now the People's Art Museum.

Perhaps future visitors to Tianjin can locate the synagogue and obtain permission to enter its grounds. Any bits of Judaica still left inside would be worth noting and sharing with the Institute, so that yet another facet of the Jewish experience in China may come to light.

## THE AFFAIR OF THE STONE MENORAH

Consulate General Seeks to Preserve Jewish Relic in Shanghai

By Tess Johnston

Reprinted from *Life in the Foreign Service*,  
Newsletter of the U.S. Dept. of State,  
January, 1986

*The author has been serving since 1981 as secretary to the consul general. She set up the consulate general's archives and, in her spare time, does historical research to supplement the material.*

Shanghai has always represented many things to many people: The Paris of the Orient, the gateway to China, the "wickedest" city in the East. (A 19th-century preacher once said that, if Shanghai were allowed to continue, God owed an apology to Sodom and Gomorrah.) But it also has a long history of racial tolerance, and has served as a home or way station for individuals of every race, color and creed. Among them have been Jews.

Our consulate general is often asked for assistance by former residents of Shanghai who are seeking information on homes and businesses they left in the early 1950s, after the Communist takeover. In the course of my research I had learned quite a bit about the Jewish community here and its last synagogue, Beth Aharon.

Pictures indicate the synagogue was most impressive. It was three stories high, including the massive dome. There was a circular stained-glass window over the wide, arched entrance. Immediately above the entranceway was the Star of David, and the door was flanked by two large menorahs, all carved in the granite facing. (The menorah is a candelabrum with seven branches; it is one of the symbols of Judaism.)

### No longer a synagogue

By the time I first saw the synagogue in 1981, it had lost all its former splendor. A green plastic roof covered the entranceway, blocking out the Star of David. The dome was intact, but the arched doorway was truncated, and only the two carved menorahs revealed that it had once been a religious edifice. It occupied a choice site on the once elegant and prestigious avenue running along the waterfront. Although the building now housed a printing press, it was the only Jewish religious building we knew to be relatively intact, so we always referred inquirers to that address.

When I received a call one day from

two visiting professors (one of whose parents had fled the holocaust via Shanghai), I started to tell them about Beth Aharon -- only to be told that it was at that very moment being torn down. The professors had gone to see the synagogue and discovered only a heap of rubble and the right-hand side of the front entrance. However, one stone carved with the menorah survived. Could we help them save it?

This stone could be of historical importance to world Jewry. If preserved, it could perhaps serve as a monument to Shanghai's role as safe haven for the thousands of Jewish refugees who had passed through here.

### Place of refuge

Shanghai had a great advantage for those seeking a haven. It was composed of an international settlement and a French concession and, technically, wasn't part of China proper. Thus, it required no visas or entry papers, and this makes it one of the most accessible destinations for Jews fleeing Europe. By 1936 there were three synagogues in Shanghai: Ohel Moishe, Ohel Rachel and Beth Aharon. The invading Japanese didn't concern themselves with religious services held in the concession or the settlement, so the synagogues continued services there all during the war.

By the late 1940s, the synagogues had been sold by the Jewish community and the contents removed. With the dwindling of the Jewish population, there was no longer a need for large synagogues. Instead, proceeds from the sale of the properties were used to set up "shelter houses" for Jews awaiting departure, for the old, the sick, or those with no immediate prospects for resettlement. By the mid-1960s the last of the Jews had been resettled, and the shelter houses were closed down.

### Professors seek stone

The professors' appeal galvanized us into action. We decided to try to locate the current tenant (all land in China is now owned by the state) and propose that the professors be allowed to remove the stone to the United States. There it would be set up in some Jewish community as a memorial. If only we could find the proper authorities to appeal to!

The tricky part was that the professors were leaving on Sunday morning, and it was now Thursday afternoon. Shanghai has 12 million inhabitants. It isn't an easy place to locate anyone in the best of times, and its enormous bureaucracy certainly doesn't lend itself to fast moves.

Turning to Wu Gongzhan, one of our local Chinese employees in the press and cultural section, I dumped the problem on him, with little hope of being able to accomplish anything in such a short time. I was, therefore, surprised to receive a call the next morning saying that Mr. Wu had been able to locate the tenant, which turned out to be one of the most prestigious newspapers in Shanghai. The site was being demolished to build a larger press and office building for the newspaper.

### Appointment set

We set up an appointment for the professors to meet with an editor of the newspaper on Saturday afternoon at 3. I asked Mr. Wu to brief the editor thoroughly on the purpose of the call. At the rate the building was being demolished, there might not be anything left by Saturday afternoon.

I myself had an appointment downtown on Saturday, so I made a swing by the site about 3:30. With great relief, I noted that the stone was intact. In fact, it wasn't only intact, but it was being carefully loaded onto a large flatbed truck. It was much larger than I had remembered: a mass of granite more than four feet square. It must have weighed several tons. I eyed it speculatively, as I had volunteered to keep the stone in my garage and arrange shipment myself if all else failed. Now I wasn't even sure the garage would hold it.

At about 5 that evening I received an ecstatic telephone call from the professors. They had gone past the site at about 2:45 on the way to their appointment and had seen a truck with a crane being placed into position to lift the stone. As they stood watching, an English-speaking reporter from the newspaper came up to them and offered to escort them to the newspaper editor's office via the back door, which adjoined the demolition site. There they were greeted not only by the editor, but by the newspaper's vice editor-in-chief and vice president, Mr. Zhang, who was also the vice president of the Shanghai Institute of Journalism. Mr. Zhang immediately assured them that it had always been the government's intention to preserve the stone menorah. He also informed them that the synagogue hadn't been used for services for many years, and that the Chinese had no thought of desecrating it. He returned to this point repeatedly until the professors

(continued on page 9)

## 'LOST TRIBE' FOUND IN BURMA

By Lindsey Shanson

Reprinted from the Jewish Chronicle  
August 29, 1986

A lost tribe of 52 Burmese Jews has been discovered by the "JC" living in a remote jungle outpost of Burma, some 450 miles from the capital, Rangoon.

The first clue to their existence arrived unexpectedly a few weeks ago when a letter dropped on to the desk of Israel's Ambassador to Burma, Itiel Pan. It carried a plea for religious books, written with a clarity of style that demonstrated an English education, and signed by Lian Tual, "Secretary of the Community of Judaism, Tiddim." By chance, I was with the Ambassador at the time.

Since then I have been able to make contact with Lian Tual. He confirms that there are 52 Jews surviving as one community, but in desperate poverty.

That they are determined to practise their faith and cling to their Jewish roots in such imperfect and isolated terrain is remarkable, particularly when one recalls that the handful of Burmese Jews (18) surviving in Rangoon, with only singular exception, are equally determined to abandon their heritage (as reported in the "JC" in May). The only synagogue in Burma is in Rangoon, too distant and hazardous a trip to be undertaken lightly.

Lian Tual, 70, is secretary of a community that appears from their photograph to comprise a handful of elderly, and a multitude of children. Realising they were on the brink of extinction, they doubtless embarked upon a programme of multiplication.

"We are few in number, but 52 in all," says Lian. "Since February our leader, Caleb, is sick in his bed. When he recovers from illness, all of us will have barmitzvah."

He explains that they originated from Churachanpur, in Manipur State, north-east India, and that about half of them converted to Judaism in India, though what prompted their mass devotion, and by what religious authority, is unclear. Equally, it seems by implication that the remainder are Jews by birthright.

Of no doubt, however, is the fact that India was home to a sizeable Sephardi community before they dispersed widely during the post-war years. That this "lost tribe" should

have wandered into that part of Burma was a rather unfortunate quirk of fate for them, but highly credible.

It is known that there were Burmese Jews living in India until quite recently. Their lineage can be traced to the lost tribe of Menashe, predominantly from Bombay and Calcutta. But in all probability the Jews of Tiddim are remnants of the tribe of Mazourah, from Manipur, near the Chinese border, and it is plausible that they migrated there from Kaifeng in central China centuries before.

Like those in the photo, the Jews of the tribe of Mazourah wore kippot, and observed the mitzvot. Last year, Rabbi Menahem Hacohen, MK, met some in India, accepted their Jewish status and tried to persuade them to make aliya.

Equally intriguing, apart from the obvious conjecture as to the present extent of their religious practices, dietary observance and circumcision, is the possibility of a connection between the location of Lian Tual's tribe and that famous gentile friend of the Jewish people, the fanatical Zionist, Orde Wingate.

Unlike the Falashas of Ethiopia, some of whom made their way to Burma, the Jews of Tiddim are not threatened by a hostile government, nor do we yet know if they would contemplate aliya if the opportunities were possible.

The Socialist Republic of Burma does not permit its citizens to leave the country at will, though the friendly relationship between the governments of Israel and Burma should be valuable if such a course became possible.

Meanwhile, we must heed Lian Tual's petition. He begs for "badly needed prayer books, and song books with tonic solfa," and for a typewriter. "We are too poor to buy even one," he repeats, and, as the photograph illustrates, with obvious understatement.

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### Carl Alpert Visits China on a Tour Organized in Israel

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had been expropriated.

The third synagogue, Beth Aharon, had been three storeys high, with a massive dome and a door flanked by two large menorahs carved into the granite facing. The building was torn down a few years ago, but as a result of Ms. Johnston's intervention the

government saved one of the massive granite blocks, more than four feet square, with a menorah carved into it. It will one day be put on exhibition.

I also find in my files a copy of a Yiddish paper, *Unser Welt*, published in Shanghai in 1946, with news of the local refugee community and reports from the Jewish world. Lazar Cohen, Moshe Elbaum and Jacob Fishman are listed as editors.

IT WAS UNDERSTOOD that there would be opportunity for those of our group who wished to do so, to keep kosher, and what seemed like an insoluble problem turned out to be not so difficult after all.

At Guilin we noted from the guidebook that the region was famous for such culinary delicacies as fried snake, roast rat or dog, and indeed we did see numerous snakes and plump rats displayed in the food markets. We spread the news, to the consternation of the non-kosher, carnivorous members of our group.

Our own kashrut problem was solved in several ways. For one, we brought along aluminum-foil-wrapped meat meals, hermetically sealed and requiring no refrigeration, produced by Guttman Caterers of Zurich. These were heated in the hotel kitchens, and we ate them like the kosher meals served on air lines.

Other meals were in vegetarian restaurants, especially Buddhist restaurants, which use no meat products of any kind in the preparation of their foods. Among the delicacies ordered there were such items as stewed mushrooms with pecans or walnuts, fried bamboo fungus with asparagus, mushrooms with black moss, fried stuffed white fungus -- all exceptionally delicious. And of course, there was always plenty of plain, steamed rice.

In other restaurants our trip escort, Luc Stenger, of France, who specializes in kosher tours, supervised the preparation of vegetables in the kitchen, wrapping them in heavy-duty aluminum foil, brought along for the purpose. The package was then steamed in the kitchen, and served to us at the table from the foil packing. In various restaurants our menus also included boiled pigeon eggs, water chestnuts, bean curd (tofu), cauliflower, bamboo sprouts, cooked sea weed, champignons, Chinese mushrooms and other permissible items.

Still another source of food was the emergency supply brought along from Israel. Tangerines, bananas, apples and other fruit were available from street vendors.

David Randolph, senior minister of Christ Church United Methodist in Manhattan, also reported that the Institute of History of the Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai has agreed to undertake a research study into the history of the 25,000 European Jews who found refuge in Shanghai from Nazi persecution during World War II.

Schneier, who is also the spiritual leader of Park East Synagogue in Manhattan, said that the Chinese Academy of Sciences will be sent books on the history and philosophy of major religious denominations in the U.S., and also on the Nazi Holocaust.

"A dramatic and positive shift" in the Beijing government's attitude toward organized religion is underway, Schneier asserted. He said that the American delegation met with Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian in Beijing as well as other officials.

According to Schneier, there are no Jews in today's China nor any "functioning synagogues."

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## THE JEWS OF MANIPUR

By Leo Gabow

In the State of Manipur in North-east India there is a tribe of Indians who refer to themselves as *The Tribal Jews of Manipur*. They have a Synagogue or headquarters (I do not know which), called Beith Shalom, and their full address is R.C. Road, New Bazaar, P. O. Churachandpur, 795128, Manipur, India. Their Chairman or President is called *Moshe Isaac*, and the claim is made that the tribe numbers about 1,000 souls.

They have published one pamphlet entitled *The Tribal Jews of the Far North East India*, and another pamphlet, *Tukbemsawn*, is presently being translated into English. This writer has a photocopy of *The Tribal Jews*, and Chairman *Moshe Isaac* has promised to send me a copy of *Tukbemsawn*, when translation into English is completed.

A member of Israel's Knesset has taken a strong interest in these Manipur Jews, and wants to determine if they are eligible for Aliyah. Unsettled conditions in this part of India makes visiting quite difficult. The Manipur Jews themselves declare that "We are neither to be neglected nor rejected by our brothers in Israel."

The Manipur Jews claim to be descended from the Tribe of Manasseh,

and were a part of the dispersion of the Jews by King Shalmanezar in 700 B.C.E.

According to their pamphlet, they observe the Sabbath, Passover, Shavuoth, Succot, Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, Simchas Torah, and Chanuka. They "sometimes" celebrate Israel Independence Day. They keep kosher and eschew pork. They face Jerusalem when they pray and they are "...known and called Messianic Jews." The pamphlet does not mention the ritual of circumcision nor does it make references to the Talmud.

Aside from the obvious interest this group engenders, their oral history is provocative and perhaps melodramatic. Whereas the Jews of Kaifeng note in their stele that they came to Kaifeng from T'ien-chu (which translates as India, but which may be referring to the Western Regions), the Manipur Jews claim to have come to Manipur from Kaifeng.

Their route was indeed circuitous. They traveled through Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush, finally arriving at the Hills of Tibet. From Tibet they made their way to China, settling in Kaifeng during the early Han Dynasty, (206 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.).

This time of Jewish arrival in Kaifeng is not acceptable to modern scholars, for it has been well-established that Jews settled in Kaifeng during the Sung Dynasty, (960-1279).

The pamphlet goes on to state that the Jews lived in Kaifeng between the years 200-300 C.E. The dates of their migration from Kaifeng to Manipur, as delineated in the pamphlet, seems beset with vagueness. It has the Jews in the "Kaifeng Valley" between the years 200-300 C.E., and in Indo-China between 600-700 C.E. 300 years are missing. We may deduce from other parts of the pamphlet that the Jews lived in caves in China, and became known as "cave-dwellers." In any case they fled to Indo-China for another 100 years, where again they suffered persecution and were forced to flee.

Between 800-900 C.E., they lived in Siam, and then on to Burma. Here they lived in the Chin Hills and were given the name "Luse," by the native Kachin Tribes. The pamphlet translates "Luse" as "Descendants of the Ten Tribes."

A variation of this theme occurs in James George Scott's book, *Burma*. The Karenn Tribe of Burma had no written language and did not adopt Buddhism. They did however, have an account of the Flood, and according

to Scott, made references to Adam and Eve as the parents of mankind. Their oral history claims China as their place of origin and some Westerners have inevitably linked them with The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. No one to my knowledge, has suggested a relationship between the Manipur Jews and the Karenn Tribes of Burma.

In any case they finally arrived in Manipur, India in the early 19th century (again the pamphlet is quite vague on this point) after a stay of some 400 or 500 years in Burma.

It is remarkable, having lost all of their literature and prayer books; and for the most part having forgotten all of their heritage, they should now so passionately seize on a Jewish identity. It is strange that they had not been totally assimilated into the various cultures they had lingered in, or the indigenous culture of Manipur. Or if indeed they had been assimilated, they should now return to a long-forgotten heritage, assuming of course that their oral history contains some validity.

As of December, 1984, the Jewish Agency in Bombay was not convinced of the authenticity of the Manipur Jews, but nevertheless sent them prayer books, Talits and other religious materials. Their evaluation of the Manipur Jews, to the best of my knowledge, has not been altered.

According to Doctor Johanna Spector, "Two Manipur Jews came to Israel, were converted, attended Yeshivot and returned to Manipur." Doctor Spector met one of them and described him as "... a very intelligent young man from a prosperous family."

Doctor Spector advises that there are no authoritative sources on the Manipur Jews and "no serious research has been done." She writes that there are several thousand Jews in Manipur who pray in Synagogues. These Jews have been converted and taught Judaism by Jewish visitors. However, she affirms, there are villagers in Manipur, about whom "hardly anything is known ... and they have not been exposed to outside influences," but who nevertheless cling to their Judaism. She also wonders why they persist in calling themselves Jews, and takes more than an academic interest in their memories and customs.

While the above narrative is incomplete and perhaps inaccurate in some respects, it is suggested that readers with information on the Manipur Jews share this information with *Points East*.

## ED CHAO'S SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

(continued from page 1)

Jews. Maybe I could find out more about my family. Through my college, I found out about Emmanuel synagogue. One Saturday morning I stepped into the synagogue. I went directly to Rabbi Julius Nodel and identified myself as a Chinese Jew. He seemed puzzled and asked me if I knew any of the Hebrew names of my ancestors. I really didn't know. A few days later I returned and went to see the man in charge of Jewish education, a Mr. Bender. To my surprise he knew about the Jewish settlement in Kaifeng, that once there was a synagogue which was destroyed by flood, that the Torah had been washed away and that the Jews who lived there duplicated one according to their memory. Pieces of this Torah are here in America. Then I started to attend the Friday night services (which I fairly enjoyed) and many of the lectures, just to learn more about my religion.

In 1975, my father's best friend, Captain H. Y. Sheuh, told me the facts about my ancestry. He was also born and raised in the province of Henan and attended high school with both of my parents. He said that he and my father were like brothers and that it was his obligation to let me know more about my father. He said my family was a Jewish family and even told me a brief history about the Kaifeng Jews, including much which confirmed what Mr. Bender had told me. He even mentioned that there was another Kaifeng Jew by the last name of Chang who was in Dad's Air Force training class in the U.S. After that I started to recall the rituals in our family such as why we never ate pork or shellfish or why my father was so insistent to have my brother and me circumcised when I was twelve and my brother seven. I even remember that he used to fast. I thought those practices were for health reasons. I too fasted every weekend at the end of the month thinking it would help keep me clean. Now I know why we did these things.

Ever since I started attending services at Emmanuel I have worn the Star of David. People often ask me why. I reply, "Because I am Jewish." Some people laugh and think I am crazy. I used to get upset and respond, "Would you lie about your ancestors?" Now I say, "Go to the library and read the book *Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries*, by Michael Pollak."

In 1980 I moved to the San Francisco area where I worked as a waiter in a Chinese restaurant and studied Judaism at Temple Beth Am in Los Altos. In 1986 I moved to Seattle. Eventually I hope to bring the rest of my family here from Hawaii.

I would like to express my special thanks to Mr. Leo Gabow, Mr. Michael Pollak, Prof. Al Dien, Rabbi Anson Laytner, Rabbi Joshua Stampfer, and all the hard-working people of the Sino-Judaic Institute, for establishing this Institute out of love and care for the orphans of the Jews, the Kaifeng Jews. Perhaps our culture in China will revive once again.

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### AN INTERVIEW WITH EDWARD CHAO: A CHINESE JEW

By Nan Hohenstein

The third of four children, Edward Chao was born October 11, 1952 in Vientiane, Laos, where his family had moved in 1947 from China. Because of his father's career as a commercial pilot, they moved frequently: to Bangkok, Thailand in 1958, back to Vientiane in 1964, and to Hong Kong in 1965. Upon his father's death in 1967, the family relocated to Taiwan. In 1973, Ed, his sister Alice, and his brother William, emigrated to Hawaii, where their mother and other sister joined them in 1978. Ed, who had attended Leeward Community College in Pearl City, Hawaii, came to San Francisco to live in 1980. His mother and the other children still live in Honolulu. (In 1986, Ed moved to Seattle.)

*Were your parents born in China?*

Both of them, yes, in the Henan province in central China. My father was born right outside Kaifeng; my mother in Hai Bai. They met at high school, near Kaifeng.

*Were they both Jewish?*

No, only my father was Jewish. My mother is Catholic.

*But you were raised as a Jew?*

No, I wasn't raised in either religion, really. In fact, my father never ever acknowledged to me that he was a Jew. But he did insist on certain practices in our life that I later found out were part of Jewish religious traditions and rituals. We never ate pork or shellfish and we threw out any eggs that had blood spots in them. Also, my father fasted and one time even went to a hotel so he wouldn't be distracted by the family. I thought it was for health reasons and because he was bothered by allergies.

*So how did you learn that he was a Jew?*

Very indirectly, really. First of all, my father looked very different from other Chinese we knew. He always laughed when we asked him about it -- saying it was just because he was handsome -- but my sister had read a book by Pearl Buck ("Peony") that told about the Jews of China and she was the one who called my attention to the possibility of him being a Chinese Jew. *Why was your father so evasive? Were Jews persecuted in China?*

No. China has always been very tolerant of its 'ethnics' whether they were of Manchurian, Tibetan, Mongolian origin or Moslem, Christian or Jewish religion. It still is. I think it is part of the Chinese nature to be tolerant. Daosim, not dissension, has been the guiding rule. But there is a certain social stigma attached to people of mixed blood, and I think maybe he had an inferiority complex. He was a very private person, and he always taught us never to reveal too much, so I never felt I could ask him directly.

*Did it ever occur to you that maybe you were romanticizing about your father?*

It sure did. But there were so many little clues and then one big one. *What was that?*

When my father took me and my brother William to the hospital and had us circumcised. I was 12 and my brother was 7. But even then he didn't tell us why. It was his best friend who told us it was because we were Jews. In fact, that friend told me a lot about the Kaifeng community of Jews, about the temple that was destroyed by a flood, about how the Jews came to be there.

*What was your reaction?*

Everything seemed to make sense then. I felt that I was like other wandering Jews, because we had lived in so many different countries, none of them our real homeland.

*Why did your father observe certain religious practices and not others, like formal worship?*

I'll never really know for sure but I think I've learned enough now to kind of guess. Number one, I really think he was an atheist who kept certain habits of his own upbringing. There are many Jews, and Moslems too, who still couldn't for the life of them swallow pork yet who have abandoned all belief in their religion.

As for worship, I've since learned that by 1850 or so, the Jews of Kaifeng

had lost almost all knowledge of the basics of their religion. They had no rabbi after 1810, no one who could read Hebrew, the language the Torah (Bible) is written in, and no one who remembered the prayers. They even put their Torah in the market with a sign offering a reward to anyone who could read it. No one could. So where would my father have learned the prayers, the holidays, anything really substantial?

*Did you know any other Jews or try to find some?*

Not until 1973 when I went to Hawaii. I walked into a synagogue one Saturday morning before services and introduced myself to the rabbi. I explained my background and how I knew really nothing about Judaism and how I wanted to know more. I was really a big surprise for him because I don't think he ever heard of Chinese Jews. So I went to the head of education at the temple, a Mr. Bender, who knew a tremendous amount about the Kaifeng Jews. He accepted me as a Jew and I started attending services every Friday night in Honolulu. I also started reading books about Judaism, including Michael Pollak's *Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries*, which gave me lots of answers, including where I got my family name. *Isn't Chao a fairly common Chinese name?*

Not for a Jew. Anyway, in China, the spelling was Zhao, not Chao, and that was a Mandarin name, a name of great honor, taken only with permission of the Emperor. According to certain records, the Jews who settled in Kaifeng all were permitted to adopt Chinese names during the early part of the Ming Dynasty (1420's) as a reward for one of them saving the life of a member of the royal family. Seven of those names, including mine, are still used by people from Kaifeng who consider themselves Jews, and some of them, including the Chaos, still live there.

*Have you tried to get in touch with them?*

Yes, just this past March I wrote to one of the Chao family in Kaifeng, but I haven't heard back yet. I got his name from Leo Gabow.

*Do you have any interest in going to Kaifeng yourself?*

Absolutely. Yes. It's my biggest dream to go there myself and see where my family came from, to see if I can discover my father's face in those of fellow Jews. I'd like to try to find my

father's brother and sister who were separated from us in the late 1940's. Most of all, I want to try to teach my fellow Chinese Jews the prayers, the customs, the rituals I am now learning. I would love to help them become real Jews again.

*Do your sisters and brothers feel the same way?*

I don't think so. I'm the one who feels the strongest about being Jewish, even going through official conversion so there can be no doubt. But, in the Chinese tradition more is required of the first born son and I am accepting the responsibility of being what my father felt he couldn't be -- a Jew, proud of my heritage. I even feel a strong need to visit Israel.

*Do you ever feel a conflict between being Chinese and Jewish?*

No. I know other people sometimes treat it, and me, as a joke. You know . . . "You don't look Jewish" . . . but I think the two cultures have a lot in common. There's an emphasis on education, family, children, the elders, distinct values. I've also noticed that the kinds of negative things that are said about Jews are the exact same things said about Chinese in this country, so we must be kindred spirits, right?

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### Carl Alpert Visits China on a Tour Organized in Israel

*(continued from page 1)*

we were impressed with the obvious full tolerance shown to minorities, those not of the ethnic Han stock.

Further, we looked for "Jewish experiences." The name of Israel did not at first meet with any understanding response from people to whom we spoke until it was established that we were from *Yi-sa-lia*. Then the faces of many would light up. We were identified as Jews, and at least two persons, on entirely different occasions, and in different cities, observed that Jews were "smart" people, and both cited the names of Einstein and Kissinger. The attendant at the art gallery in the Master of the Nets Garden at Suzhou, after learning that we came from *Yi-sa-lia*, exclaimed: "Oh, you are God's Chosen people!"

CHINESE JEWS? The story of the Jews of Kaifeng is by now well known. We passed through Kaifeng, but there was little point to stopping unless we wished to devote considerable time to research.

The Sino-Judaic Institute, recently

formed in the U.S., believes that about 160 families in Kaifeng can be identified as descendants of the Jews there, with perhaps another 200 families in Xian.

Individual descendants of the community have been located in the U.S. One, Richard Dorman-Ligh, today lives in Salt Lake City, where he is a member of the local synagogue. His name was originally Li, but the family added the "gh" when it emigrated to New York. Ligh traces his roots clearly to the community in Kaifeng, and, unlike most of the others of the now almost-vanished group, has chosen to practise Judaism.

Still another is 26-year-old Qu Yinan, now studying at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. As a child she had spent much time with her grandparents in Kaifeng, and still recalls how different their observances were from those of other Chinese people. Not until four years ago did she begin to realize what those differences were. Qi was "discovered" by Rabbi Joshua Stampfer, of Portland, Oregon, when he spent time in China doing research on Kaifeng's Jews.

Other Jewish connections in China were primarily in Shanghai, where Jews from Baghdad, Bombay and Cairo set up a flourishing community in the 19th century. The early community was quite active, dominated by such names as Sassoon, Kadoorie and Hardoon. In my youth I used to receive copies of the Zionist monthly magazine from there, *Israel's Messenger*, and corresponded with its editor, N.E.B. Ezra, until his death in the 1930s. I still have clippings and copies of the magazine in my files.

On this trip we were guests at the U.S. consulate in Shanghai. Tess Johnston, secretary to the consul-general, has made a study of the history of the Shanghai Jewish community, especially when it served as a refuge for European Jews preceding and during World War II. Three synagogues survived from the early days. One, Ohel Moshe, a desolate and abandoned building, which we were able to inspect only from the outside, seems to have been an impressive structure in the days of its glory. A second, Ohel Rachel, is a magnificent stone edifice, with a grand triangular roof over two Corinthian pillars. It is now a government office building and not open to the public. The Chinese officials were anxious to impress all that the several synagogue buildings had been legally sold when the community dwindled, and none

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