

“Die gute Unterhaltungsmusik”: Landscape, Refugee Cafés, and Sounds of “Little Vienna” in Wartime Shanghai

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“Landscape is not merely the world we see; it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world.”¹ So writes Denis Cosgrove in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, a work dating from 1984.² The potential of landscape, according to Cosgrove, is that it “incorporates far more than merely the visual and functional arrangement of natural and human phenomena.”³ Similarly, in *Landscape and Power*, published in 1994, W. J. T. Mitchell interrogates “not just what landscape ‘is’ or ‘means’ but what it does, how it works as a cultural practice.”⁴ And in a 2014 review of the existing literature, Yvonne Whelan notes that landscape “as an ideological and dynamic entity . . . pave[s] the way for a whole range of innovative readings of symbolic city spaces.”⁵ Spanning three decades, this sample of comments, however cursory, indicates a long-standing critical engagement with “landscape” beyond the palpable surface of the earth.⁶

Although my essay does not entail a theoretical inquiry into landscape, the remarks above serve as a prelude to deliver a crucial point: landscape is at once concrete and abstract. By extension, it can make a useful metaphor in music studies, and particularly, in historical analysis. As a metaphor, landscape allows a purchase on the peculiarity of military confinement, licensed refugee cafés, and the attendant sound worlds of *Unterhaltungsmusik* (entertainment music) in “Little Vienna” in wartime Shanghai.⁷ The area in question was a European and primarily an Austro-German Jewish refugee zone.⁸ Officially designated the Restricted Sector, it was the outcome of a decree issued by the authorities in Japanese-occupied Shanghai in February 1943. The decree was also an affirmation of the Axis alliance between Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy.⁹

In terms of examining café music in a segregated Little Vienna, "landscape" is arguably more compelling than "geography." The former suggests multiple ways or levels of interpretation. The latter implies a defined unit of analysis. In many ways, the Restricted Sector is more a nuanced landscape than a coherent geography. At once a patrolled ghetto and an urban quarter, it poses some striking if not jarring ambiguities. The Sector was located within Shanghai. The refugees in question, who had fled homes and businesses in Nazi-occupied Europe in the late 1930s, were not divorced from or transported out of the city. They were, however, forced into a rundown neighborhood that had long been accommodating poorer and deprived members of the city's Chinese and Russian populations. The area had seen havoc from the Sino-Japanese hostilities throughout the 1930s, notably the Battle of Shanghai, after which the Nationalist Government retreated to Chongqing in inland China.

Under military confinement, the refugees' liberties and movements were constrained. Everyday life was harsh, made all the more punishing in the depths of summer and winter. At the same time, the Restricted Sector was not a labor camp, still less an extermination camp. Ex-refugee Alfred Kohn describes it: "The Japanese were cruel, they were strict . . . [though they] did not believe in this business that a German who was a Catholic or Protestant is different from a German or an Austrian who's a Jew, and that was our luck. Otherwise we'd all be dead."¹⁰ Steve Hochstadt observes that the Japanese attitude toward the Jews was an ambivalent one. The decree specifically targeted certain groups of European refugees who arrived in Shanghai in or after 1937. It did not materially affect the existing Baghdadi and Ashkenazi Jewish communities in the city.¹¹ Though the area was occasionally likened to Vienna before 1943, it witnessed a more extensive Europeanization after the Japanese military decree entered into force in May 1943.

The topic of a European Jewish zone in 1940s Japanese-occupied Shanghai has attracted considerable attention in scholarship and the media, East and West.¹² Historians in the People's Republic of China, notably Pan Guang, Tang Yating, and Wang Jian have contributed accounts of Jewish everyday and musical life in Shanghai.¹³ They cover wartime Jewish activities and artists primarily in terms of social events, for instance concerts, religious ceremonies, and fundraisers. Hitherto neglected, however, is the emergence of an urban time-space that was simultaneously a Restricted Sector and an imagined Vienna, which marks an especially intriguing site of inquiry. Never explored are the twin phenomena of licensed refugee cafés and their presentations of live music, in particular *Unterhaltungsmusik*, which involved refugee-performers. Catering largely if not almost exclusively to refugees, and operated by the refugees

themselves, these Continental-style cafés proliferated in a sealed-off locale (see [figs. 1](#) and [2](#)). The cafés' musical advertisements appeared almost daily in the German-language *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, one of the few newspapers available for circulation in the Sector. Here is a typical example (see also [fig. 3](#)):

The Elite, January 1944
 Jetzt Täglich nachm. u. abends [Every afternoon and evening from now on]
 Die gute Unterhaltungsmusik¹⁴

In other words, quasi-Viennese refugee cafés such as the Elite existed, featured in publicity, and musicked in a controlled environment ruled over by the Japanese military—an environment that was meant to uphold the Axis alliance.¹⁵

How and why did refugee cafés and *Unterhaltungsmusik* thrive? Landscape as a metaphor can facilitate some useful insights into what is a hugely perplexing state of affairs. The notion of landscape has of course featured in music studies. A notable example is Daniel Grimley's work on the critical reception of Grieg, and the influences on it of representations of landscape.¹⁶ What is more, the very imprecision of the word *landscape* arguably gives the music historian broad analytical scope. The discussion that follows plays out a series of landscapes, in order to comprehend refugee cafés and their musical life from different but related angles.

The first landscape is a jurisdictional and physical landscape, which sheds light on the formation of the Restricted Sector vis-à-vis municipal shifts in 1940s Shanghai. The second is a cultural landscape. To further Cosgrove's statement: not only is landscape a way of seeing the world (whether to those in it or studying it), but it also provides, from a present-day standpoint, a way of hearing that world. Accordingly, the cultural landscape navigates the various sound worlds of refugee cafés through the available evidence. The third landscape represents a political landscape, one that probes the *preconditions* of those sound worlds: how venues managed to open under license and host live music. Finally, some broader reflections are offered in the historical landscape. Notably, in relation to the existing literature on live music in wars past—which takes a huge interest in the human purposing of music—is it necessarily the case that music then bore deducible intents?¹⁷

The proposed series of landscapes is not meant to be reductive. At the same time, it constitutes a method through which to address the peculiarity of the Restricted Sector. A baffling anomaly, the Sector complicates the meaning of incarceration. Patronized daily by the refugees, places



Figure 1. Wiener Konditorei and employees. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

musical and non-musical operated normally in an abnormal space. Proposed cafés were granted municipal licenses, which gave them *carte blanche* to arrange and advertise *Unterhaltungsmusik*.

The Restricted Sector was in force right up to the end of the Second World War in 1945, but the density of the surviving materials leads me to focus on the period from March 1943 to May 1944. My sources are categorized into two groups. The first contains the cafés' musical advertisements in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (hereafter the *Chronicle*) (see [fig. 4](#)). Having operated in the city since 1939, the *Chronicle* became the de facto refugee newspaper.¹⁸ The second group is a loose cluster of



Figure 2. Group outside Café Boris. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

municipal records, namely departmental correspondences and license application forms filled in by refugee-operators.

The history I articulate here draws on and is informed more by archival materials than by testimonial literature. I concur with Shirli Gilbert, who points out in her work on music in the Holocaust that postwar witness accounts are, above all, trying to get to grips with what happened. These conceptions are subjective, entangled with emotion, pain, the fallibility of memory, and retrospective distance.¹⁹ The resulting knowledge repertoire remains powerful nonetheless, because it conveys certain lessons of humanity from “history.” Indeed, refugee testimonies describing the Restricted Sector in Shanghai—vivid stories of survival, told or written—recount extreme living conditions and harrowing experiences of

SEITE 2 SHANGHAI JEWISH

CAFE ELITE 47 Ward Road
 Trotz nicht erhoehter Tagespreise
 jetzt Taeglich nachm. u. abends
Die gute Unterhaltungsmusik

**Die Chancen der
 alliierten Invasion**

GPS—Berlin, 15. Jan.
 Transoceans Flottenkorrespon-
 dent, Admiral Alfred Saal-
 waechter, erklart in einem
 Kommentar ueber die erwartete
 almierte Invasion, es koenne
 kaum ein Zweifel daran
 herrschen, dass der Feind in
 diesem Jahr zu irgendeinem
 sind die Winterungsverhaelt-
 nisse im Atlantik und in der
 Nordsee jedoch ploetzlichen
 Aenderungen unterworfen.
 Obgleich die alliirten Wetter-
 spezialisten gewisse Vorteile in
 der Wittervorhersage fuer den
 Kanal, die Nordsee und den
 Atlantik haben moegen, werden

8 mm Pro
 with or without Ci
 wanted
 State price, 1
 Chiffre 22

Italien stuetzt, w
 scheinlich von de
 alliierter Militaers
 diger geteilt, die da
 und amerikanische
 holt gewarnt ha
 alliierter Landung
 in West und Nord
 weit haerteren
 stossen werden als
 Italien, da in West-
 europa eine grosse
 schwader deutsche

Figure 3. Musical advertisement for Café Elite in the German-language *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 16 January 1944.

air raids. Yet, they do not detail what was actually performed and heard in street venues. Although scores and sheet music used at the time are not forthcoming, the dearth of conventional musicological source objects does not mean that one should shy away from the topic of live music in and of the past. There are pools of data, albeit disparate and dispersed, to tap into. In particular, extant documents—seemingly repetitive printed advertisements and pedestrian municipal papers—can cast light on how the refugees' proposed cafés became real establishments, how the cafés got into a position to organize *Unterhaltungsmusik*, and what was programmed.

Straightforward access at the Shanghai Municipal Archives and the Xujiahui Library in Shanghai, the city's largest repository of foreign-language materials from before the Communist takeover in 1949, makes it all the more imperative to study these documents. Their accessibility is inextricably tied to the Communist historical position in the present. Shanghai is heralded as a haven, if not the only safe house internationally, that saved a great many European Jewish refugees during the Second World War. This particular position, or pride of position, has led to the preservation and museumification of some ex-refugee buildings in Tilanqiao (提篮桥) in Shanghai's Hongkou District (虹口区) (see fig. 5).²⁰ Influencing the policy is a sense of Chinese national victory against Japanese imperial aggression. Not surprisingly, colonial Japanese



Figure 4. Front page of the *Chronicle*, 2 November 1943, including an advertisement for Café Windsor and its “Viennese Taver” evenings.

paperwork occupies a visible and distinct category in Communist archival catalogs.²¹ The informational architecture is part and parcel of what is deemed essential on the official (and Marxist) historical record. Put another way, the era of Japanese occupation conveniently serves as a requisite phase in the lead-up to Communist rule. Regardless of the underlying ideology and politics of power, the availability of so-called enemy documents brings practical benefits, albeit inadvertently insofar as music research is concerned.

I am careful not to unpack the word *café* or to overanalyze the taxonomy of eating and drinking establishments in the Sector. Such premises were not clearly classified. This was linked to municipal politics, which I will discuss later. Further, a number of establishments had multiple spatial functions, supported concurrently by primary (food on premises) and auxiliary (e.g., sale of confectionary) licenses. Café Louis on Ward Road (華德路) was also a confectioner.²² Garden Bridge on East Seward Road (東熙華德路) was a café-restaurant and Konditorei (a pastry and cake shop) that served the “best coffee,” the “finest Viennese cakes,” and “new bakery specialties.”²³ Similarly, the Bi Ba Bo on Tongshan Road (塘山路)



Figure 5. Ex-refugee houses on Zhoushan Lu (舟山路), formerly Chusan Road and a thoroughfare in the Sector, still a residential street today. Photo by the author.

called itself a café-restaurant, and the Splendid on East Broadway (東百老匯路), a café and bar.²⁴

A Jurisdictional and Physical Landscape: The Proclamation and the Restricted Sector

The first landscape I examine highlights the strangeness of a time-space that was militarily controlled on the one hand and commercially alive on the other. I have paired jurisdictional and physical landscapes together, because the demarcation of a European Jewish refugee zone was linked to the citywide power of the Japanese military in Shanghai. By jurisdictional landscape, I do not refer to the complex legalities of Shanghai as a treaty port, but rather, actualities and shifts in the city's governance.²⁵ A brief account is necessary.

In order to regroup and fight the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), the Nationalists under Jiang Jieshi (蔣介石) retreated from Nanjing in November 1937 and set up the wartime capital (or at least the city they

recognized as such) in Chongqing in inland China. Meanwhile, Jiang's political rival Wang Jingwei (汪精衛) negotiated an alliance with the Japanese. In March 1940, he was made the head of state of the Recognized National Government of China, a puppet regime. The administration in 1940s Japanese-controlled Shanghai was the Shanghai Special Municipality (上海特別市政府), whose principal officials professed loyalty to the Japanese. Despite the expanding Japanese presence in the city, between 1937 and 1941—that is, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the outbreak of the Pacific War—the mainly Anglo-American International Settlement and the French Concession in Shanghai remained intact, while surrounding Chinese areas such as the Walled City, previously governed by the Nationalists, were occupied by the Japanese military. The International Settlement and French Concession resulted, directly and indirectly, from the Unequal Treaties between China's Qing Dynasty and various imperial powers in the mid-nineteenth century. The treaties forced open such ports as Shanghai and Xiamen for foreign trade. The Settlement and Concession were both leased areas with foreign, and later, local resident communities on what technically remained Chinese sovereign territory. Under the treaties, nationals of foreign signatories were accorded extraterritorial privileges.

Following the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, the Japanese military invaded other parts of the city. Thereafter, the International Settlement and the French Concession, jurisdictions of quasi-colonial administration in treaty port Shanghai, existed in name only. In other words, the treaty port status—which was characterized by the International Settlement and the British-dominated Shanghai Municipal Council; the French Concession and French Municipal Council; Chinese areas and the Nationalist government—changed with the Japanese invasion following their attack on Pearl Harbor. The city transformed, in principle at least, into a single municipality answerable to military authorities, their representatives, and loyalists, however violent the competition for control remained among the Japanese, the Chongqing-based Nationalist government under Jiang Jieshi, and the Wang Jingwei puppet regime.²⁶

This, then, is the jurisdictional landscape from which the physical landscape of the Restricted Sector emerged (see [fig. 6](#)). On February 18, 1943, the commanders-in-chief of the Japanese Army and Navy in Shanghai jointly announced a “Proclamation Concerning [the] Restriction of Residence[s] and Business[es] of Stateless Refugees” (hereafter the Proclamation). It coerced the refugees into a “Restricted Sector for Stateless Refugees” (hereafter the Restricted Sector, the Sector, or the Designated Area). Broadsheets in Chinese, English, and French reported

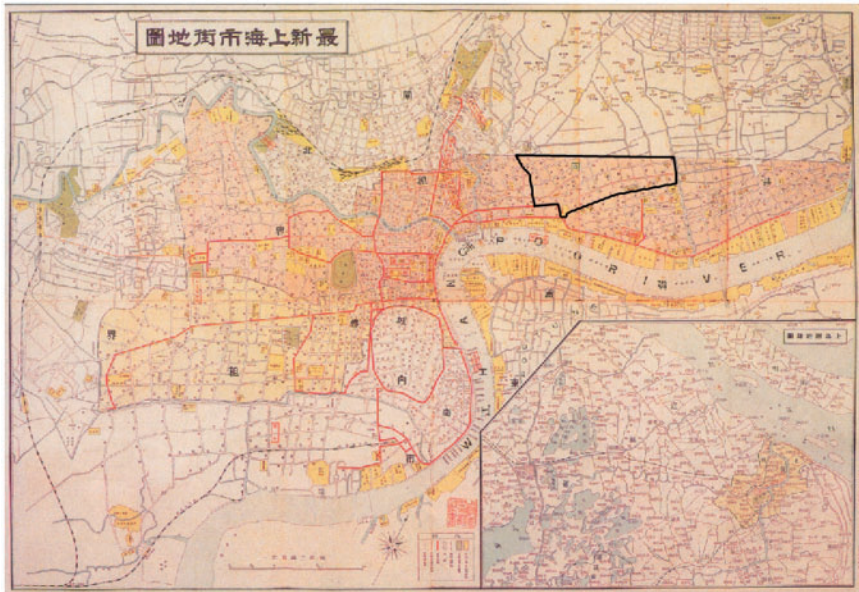


Figure 6. Map of the Restricted Sector (black outline) in relation to other parts of Shanghai, notably the International Settlement, French Concession, and Chinese Walled City.

the news; the *Shanghai Times* gave front-page coverage (see fig. 7).²⁷ The Sector measured less than a square mile in size, bounded on the east by a line connecting Chaoufoong Road (兆豐路), Muirhead Road (茂海路), and Dent Road (鄧脫路); on the west by Yangtzepoo Creek (楊樹浦); on the south by a line connecting East Seward Road, Muirhead Road, and Wayside Road (滙山路); and on the north by the International Settlement.²⁸ (See figs. 8 and 9.)

By "Stateless Refugees," the authorities referred to those from "Germany (including former Austria, Czecho-Slovakia), Hungary, former Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, etc.," who had been in Shanghai since 1937, and were deemed to have no official nationality.²⁹ The definition also targeted "any woman married to one of the abovementioned refugees," who would be "subject to the same treatment as her husband," and any refugee who sought to obtain a nationality subsequent to the Proclamation.³⁰ The military decree did not mention the word *Jew* but the refugees in question were without exception Jews who had fled Nazi-occupied Europe. The influx of European Jewish refugees into Shanghai from the late 1920s to the early 1940s, mostly by sea and land, was closely tied to contemporary political developments in Europe, such as the Nazis'

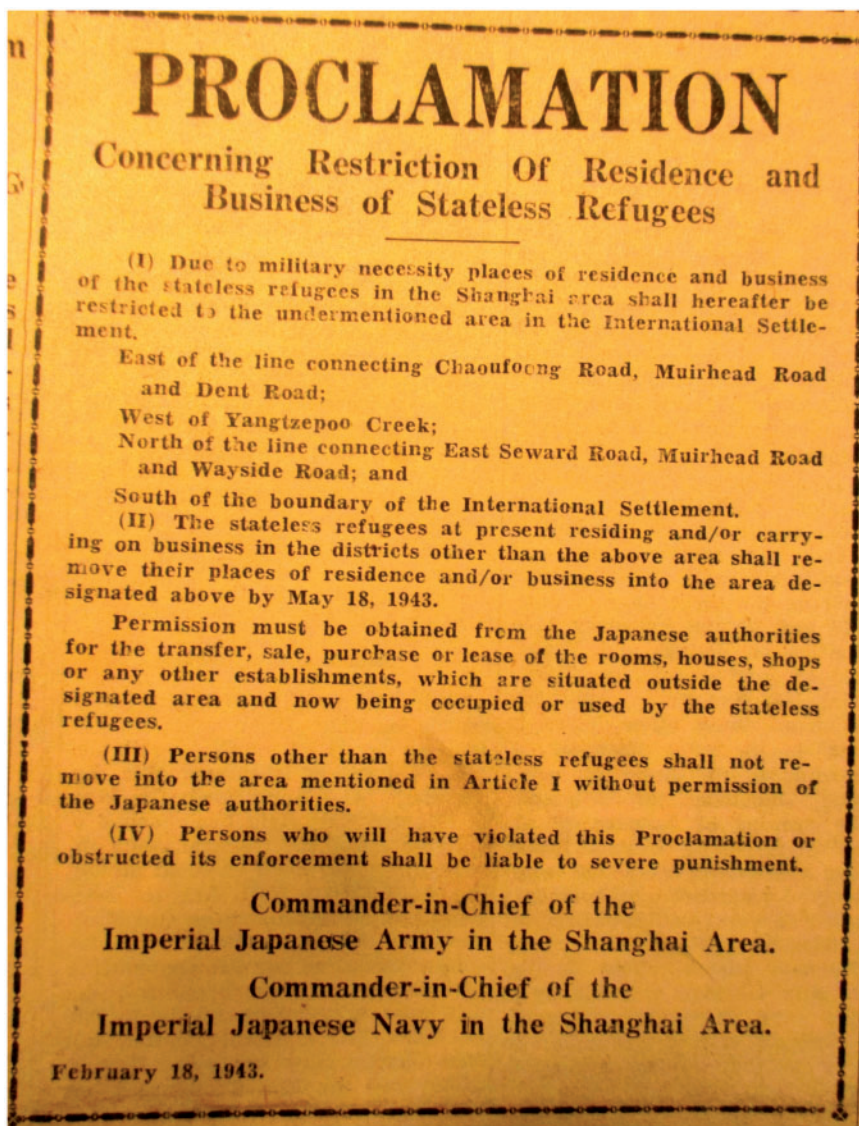


Figure 7. Announcement of the Proclamation on the front page of the *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943.

Nuremberg Laws in 1935, a de facto legislation of anti-Semitic and discriminatory practices.³¹ The refugees had little, if any, control over the fate of their legal identities. In July 1942, the German Consulate in Shanghai published a retroactive notice, stating that German nationals living in the city, classified as Jews, effectively lost their German

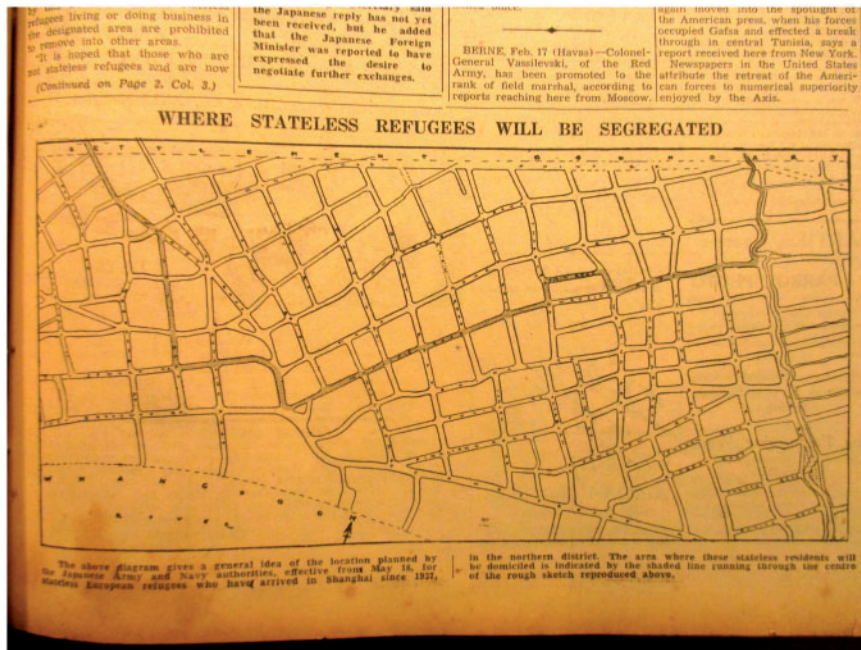


Figure 8. Map of the Sector, front page of the *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943.

nationality from 26 November 1941. Additionally, the letter *J* had to be added to the first page of their passports. The German Consulate notice was followed soon by an order of implementation from the Shanghai Special Municipality to the Police.³² Japanese residents who had been residing in the new Restricted Sector were urged to move out. Stateless Refugees who had settled there before 1937 were prohibited from leaving. The Proclamation rounded up approximately 6,000 refugees, on top of the 15,000 or more already living in the neighborhood.³³ Persons found to have violated the Proclamation were liable to severe punishment under Japanese military law.

The callousness of the decree notwithstanding, the Axis alliance between the Japanese and the Nazis did not assume clear patterns in Shanghai. The Japanese opted not to enforce a distinction between a Jew and a German or an Austrian, and did not introduce gas chambers and incinerators. They even took care to describe the Restricted Sector's purpose as not to "oppress [the refugees'] occupation" in Shanghai, but rather to "safeguard [their livelihood] so far as possible."³⁴ To be sure, the military had its own agenda. Since the late 1920s, a number of European Jewish refugees had settled and been residing in the area. A Japanese



Figure 9. East Broadway (東百老匯路), a thoroughfare in the Sector. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

memorandum dated August 1939 reported that the area had over 5,000 refugees.³⁵ To the authorities, it was a practical location to segregate the refugees en masse and to satisfy the Nazis. Technically, the area belonged to the International Settlement at the time of the Proclamation, but had come under the control of the Japanese in the years preceding the Proclamation. The infiltrated influence is nowhere more evident than in a Japanese report (prepared in English) back in May 1939 that expressed concern over the expanding Jewish community: "Various quarters are reported to be alarmed by this influx of Jews into Shanghai. Japanese residents are beginning to pay careful attention to this state of affairs."³⁶ Placing the Restricted Sector in the same area facilitated enforcement; the authorities were able to keep close watch over the refugees on familiar territory. The Sector was also a strategic ploy in the context of the Pacific War: the Japanese took to depositing arsenals of weaponry and flammables there, a warning to the Americans as to the grave consequences of carrying out air raids on an area packed with refugees and civilians.

The jurisdictional and physical landscape of the Sector manifested itself in a number of ways. The area was patrolled by military and civilian

guards elected among the refugees, and accessed via entry/exit points, which were staffed by the civilian guards, Japanese, and Russian soldiers (see *fig. 10*). Barriers were erected at certain checkpoints. Refugees who showed proof of work elsewhere in the city were allowed to leave the Sector during the day, on condition that they presented a permit and form of identification (see *fig. 11*). The identification was affixed to the bearer's clothing whenever he or she left the area. There were two types of permit: blue and pink. The former was valid for a month, and the latter for a week. Printed on the back of the permit was a map of the city, marked with crosses to specify the route to be taken to and from work, as well as the hours the bearer was allowed to be absent from the Restricted Sector, also referred to as the Designated Area.³⁷

Not only were individual liberties circumscribed, the reissuance of permits turned into a pernicious exercise of terror. Ursula Bacon and another ex-refugee, William Schurtman, recall the grisly officers-in-charge.³⁸ Bacon recounts the calculating and dangerous Okura, and his counterpart Goya, who referred to himself as "the King of the Jews," a title that "gave him the right to torment" the refugees.³⁹ The words of the refugees stand in jarring contrast to the authorities' pacifistic rhetoric: horror was felt and real.

The new inhabitants likened the Designated Area to a ghetto. The term, originally Italian, bore specific connotations to them: it was associated with the confinement of Jews to a district in Venice back in 1516. Now, crammed into single rooms in lane houses and makeshift spaces, some of which were converted haphazardly from schools and barracks, Stateless Refugees faced abysmal living and sanitary conditions. Fuel, foodstuffs, amenities, and other resources were severely limited. Relief organizations such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (known also as the JDC), the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai, and the International Committee for Granting Relief to European Refugees helped collect and distribute aid.⁴⁰ Committed as these organizations were, conditions in the Sector were dire.⁴¹

Most Stateless Refugees were unable to retain their original jobs. Due partly to language problems, relevant opportunities were few and far between, or simply nonexistent. Lawyers, economists, academics, and other middle-class professionals sought alternative livelihood as street vendors, shopkeepers, and community workers. Artisan products such as sausages, meats, confectionary, soaps, candles, knitwear, and leather goods were manufactured in mini-factories and workrooms. Small businesses—taverns, restaurants, tearooms, bakeries, jewelers, pharmacies, barbers, tailors, cobblers, and so on—started to emerge and catered to the refugees (see *figs. 12 and 13*).



Figure 10. Jewish civilian guards (known as “Pao Chia” or 保甲) in front of the Mignon Café on East Seward Road. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

Analytically, this is as far as my examination of the jurisdictional and physical landscape will go. The examination provides more of a background picture, describing the formation and general conditions of the Restricted Sector. Although the landscape affords a historical reconstruction of sanctioned refugee activity in a confined environment, it only partially explains the strangeness of a time-space that was simultaneously a restricted sector and a “Little Vienna.” On its own, the landscape does not enable one to press further and to critically understand the cafés and their music-making on the ground. A discussion of the second landscape is thus required.



Figure 11. Publicity photo of Stateless Refugees lining up "contentedly" to receive special permits from Goya, a feared Japanese administrator at the Office for the Shanghai Stateless Refugees Affairs. Reproduced with kind permission of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Ernest G. Heppner Yair Hendl.

A Cultural Landscape: *Unterhaltungsmusik*, Refugee Cafés, and an Imagined Vienna

My essay is not concerned with whether or to what extent *Unterhaltungsmusik* in the Restricted Sector was sinified.⁴² Though an attractive proposition, cross-cultural contact in music research requires a certain richness of notated and/or texted material (for instance, scores and lyrics), material that also suggests an extensive exchange of ideas and knowledge beyond basic everyday interaction. There are no clear signs that the Chinese and other non-refugee groups living in the vicinity, who were the poorer if not the poorest members of Shanghai's population, had an indelible influence on the musical culture of the refugees. Language was a major barrier. In his account, Schurtman speculates that less than one percent of the refugee community was able to speak and write Chinese properly. Nor were many refugees fluent in English, the other common language in Shanghai at the time. Small wonder, then, that eatery staff and patrons, at least in the quasi-Viennese cafés, were composed almost entirely of refugees. Judging from donated pictures in such archives as the Werner von Boltenstern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection, the Chinese



Figure 12. Express Café and Tearoom. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltenshtern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

presence in the European Jewish zone was more movement- than culture-driven, characterized mainly by pedestrians and rickshaw drivers.⁴³ Mapping the Restricted Sector in relation to the rest of Shanghai, the partial presence of the Chinese meant that though the Sector was located within the city, the area developed its own pulse and identity.

I fully acknowledge the importance of studying other European refugee groups and their musical activities in the Sector. However, the *Chronicle* advertisements present a fascinating case of a Continental cultural practice in the East.⁴⁴ Hence, I concentrate on the Austro-German demographic of the refugee population. Indeed, the refugees maintained their Germanic tastes and urban bourgeois sensibilities. According to



Figure 13. Interior of a refugee restaurant. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

Schurtman, the Sector's street scene and shop-front windows were reminiscent of Austro-German cities and towns. Ex-refugee Liliane Willens recalls: "The most popular places to meet and spend time with friends during the summer months were the open-air cafés. People could drink tea and coffee (although of very poor quality) or simply hot water, or eat the delectable Viennese *Sachertorte* (chocolate cake filled with marmalade) prepared by professional bakers in Hongkew," which is where the Restricted Sector was.⁴⁵ In his study *Japanese, Nazis, and Jews*, David Kranzler writes: "One shop after another opened up, especially restaurants, open-air cafés, provision stores, snack bars and bars, which proliferated and stood side by side where there was previously but a single coffeehouse."⁴⁶

As a matter of interpretation, it would be unrealistic to separate the Jewish identity from an (Austro-)German one. As Anthony Kauders notes in his discussion of Weimar Jewry, hindsight partially drives the notion that "Germans' and 'Jews' were mutually exclusive entities"; if anything, "Weimar's Jews felt German and Jewish (and local)."⁴⁷ In *Jewish Music and Modernity*, Philip Bohlman makes a similar argument. Of the

interchange of Jewish and Viennese identities at the turn of the twentieth century, he observes that the genre known as *Wienerlied* “bears direct witness to the specific influences of Jewish dialects.”⁴⁸ By extension, Stateless Refugees in Shanghai, many of whom were born and raised during the Weimar years, were simultaneously (Austro-)German and Jewish.

Judging from accessible issues of the *Chronicle* at the Xujiahui Library in Shanghai, refugee cafés frequently billed their musical offerings as *Unterhaltungsmusik*.⁴⁹ Traceable and recurrent on record are approximately ten cafés, including the Bi Ba Bo on Tongshan Road; the Roy on Wayside Road; the Elite, the Emperor, and Zum Weissen Rössl on Ward Road; the Imperial and the Rex on Muirhead Road; and the Windsor on Kungping Road (公平路).⁵⁰ Names like the Emperor invoked Continental sentiments, not least a sense of nostalgia and temporary mental escape. To be sure, music in the Restricted Sector was not synonymous with refugee cafés. But the intriguing point is that the sound worlds of cafés were fundamentally different from those of ticketed venues in the Sector, such as the Eastern Theater. Even if café patrons had to pay to get in in some cases, live music was ultimately offered at the discretion of the operator.⁵¹ Music in the cafés was thus an optional soundtrack, a casual station of sonic pleasure—heard, but not necessarily listened to. Patrons derived entertainment from the overall ambience of eating, drinking, and socializing in convivial surroundings.

Whether or not the advertised musical entertainment in the *Chronicle* materialized is of course a valid query. Nonetheless, it is important to register the peculiar nature of a segregated area. Because of imposed and harsh restrictions, everyday choices were, by default, limited economically. Available options meant real-life options. Production and consumption followed a perfunctory model of supply and demand. In that sense, the advertisements contained genuine daily information in and for a detained community.

Who were the café musicians and how did they sound like in the Restricted Sector? Yet, is it possible to follow individual musicians in situ and observe their local movements? To begin with, little consistent information is available about the refugee-performers themselves. There is particular mention, however, of Herbert Zernik, an active and seemingly popular Sector entertainer. According to Irene Eber, who in 2008 published a selection of poetry and prose by Jewish refugees in wartime Shanghai, Zernik started his professional career in Berlin at the age of sixteen, was incarcerated in Buchenwald for some time, and upon release, went to Shanghai.⁵² But Eber does not state her source, which calls into question the credibility of her information, and highlights the difficulty of verifying it. Further, profiles of refugee musicians in Shanghai—which

show up now and then in the blogosphere—focus on strictly classical and pedagogic activities. For instance, there is a story of musician Wolfgang Fränkel, who reportedly taught composition and music theory.⁵³ It is unclear how and whether these refugees contributed to the Sector's café music scene. Consequently, I do not adopt a biographical approach when talking about the musicians involved in *Unterhaltungsmusik*. In a similar vein, I do not consider the reception of entertainment music. Insofar as my archival research is concerned, reviews or commentaries on musical events in the cafés do not exist. Thus, my focus is on the programs, repertoires, and performers publicized in café advertisements, and on hearing the sound worlds in Little Vienna that way.

As a segue into the *Chronicle* advertisements, it is worth pausing on the term *Unterhaltungsmusik*, which literally denotes "entertainment music." The term also brings to the fore the seemingly entrenched divide between "serious music" (*ernste Musik*) and "light music" (*leichte Musik*) that was part and parcel of nineteenth-century social discourses on taste, class, and society. Derek Scott notes: "'Serious' is the dominant term, and 'light' is defined negatively against it, as music *lacking* seriousness."⁵⁴ The distinction was never entirely clear-cut, however. William Weber observes that definitions of high and low "are simply whatever the members of a society (or even just some of them) say they are—and that can change fast."⁵⁵ In another context—a study of music and mass culture in Weimar and Nazi Germany—Brian Currid similarly calls attention to the porous interflow between "popular" and "classical" musics. He notes that *Unterhaltungsmusik* "was understood to include not only the new *Schlager* [hit song] and dance music but also forms of musical practice that in the modern sense could easily be considered 'serious' music, if not at least 'art music.'"⁵⁶

What is immediately striking about the cultural landscape of the Restricted Sector is that long-standing connotations of *Unterhaltungsmusik* clashed with new meanings. On the one hand, there were so-called serious and lighter performances. On the other hand, and perhaps more significantly, full-scale concerts in such ticketed venues as the Eastern Theater and "ambient" musical presentations in the cafés did not exist in contradistinction. The social divide between art and entertainment, associated with nineteenth-century Europe, lost traction somewhat in an eastern Wien in the early 1940s.

Musical advertisements in the *Chronicle* concerned two types of places in the Sector: cafés and ticketed venues. The latter included the Eastern Theater, the S. J. Y. A. (Shanghai Jewish Youth Association) School on East Yuhang Road (東有恆路), and the Theatersaal on Alcock Road (愛爾考克路). These venues regularly presented recitals of arias (from operas by Handel, Verdi, Tchaikovsky, etc.), Lieder (of

Schubert, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wolf, etc.), chamber music, and concerto performances.⁵⁷ The Eastern Theater also staged operettas, for example, Johann Strauss II's *Die Fledermaus* and Lehár's *Der Graf von Luxemburg*, with such reputed refugee-singers as Lotte Sommer, Herbert Zernik, and Gerhard Gottschalk. The community's production of Leonhard Märker's jazz operetta *Warum lügst Du, Cherie . . . ?* (Why do You lie, *Cherie . . . ?*), featuring singers Lily Flohr and Fritz Freiser, led by "Gino and Geza" on two pianos, and accompanied by their jazz orchestra—was popular and lasted a great many performances, as demonstrated by the endurance of the advertisements.⁵⁸ Typically, tickets for dedicated venues were available from the Wayside Bazar on Wayside Road, and occasionally the Emigrants Thrift Shop on Nanking Road (南京路) in the International Settlement and Avenue du Roi Albert (亞爾培路) in the French Concession.

At the same time, the cafés placed musical advertisements noticeably more often than the dedicated venues. In the *Chronicle's* October 1943 issue, the percentage of café advertisements was 93 percent, and the percentage of venue advertisements, 7 percent. In the November 1943 issue, it was 85 percent and 15 percent, respectively. In the February 1944 issue, the percentages were 73 percent and 27 percent. After all, venue concerts would have cost more to organize. Cafés only needed to install a piano and find a player, or secure a small band. That said, performers crossed fluidly between cafés and dedicated venues. For instance, Zernik was a regular act at Windsor but also appeared at the Alcock Theatersaal. The audience—comprising mostly the same group of refugees, save a few Chinese, Japanese, and European patrons from outside the Designated Area—did not seem to distinguish between what was "high" and what was "low." As I stated earlier, available options meant real-life options.

This is not to say that *Unterhaltungsmusik* in the Restricted Sector was an all-unique phenomenon, however dislocated it was. Rather, it extended from regular practices of urban musical entertainment in such metropolises as Berlin and Vienna in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of music in the Jewish theater at the time, Bohlman finds that *Salonorchester* (salon orchestras) or *Salonkapellen* (salon bands) were active in cafés, dance halls, and entertainment establishments throughout the Leopoldstadt in Vienna or the Scheunenviertel in Berlin.⁵⁹ What is fascinating from a present-day standpoint, however, is the combined and even blurred sense of continuity and change as *Unterhaltungsmusik* took root in 1940s Shanghai.

The conflation of continuity and change is nowhere more apparent than in the ways in which *Unterhaltungsmusik* played out as a familiar musical style in unfamiliar surroundings. The German music dictionary *Das*

große Wörterbuch der Musik labels *Unterhaltungsmusik* as a "collective term" (*zusammenfassende Bezeichnung*), one that naturally lacks a precise definition.⁶⁰ The advertisements in the *Chronicle* similarly bear out the nature of *Unterhaltungsmusik* as a style of sorts, reflecting motley forms of café entertainment in the Sector: the tea dance (*Zu Tee und Tanz*) and 5 o'clock tea (*Zum 5 Uhr Tee*); the Viennese waltz and other traditional dances such as the *Ländler* and polka; Viennese dialect songs; popular dance music and "Weimar jazz"; operetta evenings; the *Künstler Konzert* (artist concert); and folkloric and themed soirées with singer-entertainers. These sound worlds were simultaneously novel and constant: novel in that they filled the emergent time-space that was the Restricted Sector, and constant in that they would not have differed from what was performed and heard in cafés back in Europe. Below is a sample selection of the cafés' advertisements. The advertisements are listed chronologically and I will discuss them collectively. The ad copy is reproduced as accurately as possible. Translations are provided where necessary:

The Imperial, October 1943

Jeden Sonntag 5.30—7.30 Uhr [Every Sunday 5:30—7:30pm]

Moderne und Konzertmusik [Modern and Concert Music]

Violine: Leo RUFF

Klavier, Akkordeon [Piano, Accordion]: Hans LEVINSOHN⁶¹

The Rex, October 1943

Heute 5 o'clock Tea [5 o'clock Tea today]

mit Hans Reiss [with Hans Reiss]

Jeden Donnerstag [Every Thursday]

gemütlicher Heuriger Abend! [Cozy Tavern Evening!]⁶²

The Roy, October 1943

Heute, 8.30 p.m. [8.30pm today]

Operetten-Abend [Operetta Evening]

EINTRITT FREI [FREE ENTRY]⁶³

The Windsor, November 1943

Windsor bringt Ihnen täglich [Windsor brings you every day]

ab 7 Uhr [from 7pm]

PEPPI am Klavier [PEPPI on the piano]

Morgen, Mittwoch, 8 Uhr [Tomorrow, Wednesday, 8pm]
 “Wiener Heuriger” [Viennese Tavern]
 mit [with]
 ALEXANDER FEIN und TONI BAUMGARTEN⁶⁴

The Rex, January 1944
 HEUTE NACHMITTAG 4.30 UHR [4:30pm Today]
 5 Uhr-Tee
 CHARLES ALBERT
 Mit
 Hans Reiss Nazi Rosenblatt Bob Butch⁶⁵

Zum Weissen Rössl, January 1944
 Morgen, Sonntag 4 Uhr [Tomorrow, Sunday at 4pm]
 TANZ-TEE
 Harry Fischer and his Band⁶⁶

The Barcelona, January 1944
 Heute und morgen [Today and tomorrow]
 Nachmittag und abends [Afternoons and evenings]
 Konzert
 AB MONTAG täglich abends Konzert [Evening concerts FROM
 MONDAY onward]
 Paul WIENER⁶⁷

The Imperator, February 1944
 Heute und morgen 5 Uhr Tee [5 o'clock Tea Today and Tomorrow]
 Täglich abends Unterhaltungs- u. Tanzmusik [Entertainment and dance
 music every evening]
 Es spielt
 OTTO RUFF (Geige) [violin]
 W. KAMM (Klavier u. Akkordeon)
 M. KATZ (Saxophon)
 M. OSCHITZKI (Schlagzeug) [drums]
Das einzige Konzert-Café Hongkews mit erstklassiger Kapelle [Hongkew's only
 concert-café with a first-class band]⁶⁸

The tea dance and 5 o'clock tea were offered in a number of cafés, for instance, the Imperator, the Rex, and Zum Weissen Rössl (see [fig. 14](#)). Violinists Otto Ruff, Ferry Ehrlich, and Willy Rosner (all at the Imperator) were active teatime musicians. Ruff led a quartet consisting of

a pianist and accordionist, saxophonist, and drummer; the quartet was hailed as a first-class band (see [fig. 15](#)). At the Rex, Hans Reiss provided teatime entertainment on the piano and the accordion (see [fig. 16](#)). In addition, Charlie Albert and his Band alternated with Reiss. Social dances such as the foxtrot went hand in hand with the various "exotic"-sounding bands in the Sector, for example, Harry Fischer and his La Conga Band at Zum Weissen Rössl; Herbert Ruff and his Argentina Band at the Roy; Eric Porges and his Arizona Band plus Royal Quintette at Zum Weissen Rössl and the Roy. It is reasonable to infer from the available advertisements that such numbers as "Leider bist du reizend" (Unfortunately You Are Lovely), a song in the manner of a foxtrot and from the aforementioned jazz operetta *Warum lügst Du, Cherie . . . ?* would have been the kind of music to dance to in a café environment.

The jazz played and heard live among the refugees would likely have been "Weimar jazz." J. Bradford Robinson observes that Germany became culturally isolated from the rest of western Europe in the aftermath of the First World War.⁶⁹ The local jazz that emerged was "grafted onto [German commercial musicians'] own tradition of salon dance music"; almost all of the celebrated German jazz bandleaders were violinists with Hungaro-Slavic names.⁷⁰ In the context of this discussion, the brand purity of Weimar jazz is not a key point of interest. Rather it is the prominence of violinist bandleaders and their ensembles in cafés in the Restricted Sector. Their presence and activities point to the lingering of Weimar-influenced jazz in early 1940s Shanghai.

The Roy put on free operetta evenings as well as the *Café-Konzert* and *Künstler Konzert*—salonesque and spatially intimate occasions of live music that kept refugee-patrons entertained as they ate and drank in cordial surroundings. The establishment scheduled back-to-back artist concerts: an afternoon one (from 4:30 pm to 7:30 pm) in its popular and frequently advertised *Dachgarten* (roof garden), then an evening one (from 8 pm to 11 pm) on the first floor of its premises.⁷¹ Like the operetta evenings, the concerts were free of charge (see [fig. 17](#)).

Although the advertisements do not indicate which pieces were played in the cafés, the repertoire performed at ticketed venues in the Restricted Sector suggests additional clues. As an illustration, *Ave Maria* by Bach-Gounod, *Zigeunerweisen* by Sarasate, and *Liesbeslied* by Kreisler appeared in concerts at the S. J. Y. A. School, a ticketed venue. These "pop tunes," whether original compositions or arranged from sources such as operas, could and would have been easily recycled outside of the ticketed venues. First, the violin-and-piano duo was a logistically straightforward setup. Second, some of the cafés featured the violin-and-piano duo as their musical centerpiece. As one of the sample advertisements shows,

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Arbeit des
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ustandiger
e vereinigte
smittelkon_
Nationalen
zur Kon.
stoffquellen
zu einer
Handel und
rengattun-
nden mit
Einkauf

Das gut geneigt - Kartengelten als Passierscheine

Europ. Pfandleihe
(Leihhaus)
483 Wayside Rd. Hs. 491
Ecke Kinchow Road.
*Hochste Beleihung aller
Wertgegenstaende*

Achtung heute letzter Tag.
Hausfrauen und Junggesellen!
Versäumen Sie nicht, in Ihrem
Stammprovisionstore eine Gra-
tisprobe der "Schmackhaft"
Wuerst A zu verlangen. Mit
heissem Wasser gibt das eine
ausgezeichnete und nahrhafte
Bouillon. Adv.

 **Zum Weissen Roessl**
Morgen, Sonntag, 4 Uh
TANZ—TEE
Harry Fischer and his Band

Figure 14. Advertisement for Zum Weissen Rössl, *Chronicle*, 22 January 1944.

SHANGHAI JEWISH CHRONICLE

IMPERATOR

Heute und morgen 5 Uhr Tee
Mowie taeglich abends Unterhaltungs- u. Tanzmusik
Es spielt

OTTO RUFF
Geige
M. KATZ
Saxophon

W. KAMM
Klavier u. Akkordeon
M. OSCHITZKI
Schlagzeug

**Das einzige Konzert-Cafe Hongkews
mit erstklassiger Kapelle**

Figure 15. Advertisement for the Emperor, *Chronicle*, 5 February 1944.



Figure 16. Pianist Hans Reiss (sitting on the instrument) and two unknown musicians. Reproduced courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection.

the Imperial hired violinist Leo Ruff and pianist–accordionist Hans Levinsohn to do weekly Sunday concerts. The Roy had Meisterduo Ehrlich-Klein—violinist Ferry Ehrlich and pianist Ferry Klein.⁷² The Barcelona hosted pianist Paul Wiener and not a duo, but given the versatile nature of the piano, Wiener’s program would likely have been a potpourri of tunes heard in the Sector, including but not limited to operetta excerpts, for example, “Niemand liebt dich so wie ich” (Nobody loves you the way I do) from Lehár’s *Paganini*, which was staged at venues in the Sector.

Folkloric soirées also took place regularly. Throughout November 1943, the Windsor presented *Wiener Heuriger* (Viennese tavern) evenings with singer-entertainers Alexander Fein and Toni Baumgarten, together with pianist Peppi Schlesinger, known more commonly as PEPPI. The sound world evoked local Austrian taverns serving seasonal wine and



Figure 17. Roof garden at Café Roy with refugee-patrons.

produce, with live background music from *Heurigensänger*, who accompanied themselves on the double-necked contraguitar and the button accordion. The Rex introduced a similar concept. Throughout October 1943, it staged its “cozy tavern evening” on Thursdays. In recreating tavernesque sounds and senses recognizable to the refugees, the cafés conjured up a nostalgic imagination of Wien, a familiar sense of place in a distant place, a Vienna that was and was not.

Additionally, the cafés organized themed nights, whose essence of charm, frivolity, and gaiety would have appealed to and been understood by the refugee-patrons. Aside from the Viennese tavern evenings, Windsor presented *Berliner Humor und Wiener Stimmung* (Berliner Humor and Viennese Moods), a culturally inflected music-cum-comedy show with singer-entertainer Herbert Zernik and, again, PEPPi on the piano.⁷³ The Emperor rehearsed the same theme with violinist Willy Rosner, pianist Felix Liebmann, and drummer Max Oschitzki.⁷⁴ Similar to the tavern evenings, the *Humor und Stimmung* nights stirred up sounds and senses of home.

The cafés’ musicking in wartime Shanghai and the attendant elements of nostalgia highlight native musical activities on nonnative territory. An important question emerges: How might one make sense of *Unterhaltungsmusik* as an ex-European and dislocated cultural

phenomenon? At this point, I weave in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, in particular his emphasis on *habitus* as a system of dispositions, which he discussed in 2000 at a conference in Perth, titled "Habitus: A Sense of Place."⁷⁵ Bourdieu stressed that "the word disposition, being more familiar, less exotic, than *habitus*, is important to give a more concrete intuition of what *habitus* is, and to remind [us] what is at stake in the use of such a concept. . . . The *habitus*, as the Latin indicates, is something *non natural*, a set of *acquired* characteristics which are the product of social conditions."⁷⁶

As a theory of social power, *habitus* trades on impermanence and process, and by extension, on the play of human agency. Here "play" refers to the ever-changing dynamics between agents (individuals, groups, and institutions), and also between agents and their environment, as they attempt to go about their objectives in that environment. *Habitus* transforms, but is also transformed by the environment with which it interacts. The human dispositions, values, and choices of everyday life are socially constructed and reconstructed.

In emphasizing that *habitus* is not a static concept, and that it does not simply apply to stable societies, Bourdieu raised the possibility of utilizing the concept to understand and explain situations of rapid change.⁷⁷ The Restricted Sector and its refugee community make a fascinating test case, for rapid change occurred there in several ways. The refugees fled homes and businesses in Nazi-occupied Europe, and relocated from a familiar to a strange environment. In Shanghai, they had to relocate again, as they were rounded up and detained. Once in the Sector, the refugees encountered yet another abrupt change in their daily living conditions. In light of these dramatic circumstances, the refugees' *habitus*—or system of dispositions—would have retained considerable consistency but also undergone change. After all, *habitus* transforms but is also transformed by the environment in which it is situated, which in turn highlights the impermanence of dispositions.

Did the refugees' dispositions shift, though? Were such dispositions transformed by confinement and by the environment of the Restricted Sector? The Sector adds an interesting dimension to Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*. That the Designated Area was not conceived as a labor or an extermination camp—and that the Japanese officials put out an official, though vacuous, statement of safeguarding the refugees' livelihood as far as possible—enabled the refugees to retain their customs and habits to one degree or another. Throughout the above examples of *Unterhaltungsmusik*, notably the reenactment of the *Tanztee*, *Künstler Konzert*, *Operetten-Abend*, *Wiener Heuriger*, and *Humor und Stimmung* evenings, it transpires that the refugees materially altered the environment in which

they were segregated, more so than the reverse, harsh conditions notwithstanding. Refugees had a palpable local and localizing impact. Underlying the transformation was the very human ability to go about social and cultural activities as if normally. Cafés, street stalls, and other shops turned a sector decreed by the military into a locale with specific urban and Continental registers, registers that were familiar to the detainees. The irony of non-penal living in a segregated zone meant that detainment did not erode known and preferred lifestyle choices, as long as these choices were viable on the ground. Refugee cafés and their music played the sounds of “Vienna,” or of any European metropolis for that matter. Though *Unterhaltungsmusik* resulted from the dis- as well as reorientation of environment, it continued to trade on such characteristics as Weimar jazz and violinist-led bands. In other words, the refugees’ dispositions did not have to shift. Hence the peculiarity of the Restricted Sector: the cafés’ provision of entertainment music both arose in response and gave rise to a time-space that was physically partitioned by the Japanese military, but sonically defined by European Jewish refugees.

In relation to other local music scenes in 1940s wartime Shanghai, the Restricted Sector was not a unique phenomenon in terms of supply and demand. Venues in the city, whether in the (former) French Concession or the (former) International Settlement, offered tea dances, shows, and, in some cases, sexual services to Japanese soldiers and local civilians alike. Eating and drinking establishments carried on as they did before, and in many ways thrived as an antidote to the violence and chaos of military occupation. A great many performers were initially refugees or subjects of exile; for example, Russian musicians and dancers who had fled the Bolsheviks, settled in Shanghai, and found employment in cafés in the French Concession. Yet, the very *practice* of Austro-German music in refugee cafés was, in and of itself, distinctive. Prior to the enforcement of the Sector, *Unterhaltungsmusik* was neither prevalent nor fundamental to Shanghai’s music venues. Contemporary ears were arguably more attuned to such attractions as quasi-Parisian revues and Chinese popular singers. Consequently, the Designated Area represented a unique cosmos of sound worlds, not heard or featured anywhere else in the city, before or during the war.

A Political Landscape: Municipal Licensing, Refugee Cafés, and Preconditions

The cultural landscape reveals how the cafés catered to the refugees. By extension, it hears the various sound worlds, and speculates what might

have been programmed, performed, and heard. However, it does not probe the very preconditions of those sound worlds: how venues managed to open under license and organize live music. Thus, a discussion of the third landscape proves necessary.

The political landscape highlights an inadvertently complementary relationship between the authorities' containment of refugees, and the latter's success in setting up cafés after the Proclamation entered into force. This landscape is particularly striking because eating and drinking establishments elsewhere in Shanghai were not subjected to additional and essentially discriminatory regulation. Although there is no evidence that the Japanese military censored live music in the Restricted Sector, that alone does not explain how street cafés came about and got into a position to present live music. Here licensing provides a useful lens: it exposes internal politics and uncoordinated administrative procedures. Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh note that the Chinese War of Resistance against the Japanese in the Shanghai area was fought "in the name of competing claims for legitimacy" among members of the military and secret services.⁷⁸ On a smaller scale, but in a similar vein, municipal units battled with one another for the ultimate say on questions of licensing.

Having focused on newspaper advertisements, I now shift attention to a loose cluster of municipal records dating from March 1943 to May 1944, prepared and typed in English by the Japanese (or appointed) authorities, and translated into English as the official version if the original language was different. Found across various files at the Shanghai Municipal Archives, the records—internal correspondences and application forms—concern the licensing of eating and drinking establishments in the Designated Area. They involve numerous parties: the Public Health Department, the Revenue Office of the Finance Department, the Secretariat or Council Chamber of the Shanghai Municipal Council, the First District Administration (whose purview included the Restricted Sector), and last but not least, refugee-applicants.

Officials did not see eye to eye on whether licenses should be issued to Stateless Refugees. Protracted correspondences within the Public Health Department and between the Department and the Revenue Office bring to light marked differences of opinion. Consider a report titled "Unlicensed Premises," from W. Wagner, Deputy Chief Health Inspector in charge of Markets, Bakeries, and Licensing, to his superior I. Nagai, Deputy Commissioner of Public Health:

In response [to] the Proclamation of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy Authorities regarding the Segregation of Jewish Refugees in the Eastern

Area, a large amount of license applications for various establishments were received during the last few weeks.

At present the following mentioned "Food-On" Premises are not being licensed as per Instructions from the Secretariat [of the Shanghai Municipal Council] to the Revenue Office:

Chinese Eating Houses

Public Hotels

Private Hotels

Foreign Lodging Houses

Restaurants

Tea Rooms and

Taverns.

Obviously the Secretariat must have good reasons for suspending these licenses, [and] it is doubtful whether it is the right procedure to allow these applicants to apply for licenses for the establishments, if there is no likelihood that these licenses [will be] issued.⁷⁹

Wagner emphasized the power of the Secretariat of the Municipal Council over the Revenue Office. He proposed that "the Shanghai Municipal Council publish a Notification that 'Food-On' Premises not be licensed at all, and that the Revenue Office will not receive any applications for this kind of establishments," for "this would clarify the situation and these refugees would not have to go into considerable expense to secure premises, for which they, in the long run, could not obtain Shanghai Municipal Council licenses."⁸⁰ Wagner did add that "special consideration be given to 'License Transfers,' i.e. to people who have operated establishments and were licensed by the Shanghai Municipal Council for the last few years, but have to shift their premises to conform with the recent Proclamation."⁸¹ Nonetheless, the overall tone was skeptical. His report, titled "Unlicensed Premises," immediately highlighted the (perceived) illegitimacy of the premises, and toward the end Wagner argued that there would be no need for a large number of taverns in the Restricted Sector.

In many ways, Wagner's attempt to do things the conventional way and to contain the Revenue Office is not surprising. The Public Health Department had always had a prominent role in the regulation of eating and drinking establishments. In the municipal notification on tearooms back in December 1938, close to half of the conditions had to do with public hygiene and sanitation, all subject to approval by the Public Health Department.⁸² Of course, in light of the Sino-British and Sino-American treaties signed in February, the Shanghai Municipal Council, formerly the governing body of the International Settlement, had nothing but token power in 1943. The structure of the Council did remain more or less the

same, however. For instance, the Public Health Department and its key posts (such as the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner) stayed in place. Less clear, however, was the *sense* of authority associated previously with the Secretariat. The Secretariat used to be the Council's central administrative unit. It was a clearing house and an intermediary between members of the Council, the various municipal departments (ranging from Public Works to the Orchestra and Band), and departmental committees (composed of one to three members of the Council, plus a handful of outsiders).

Regardless of how the Secretariat functioned, Wagner hung on to the status to which he was accustomed, which threw him into bold relief against his Japanese superior Nagai as well as E. Fujise, Deputy Treasurer of the Revenue Office, another Japanese official. When Nagai forwarded Wagner's report verbatim to Fujise, the cover letter was extremely brief and sounded neutral: "Early attention will be appreciated as the Proclamation regarding segregation will come into force on May 18."⁸³ Equally fascinating is Fujise's response, addressed to Y. Tashiro, Commissioner of Public Health. Fujise did not agree to Wagner's proposal, nor did he necessarily subscribe to the authority of the Council:

Although the Council has the power to refuse the issue of a "Food-On" license, it has no authority to refuse acceptance of an application for [this] license. As an alternative, therefore, I suggest that a notification be promulgated in the press warning persons contemplating opening such establishments to satisfy themselves that there is a likelihood of a license being issued before entering into any obligation or financial outlay.⁸⁴

The tussle between municipal departments did not end there. If anything, it remained unresolved. Less than a week after the Revenue Office responded to the Public Health Department—and the day on which the Proclamation came into force—Wagner wrote to his superior again.⁸⁵ Even more acerbic in this report, Wagner specifically targeted eating and drinking establishments. Again, Nagai served as a middleman. He passed on the letter to his superior Tashiro. The latter forwarded the entire set of correspondences and reports to the Secretary to the Shanghai Municipal Council, simply stating that "the matter apparently concerns several departments [and that] coordination would be desirable."⁸⁶

In fact, the Revenue Office did not wish to answer to the Public Health Department, and directly contacted the Council Secretary regarding what was to be done with license applications from Stateless Refugees. In that letter, the Revenue Office listed four groups of applications. The

last (Groups D and E, as one group) comprised eating and drinking premises in the Designated Area, and the Revenue Office sought the Council's ruling.⁸⁷ The Council deferred to the Japanese Consulate in Shanghai. Judging from the available information, it is not known whether the Consulate responded, or whether any kind of a directive followed.

What emerges, then, is a highly chaotic state of affairs in a purportedly controlled environment: a battle of power in which departmental officials jockeyed with one another for the upper hand in the absence of a central command. Not only do their correspondences highlight fundamental disagreement and fragmented authority, the officials—whether existing or newly appointed ones—proffered their own understanding of what licensing meant and should mean in relation to the Proclamation, Restricted Sector, and Stateless Refugees.

Certain authorities took the matter into their own hands, which rendered the municipal position on licensing all the more diffuse. Stateless Refugees could apply for interim licenses as early as March 1943—just a month after the announcement of the Proclamation.⁸⁸ The Revenue Office played a central role in the paperwork. The Public Health Department was sidelined. The former liaised with the First District Administration, and then requested final instructions from the Council Chamber.

Surviving and completed application forms merit special attention as a historical source. Linking the completed forms to the cafés gives a more holistic sense how these cafés, without which *Unterhaltungsmusik* would not have flourished, came about. Although the application forms do not name the proposed cafés, only the refugee-applicants and the proposed addresses, I was able to match addresses back with the advertisements in the *Chronicle*. Consider the approved application of Moritz Zuckermann, who originally registered at the German Consulate when he arrived in Shanghai, and applied in March 1943 to conduct a tavern at 123 Muirhead Road. From the address, I was able to pin down Zuckermann's establishment as the Imperial, which, as mentioned earlier, featured violinist Otto Ruff and pianist and accordionist Hans Levinsohn. The form is reproduced below in its entirety, including the fields filled in by the refugee-applicant. The requested information was typed onto the form (not handwritten).

To the SECRETARY,

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,

I, Moritz Zuckermann, a native of Stateless, registered in the German Consulate of this port, and residing at No. 123 Muirhead Road, beg to

make application for a license to conduct a Tavern at the premises No. 123 Muirhead Road.

I agree, that in the event of an interim license being granted, I have no right to make any claim for compensation should such license not be confirmed at the next Annual Licensing Session, and I hereby undertake, if a license is granted, to pay the requisite fees and to observe the conditions in force for the time being for the control of such establishments.

March 30, 1943.

[Signature of the applicant]

CONSULAR ENDORSEMENT [This section was often left blank/unsigned, as most of the applicants in question were deemed Stateless.]

The above application is approved

[Signature of Consul-General]

REMARKS BY DEPUTY TREASURER-REVENUE

Forwarded for instructions as to issue of an interim licence.

Notification of application will appear in Municipal Gazette of July 30, 1943. (Draft notification attached.)

Closing date for objections 12 noon on Saturday, August 7, 1943.

July 22, 1943.

[Signature of the Deputy Treasurer-Revenue]

DIRECTIONS FOR REVENUE OFFICE

Application approved subject to compliance with departmental requirements.

August 7, 1943.

[Signature of the Secretary-General of the Council Chamber]⁸⁹

Another example is the application of Leopold Berger, who also registered in Shanghai's German Consulate and applied in April 1943 to conduct a tavern at 133 and 135 Muirhead Road. The application was approved at the same time as Zuckermann's, and the tavern became Café Rex. The Rex offered the tea dance and 5 o'clock tea, with music from pianist–accordionist Hans Reiss and Charlie Albert and his Band. Yet another example is the application of Julius Katz, who applied in May to conduct a tavern at 674 and 676 Kungping Road. Once approved, Katz opened the Windsor, which, as mentioned earlier, held Viennese Tavern evenings with Alexander Fein, Toni Baumgarten, and pianist PEPPI throughout November 1943.

The application form came with a caveat, however. On the reverse side was an addendum titled "Warning," which the applicant had to sign and date. Refugee-applicants were warned not to secure premises until after their interim licenses were approved. Municipal licenses were issued, but accompanied by requirements and provisions that were stricter than normal:

Applicants are hereby warned:

1. That applications for the issue of the undermentioned licenses are heard and determined at the Annual Licensing Session held in March each year:
Hotel
Tavern
Restaurant with liquor at meals
Beer for consumption on the premises
2. That pending the hearing of such application at the Annual Licensing Session, interim licenses only are issued. Interim licenses are subject to confirmation or refusal at the first Annual Licensing Session following their issue.
3. That notification in the Municipal Gazette of an application to conduct a licensable establishment does not imply that, [and that] providing no public objection is received by the Council, the issue of an interim license is assured.
4. That it is imprudent to enter into commitments as regards premises etc., before the applicant has received the Council's written assurance that an interim license will be issued subject to compliance with departmental requirements. In this connection it is particularly stressed that the issue of an interim license carries no implication that the license will be confirmed at the Annual Licensing Session.

I have read and understood the warnings set out above.⁹⁰

Yet, did the addendum really take effect? Consider the application of Ignatz Rok in December 1943 to conduct a tavern at 47 Ward Road. The authorities did not process the application until March 1944. The *Chronicle* advertisements show that Rok's proposed establishment—the Elite—was already in full swing in January, presenting “die gute Unterhaltungsmusik” every afternoon and evening.⁹¹ Though Rok duly signed and submitted the Warning alongside the application form, he went ahead with his business regardless. Rok's application was dealt with all the same. There are no signs to indicate that he was penalized due to the unlawful premature opening.

During my research, I did not come across information on the Annual Licensing Session, so it would be unrealistic to discuss the fate of the refugee cafés beyond their interim licenses. That said, the above findings are telling in a number of ways. Analyzed through the lens of municipal licensing, the political landscape of the Sector exposes disarray and confusion that enabled refugees cafés like Zuckermann's Imperial, Berger's Rex, and Katz's Windsor to establish themselves, and subsequently to put on live music. Expressed another way, the inception and proliferation of refugee cafés happened amid administrative chaos and uncertainty.

Whether eateries in the Restricted Sector ought to be licensed, and the extent to which they would be regulated were questions contingent upon the individuals involved. The authorities' attempts to regulate eateries post-Proclamation were thus both relevant and irrelevant. Although certain municipal officials were determined to ban new eateries or, at minimum, implement interim licenses with specific terms and conditions, there was no clear process for application, and no uniform policy toward the licensing of eateries in the Sector. Municipal governance, though answerable to the Japanese military, the puppet regime, and their representatives, was anything but monolithic. Rather, the political landscape was constantly in flux. Uncoordinated procedures meant that refugee cafés, the very sites of *Unterhaltungsmusik*, were able to operate and thrive.

A Historical Landscape: Interpretations of Live Music in Time of War

Quasi-Viennese cafés and musical offerings in the Sector doubtless had a painkilling effect. They were reminiscent of environments from which the refugees were cruelly dislocated. But the cafés were not merely sites of nostalgia. They did not exist underground or in private: they were officially recognized establishments. On the ground, such factors as municipal politics had a direct bearing on refugee-proposed eateries and their live music. Even more significantly, the cafés and their *Unterhaltungsmusik* were borne out of a combination of military force (segregation), contested power (politics of licensing), and cultural capital (native musical activities on nonnative territory).

What emerges is a historical landscape with two profound implications. The first concerns the way one goes about the "raw data" when thinking about café culture and music in the Restricted Sector. In principle, one could take the Proclamation as the frame under which to analyze cafés and their *Unterhaltungsmusik*. That is to say, the military decree is the *sine qua non* upon which to discuss activities of live music. The Proclamation becomes the "cause," and the café music scene the "effect." Another possibility would be to focus on the refugees and their temporary healing through music. With the help of such sources as witness accounts and newspaper advertisements, it is possible to investigate musical life in the community, and explore music as a form of self-affirmation and spiritual strengthening under military confinement.

These approaches are useful, but they also have their pitfalls. Judging from the available evidence, refugee cafés were not passive or helpless responses to the brutality of the Japanese decree. And though

communal practice is a key consideration in the context of the Designated Area, a likely risk is that zooming in exclusively on the refugees and their homesick sentiments does not relate their musical activities back to the wider human environment in which those activities were able to take place.

As a matter of historical analysis, not only does landscape as a metaphor help to penetrate the complexities of licensed refugee cafés and their music, it also unearths the empirical potential of two seemingly different and unrelated source groups: the *Chronicle* advertisements and the municipal records. Patchy as the available archival materials may be, they offer valuable interpretative insights. Surviving evidence of municipal politics dialogues with surviving evidence of cafés and *Unterhaltungsmusik*. What this dialogue highlights is that the licensing of refugee cafés, the cafés' organizing of entertainment music, and the emergence of Continental sound worlds went hand in hand.

The second implication draws on but also goes beyond 1940s Shanghai to contemplate the other question I raised at the beginning of the essay. Is it necessarily true that live music in time of wars past bore deducible intents? The case of licensed refugee cafés and Austro-German entertainment music arouses considerable curiosity as to what this music was doing there, even though it was aimed at and circulated among refugee-patrons in a segregated zone. As I have come to observe, there was more to the phenomenon of *Unterhaltungsmusik* than a transplanted cultural practice.

Studies of music in the Holocaust and other internment settings are often interested in the human purposing of music, for instance, music as an instrument of terror and/or a source of hope. The Restricted Sector and its puzzling DNA, however, throw a spanner in the works. Is it plausible to distinguish "music" from the "purposing" of music? There was cultural, emotional, and social maintenance in such activities as the *Tanztee* and *Wiener Heuriger* evenings, but live music in the cafés also played casually to ordinary tastes and pleasures. In that sense, music was more than a coping mechanism. Of course, it was still a "tool," in that it contributed to the cafés: music complemented the overall ambience; it was part and parcel of the mix of food, beverages, and surroundings. Yet, beyond the optional sonic contribution and its cultural and emotional touchpoints, live music in the cafés was not explicitly geared toward intents or purposes, and therefore was not necessarily a means to an end.

This brings me full circle back to the perplexing and bizarre quality of the Restricted Sector: an urban time-space that was simultaneously a segregated zone and an imagined Vienna. It was a frozen time-space, characterized by the street boundaries that delineated it, as well as by a

semblance of normalcy. The peculiarity of the Designated Area cannot be stressed enough: the everyday quasi-commercial provision of *Unterhaltungsmusik* suggests that this music was bound up with but also operated despite conditions of suffering and dislocation. The various soundings of the cafés flourished of their own accord. Here my point chimes with Tia DeNora's emphasis on studying music as it "acts' within actual social settings, eras and spaces, and in real time."⁹² There is something else for the music historian to take away, which is: entertainment music trading on an odd currency of cruel confinement and sanctioned commerce is an ambiguity to be acknowledged and not so much grappled with. Through a nuanced, critical understanding of military segregation and refugee cafés, and clues from archival materials, the case of Little Vienna makes an unusual addition to interpretations of live music in time of war, especially the early decades of the twentieth century. Not only does the case examine the largely forgotten sites, sound worlds, operators, and performers of a café musical culture amid oppression, it also digs up various documents from an ostensibly stowed past. Surely such intervention makes a welcome counterpart to testimony-based histories, in music studies and beyond.

Notes

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1. Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), 1.
2. The work was first published in 1984 (London: Croom Helm), followed by editions in 1985 and 1998 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).
3. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 1.

4. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1.
5. Yvonne Whelan, "Landscape and Iconography," in *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, eds. David Nally, John Morrissey, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan (London: Sage Publications, 2014), 164.
6. For a discussion of symbolic readings of landscape, see Iain Robertson and Penny Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003).
7. In her article "Race Against Time," published in *Survey Graphic* in March 1944, Laura Margolies wrote: "Chusan Road [eventually a thoroughfare in the Sector], once a typical Chinese lane, in 1941 looked like a little street in Vienna." Postwar writings referencing "Little Vienna" include Felix Grünberger's 1950 article "The Jewish Refugees in Shanghai" in *Jewish Social Studies*; and Horst Peter Eisfelder, *Chinese Exile: My Years in Shanghai and Nanking 1938–1947* (Melbourne: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2003).
8. According to the November 1944 census of the European Refugees Union in Shanghai, out of a total of 14,245 refugees in the Sector, 8,114 came from Germany, 3,942 from Austria, 1,248 from Poland, and 236 from Czechoslovakia. The Germans and the Austrians thus constituted 85 percent of the total refugee population in the Sector at that point.
9. The Tripartite Pact signed between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan in Berlin in September 1940 established the major Axis powers of the Second World War.
10. Steve Hochstadt, *Exodus from Shanghai: Stories of Escape from the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 138.
11. Hochstadt, *Exodus from Shanghai*, 127. Following the Unequal Treaties between China's Qing Dynasty and various foreign powers in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Sephardic Baghdadi Jews ventured to Shanghai and other Chinese ports that had been forced to open as a result of the Treaties. Many found success in their businesses, and volunteered aid to European Jewish refugees in the 1930s and 1940s. The Ashkenazi Jews formed another group: having fled tsarist Russia via Siberia, they based themselves initially in northeastern China, for example, in Harbin, Dalian, and Shenyang. In the 1920s (partly to do with the increasing Japanese military presence in the northeast), many moved farther south, and settled in such cities as Tianjin and Shanghai. A somewhat parallel but also different movement was that of the Soviet Jews, who arrived in northeastern China in the early twentieth century to help construct railways. Again, a good number ended up in Shanghai, for example, bandleader Oleg Lundstrem (whose father was a railway engineer), who eventually became a major figure in the city's jazz scene.
12. See, for example, David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938–1945* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976); Barbara Demick, "China's Little Vienna," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 February 2012

(accessed 19 November 2014), <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/sep/18/world/la-fg-china-jews-20120918>; Casey Hall, "Jewish Life in Shanghai's Ghetto," *New York Times*, 19 June 2012 (accessed 19 November 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/20/travel/jewish-life-in-shanghais-ghetto.html>.

13. Pan Guang, ed., *Jianku suiyue de nanwang jiyi* (Jewish Refugee Memoirs: Their Experiences in Wartime China) (Beijing: Shishi chuban she, 2015); Tang Yating, *Shanghai youtai shequ de yinyue shenghuo* (The Musical Life of the Shanghai Jewish Community) (1850–1950, 1998–2005) (Shanghai: Shanghai Music Conservatory Press, 2007); Wang Jian, *Shanghai youtairen shehui shenghuoshi* (The Social History of the Shanghai Jews) (Shanghai: Cishu chuban she, 2008).

14. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 16 January 1944.

15. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

16. Daniel M. Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

17. Of music in wartime internment settings in the early decades of the twentieth century, an obvious area of scholarship to reference would be the Third Reich. See, for example, Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); Eckhard John, "Music and Concentration Camps: An Approximation," *Journal of Musicological Research* 20, no. 4 (2001): 269–323; and Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch, eds., *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Outside the Third Reich, see Minako Waseda, "Extraordinary Circumstances, Exceptional Practices: Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): 171–209.

18. Ex-refugee Liliane Willens notes that the paper operated without interference from the Japanese authorities, although it is possible that in order to survive the paper might have cooperated with the authorities. See Liliane Willens, *Stateless in Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2010), 156.

19. In *Music in the Holocaust*, Gilbert cautions against interpreting musical life solely in terms of heroic resistance.

20. My use of Chinese characters corresponds with the context, namely traditional Chinese for pre-1949 names and simplified Chinese for post-1949 ones.

21. At the Shanghai Municipal Archives and in Chinese Communist parlance, the wartime occupation is referred to as the "Illegitimate Japanese Era" (日伪时期).

22. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 3 October 1943.

23. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 30 November 1943.

24. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 2 November 1943.

25. It is beyond the scope of my essay to discuss the complex legalities of the Unequal Treaties between China's Qing Dynasty and foreign imperial powers. The Treaties forced open ports for foreign trade and accorded extraterritorial rights and privileges to nationals of foreign signatories. Following the First Opium War and the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), Shanghai, Guangzhou (Shamian Island), Ningbo, Fuzhou, and Xiamen were established as treaty ports.

26. In February 1943, the British–Chinese Treaty for the Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights in China and the US–China Treaty for Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights were signed between the Nationalist Government under Jiang Jieshi, Britain, and the United States. Although the treaties were not enforceable in Japanese-occupied Shanghai, in July of the same year the Japanese retroceded the Shanghai Municipal Council (previously the governing body of the International Settlement) to the Shanghai Special Municipality. In the same month, the Nazi-affiliated government of Vichy France handed the French Concession over to the Wang Jingwei government. The International Settlement and French Concession officially came to an end with the surrender of Japan, conclusion of the Second World War, and the Nationalists' resumption of sovereignty.

27. These were the headline and sub-headline on the front page of the *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943. Newspapers that reported on the Proclamation include *Shenbao* (申報), *Xinwen Bao* (新聞報), and *Le Journal de Shanghai*. Similar to the *Shanghai Times*, *Le Journal de Shanghai* accorded front-page coverage to the Proclamation when it was officially announced. On February 20, 1943, the latter ran the news again on an inside page.

28. *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943. These were the street names when the Restricted Sector was in force. The majority of their present names differ.

29. *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943.

30. *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943.

31. That visas were not required to enter Shanghai meant that many European Jewish refugees ended up in the city, whether by choice or by chance. Between 1933 (when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany) and 1940, refugees boarded for Shanghai, among other destinations, from ports in Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Others made their way to the Balkans via the Danube, and embarked on ships for Shanghai. Due to Italy's declaration of war on Britain and France, the port option was no longer open after June 1940. The refugees then traveled by land—via Siberia, then Northeastern China, Korea, or Japan—before reaching Shanghai. When war broke out between Germany and Soviet Russia in June 1941, the last remaining route was cut off.

32. Shanghai Municipal Archives (hereafter SMA), R1-4-174.

33. Tang, *Shanghai youtai shequ de yinyue shenghuo*, 101. Tang estimates that approximately 15,000–18,000 European Jewish refugees were already in the area prior to the Proclamation. There might have been more; an accurate number is impossible to establish.

34. *Shanghai Times*, 18 February 1943.
35. SMA, U1-14-3361.
36. SMA, U1-14-3361.
37. Ursula Bacon, *Shanghai Diary: A Young Girl's Journey from Hitler's Hate to War-Torn China* (Milwaukee: Milestone Press, 2004), 171.
38. Never formally published, William Schurtman's account is titled *Report On: The Jewish Refugee Community in Shanghai*, and dates from January 1954. It is available at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.
39. Bacon, *Shanghai Diary*, 170.
40. The International Committee for Granting Relief to European Refugees had been operating well before the announcement of the Proclamation. In August 1938, the committee contacted the Shanghai Municipal Council and promoted itself as an organization formed to give aid to refugees who "owing to race, creed or political convictions had to leave Europe due to developments there in the past few months." The letter also suggested that the Council consider recruiting skilled refugees into the Police and Public Health Departments. See SMA, U1-14-3361.
41. Ex-refugee Liliane Willens estimates: "During their two-and-a-half years of confinement in the Designated Area approximately 1,500 elderly and very young children died from malnutrition, lack of medication, cold and damp winters in unheated rooms and tropical diseases unknown to Europeans." See Willens, *Stateless in Shanghai*, 156.
42. Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
43. The Werner von Boltenstern Shanghai Photograph and Negative Collection is housed at the William H. Hannon Library at Loyola Marymount University.
44. My essay is not positioned as a study of diaspora. Although the notion of diaspora helps to examine refugees' survival attempts, it does not sufficiently explain local and oft-unforeseen circumstances of music making. Worth mentioning, however, is Marcia Ristaino's detailed survey of Jewish and Slavic communities in early twentieth-century Shanghai. See Marcia Reynders Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).
45. Willens, *Stateless in Shanghai*, 156.
46. Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis, and Jews*, 117.
47. Anthony D. Kauders, "Weimar Jewry," in *The Oxford Short History of Germany: The Weimar Republic*, ed. Anthony McElligott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 239.
48. Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101.
49. The Xujiahui Library (藏书楼) in Shanghai, the city's most extensive public archive of foreign newspapers and periodicals from the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, holds issues of the *Chronicle* from July 1943 to March 1944, some in a state of disrepair.

50. The site that housed Zum Weissen Rössl was demolished in 2009; a replica building was later constructed to promote local tourism (at another address however, on Changyang Road and opposite the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum), with some of the original internal features, for example, the staircase handrail.

51. An example of a charged musical event is that featuring singer-entertainers Raja Zomina, Herbert Zernik, and pianist Siegfried Sonnenschein at Café Roy on November 23, 1943. According to the advertisement in the *Chronicle*, the café charged \$15 (including tax) per person.

52. Irene Eber, ed., *Voices from Shanghai: Jewish Exiles in Wartime China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 104. Eber translated Zernik's poem "Eine Affe wurde Mensch" (A Monkey Turned Human), which involves sarcastic wordplay regarding the Japanese official Goya.

53. *Shanghai Jewish Entertainment*, 29 April 2015 (accessed 5 January 2016), <http://shanghai-jewish-entertainment.tumblr.com>.

54. Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 87.

55. William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 12.

56. Brian Currid, *A National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 121.

57. Some examples from the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* are the November 15, 1943 advertisement for bass Louis Levine's recital on November 21, 1943, at the Alcock Theatersaal; the 18 January 1944 advertisement for a concert on January 23, 1944, at the S. J. Y. A. School, with a program of Beethoven's Violin Concerto as well as Lieder and arias, featuring Alfred Wittenberg on the violin, Hans Bär and Erich Marcuse on the piano, tenor Hans Bergmann, and baritone Hersch Friedmann; and the February 9, 1944 advertisement for a recital on February 19, 1944, at the S. J. Y. A. School, with a program of Lieder by Wolf, Wagner, and Richard Strauss.

58. The production was first advertised in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* on January 12, 1944.

59. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, 214.

60. Ferdinand Hirsch, *Das große Wörterbuch der Musik* (Weyarn: Seehamer Verlag, 1996), 499.

61. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 10 October 1943.

62. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 17 October 1943.

63. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 21 October 1943.
64. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 2 November 1943.
65. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1944.
66. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1944.
67. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1944.
68. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 5 February 1944.
69. J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure," in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114.
70. Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany," 115.
71. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 3 October 1943.
72. The duo was listed in the Roy's *Unterhaltungsmusik* advertisements in October and November 1943. Ehlich also led a band at the Emperor.
73. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 25 January 1944.
74. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 15 January 1944.
75. Italics are Bourdieu's. There followed a conference volume; see Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, eds., *Habitus: A Sense of Place* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002).
76. Hillier and Rooksby, *Habitus*, 27–29.
77. Hillier and Rooksby, *Habitus*, 27.
78. Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh, ed., *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14.
79. SMA, U1-4-2356, 3 May 1943.
80. SMA, U1-4-2356, 3 May 1943.
81. SMA, U1-4-2356, 3 May 1943.
82. SMA, R22-2-595, December 1938 (precise date unknown).
83. SMA, R22-2-595, 8 May 1943.
84. SMA, R22-2-595, 12 May 1943.
85. SMA, R22-2-595, 18 May 1943.
86. SMA, R22-2-595, 18 May 1943.
87. SMA, R22-2-595, 18 May 1943.
88. Refugee application forms dated March 1943 can be found in SMA, R22-2-564.
89. SMA, R22-2-564.

90. SMA, R22-2-564.
91. *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, 16 January 1944.
92. Tia DeNora, *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 39.