'For Those Who Live in the Sun:' Holocaust Commemoration in the Southeastern United States

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“FOR THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE SUN:” HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATION IN THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Schools of
Clemson University
and the
College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
Lauren Elizabeth Cannady
May 2011

Accepted by:
Barry Stiefel, Ph.D, Committee Chair
Dale Rosengarten, Ph.D
Carter Hudgins, Ph.D
Robert Russell, Ph.D
Theodore Rosengarten, Ph.D
ABSTRACT

Holocaust commemoration is a vast, multifaceted enterprise. Diverse styles and forms have continued to emerge, and a chronology of types has evolved throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Holocaust remembrance began with narratives, communicated as oral histories and sermons, published in books, journals, newspapers, and magazines, and presented in dramatic performances. In the 1960s and '70s many Holocaust groups sought something more substantial to represent the horror that the Holocaust wrought. Synagogues, community centers, and Jewish businesses installed plaques, stained glass windows, and displays containing Holocaust relics to commemorate the Shoah. Cemeteries became the appropriate location to dedicate larger structures, since Holocaust monuments would serve as tombstones for victims denied proper burial. The 1980s and '90s brought another transformation—suddenly, memorialization caught public attention. Not only had the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in 1993, but that same year, the award-winning movie Schindler's List was released. Another major museum opened in 1997—the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City. Interest grew on a local level as well. Large memorials were erected in public parks, creating physical spaces for commemoration and inviting community gatherings. This surge of remembrance activity directly parallels Jewish Americans’ socio-economic change. Jews in the United States had become affluent and powerful over the course of the twentieth century, and they now had the ability to commemorate on a larger scale. The chronology of memorialization has progressed into the twenty-first century, with educational programs implemented in conjunction with the built environment.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the evolution of Shoah commemoration and the emergence of physical structures—monuments, memorials, and museums. This is illustrated
through the exploration of several case studies in the Southeastern United States. Basic investigations revealed each project’s development, organization, leadership, and community involvement. Additional information was gained through personal interviews, phone conversations, and electronic communication with engaged participants. Memorials will outlast eyewitnesses, and they have the potential to exist longer than original Holocaust structures. Through their preservation and the production of didactic tools, the Shoah will be remembered.
DEDICATION

“For Those Who Live in the Sun:” Holocaust Commemoration in the Southeastern United States” serves as yet another paper monument. My thesis is dedicated to the six million Jewish lives lost, and the five million others destroyed by the Nazis. To Mr. Joe Engel, for his pain and suffering and that of his family, I dedicate this thesis. He has risen above extreme hardships and continues to shine as he shares his testimony. For Mr. Benjamin Hirsch, whose faith continued in the darkest of days. His accomplishments are inspirational to all. And to Mr. Selden Smith, my fellow gentile with a passion for Holocaust education and a love of the human spirit, I dedicate my thesis. This document is my attempt to memorialize the victims, honor the survivors, and educate the public. Until genocide ends, until doubters believe, remembrance must continue.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have been blessed with a better thesis committee. My adviser, Dr. Barry Stiefel, supported me every step of the way. He provided encouragement and challenged me to go above and beyond my initial scope of work. He was readily accessible and determined to answer all of my questions and concerns. Dr. Dale Rosengarten was assigned as one of my readers however, her role surpassed that. She became my mentor, providing research advice and routes that I would not have considered without her. I benefited from her social network, and now I realize the meaning of, “all roads lead to Dale.” Dr. Rosengarten also acted as my editor; my thesis reflects her meticulous proofreading and organizational skills. Dr. Robert Russell, Dr. Carter Hudgins, and Dr. Theodore Rosengarten alternated as additional readers. Dr. Russell and Dr. Hudgins provided helpful insight related to the preservation field, diversifying my thesis discussions and arguments. They too, were very responsive throughout my work, encouraging supplementary, analytical routes of study. Dr. Theodore Rosengarten shared a plethora of knowledge related to the Holocaust and offered helpful resources and data. His suggestions became the roots of my paper, from which all other information and theories grew. I was assigned an elite thesis committee. Through their combined efforts and encouragement, my thesis was completed successfully.

My project required a significant amount of field research, and I would not have been able to complete my thesis without the generosity of various communities across the Southeastern United States. In many instances I demanded a large amount time, energy, and effort from my contacts, yet they were constantly supportive and helpful. They treated my research as a priority. Thank you to all of the synagogues, Jewish community centers, museums, universities, and libraries for your assistance. Special thanks to Mr. David Popowski, Mrs. Anita Zucker, Dr.
Dottie Stone, and Mr. Joe Engel from Charleston, South Carolina; Mrs. Lilly Stern Filler and Mr. Selden Smith of Columbia, South Carolina; Mr. Benjamin Hirsch from Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Roz Greenspon, Mr. Mitch Rifkin, Mrs. Sue Worrel, and Mrs. Barbara Ziegler of Charlotte, North Carolina.

My personal support system was also an integral portion of my thesis performance. Unconditional love and compassion came from my mother and grandmother, Kelly Fitzgerald and Joyce Fitzgerald. I would not have made it through my twenty-five years without them. Maggie Travis, Emily Barin, and Taylor McGovern provided diverse perspectives and helpful insight, and most importantly, they kept me laughing and smiling all the while. I also appreciate my fellow employees of The Korte Company for the flexible work schedule during my last semester. My fellow students and faculty members, such as Frances Ford, Ashley Robbins Wilson, and Katherine Saunders, within the College of Charleston/Clemson University joint program in Historic Preservation deserve acknowledgement as well. I am very grateful for their encouragement.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO HOLOCAUST MEMORIALIZATION:
ITS HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE

In *For Those Who Live in the Sun*, a play presented at the Dock Street Theater in 1950 for the bicentennial celebration of Jewish settlement in Charleston, a displaced family from Poland time-travels through American Jewish history with dreams of reaching the Holy City.\(^1\) This is a fantastic example of early Holocaust memorialization that occurred during the first surge of commemoration, as intangible forms emerged. Oral histories and performances were common remembrance techniques during the first decade following the Holocaust. This Charlestonian play provided the inspiration for my thesis title.

It was important to understand the basics of Holocaust commemoration before I pursued a specific route, so my research began by viewing as many memorials from around the world as possible. I also studied early forms of memorialization—those that existed prior to monuments and museums—because I knew this information would be crucial to develop a memorial chronology. It became apparent to me that Holocaust memorialization has taken a variety of forms and I wanted to illustrate this. To explore the diversity and importance of Shoah memorials, I selected case studies in the Southeastern United States—Atlanta, Georgia; Miami, Florida; Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina; Whitwell, Tennessee; Charlotte, North Carolina.\(^2\) These memorials were chosen for a number of reasons. Their styles, material

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2. The term Shoah, the Hebrew word for catastrophe, is widely used as a synonym of the word Holocaust.
compositions, and locations within their respective communities are different from each other in significant ways. Even the memorials erected at Charleston and Columbia, though within the same state and both located in public parks, have dissimilar forms. Charleston’s memorial is a spare enclosure, whereas Columbia’s design is straight-forward, a tomb-like monument. Charlotte, North Carolina’s primary memorial is an artistic, educational display. There is also a smaller, almost-forgotten memorial in Marshall City Park. The project in Whitwell contains a Holocaust relic—a historic railcar—distinguishing it from many memorials. Atlanta has a memorial and a museum, both designed by the same person. I felt it was pertinent to study these alternate forms. The memorial in Miami, unique among other American examples, is so extravagant that it resembles an outdoor museum. My survey also found that some states, such as Mississippi, do not yet have physical memorials in the public domain.3

Many of these memorials were within driving distance from Charleston, and I was able to visit them in person. While I was unable to travel to Miami and Whitwell, I knew these two projects had a plethora of information on their websites, books, and Whitwell’s project had a documentary, and this sufficed. I studied all the memorials’ histories through available resources: books, websites, dedication pamphlets, documentaries, and vertical files. I contacted the memorials’ key leadership and members of the organizing committees. Their availability and willingness to help also added to the strength of my study. Interviews, phone conversations, and emails enabled me to get a personal feel for the design development, community involvement, and project organization of each memorial. These connections also revealed material that would otherwise have been unavailable, deepening my analysis of each project.

3 On July 1, 2004, the Mississippi legislature enacted Code 39-29-1, creating the Mississippi Commission on the Holocaust. This law defines the Commission’s membership, rules, educational curriculum, regulations, grant programs, etc. However, as of the writing of this thesis, no physical memorials in the public domain have been erected.
I also researched memorial maintenance issues and appropriate remedies. The majority of Holocaust monuments are composed of metal, wood, or stone, so I focused specifically on these materials, and related that information to the existing conservation problems found in concentration camps that were turned into commemoration sites. Finally, after completing my case studies, I was able to create a basic memorial progression and chronology, allowing me to put Holocaust memorialization into a broader perspective.

The field of Holocaust commemoration includes more than monuments and structures, and its evolution is instructive. Before these existed, there were narrative memorials. Books, articles, poems, plays, all were produced for purposes of remembrance. From early 1940s’ sermons, to sermons in stone, memorialization formats and expressions have changed drastically over time. Remembrance began in private settings—the home, synagogue, Jewish-owned businesses, community centers, and cemeteries. Around the 1980s and ’90s, Holocaust memorialization caught public attention, because it was suddenly showcased in public spaces, like parks. The transition from private to public realms allowed memorials to create spaces of their own—hosting community gatherings. Survivors now had the ability to publicize the Holocaust because they, and the rest of the American Jewish population, had become more powerful and influential during the post-World War II decades. It is essential to continue raising Holocaust public awareness, educating and informing future generations about its devastating consequences. In order to never repeat it, it is important to preserve its memory.

Holocaust memorialization began before the end of World War II, long before the term Holocaust was even used. It was evident to those affected by the catastrophic experience—liberators, government officials, and refugees, as well as survivors—that it was worthy of

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4 Dale Rosengarten, personal discussion with author, Charleston, South Carolina, March 10, 2011.
documentation and memorialization, and important to do so in a timely fashion. Preservation of historic buildings and new construction to memorialize the Holocaust occurred almost immediately following liberation. In the 1950s, photographs of the Nazis’ depredations were a common form of documentation. The images were labeled as “atrocity photos” and “destruction of the European Jews.” Not until the 1960s was it common to distinguish between World War II and the Nazi victimization of Jews, and not until the 1970s did the word Holocaust come into common usage.

International events in the 1960s and ’70s brought the Holocaust to the forefront of many Americans’ minds, resulting in various forms of memorialization. By the 1980s, larger cities’ survivor groups were in the midst of organizing structural memorials, with a few projects developing earlier. By the 1990s, Holocaust was used for all persecutions resulting from Nazi programs. Many large cities with affluent Jewish populations had erected memorials, and smaller cities were planning their own. Memorialization continues into the twenty-first century, taking on new forms and reviving those of the past. The progression and chronology of Holocaust remembrance is an interesting study, and following the trajectory of American Jewish life during this time period also lends insight on the development of Holocaust education and memorialization in the United States.

But what next? Where do we go from here? How can the memory of the Holocaust be preserved, as time passes and the eyewitnesses pass away? This thesis will explore these issues and analyze the interdependence between the intangible cultural practices of memorialization and the physical artifacts left by the Holocaust. Preservation, in this case, is not just about the physical monuments but also the social practices, rituals, and commemorative events connected to them.

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6 Ibid, 54.
7 Ibid, 53-54. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
The first memorials were created in 1943—one in the Majdanek concentration camp and another as a result of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. In the United States, concerned witnesses living in New York City proposed a memorial as early as 1944. These three cases are considered part of the initial stage of Holocaust memorialization. Many subsequent memorials began as temporary structures at concentration camps or other Holocaust sites, and eventually became or included more artistic, permanent monuments. While the United States was far removed from actual Holocaust sites, a similar chronology occurred here as well. Shoah memorialization did not shape the American built environment at first. Instead, sermons, literature, plays, Yizkor books, discussions, and other narrative memorial styles found expression in Jewish communities. Later, Jewish groups preferred physical monuments to represent the Shoah, generally located in private spaces such as synagogues, Jewish community centers, cemeteries, or Jewish-owned businesses. The smaller memorial forms on private property eventually led to larger monuments on public sites, and in many cases memorials became semi-enclosed spaces dedicated to Holocaust memory. Shoah memorials have incorporated a variety of forms, materials, symbolism, and styles through their evolution, and many of the early European designs influenced later American examples.

Majdanek’s concentration camp memorial was designed by a Polish Catholic inmate, Albin Boniecki, in 1943, and may be considered the first Holocaust memorial (Figure 1). As a secret rebellious act, Mr. Boniecki deceived the Nazi officials to gain their approval for its implementation by requesting to beautify his section of the camp. Three concrete eagles were set above a two-meter-tall column containing human ashes at its base. The Nazis believed the raptors
were their own symbol, but eagles are also a Polish national symbol and each bird represented one of the massacred groups—men, women, and children. Sculpted so that they appear to be flying, this action symbolized the future freedom of the birds. A tortoise, illustrating resistance through work slowdowns and a lizard baring its teeth toward the guard’s station were also created. This memorial used existing symbols and also introduced new symbolism known only to its target audience—a common trait of Shoah memorialization.8

The monument for the Warsaw ghetto uprising was conceived in 1943 and realized in 1948 (Figure 2). Nathan Rapoport, the designer, was a Polish Jewish refugee working in the Soviet Union as a sculptor. After the Jewish resistance in Warsaw was crushed, he decided to present a memorial creation to the Arts Committee in Moscow. The initial design was denied because it was viewed as too nationalistic, so Mr. Rapoport revised the memorial and presented it again in 1946 to the Warsaw Jewish Committee. It was approved, and the granite-framed memorial featured the leader of the Warsaw rebellion, Mordecai Anielewicz, resting on top of a base which contained ruins from the ghetto site. The incorporation of site remnants, such as pieces of significant, broken architectural elements, soil, or human ashes, became a common trait among memorials.9

In New York City, memorial efforts began in 1944 and were proposed by concerned witnesses, including the refugee poet, Julian Tuwim. In 1946, the United States National Organization of Polish Jews called for a monument and in 1947 a cornerstone was dedicated in Riverside Park above a box of soil from several concentration camps (Figure 3). The New Yorkers wanted a monumental structure and several additional attempts occurred between 1948

8 Ibid, 56. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
and 1968.\textsuperscript{10} It was not possible until much later in the twentieth century because of opposition from Israel’s Holocaust resource center, Yad Vashem, who wanted to be the world’s leader for Holocaust memorialization outside of Europe.\textsuperscript{11} Eventually, the result was a museum. Efforts to build the Museum of Jewish Heritage began in 1986 and the structure was completed in 1997 with a location in Battery Park, New York City.\textsuperscript{12} This memorial example illustrates the difficulty many groups experienced before receiving major community interest and support.

The “Three Eagles” memorial at Majdanek concentration camp, the Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto, and the New York Holocaust memorial efforts mark the beginning of Shoah memorialization.\textsuperscript{13} Initiatives to maintain and memorialize the remaining concentration camps quickly followed these first initiatives. Some camps were destroyed or began deteriorating, requiring symbolic representation to replace the actual relics. In these cases, efforts began with temporary memorial objects, later replaced by larger, more permanent monuments. However, several camps remained intact and symbolic structures were not needed until later in the twentieth century; preservation was the main focus for these camps.

Auschwitz-Birkenau is an interesting case study, since the remaining concentration camp structures are still utilized as a memorial museum. It remains today as one of the earliest memorial forms. The historic structures at Auschwitz-Birkenau survived the Second World War, unlike the concentration camps destroyed at Treblinka, Chelmno (Kulmhof), Solibor, and Belzec.\textsuperscript{14} Therefore, the original buildings surrounded by an authentic landscape, make Auschwitz-Birkenau unique as memorials come. Preservation of Auschwitz took priority over

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid, 290-292.
\textsuperscript{11} Hasia R. Diner, \textit{We Remember with Reverence and Love}, 33-36.
\textsuperscript{12} Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials,” 61-63.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 53.
any new memorial construction, and it was given to the Ministry of Culture and Art before Germany had surrendered. Amazingly, by June 1947, a museum opened on site. Temporary memorials also existed, and a wall was constructed near one of Birkenau’s crematoria in 1950. An urn memorial followed in 1955. International design competitions began in 1957 to construct a more structural and symbolic display, but several design issues occurred including approvals, coordination, and location, and the existing memorial was not completed until the late 1960s. In 1979, although it was less than fifty years of age, the concentration camp was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. It is presently the only Holocaust site and memorial on this registry of significant properties. Auschwitz-Birkenau was not built to last however; the wooden structures were constructed as temporary units and their decay is inevitable. Between its age and high tourism traffic, wear and tear on the historic site has negatively affected “the world’s most powerful and important testament to Nazi Germany’s crimes.” Barracks, watchtowers, crematoria, and other portions of the built environment are in dire need of conservation, if tourism is to continue at its present level. Other original Holocaust materials are subject to deterioration as well, and modern memorials will require maintenance in the future.

Breendonk in Belgium and Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia are two other sites where the existing material was preserved rather than erecting new memorialization forms. Gross Rosen, in Poland, contains only a small obelisk because most of its structures still exist. Transitional memorials were often installed upon liberation. Dachau survivors erected a provisional memorial on the roll-call square, succeeded by several permanent memorial designs

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15 Ibid, 81.
16 Young, *The Texture of Memory*, 133-139.
17 Ibid, 139.
18 Ibid.
20 Ibid, 58.
beginning in 1949.\textsuperscript{21} As the historic material began decaying, new memorial styles and forms were necessary. In 1952, a design was chosen and built but never dedicated because it did not maintain public interest.\textsuperscript{22} An abstract memorial was built in 1968 resembling a skeletal barbed wire fence (Figure 4).\textsuperscript{23} Similarly, the survivors of Buchenwald concentration camp built a wooden obelisk on the roll-call square just four days after its liberation.\textsuperscript{24} The camp’s initials and the number of its victims, fifty-one thousand, were inscribed on the memorial.\textsuperscript{25} Buchenwald’s most recent memorial was built in 1958 and is one of the largest ensembles ever built.\textsuperscript{26}

Flossenburg concentration camp, located in Germany, began memorial efforts in 1946. Two memorials were erected on site—a brick chapel including human ash and stone plaques, and a crematorium chimney displaying the number of deaths associated with each country (Figure 5). An additional memorial was built in the village of Flossenburg’s cemetery and it resembles a skyscraper with blocked stories of granite adorned with a cross and urn (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{27} All three memorials in Flossenburg were built in 1946. Bergen-Belsen concentration camp had several transitional memorials, beginning with its first in 1946.\textsuperscript{28} In 1947 an additional and much larger obelisk was built, and by 1958 this memorial had to be rebuilt due to weather damage.\textsuperscript{29} Today it stands twenty-seven-meters high with a long, stone inscription wall.

As the years passed, deterioration continued and fewer original structures survived, resulting in the need for artistic memorials instead of historic structures. So, in the late 1940s and ‘50s many permanent monuments were erected at sites such as Neuengamme, Mauthausen, Neue

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, 190.
\textsuperscript{23} Young, \textit{The Texture of Memory}, 66.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 74.
\textsuperscript{25} Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials,” 64.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, 74.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 69-70.
\textsuperscript{28} Marcuse, \textit{Legacies of Dachau}, 264.
\textsuperscript{29} Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials,” 65.
Bremm, and Ravensbruck. Other memorials were not dedicated on site locations until the 1960s: Treblinka, Chelmno, Babi Yar, Sachsenhausen, Belzec, and Sobibor.\(^{30}\) Treblinka’s memorial is a powerful display consisting of a large granite tower surrounded by seventeen thousand jagged stones, symbolizing a Jewish cemetery (Figure 7).\(^{31}\) In 1969, a modern memorial was built at Majdanek because its original camp buildings had begun to decay (Figure 8).\(^{32}\) The evolution of European concentration camp memorialization resembles the progression of American memorials and sheds light on their development. It is necessary to study the earliest forms of Holocaust remembrance to understand the significance of the American forms and styles.

Holocaust monuments “offer a new repertoire of forms, symbols, and materials,” all representing multiple meanings for the transnational audiences and differentiating them from earlier memorial forms.\(^{33}\) The oldest memorials derived from classic features or resembled traditional war memorials but with new symbolism.\(^{34}\) Common features included obelisks and towers, and generally incorporated certain materials, such as stone from concentration camp quarries, human ashes, blood-soaked dirt, and ruins from Holocaust sites or lost Jewish communities (Figures 9 and 10). Representations of barbed wire, smokestacks, fence posts, and colored triangle badges worn by inmates were also integrated into the early designs. Railroad cars, tracks, and even the sounds of trains became popular elements, and the use of religious symbolism, such as the Star of David and menorahs, developed in the 1960s. Other components included twisted swastikas, urns, chains, and numeric representations. Specific numbers, such as

\(^{30}\) Ibid, 55.
\(^{32}\) Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials,” 87.
\(^{33}\) Ibid, 54.
\(^{34}\) Ibid, 80.
six to symbolize six million Jewish victims, or generalized large amounts, such as millions of tiles or names of the dead, were used within the design.\textsuperscript{35}

Realistic, figurative memorials and traditional architectonic memorial halls were considered inappropriate right after the war and this viewpoint continued until the late 1950s.\textsuperscript{36} Humans in mourning, resistance, and solidarity, along with skeletal forms, and disembodied hands become common after this point.\textsuperscript{37} At the same time, the style trend also accepted abstract forms and figures, and this is evident in French and Polish memorials erected during the 1960s.\textsuperscript{38} By 1960, Holocaust memorials emerged as a distinct genre shaped by the creators more than the actual event.\textsuperscript{39} Experiential spaces were created later.

Neuengamme concentration camp’s memorial transition is an example displaying the chronology of Holocaust monument form. Beginning with a tapered cylindrical style in 1953, it was replaced by a more abstract, square memorial built in 1960, inscribed with the shape of a camp badge, and a bronze human form was added later (Figures 11 and 12).\textsuperscript{40} The styles, symbols, and materials of these early monuments influenced memorials created in the United States. American designs originated abroad and this is revealed through European memorial research.

Early American documentation and discussion of the Holocaust inspired nonstructural memorialization forms before monuments and museums were erected. There are many instances of remembrance, and while this is not a complete listing, it will illustrate the diverse styles.

Holocaust awareness was strong among American Jews, even as early as 1940. Many of the

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, 56-57.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 80.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 57-58.
\textsuperscript{38} Milton, In Fitting Memory, 202-210.
\textsuperscript{39} Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials,” 55.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 68.
immigrants who flocked to America in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, left behind family members who later were murdered. It was common for Jewish Americans to have family abroad directly affected by the Nazi regime. European connections and relationships helped influence memory of the Shoah in the United States. The Holocaust, as a subject, reached synagogues and civic clubs through first-person witnesses and articles in the national press, compelling rabbis to express themselves through writing and sermons. For example, “In December 1942, the American Jewish Times reported on the hundreds of thousands massacred like helpless sheep and a month later referred to Hitler’s execution chambers and his plan to annihilate every Jew in the occupied countries.”

Holocaust yizkor bikher (memorial books) written directly after the war by survivors continued to appear past the 1960s. Entire organizations and survivor committees devoted themselves to the memorial books, contributing photographs and information to recount the deaths and destructions, along with commemorations of obliterated Jewish lives and towns. The books were published around the world in large cities like Paris, Buenos Aires, Montreal, Tel Aviv, Johannesburg, Munich, and New York City, and they were advertised within the Jewish Book Council of America’s Jewish Book Annual, the American Jewish Committee’s American Jewish Year Book, and the Jewish publication, Jewish Social Studies. “To many American Jews of these years, and unlike later historians, the appearance of books that functioned as symbolic tombstones, as paper monuments, meant more than the absence of physical ones on the American landscape.” Many authors, including survivors, wrote about their personal experiences during the Holocaust or published diaries of those who had not survived, including such writers as Jacob

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42 Ibid, 257.
43 Diner, We Remember with Reverence and Love, 46.
44 Ibid, 48-49.
Sloan, Koppel Pinson, and Abraham Joshua Heschel.\textsuperscript{46} Other forms of literature, including magazines, periodicals, newspapers, and journals, memorialized the Holocaust. The \textit{Jewish Spectator}, an American Jewish magazine, featured Holocaust poems, and journals like \textit{Commentary} and \textit{Midstream}, included related articles.\textsuperscript{47}

Theatrical plays were also a form of Holocaust memorialization. In 1950 the play, \textit{For Those Who Live in the Sun}, directed and produced by playwright Sam Byrd, opened with a scene in “Barracks 17, Displaced Persons Center, Foehrenwald, Bavaria, and the Center Administrative Office. A November night, 1950.”\textsuperscript{48} The play followed the Schumans, a displaced Polish family, traveling throughout several periods of American Jewish history, and dreaming of new lives in Charleston. “The dramatic device of making Holocaust survivors key characters in a pageant marking two centuries of a southern Jewish community spoke volumes about postwar American Jewry.”\textsuperscript{49} Theatrics provided an oblique, yet informative, style of remembrance.

Yom HaShoah, Holocaust Remembrance Day, was observed internationally and was placed on Jewish liturgical calendars in 1951.\textsuperscript{50} The day was dedicated to the fallen martyrs and connected the Jewish population around the world. In 1952, the American Jewish Congress began efforts to create the Seder Ritual of Remembrance, which was dedicated “for the six million Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis and for the heroes of the ghetto uprising.”\textsuperscript{51} This prayer was used nationwide in Jewish homes, schools, and community settings. Holocaust memorialization and documentation commonly began as prayers, books, articles, discussions, and other similar forms in the United States. While there may be a few early instances of structural

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 45-46.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid, 109-113.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid, 197.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Ibid, 198.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Rogoff, \textit{Down Home}, 321.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Quoted from \textit{Seder Ritual of Remembrance}.
\end{itemize}
remembrance in America, physical monuments generally occurred later in the twentieth century because many Americans did not feel a memorial was needed on ground which lay untouched by the Nazis’ persecutions. This opinion was reinforced by Yad Vashem, which discouraged Americans from constructing a centralized memorial. As the world’s leader in Holocaust education and monuments, Israel’s Yad Vashem repeatedly solicited funds from the United States, leaving many groups without the finances to build their own memorials. American leaders were also convinced that the only appropriate Holocaust monument would exist in Israel.  

Nonetheless, interest grew in the United States during the 1960s and ’70s due to a series of international events. In 1960, Israel captured Adolf Eichmann, an infamous Nazi leader, and tried him in 1961. Eichmann’s trial was nationally televised, and in 1963 Hannah Arendt published a book covering it; the Holocaust’s devastation was pushed into public view. 1963 brought another series of court cases, commonly known as the “Auschwitz trials,” where additional Nazis were prosecuted in Germany. During Israel’s 1967 Six Day War, “fears of a second Holocaust turned to euphoria as Israel defeated the massed armies of three Arab nations.” This experience rejuvenated support for Holocaust education and remembrance, along with interest in the State of Israel. “If the Holocaust was one pillar of American Jewry’s postwar identity, then Israel was the other.” Attention continued into the 1970s for both subjects, death in the Holocaust and rebirth in the Jewish national home, and in many instances the two subjects were linked but also competed for public attention and financial support.  

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52 Diner, We Remember with Reverence and Love, 33-36.
54 Ibid, 333.
55 Rogoff, Down Home, 323.
56 Ibid, 323.
57 Sarna, American Judaism, 338.
Israel, celebrating its history, and lobbying politically on its behalf were integral to Jewish agendas and calendars.58

Other themes in the 1960s and ’70s helped shape American Jewish identity and affected the development of Holocaust memorialization—feminism and spirituality.59 Jewish women demanded equal rights in the synagogue, society, the workplace, and home, with the ordination of women being the lead argument. Spirituality evoked “emotive religious experiences that appealed to the heart and the soul, incorporating music, dance, mystical teachings, and healing,” commonly known as Kabbalah.60 Spirituality provided a substitute for the political programs focused on justice and peace, and much of this was owed to Holocaust refugees who became spiritual revivalists. In America, the emergence of Eastern religions, like Buddhism, influenced Jewish spirituality as well, and it became imperative to nurture and save the Jews who remained after the Holocaust.61 These three topics, Israel, feminism, and spirituality, overlapped in many ways and affected Holocaust awareness. However, all the while, supporters of Holocaust memorialization persisted, and several programs in the late 1970s emerged. “The television miniseries Holocaust in 1978, the establishment of the President’s Commission on the Holocaust that same year, and annual Holocaust commemorations in the Capitol Rotunda beginning in 1979, heightened public awareness of the tragedy.”62

Nineteen ninety-three brought two American milestones for Holocaust remembrance—the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the release of the film, Schindler’s List. The following year, Steven Spielberg founded what was then called Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation. By 1999, over fifty-two thousand survivor interviews in

58 Rogoff, Down Home, 323.
59 Sarna, American Judaism, 338-340.
60 Ibid, 345.
61 Ibid, 345-353.
fifty-six countries and in thirty-two languages were recorded. Now titled, *USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, the University of Southern California gained all net assets and control when they guaranteed the preservation of these archives.\(^{63}\) Efforts rapidly increased throughout the late 1980s and early ’90s, resulting in another wave of memorialization.

As this interest flourished, whether it was in the 1960s or 1990s, communities wanted to build something more permanent. “Nearly all of the physical markers that American Jews dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Holocaust went up in synagogues, the headquarters of Jewish institutions, and Jewish cemeteries.”\(^{64}\) It was common to display authentic Holocaust memorabilia in these locations, to hang memorial plaques and windows, erect small monuments, and create designated education centers.

Small memorials in South Carolina illustrate several of these common forms. An outdoor monument exists on Beth Israel Congregation’s property in Florence (Figures 13 and 14). Dedicated in 1998, it was created by a local company, Brown Memorials.\(^{65}\) The four corner posts resemble concentration camp guard towers, a linked chain connecting the four posts represents barbed wire surrounding the camps, the monument is sculpted to appear as though rising out of the ashes (rocks), which reflects Israel’s triumph despite persecution, the Star of David represents Judaism, the tablets mimic the Ten Commandments, and the barbed wire carvings remind viewers of the horror of the Holocaust.\(^{66}\) A survivor in the Florence community, Mr. Tom Grossman,

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\(^{64}\) Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*, 36.
spearheaded the project with the support of Rabbi Nahrer, and through its dedication Mr. Grossman was honored and the Holocaust was memorialized.\textsuperscript{67}

Temple B’Nai Israel of Anderson, South Carolina, contains two memorial plaques and a small stone monument, dedicated in 2002 and 2009, respectively. The two plaques are devoted to local survivors, Alex Rao, Ruth and Irvin Wanderman, and Irene and Murray Epstein.\textsuperscript{68} The monument contains the following inscription, “Dedicated in memory of the lives lost and affected by the Holocaust. This monument stands as a testament to the enduring strength of our people in the midst of adversity and persecution.”\textsuperscript{69}

The Hugo Schiller Holocaust Resource Center, in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, is dedicated in honor of a local survivor and it houses vertical files, teaching manuals, DVDs, and almost three hundred books. Materials and financial aid were donated by a variety of sources, including the Jewish communities of Chabad Academy and Temple Emanu El, a religious school and synagogue. The center was developed by Mr. Schiller’s wife, Mrs. Eleanor Schiller.\textsuperscript{70}

Congregation B’nai Israel in Spartanburg, South Carolina, created a display of Holocaust memorabilia. Within their floor-to-ceiling showcase is a torah from the Zbraslav Synagogue in Czechoslovakia, historic photos of the temple, and a plaque displaying the deceased Czechoslovakian congregation members. These materials were recovered by Pamela and Jay Kaplan, and donated to Temple B’nai Israel for an exhibit dedicated to the lost congregation of Czechoslovakia.\textsuperscript{71} In several of these areas, small, private memorials are the only ones in existence, yet are able to serve their purpose. While the communities may not have wanted larger

\textsuperscript{67} Judy Kammer, phone conversation with author, October 16, 2010.
\textsuperscript{68} Ellen Draisen, e-mail message to author, December 8, 2010.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{70} Eleanor Schiller, e-mail message to author, February 17, 2011.
remembrance monuments, they did desire a tangible memorial. Examples like these exist across the nation.

In some cases, smaller memorials would lead to larger, space-encompassing monuments in public portions of the city. In this way, the evolution of American memorials resembles that of the European concentration camps—groups created what they could initially, something more temporary than what would be organized at a later date when they had time, finances, and support from the community. Recalling New York’s early commemoration progression in 1943, the initial memorial was a cornerstone and while it was situated in the public domain, the final form was a museum located in a much more trafficked park. 72

In Charleston, South Carolina, multiple small memorials exist on private property. The Jewish Community Center dedicated a plaque and memorial garden in January 1972 (Figure 15). The plaque was donated by the Kalushiner Society in memory of the six million Jewish lives lost during the Holocaust. At the Jewish Community Center, Maurice Fox declared, “With the dedication of this plaque and garden, our Center will take on a new and different feeling. From this moment on a new sanctity will permeate this building because of this memorial.”73 Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, Charleston’s Reform congregation, also has a memorial garden with an area allotted to the Holocaust. Dedicated in 1992 and known as the Walkway of Life, a Holocaust monument rock rests in this area (Figures 16, 17, and 18). A plaque contains the following inscription: “To the sacred memory of the six million Jews martyred in the Holocaust. For these do I weep; mine eye mine eye runneth down water.”74 Charleston’s Orthodox synagogue, Brith Sholom Beth Israel, has a plaque devoted to the family of one of its congregants (Figure 19). Mr.

72 Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials.” 63.
73 The Jewish Community Center of Charleston, Speech Delivered at the Kalushiner Society Plaque Dedication to the Six Million (Charleston, SC: Center Talk, January 9, 1972).
74 Information included on the plaque.
Joe Engel, a survivor of Auschwitz concentration camp, requested in December 2009 that a plaque be dedicated to his deceased family members.⁷⁵ During the writing of this thesis a second memorial was in the works using a restored Holocaust Torah from Vengrov, Poland – similar to the type of memorial developed by B’nai Israel congregation of Spartanburg. Charleston’s Conservative congregation, Synagogue Emanu-el, also has restored a Holocaust Torah as a memorial that it exhibits in its front hall.

Columbia, South Carolina, provides another example of this memorial chronology. Two synagogues house Holocaust memorial windows, which were installed prior to the construction of the larger monument, located in Memorial Park in downtown Columbia. Tree of Life Congregation, the Reform synagogue, has a series of stained glass which were designed by The Willet Stained Glass Studios, Inc. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁷⁶ The Holocaust window is set within the other aisle windows, which were installed in 1987. Its depiction “is symbolized by Ezekiel’s valley of dry bones. A ‘V’ shape in dark colors symbolizes the valley of death but it is also a victory sign. Out of the flames of the crematorium grows a tree of life with the symbols for the 12 tribes assigned by the Midrash.”⁷⁷ The Conservative synagogue, Beth Shalom, also contains a glass memorial window (Figure 20). The window was dedicated in 1996 and displays the tattooed arm of a survivor, Mr. Ben Stern. Mr. Stern was a Columbia resident, and after his death, his daughter, Dr. Lilly Stern Filler, chose to memorialize his life through this piece of art.⁷⁸ In 2001, a more structural, permanent monument was constructed in a Columbia public park, with the help of Dr. Filler, survivors, and other members of both congregations.

⁷⁵ Information included on the plaque.
⁷⁶ Letter from the Willet Stained Glass Studios to Tree of Life Congregation. Letter acquired from Tree of Life Congregation’s office.
⁷⁷ Ibid.
⁷⁸ Lilly Stern Filler, interview by Lauren Cannady, Memorial Park in Columbia, South Carolina, October 31, 2010.
For areas with the necessary support and population, small plaques and monuments serve as stepping stones to larger forms of memorialization. Furthermore, museum development normally succeeds larger monument construction.\textsuperscript{79} Atlanta, Georgia, is an example of this. The Memorial to the Six Million was built in 1965, and The William Breman Museum opened in 1996. Other such examples are found in Philadelphia and New York City.\textsuperscript{80}

The earliest memorials were initiated by survivors and refugees seeking support from the local community or the government authorities responsible for the particular European site.\textsuperscript{81} In the United States, memorials were also instigated by the survivor population. The larger and more vocal this population was, the sooner a memorial was built. During the first surge of memorial construction, it was common to locate them in cemeteries, and by the 1980s and '90s these memorials were situated in public spaces, like parks. Of course, there are exceptions to every rule and this is not a complete listing, but it is interesting to observe a few of the larger memorials that developed across the United States. In Richmond, Virginia, the Emek Shalom Holocaust Memorial was constructed in 1955 in a Jewish cemetery, Forest Lawn Cemetery (Figure 21). A small group of survivors, the New American Jewish Club of Richmond, pooled what little money they had to create a stone monument. The cemetery is a burial place for survivors and second generation family members who were affected by the Holocaust, and in 1999 the memorial was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{80} A memorial in Philadelphia was built in 1964, followed by a museum in 1966. As mentioned previously, a corner stone was created prior to the creation of the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City.
\textsuperscript{81} Marcuse, “Holocaust Memorials.” 60.
\textsuperscript{82} “Emek Shalom Holocaust Memorial,” accessed March 8, 2011, http://www.e-cemeteries.net/emeksholom/. For a discussion on the National Register, see page 27.
The Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, memorial was built in 1964 by Nathan Rapoport, the same artist who designed the Memorial to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (Figure 22). The memorial is located in downtown Philadelphia at the intersection of 17th Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway. The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated in 1965, is situated in Greenwood Cemetery. The Holocaust Awareness Museum and Education Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, opened in 1966. Philadelphia’s museum was founded by a Holocaust survivor, Yaakov Riz, and it is located within the Klein Jewish Community Center. Considered the first free-standing Holocaust museum in the United States, the Holocaust Memorial Center near Detroit, Michigan, was built in 1984 (Figure 23). The idea was proposed by a group of survivors, “The Remnant,” nearly twenty years before its creation. The Holocaust Memorial in Miami Beach, Florida, was dedicated in 1990. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. opened in 1993 (Figure 24). The William Breman Museum, located in Atlanta, Georgia, opened its doors in 1996 after its new space was renovated. The Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City opened in 1997 (Figure 25). Smaller cities erected Holocaust memorials in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Charleston, South

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84 The Memorial to the Six Million is one of the main case studies of this thesis. More information will be provided in Chapter 2.
87 The Holocaust Memorial in Miami Beach is one of the main case studies in this thesis. More information will be provided in Chapter 3.
88 The William Breman Museum is one of the main case studies in this thesis. More information will be provided in a Chapter 4.
Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, and Whitwell, Tennessee, dedicated memorials in 1999, 2001, and 2001, respectively.89

Sparks of Holocaust remembrance in the 1960s and ’70s were most likely ignited by two major events that occurred in Israel—Adolf Eichmann’s trial and The Six Day War. Many of these memorialization forms were small projects, but the rare few that were able to organize and construct monuments during this time are historically significant. Again, a large surge of memorialization occurred in the 1980s and ’90s. The national museum opened during this time, and while no national monument was erected, many other locations had the organization and persistence to build within their smaller committees and groups. American Jews’ socio-economic statuses and public profiles were on the rise, and, as a result, so was Holocaust commemoration. Survivors and American Jews as a whole had become powerful and affluent as the twenty-first century approached. This enabled them to erect more memorials, and they now possessed the ability to locate structures within the public realm.90 It should also be noted that the vast monuments that do exist today are significant because they rose above Yad Vashem’s pressures against American memorialization.

89 All three of these memorials are main case studies in this thesis. More information will be provided in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.
90 Hasia Diner, personal discussion with author, Charleston, South Carolina, March 2, 2011.
CHAPTER 2
1965: MEMORIAL TO THE SIX MILLION IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The Memorial to the Six Million, located in Atlanta, Georgia’s Greenwood Cemetery, was dedicated in 1965 (Figures 26-30). The year before, a small group of Holocaust survivors, Eternal-Life-Hemshech, gathered together to formulate a plan for a permanent Holocaust memorial in Atlanta. Participants wanted a space for saying Kaddish, the memorial prayer. They wanted a monument to represent those who had not survived. The victims, they believed, deserved a grave.¹

Eternal-Life-Hemshech had three major requirements for the memorial that profoundly influenced its design. The location and design must encourage prayer, contemplation, and meditation. Hence, the memorial required a private setting. Second, the memorial needed to be a physical, constant reminder of the awful acts perpetrated in the recent past. The structure would inform people not directly involved with the Holocaust, who had lived during the period, that it was a real event and should never be allowed to happen again. Finally, the memorial must educate future generations of the Holocaust’s devastating impact. While literature and education have the ability to inform the public, they are intangible, ephemeral. A physical memorial would promote future inquiry and knowledge.² Eternal-Life-Hemshech decided that if the memorial was to fill all three criteria, it had to be imposing and provocative enough to invite public attention, yet serene so that a feeling of holiness infused an enclosed space within the openness of the

² Benjamin Hirsch, interview by Lauren Cannady, Benjamin Hirsch and Associates Inc. in Atlanta, Georgia, January 23, 2011.
cemetery. Funds for the project were raised by the local survivors, and the total cost amounted to $8,500.³

In 1964, Eternal-Life-Hemshech placed an article in the Jewish Times announcing a meeting to finalize discussions about the Holocaust memorial, and this caught the attention of Mr. Benjamin Hirsch. As a survivor and an architect, he decided to attend the meeting and learn more about the proposed design. The plan at this point was for Georgia Marble Company to build a decorative tombstone at a total cost of $6,500. Even though the monument had been unanimously approved, Mr. Hirsch decided to meet with the executive board to discuss alternative design options. He asked for two weeks to create a more meaningful and symbolic memorial, promised to work for free, and agreed to come within the $6,500 budget. After much argument among Eternal-Life-Hemshech members, the Vice President Lola Lansky agreed to Mr. Hirsch’s plea. Hardly two days past before Mr. Hirsch called Mrs. Lansky, prepared to present his creation. Mrs. Lansky and Dr. Leon Rosen met at Mr. Hirsch’s firm and were thrilled with his proposal, but doubted it could be built within budget. Benjamin Hirsch promised to beg for material and help raise extra financial support, if necessary. Hearing this, Mrs. Lansky and Dr. Rosen gave him permission to proceed with the memorial.⁴

Born in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, in 1932, Mr. Hirsch was only six when his father was sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp.⁵ His mother knew she must act quickly if she wanted to save any of her children.⁶ Mr. Hirsch and four of his older siblings were sent to Paris, France, by Kindertransport.⁷ Kindertransport, or “children’s transport,” was a rescue mission for

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³ Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
⁶ Ibid.
Jewish refugee children from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The program began in late 1938 following Kristallnacht, and continued until May of 1940. Also known as the Night of Broken Glass, Kristallnacht is “the date in 1938 when the Nazis torched synagogues, looted Jewish-owned businesses, and committed murder.” This widespread destruction convinced Jewish families of the urgency for children to escape the hostility of German-occupied countries. Originally, the young refugees were sent to Britain where they lived in foster homes, hostels, schools, farms, or summer camps. Homeless children or those with parents in concentration camps were given rescue priority. “Private citizens or organizations had to guarantee to pay for each child's care, education, and eventual emigration from Britain. In return for this guarantee, the British government agreed to allow unaccompanied refugee children to enter the country on temporary travel visas.” Evidently, Kindertransports also sent groups to Paris, and luckily the Hirsch family had relatives there. The Hirsch children were split up but they all kept one step ahead of the Nazi forces. The two oldest children, Jack and Asher, fled Europe through an escape convoy, and arrived in New York City in June 1941. Mr. Hirsch and his two older sisters traveled to Lisbon, Portugal, to board the S.S. Mouzinho, which would transport them to New York City as well. Amazingly, Mr. Hirsch’s voyage was successful, but it also happened to be the last voyage to sail safely before the Nazi’s became aware of the escape route. After arriving in New York City, Mr. Hirsch and his two sisters were sent to Atlanta

9 Ibid.
10 Peter W. Schroeder and Dagmar Schroeder-Hildebrand, Six million paper clips: the making of a children's Holocaust memorial (Minneapolis: KAR-BEN PUBLISHING, INC., 2004), 54.
11 “Kindertransport.”
12 Ibid.
13 “Benjamin Hirsch.”
14 Ibid.
15 “Author.”
16 Ibid.
where their other two siblings already lived with older relatives. Mr. Hirsch grew up in Atlanta
and attended Georgia Tech’s School of Architecture. As a Holocaust survivor, it seemed fitting
that he should be chosen to design the Atlanta memorial. The general contractor, Abraham
Besser, was also a Holocaust survivor and he too agreed to work free of charge.

Atlanta’s Holocaust memorial is the oldest in Georgia. Its design consists of four
weathered granite walls each with its own entrance. Intentionally rough, the weathered walls,
broom-finished concrete floors, and black, aggregate base of the candles contrast with the white,
nineteen-foot candles, which are very smooth. The coarseness represents the brutality of the
Holocaust while the smooth white candles symbolize the purity of the victims. The four walls
represent the four corners of the earth and are meant to act as a welcoming space where complete
tolerance reigns. The walls also create the privacy that the design team desired, while inviting
visitors inside through multiple entrances.

Within the four walls, six white candles sit on a black base. The base resembles a casket.
The six candles represent the six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The candles are lit
periodically for special events. The western wall contains individual plaques “commemorating
the loved ones among the 6,000,000 who were family of survivors living in the Atlanta
community.” The front wall includes cast iron, and part of the design was to allow it to rust. The
inscriptions are in three languages: Hebrew, English, and Yiddish. A quote from Genesis IV-10:
“The voice of blood of thy brother crieth out to me from the ground.” As both a symbolic and
graphic detail, liquid plaster resembling blood was sprayed on the wall. Within the monument

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17 “Benjamin Hirsch.”
18 Ibid.
19 “Memorial.”
20 Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
21 “Memorial.”
22 Ibid.
there is an urn filled with human ashes that were transported from Dachau concentration camp, This element resembles the Holocaust memorial found inside Majdanek’s concentration camp in 1943, increasing its significance. A small addition to the memorial occurred in 1969. Four bars of soap were buried in a small wooden casket on the north side of the memorial. These bars of soap were discovered by a concentration camp liberator, and kept a secret for many years until they were donated. Believed to consist of human remains, the soap was treated as any other Jewish burial, and now contains a marker above the grave.\textsuperscript{23} The Memorial to the Six Million is unique in design and construction since it was professionally created and erected by Holocaust survivors. Their involvement and in-kind contribution kept project expenses to a minimum.\textsuperscript{24}

The Memorial to the Six Million attracted abundant media coverage, including several magazine and newspaper articles, and references in books and on television.\textsuperscript{25} In 2008 a documentary was recorded of Mr. Hirsch explaining his design principles; this video was played on tour buses before visitors arrived on site for several memorial services.\textsuperscript{26} One of the annual services, Yom HaShoah or Holocaust Remembrance Day, is still regularly broadcasted on local Atlanta news programs.\textsuperscript{27} These memorial services are organized by the Yom HaShoah committee, which is headed by The Breman Museum, Eternal-Life-Hemshech, and other Jewish organizations in Atlanta. Mr. Hirsch’s brother, Jack, served on one of the first Yom HaShoah committees as a chairman.\textsuperscript{28} In 1968 the project won an Award of Merit for Excellence in Design at the GRA National Convention in Miami, Florida.\textsuperscript{29} In May 2008, the memorial was added to the National Register of Historic Places, though seven years short of the required fifty years of

\textsuperscript{23} Benjamin Hirsch, January 23, 2011.
\textsuperscript{24} “Memorial.” Entire paragraph cited from the same source, unless otherwise noted.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Benjamin Hirsch, e-mail message to author, February 14, 2011.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29} “Memorial.”
age (Appendix B). Normally, only structures of fifty years or more are eligible; this memorial is a rare exception. In addition, this is the only edifice, of any kind, listed while the architect was still alive. The memorial was nominated for the National Register, “the official list of the Nation’s historic places worthy of preservation,” because of its exceptional event representation, architecture and engineering, social history subject, international style, and structure. “The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is nationally significant in the area of architecture because it is an early example of the large-scale memorials that were constructed in cities across America in the last decades of the 20th century. The memorial in Atlanta is also significant in the area of architecture at the national level because it is an outstanding example of modern architecture in Georgia and because it is an excellent example of modern architecture used to create a memorial.” In 1965 a dedication ceremony occurred, at which the memorial’s National Register plaque was unveiled, in conjunction with 2008’s Yom HaShoah service. Today, the memorial continues to host two annual community services and also acts as an educational resource, sanctuary for contemplation and prayer, and a national landmark. Eternal-Life-Hemshech maintains the memorial today. Mr. Hirsch continues to serve on the Yom HaShoah committee as an adviser for memorial maintenance and program activities. He leads Kaddish at annual services and speaks to groups interested in the design and purpose of the memorial. Built before many survivors were willing to have their voices heard, and before the Holocaust was widely

33 “Memorial.”
34 National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, found in Appendix B.
35 Benjamin Hirsch, February 14, 2011.
36 “Memorial.”
37 Benjamin Hirsch, February 14, 2011.
38 Ibid.
taught in Jewish schools, the Memorial to the Six Million spoke for itself and was a catalyst for discussion as it introduced the subject of the Holocaust into communal discourse.\(^{39}\)

\(^{39}\) Benjamin Hirsch, January 23, 2011.
Like many memorials, the Holocaust Memorial in Miami, Florida, was orchestrated by survivors of the Shoah (Figures 31-36).¹ With one of the largest Holocaust survivor populations in the world, the Jewish community of Miami felt it was time to honor the martyred victims with a permanent memorial.² Memorials existed in Philadelphia, Atlanta, San Francisco, and Detroit at this time.³ It was now Miami’s turn.

In 1984 a Holocaust committee gathered to brainstorm options. “The group was called the Holocaust Memorial Committee and was composed of Norman Braman, Chairman, who gave the entire creation its moral direction; Jack Chester, Dr. Helen Fagin, George Goldbloom, Abe Resnick, and David Schaecter, all survivors of the Holocaust whose bitter memories and dedication inspired this work; Ezra Katz, a child of survivors, represented the second generation; Harry Smith represented the American community; Rabbi Solomon Schiff was the spiritual light of this undertaking.”⁴ The committee became official a year later as a non-profit organization and determined key facets of the project: establishment of a permanent committee, location of the memorial’s site, development of the memorial’s scope and design, and financial support for the project. With the help of the City of Miami Beach commission, the committee’s chosen location, Meridian Avenue and Dade Boulevard, was designated for the memorial. The committee also

³ Ibid.
chose an architect, Kenneth Treister, to design and sculpt a large portion of the memorial. Mr. Treister “was entrusted with interpreting the Holocaust into a structure which would memorialize its victims, serve as solace to its survivors, and also inform with factual representations in pictures and words of this century's greatest human crime.” A memorial garden would serve as a symbolic gravesite as well. Mr. Treister extensively researched the Holocaust before designing Miami Beach’s memorial. He traveled to Israel’s national Holocaust museum, Yad Vashem, and reviewed archives at the University of Miami’s Library.

Following his investigation, Mr. Treister felt he “could not keep the meaning of the Holocaust private, hidden behind the veil of abstract art or cryptic ethereal designs. It had to be accessible and readily communicated, for the memory of the event had to be kept alive for all the world to see.” The design became more of a public park than a mere monument, which led to controversy among the Miami community. Opponents and supporters attended a public meeting with the City of Miami Beach, both voicing heated opinions, until a survivor took the podium and shared her painful story. The woman had been a young concert violinist, married to a Polish pianist. “In an ugly irony of fate, each had one of their arms amputated by the Nazis. They would never again express their musical genius.” She felt that the sculpted arm in Treister’s design would give her arm back, and upon hearing this, the mayor unanimously decided that the memorial would be built.

The next step in the project was to choose a sculpture casting location. Originally, Treister hired a Chinese sculptor, who worked in Taiwan, but because of a change in currency

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5 “Holocaust Memorial Committee.”
6 Ibid.
8 Treister, A SCULPTURE OF LOVE AND ANGUISH, 13.
9 Ibid, 14.
10 Ibid, 14.
valuations, the work was abandoned.\textsuperscript{12} Instead, a foundry was chosen in Mexico City, Fundicion Artistica, and Mr. Treister traveled there regularly during construction. The casting team consisted of forty-five Catholic, Mexican men, and sixteen of them traveled from Mexico to Florida by truck to assemble the sculptures. Many of the other design components were internationally supported as well. The Jerusalem stone was crafted by a young Israeli Jew, the stone was installed by Moslem Palestinian Arabs, and the wooden arbor was imported and installed by Indian Hindu workmen.\textsuperscript{13} The creation took over four years to build and was dedicated in February 1990.\textsuperscript{14} Elie Wiesel, a survivor of Auschwitz and Nobel laureate, was the guest speaker.\textsuperscript{15}

The memorial includes several components: 130 free standing, life-size human bronze sculptures; memorial walls; an arbor path; a garden; a dome; a tunnel; and a huge, bronze arm covered with emaciated human figures emerging from a pond.\textsuperscript{16} The main building material is Jerusalem stone, and many portions of the monument are lined in black granite.\textsuperscript{17} The Jerusalem stone was symbolic because of its “deep religious and historic significance for the Jewish community.”\textsuperscript{18} The memorial path begins with a sculpture of two children and their mother, fearful of the first signs of the Holocaust. A colonnade circles around the site along the memorial path. A wooden arbor covered in vines lies on top of the columns. Black granite slabs along the walls of the pathway display maps, pictures, and historical information on the Holocaust. The visual focus of the memorial is clear—the sculpted arm, titled “A Sculpture of Love and Anguish,” thrusts forty-two feet skyward from the center of the water lily reflecting pond. A

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, 15.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 15.
\textsuperscript{14} “Holocaust Memorial Committee.”
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Treister, A SCULPTURE OF LOVE AND ANGUISH, 15.
dome, shrine-like area is found after following the colonnade path and leads to a tunnel that has a decreasing ceiling height as its path continues. The decreasing ceiling height symbolizes the diminished self of a Holocaust victim. The voice of a crying child is heard in the tunnel and the names of the concentration camps are inscribed along the tunnel walls.19

Exiting the partial, circular tunnel, black granite walls shine and reflect the forty-two foot, bronze sculpture that pierces the sky.20 The arm reaches upward with nearly a hundred human figures clinging to it and crying out in despair.21 The markings of an Auschwitz tattoo are evident on the large, patined, bronze casting.22 The path continues around to the other part of the tunnel. The black granite walls bear approximately twenty-five thousand names of Holocaust victims, each submitted by a loved one to the committee.23 These walls serve as gravestones for the mass murders. The journey ends back at the two-hundred foot-diameter reflecting pond.24 The memorial is so encompassing that the designer created a unique memorial typology: “I created the Memorial as a large environmental sculpture ... a series of outdoor spaces in which the visitor is led through a procession of visual, historical and emotional experiences with the hope that the totality of the visit will express, in some small way, the reality of the Holocaust.”25 Also from Treister, “I was commissioned in 1985 to (a) design a memorial to the memory of the Jewish culture and individuals destroyed by the Holocaust; (b) To create a memorial garden that would give survivors and those who lost loved ones a place to visit in lieu of the cemetery they do not have; (c) To express in photographs and sculpture the history and sorrow of the Holocaust so

19 Ibid, 15.
20 Ibid, 15.
21 “The Creation of the Holocaust Memorial.”
22 Ibid.
24 “The Creation of the Holocaust Memorial.”
25 “Site Map.”
future generations will never forget."\textsuperscript{26} The Holocaust committee is responsible for the maintenance of the memorial and continues to develop cultural and educational programs,\textsuperscript{27} such as annual Kristallnacht observance ceremonies\textsuperscript{28} and the publishing of *The Legacy*, a Holocaust education newsletter for the Miami Beach community.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} “Holocaust Memorial Committee.”
The William Breman Jewish Heritage and Holocaust Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, is home to several educational and thought-provoking exhibits and programs (Figures 37-40). The museum opened in its present location in 1996, but efforts to celebrate Southern Jewish history and commemorate the Holocaust began more than a decade earlier, coordinated by Jane Leavey. In 1983, the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta organized its first exhibit, Jews and Georgians: A Meeting of Cultures, 1733–1983, showcasing historic materials from Jewish families, businesses, synagogues, and organizations. Referred to as “attic junk,” the collected material was displayed and interpreted, making the Jewish community proud of the presentation. When the exhibit was disassembled, the public felt that a location was needed to present similar displays. “A permanent space dedicated to the interpretation and preservation of the Jewish experience” was deemed essential.¹ Under the supervision of the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta, museum staff created the different components of today’s Breman Museum. Between 1984 and 1992, the director, Jane Leavey, archivist, Sandra Berman, and an administrator developed a community archive including an oral history project, a Holocaust Resource Center and a small exhibition on the Shoah, special exhibits, and programming.²

In 1990, Mr. William Breman gave a large donation which would guarantee the creation of the museum that bears his name. Mr. Breman was the owner of Breman Steel Company, and a

² Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source, unless otherwise noted.
generous philanthropist. Aside from The William Breman Museum, he also endowed the religious school of The Temple, the Sylvia Breman Library at The Davis Academy, The William Breman Jewish Home, and the Sylvia Breman Auditorium at The Selig Center, all within the Atlanta area. The Atlanta Jewish Community Center housed the various activities until the museum’s location was determined. Because the existing community center was for sale and the Jewish Federation wanted to expand to include several components, it was decided to house a Jewish heritage museum within the same building as the Jewish Federation. A free-standing Holocaust museum was briefly considered, but was determined not to be financially feasible. The next plan was to tear down the adjacent buildings and develop a new structure until property was donated by a prominent member of the Jewish community. Previously, the building situated at 1440 Spring Street in downtown Atlanta was inhabited by IBM offices and warehouse, requiring major interior renovations before housing the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta and The Breman Museum. Architects were interviewed for the renovation, and Mr. Benjamin Hirsch was among them. Although not originally chosen for the project, he pleaded with the Federation to at least allow him to design the Holocaust exhibit. His plea was heard and accepted. The exhibit’s design included three thousand square feet of Holocaust memorabilia, and it became known as The Absence of Humanity: The Holocaust Years, 1933–1945. It was completed in time for the 1996 Olympic Games, which took place in Atlanta, Georgia, and the total cost was $250,000.

The Breman Museum is located in the Selig Center, which is operated by the Jewish Federation of Atlanta and includes two signature exhibitions, rotating special exhibits and

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4 “A Brief History of The Breman Museum.”
5 Benjamin Hirsch, interview by Lauren Cannady, Benjamin Hirsch and Associates Inc. in Atlanta, Georgia, January 23, 2011.
6 Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from same source, unless otherwise noted.
traveling exhibits, a gallery, genealogy center, education center, and library. Various events and programs occur at The Breman, including concerts and film showings, book talks and signings, and Passover seders. The museum also maintains online exhibitions. The Breman’s two permanent exhibits are Creating Community: The Jews of Atlanta from 1845 to The Present and The Absence of Humanity. The Marlene J. and William A. Schwartz Special Exhibitions Gallery hosts temporary museum displays that generally rotate every few months. Traveling exhibits revolve at The Breman, and these exhibits bring unique material and information to Atlanta. The library and the Ida Pearle and Joseph Cuba Archives and Genealogy Center have catalogued their holdings so that users can browse by topic and utilize the resources of The Jewish Genealogical Society of Georgia. The library’s collection includes non-circulating, rare Holocaust materials, such as Yizkor Books. The museum is also home to an education center. “The Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education provides age-appropriate tours, speakers, lesson plans, books, films, courses, a speaker series, and other resources intended to support and enlighten visitors from diverse settings.” The education center also offers ideas for in-class programs and presentations, teaching materials, and courses for professional credit. Online exhibitions are easily accessible and very helpful for people who are unable to visit The Breman in person. Online exhibitions also allow The Breman to expand exhibit topics without using

7 “A Brief History of The Breman Museum.”
9 “A Brief History of The Breman Museum.”
11 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
physical space at the museum. Authentic artifacts, photographs, video testimonies, and personal histories housed in its archives support all of its components.16

*The Absence of Humanity* was architecturally designed to include historic photographs, original documents, personal memorabilia and family pictures, and interviews of those who survived and made new lives in Atlanta.17 Through this display, Mr. Hirsch created an intimate experience for museum guests. The exhibition was supported in part by The Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta, Rubin and Lola Borkowska Lansky and Family, Abraham and Caroline Besser, and The Chatham Valley Foundation.18 Within the exhibit, the room is divided into twelve sections: History and Historical Precedents; Jewish Life in Europe; 1933: The Takeover of Power in Germany; 1934—1939: The Assault on German Jews; 1939—1941: Assault on European Jewry; 1941—1945: The Killing, The Rescuers, The Resisters, Liberation, DP Camps, Israel, and New Lives.19 “It begins with a glimpse of the vibrant and diverse world of the Jews of Europe before 1933, and continues describing the assault on the Jewish people by the Nazis and their collaborators, the failure of the world to react to the massacre, and the struggle of the remnant of survivors to rejoin the living.”20 Each area is composed of varying architectural elements, as the floor treatment, wall texture, and lighting style changes inside the different historical time periods. “The wall that runs along the length of the gallery’s left side becomes progressively rougher in texture as it moves towards the area of ghettos and deportation. The windows set into the wall become narrower and darker, reminiscent of the vanishing hopes for escape and the diminishing possibility of freedom.”21 The unique concept development led to several interesting components: an eleven foot high, full-sized depiction of the Warsaw ghetto wall, distressed wood

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16 “Research & Collections.”
17 “Absence of Humanity: The Holocaust Years, 1933 – 1945.”
19 Ibid.
20 “Absence of Humanity: The Holocaust Years, 1933 – 1945.”
21 Ibid.
wall treatment reminiscent of the historic railcars, rail tracks from the Treblinka death camp running along the ceiling, and the reflective barbed-wire fence screen. In section seven, the exhibit explores American and Czechoslovakian efforts to save Jewish lives, topics that have been overlooked in many museums. Section twelve depicts the new lives survivors made for themselves and their continuing faith, illustrating how they overcame the horrors of the Holocaust—an exceptional display uncommonly found in Shoah exhibits and museums.

The Absence of Humanity is used as an educational programming resource by the staff at The Breman Museum. Guided tours of the exhibition, a school programs guide for teachers, assistance in developing pre- and post-visit activities, and in-school program with speakers are just a few of the opportunities that The Breman Museum offers. Approximately twenty thousand students from public and private schools visit the exhibit annually. In collaboration with The Museum’s Lillian and A.J. Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education, the exhibit is utilized for “yearly summer courses for which teachers may earn Staff Development Credits from the State of Georgia, teacher workshops, and a number of public programs designed to heighten Holocaust awareness.”

The Breman Museum, specifically The Absence of Humanity, functions as both a didactic tool and as a Holocaust memorial. Its deliberate, educational form differentiates it from more artistic memorials. Museums can dedicate large spaces to elements and have the ability to include a high amount of visual depictions, props, and other special effects, all contributing significantly to the preservation of the Holocaust memory. Memorialization is maintained for the future

22 “Gallery Guide.”
24 “Absence of Humanity: The Holocaust Years, 1933-1945.”
25 Ibid.
26 Benjamin Hirsch, e-mail message to author, February 14, 2011.
27 Ibid.
through photographs, historic mementos, personal stories, and other interactive components. The exhibit portrays information in such a straight-forward manner, that it can speak for itself, yet also includes symbolic details to connect the visitor to the space. Museums are a typology all their own but fulfill some of the same needs as Holocaust memorials: victims of the Holocaust are given a designated space, the public is educated, and the memory of the Shoah is preserved for future generations. The William Breman Museum fulfills these goals, and continues to support Holocaust education and its memory’s preservation.
CHAPTER 5

1999: HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

The impetus for Charleston’s Holocaust memorial began with the survivor community (Figures 41-44). Mr. Joe Engel pondered its existence more than thirty-five years before its dedication.¹ He decided to vocalize the idea to his fellow survivors, Pincus Kolender and Charles Markowitz, over breakfast in 1994.² Mr. Engel suggested that several large cities have memorials, why not create one in Charleston? Authors of the memorial’s dedication pamphlet said Charleston was a fitting location, considering its significant Jewish heritage. In the early nineteenth century, Charleston had been the home of the largest Jewish population in North America, spawned America’s reform movement—The Reformed Society of Israelites.³ Located in downtown Charleston, congregation Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, is the oldest synagogue on the continent in continuous use.⁴ Charleston has a smaller Jewish population today but the community has continued to uphold its reputation as a strong, vibrant, and affluent society. For Mr. Joe Engel, a memorial in Charleston was necessary so that the next generations were educated and informed about the Holocaust.⁵

¹ Dédication of the Holocaust Memorial. (Charleston, SC, June 6, 1999). Pamphlet available in Special Collections, Addlestone Library, College of Charleston.
² Ibid.
⁴ Dédication of the Holocaust Memorial.
⁵ Joe Engel, interview by Lauren Cannady, Special Collections, Addlestone Library, College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina, January 18, 2011.

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Mr. Engel persisted with this topic, and sent a letter to Mayor Joseph P. Riley requesting his permission and support. Permission was granted, and Mr. Engel, Mr. Kolender, and Mr. Markowitz moved on to the next steps—contacting an architect, Mr. Jeffrey Rosenblum, and forming a committee. Mr. Rosenblum accompanied the small survivor group as they searched for possible memorial sites. The Holocaust Memorial Committee, formed under the Charleston Jewish Federation, began advertising nationally for a designer and brainstorming the memorial’s location as a group. Mr. David Popowski chaired the committee, Mrs. Jennifer Phillips served as the development chair, Mrs. Anita Zucker as the finance chair, and Jeffrey Rosenblum served as the design chair. Steve Livingston of the City of Charleston’s Parks Department and Ellen Moryl from the City of Charleston’s Cultural Affairs Department were also key committee members. Fifteen design proposals were received and several locations were considered: Waterfront Park, Cannon Park, the old Charleston Museum site on Rutledge Avenue, and Marion Square. The final choice came down to Rutledge Avenue or Marion Square. Mr. Popowski decided to call his friend and local tour guide, Mr. Marvin Katzen, to ask his opinion. Mr. Katzen chose Marion Square. Once the site was officially selected, the city officials, Director of Parks Steve Livingston, and committee members agreed it was the best choice.

Marion Square, privately owned by the Washington Light Infantry and Sumter Guard but controlled by the City of Charleston, would give the Holocaust memorial high visibility and

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6 *Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial.*  
7 Ibid.  
9 *Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial.*  
10 David Popowski, interview by Lauren Cannady, Popowski Law Firm, LLC, Charleston, South Carolina, October 24, 2010.  
11 David Popowski, October 24, 2010.  
13 David Popowski, October 24, 2010.  
14 *Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial.*
proximity to the city’s historic district.\textsuperscript{15} The survivors requested that the memorial invite the public and allow frequent interaction. Marion Square often hosted community events and would fulfill these requirements.\textsuperscript{16} The Holocaust Memorial would not be the only memorial in the square, so its environment seemed appropriate. Several sculptures and monuments, including the John C. Calhoun memorial, are located on this property.\textsuperscript{17} Additionally, the city already planned to renovate the square.\textsuperscript{18} The construction of a memorial seemed to fit well into the square’s overall beautification scheme. The committee narrowed the design selection to five firms, and five representatives traveled to Charleston to be interviewed by the committee.\textsuperscript{19} According to Mr. Popowski, the committee chose the architect, not the design of the memorial, assuming that the chosen designer would necessarily have to work with the community group. Among the designers, Mr. Kenneth Treister, creator of the Holocaust Memorial in Miami Beach, Florida, and Mr. Benjamin Hirsch, architect for the Memorial to the Six Million and \textit{Absence to Humanity: The Holocaust Years} exhibit in Atlanta, Georgia, were interviewed for Charleston’s memorial.\textsuperscript{20}

Ultimately, Mr. Jonathan Levi, of Jonathan Levi Architects, Inc., from Boston, Massachusetts, was awarded the contract. In the early stages of his design, he realized it would be a challenge to create a memorial based on cruelty and grief within a serenely beautiful city.\textsuperscript{21} He studied the architecture of the city, strolling through the historic streets, observing the churchyards and cemeteries. Drawn to a particular family grave, Mr. Levi was moved by the low, spiked, black iron fence that surrounded the plot. The form of division spoke to him.

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\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} David Popowski, October 24, 2010.
\textsuperscript{19} David Popowski, October 24, 2010.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial}.
\end{flushright}
architecturally, and he imagined the screen within Marion Square.\textsuperscript{22} It seemed natural to implement metalwork, since it was a traditional feature of Charleston.\textsuperscript{23} Additionally, by selecting indigenous materials, conservation issues and repair methods would be familiar to local preservationists.\textsuperscript{24} Mr. Levi brainstormed beautiful components, at the request of the survivors, and avoided violent visuals and compilations of facts and descriptions.\textsuperscript{25} Mr. Levi and the survivors felt these components were popular and generic designs in the present, and they wanted a monument that could speak for generations to come; the design needed a more spiritual feel for contemplation and reflection. “The key is that the quiet beauty of Charleston is not a challenge to the memorial’s mission of remembrance. It is its paradigm.”\textsuperscript{26} Committee members wanted the design to have significance for the survivors, yet be relevant to the public as well.\textsuperscript{27} They wanted a clear message, yet subjective so that it was not too harsh, compelling to the visitors, but inviting interpretation.\textsuperscript{28}

Mr. Levi worked in collaboration with DesignWorks of Charleston, a landscape architecture and urban design firm. Mr. Scott Parker led the project for DesignWorks. As a team, Mr. Levi and Mr. Parker chose the southeast corner of Marion Square as the specific location and also worked on the final design. The Holocaust Memorial Committee passed a final plan to be presented to the City of Charleston’s Board of Architectural Review (BAR). “In April 1997, the

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Anita Zucker, interview by Lauren Cannady, The InterTech Group, Inc., North Charleston, South Carolina, November 11, 2010.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial} (Charleston, SC, June 6, 1999).
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Grossman, “The Power of Memory,” 22.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, 22.
plans were recommended by the Mayor’s Design Review Committee, endorsed by Mayor Riley and won final approval by the BAR.\textsuperscript{29}

On July 23, 1997 there was a groundbreaking ceremony and a few weeks later construction began under the supervision of Mr. Raymond Frisch, a retired but highly respected local contractor.\textsuperscript{30} He and Mr. Rosenblum consulted with Mr. Popowski and suggested that this portion of the project not be put out to bid because they were only interested in one firm to complete the construction.\textsuperscript{31} The general contractor, K.C. Stier and Harry Kent of Stier Kent and Canady Inc. in Charleston, was chosen to erect the memorial because of their company’s reputation within the community. They were highly skilled, with an impressive portfolio. The design includes three main components: lawn, inscription wall, and iron screen. The sunken lawn is surrounded by graded stairs, and serves as a place of meditation and contemplation.\textsuperscript{32} The inscription wall, running parallel to Calhoun Street, is comprised of concrete and bronze, and supplies a brief Holocaust history and a list of South Carolina survivors.\textsuperscript{33} It helps block noise from the street, allowing the memorial to feel even calmer.\textsuperscript{34} The rectangular iron screen is the center of the memorial, the sanctuary, and measures twenty-five feet wide by sixty feet long by seventeen feet high.\textsuperscript{35} "While the screen echoes the city’s familiar wrought iron fences and gates, it also evokes Jewish elements with its Middle-Eastern Semitic arches and their resemblance to a branched menorah."\textsuperscript{36} To Mr. Engel, the screen reminds him of Auschwitz’s fence symbolizing

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial} (Charleston, SC, June 6, 1999). Entire paragraph cited from same source.
\textsuperscript{30} David Popowski, October 24, 2010.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
the electric wires that confined the inmates within the concentration camps. The lawn invites prayer services, and the screen creates an actual division of space set aside from the rest of Marion Square. This division is symbolic, as the screen signifies a “place apart that those who perished occupied, and the steel arches which are wide enough to walk through, produce a sense of enclosure and invite visitors to consider how easy it is to pass from freedom to confinement.” A bronze, twelve-foot tallit (prayer shawl) lies on the floor of the enclosed screen area. “It is customary for Jews to use the tallit as a burial shroud with one of its four fringes removed as a symbol of death and morning.” Several interpretations of the cloth exist including its association with the human form, and within the memorial, the absence of humanity and fragility of life. The whole memorial symbolizes a grave and provides survivors with a place to mourn for their lost loved ones.

Fundraising for the project was catalyzed by a vigorous campaign. Mrs. Anita Zucker, a local entrepreneur and philanthropist, and her husband, Jerry Zucker, gave the seed donation of $60,000, which supported the design competition and selection process. With Mrs. Zucker’s assistance, the local survivors and other committee members raised over $450,000 from the community.

The memorial was dedicated on June 6, 1999, after “five years of a dedicated, tireless effort.” The dedication pamphlet mirrors many of the memorial’s components, including the text on the inscription wall and list of contributors from the community. An abridged version of

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37 Joe Engel, January 18, 2011.
39 Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial.
41 Ibid, 24.
42 David Popowski, October 24, 2010.
43 Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial.
44 Ibid.
the article from *Charleston* magazine by Michael Grossman, letters from Mr. Levi, Governor Hodges, and Mayor Riley, and lists of South Carolina survivors and their birthplaces, all fill the pamphlet. The combined efforts of several influential groups in Charleston, including the Board of Officers of the Sumter Guard, Washington Light Infantry, City of Charleston, and Charleston Jewish Federation, were essential to the project’s success.

Mrs. Anita Zucker, Mr. Joe Engel, and Mr. David Popowski all felt the project was widely supported by the community, with little to no contention, and they are very proud of its completion.45 Mr. Engel, who survived Auschwitz, hopes that the memorial will remind everyone of the Holocaust’s impact so that it will never be repeated.46 Mr. Engel travels around South Carolina, sharing his stories and experiences as a Holocaust survivor.47 He speaks regularly at schools and memorial events around the state. 48 Mrs. Zucker and Mr. Popowski are children of survivors.49 Their parents will forever be honored for their courage, and the memory of the horror they endured will be preserved through this memorial. Mrs. Zucker and her family have continued to support Holocaust education and commemoration. In fact, an educational component of the memorial is located only blocks away, on the second floor of the Charleston County Public Library, as part of the Jerry and Anita Zucker Holocaust Memorial Collection.50 The collection contains books, CD-ROMs and houses the SHOAH visual history collection. 51 This didactic

45 David Popowski, October 24, 2010. Anita Zucker, November 11, 2010. Joe Engel, January 18, 2011. Per a discussion with Dr. Dale Rosengarten and Dr. Theodore Rosengarten on April 6, 2011, there was opposition to the memorial’s location, design, and to the erection of a Holocaust memorial in a town that does not yet have a memorial to the enslaved people who built the city. Within the survivor population, several people would have preferred the donations to be spent on other causes like health clinics or Jewish schools.
46 Joe Engel, January 18, 2011.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
portion is a crucial supplement to Charleston’s artistic Holocaust memorial, and through this combination, the memory of the Holocaust will be kept alive.

The memorial’s design won the Tri-State ASLA Merit Award, presented by the American Society of Landscape Architects, and this recognition reflects the memorial’s unique ambiance.52 While control of the memorial was given back to the city, from the Holocaust committee the Jewish community continues to sponsor Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day) ceremonies in Marion Square, where candles are lit and Holocaust speakers are present.53 Rabbis, scholars, and survivors share prayers, readings, and stories, uniting the group. This annual service draws the public’s attention back to the memorial, and reminds everyone of its purpose.54 An endowment fund was created to maintain the memorial, and Mrs. Zucker is hopeful that the City of Charleston will be a steward of its preservation in the future.55

53 Anita Zucker, November 11, 2010.
54 Joe Engel, January 18, 2011.
55 Anita Zucker, November 11, 2010.
CHAPTER 6
2001: CHILDREN’S HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL IN WHITWELL, TENNESSEE

Located in the town of Whitwell in south-central Tennessee, approximately twenty miles northwest of Chattanooga, the Children’s Holocaust Memorial is unique in its development, community involvement, and the types of materials utilized (Figures 45 and 46). Unlike the host cities of other Holocaust memorial sites, the vast majority of Whitwell’s population is white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Only 1,600 people lived in Whitwell during the memorial’s initial development, and only a handful of adults were directly involved in the early Holocaust education and memorialization process. Enthusiastic students provided the impetus for this memorial. Because of the community’s homogeneous population, teaching tolerance and diversity became a growing concern for Whitwell Middle School during the 1990s. What began as an after-school program eventually attracted the support of the entire public of Whitwell and, indeed, a world-wide audience. The Children’s Holocaust Memorial incorporates original Holocaust material, a German railcar used to transport Nazi victims to concentration camps, and historic tracks manufactured in 1947. While the railcar and its tracks are only a portion of Whitwell’s memorial design, they comprise its central focus and help differentiate it from other Holocaust memorials found in the United States.

2 Ibid, 8.
3 Ibid, 9.
In 1998, vice-principal and football coach David Smith suggested to principal, Linda Hooper that Whitwell Middle School organize a class on the Holocaust and intolerance. Mr. Smith had recently returned from a teacher’s conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and decided the Holocaust was an excellent way to teach diversity. The class would not be part of the required curriculum; instead it would be a voluntary eighth grade course taught after normal school hours. Sandra Roberts was chosen to teach the course, and sixteen students enrolled in the first class. Required readings and research helped the students understand the history of the Holocaust. However, the students found it difficult to imagine six million Jewish deaths. Mrs. Roberts wanted to make the number tangible so that it would not lose its meaning. In a brainstorming session, the class considered what objects could represent the lives that were lost. The students decided to collect six million paperclips in order to represent the destruction of the Nazi regime. Paperclips were chosen because in Norway during World War II they were worn by Norwegians as a protest against the Nazi’s requirement for Jews to wear yellow stars. Collecting six million paperclips was initially a daunting task for the students. The project began as a local initiative and soon spread across the nation and abroad.\footnote{Ibid, 9-15. Entire paragraph cited from same source.}

In late 1999, two German journalists discovered Whitwell Middle School’s website about the paperclip collection and became involved with the project. Peter and Dagmar Schroeder were White House correspondents for a group of German newspapers and wrote nine articles requesting participation in Whitwell’s project. More than forty-six thousand paperclips were collected in the three weeks after these articles were published. The Schroeders followed up with a book based on German responses to the paperclip project. Entitled \textit{Das Büroklammer-Projekt}, the book was published in 2000 and further advertised the importance of Whitwell’s project. In
2001, an editor of the *Washington Post* wrote an article which led to many other newspaper, TV, and radio stories reporting on Whitwell Middle School’s paperclip project.\(^6\)

Collecting six million paperclips was more of a challenge than the children expected but the additional promotions prompted world-wide support. In fact, so many paperclips were contributed that Whitwell Middle School needed volunteers from the community to help transport and count donations delivered to the local post office; there were not enough students to sustain the project’s responsibilities. Soon it was obvious that the students were likely to gather more than six million paperclips, but since Jewish people were not the only victims of the Holocaust—the Nazis killed some five million others—the children decided to continue collections. In the meantime, the millions of paperclips already donated to the school needed storage. The time had come to design a Holocaust memorial.\(^7\)

The major component of the Holocaust memorial was chosen very quickly. The teachers, principal, and the Schroeders wanted an original German railcar to store the paperclips. Securing the railcar was not easy. The search began in January 2001 with letters to the German government, rail companies, railroad museums, private rail companies, and rail experts. By April 2001, a cattle car was located at a railroad museum in Germany. Initially the museum was uninterested in selling the railcar, but through gentle persuasion, the Schroeders convinced the museum to sell the car for the price the museum had paid for it. The Schroeders, along with their family and friends, combined finances and purchased the railcar. Transporting it to the United States and then to Whitwell was the next logistical problem. The railcar was three hundred miles from the nearest seaport, but with the help of a German rail company, the car was transferred at no cost. Signs in both English and German were posted on the outside of the railcar so that

\(^7\) Ibid, 22-25. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
observers knew the purpose of the historic vehicle as it rolled the long distance. The Children’s Holocaust Memorial received its name because it was created by children for children. After the railcar was sprayed with insect repellant to deter wood-eating bugs, it was shipped across the Atlantic Ocean by the German military.8

Overcoming many complications including storms, ship maintenance, and U.S. Coast Guard inspections, the railcar arrived in Baltimore harbor on September 9, 2001. The American rail company CSX volunteered to transport the railcar from Baltimore to Chattanooga. From Chattanooga the railcar would ride on a semi-truck to Whitwell. Coincidentally, the railcar began its journey to Whitwell on September 11, 2001. While the railcar rolled along with its message of universal acceptance and tolerance, the United States was victimized by terrorist attack. This struck deep in the hearts of the Whitwell Middle School children. From Six Million Paper Clips: the Making of a Children’s Holocaust Memorial a student responds to the hateful act, “If I had not known why we are building a memorial, I would know it now.”9 The attacks on New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania amplified the importance of Whitwell’s Holocaust memorial.10

From the moment the Schroeders bought the railcar, Mrs. Hooper organized town meetings to involve Whitwell’s community in planning the construction of the Holocaust memorial. The American rail company CSX volunteered to clear lawn space in front of the middle school so that the historic railway tracks could be laid down. A local contractor and his team worked together to repair the railcar’s roof and floor, build wooden stairs, and construct a ramp to the car. Community members planted shrubs and flowers around the memorial. A local artist poured concrete walkways around the railcar in the shape of butterflies, referencing a poem about

8 Ibid, 26-40. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
9 Ibid, 47.
10 Ibid, 46-47. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
the Holocaust by Pavel Friedmann. Copper sculptures sporadically lined the memorial. Students took charge of the interior design for the memorial. Eleven million of the thirty million paperclips they collected would be inserted behind glass partitions on both sides of the railcar. Another eleven million would be placed in an exterior sealed iron container. The children decided that eleven million was a better number then six million since it approximated the total number of Nazi victims. The other eight million paperclips were offered to other groups or schools who were interested in having a paperclip project as well.¹¹

The Children’s Holocaust Memorial was dedicated on November 9, 2001. The date commemorated the 63rd anniversary of Kristallnacht.¹² Aside from the twelve hundred residents of Whitwell, an additional eight hundred guests arrived at the dedication ceremony: the Shroeders and their family, the University of Chattanooga orchestra, children from the Atlanta Jewish Day School, along with many other supporters of the project. The Children’s Holocaust Memorial had a far-reaching impact. The enthusiasm of the sixteen students who comprised the Whitwell Middle School Holocaust group spread to the rest of Whitwell. The town started the first paperclip donations. Class enrollment increased every year and public support grew. Writers, news broadcasters, and radio personalities advertised the project to gain national attention. The Schroeders recruited international involvement by publicizing the project in newspapers abroad. Groups and leaders were amazed that children with no Jewish heritage were so passionate about creating a Holocaust memorial. The children wanted to teach tolerance so that an event like the Holocaust could not be repeated. German families, rail companies, and government agencies were given the opportunity to support Holocaust memorialization through the donation of paperclips, the historic railcar, and the transportation of the railcar. This was an opportunity that

¹¹ Ibid, 48-56. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
¹² Ibid. For a discussion of Kristallnacht see page 25.
had not presented itself before. The Children’s Holocaust Memorial in Whitwell, Tennessee, represents many combined efforts to support tolerance and Holocaust education. The community as a whole was greatly affected and influenced by this project. In an area with little diversity, Whitwell has learned that the acceptance of others is a powerful lesson to discover. Diversity projects and programs continue at Whitwell Middle School to reinforce the importance of tolerance. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 are clear demonstrations that hate and prejudice live on in the twenty-first century. Projects like the one at Whitwell Middle School remain all too relevant.13

A similar project took place in Summerville, South Carolina, in 1998. Assistant Principal of Gregg Middle School Anne Sbrocchi proposed that the school undertake a Holocaust project, and as a member of the Charleston Holocaust Memorial Committee, she felt it would be beneficial to incorporate student assistance. Like the students at Whitwell Middle School, none of the Gregg Middle School students were of Jewish descent.14 Seventh and eighth graders completed a Holocaust remembrance quilt under the guidance of three teachers: Lynn Morillo, Debra Matthews, and Dottie Stone. Three classes designed it and memorialized over thirty survivor families residing in the Charleston area. The students researched the project by collecting historic information and artifacts, creating a questionnaire that was sent to every Holocaust survivor or his or her family within the area, and interviewing survivors in person. The quilt reflects the students’ hard work through photographs, poems, maps, trinkets, and other memorabilia. Sections are designated to specific survivors, such as Francine F. Taylor, Margot Freudenberg, Siegmund Wolfsohn, David Grabin, and Dientje Kalisky.15 For Francine, a student added a bicycle charm to symbolize her form of transportation while traversing Vichy, France.

14 Dottie Stone, e-mail message to author, February 23, 2011.
15 Ibid.
Margot’s section is decorated with an iron cross similar to the one won by her husband in World War I. Siegmund’s portion is fashioned with a ship and the flags of Sweden, England, and the United States. The ship symbolizes his escape as a chaperone on a Kindertransport, while the flags represent the countries he traveled to reach freedom. Photographs adorn David’s section because these were brought with him as he was transported between ten different labor and concentration camps. For Dientje, a photograph of her doll was adhered to the quilt. This doll was her only friend as she spent years in hiding. The fabric pieces are symbolic as well: blue and yellow represent Israel and the stars worn by those in concentration camps, glittered fabric illustrates Kristallnacht, stripes of blue resemble the uniforms worn at the camps, fence-like patterns border the quilt which imitates the way the inmates were fenced in, and six sewn butterflies signify the six million Jews who lost their lives. The quilt measures 94 inches by 79 inches. Financial assistance came from the community. The Zucker Family Foundation funded a grant for the quilt; a local Kinko’s store donated time and materials for the photographs and documents; the owner of People, Places, and Quilts, Diane Wilson, donated the fabric, while employee, Sue Davis, stitched the quilt; Linda Howard videotaped a presentation along with interviews related to the students work; and Charles Edwards of Trident Productions compiled the recording. The completed quilt was presented to the Charleston survivor community at the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial in Marion Square. Today, the Holocaust quilt is on display in the Charleston County Public Library as part of the Jerry and Anita Zucker Holocaust Collection and is considered a visual link to the Holocaust Memorial, just a few blocks away.

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16 Ibid. Dottie Stone provided detailed information for all of the survivors’ sections.
17 Ibid.
18 Articles on Gregg Middle School quilt project. From vertical files located in Special Collections, College of Charleston Library, Charleston, SC. Entire paragraph cited from the same source, unless otherwise noted.
This project became more than a well-researched homework assignment. Dottie Stone explained, “It humanized the Holocaust to these students and spurred their desire to know more. They became very possessive as these became ‘their survivors.’ The photos and personal items reinforced the fact that most of the survivors were the age of the students or younger when their lives were shattered. It was a real eye-opener for them and when some of the survivors spoke to the class, the students were truly involved.”19 This project personalized the Holocaust for the students in Summerville. Later, Dottie Stone transferred to Summerville High School where she created a course, “Intolerance and the Holocaust.”20 Interestingly enough, several of her students involved with the Holocaust Quilt enrolled, continuing their Holocaust education. Dottie Stone went on to get a Ph.D. in Holocaust Studies from Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and continues to teach in South Carolina.

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19 Dottie Stone, February 23, 2011.
20 Ibid.
CHAPTER 7

2001: HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MONUMENT IN COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Holocaust memorial in Columbia, South Carolina, was dedicated in 2001, culminating more than a sixteen year campaign (Figures 47 and 48).\(^1\) Dr. Lilly Stern Filler, the daughter of two Holocaust survivors, launched the project as the chairperson of the Holocaust Memorial Committee.\(^2\) She felt it was her duty to fulfill the work her parents had started.\(^3\) Her father, Ben Stern, and her mother, Jadzia Sklarz Stern, along with other survivors living in Columbia, initiated memorial efforts in the 1980s and ’90s without success. Dr. Filler felt there were several reasons to place a memorial in Columbia. First, the survivors and liberators living in Columbia deserved to be honored. Second, the devastation wrought in the Holocaust was worthy of memorialization. Three, public education in South Carolina left many people unaware of the magnitude and importance of the Holocaust; Dr. Filler wanted to educate the South Carolina public as a whole. Knowing that many South Carolinians visit Columbia, Dr. Filler felt it was a suitable location. By 2000, the community of Columbia was very receptive to the idea and willing to support the project with both time and money.\(^4\) Dr. Filler organized the Holocaust Memorial Committee, comprised of individuals from several different organizations.\(^5\) Originally, only members of Beth Shalom, Columbia’s Conservative synagogue, were involved, but she decided

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\(^2\) “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
\(^3\) Lilly Stern Filler, interview by Lauren Cannady, Memorial Park, October 31, 2010.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
to combine forces with Reform congregation, Tree of Life. Dr. Filler also felt that the committee should fall under the jurisdiction of United Jewish Federation in Columbia.  

6 Mr. Steven Turner from the United Jewish Federation aided Dr. Filler by supplying a large portion of the planning committee, and he was a project leader as well.  

7 The committee invited membership from outside of the Jewish community, such as Mr. Selden Smith, a professor at Columbia College and a member of the South Carolina Council on the Holocaust.  

8 Mr. Smith is an advocate for Holocaust education and commemoration; his passions and strong ties to Columbia’s survivor community enabled him to actively participate in the project. Without him, it would not have been as successful.  

9 As the planning progressed, the committee grew and soon included several other important organizations in Columbia.

According to Dr. Filler, the easiest decision related to the memorial was its location. Memorial Park, seemed very fitting since it already contained several other monuments: a Vietnam Memorial, China-Burma-India Veterans Memorial, USS Columbia Memorial, Pearl Harbor Memorial, and Korean War Memorial. Located downtown, the park was highly visible, yet it also provided a serene environment. The respect the park engendered made it a perfect location for the Holocaust memorial as well. Since Memorial Park was a civic property, the committee needed the support of the City of Columbia, hence Mayor Coble became involved with the project. The mayor and city council agreed that Memorial Park was a fitting environment for the memorial, and the location was approved.

6 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
7 Selden Smith, interview by Lauren Cannady, Mr. Selden Smith’s residence, October 31, 2010.
8 Ibid.
9 Lilly Stern Filler and Mr. Selden Smith, October 31, 2010.
10 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
11 Ibid.
12 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
The design was the top priority because it needed to memorialize the victims, honor survivors and liberators, and educate the South Carolina public. Recognizing the complexity of the task, the committee expanded even further and asked leaders from Fort Jackson and the University of South Carolina (USC) to participate. Major General Barrett, and Fort Jackson as a whole, aided the committee by supplying historic, military information, especially data related to South Carolina liberators. 2001 was the bicentennial for the flagship university, the University of South Carolina, and since one component of the memorial is education, organizers felt it was appropriate to include academic members of the university. USC President Dr. John Palms was the key representative from USC.

Dr. Filler and the committee decided that it was unnecessary to create a new design, if they were able to find an existing memorial that they liked. A design subcommittee was formed and they tirelessly researched memorials, until they found one in located in Boca Raton, Florida, that they wanted to replicate and modify. The subcommittee worked with Mr. Irwin Hyman, the designer and artist, and explained to Mr. Hyman that the Boca Raton memorial would be their basic design with a few modifications to personalize the memorial for Columbia, South Carolina. Mr. Hyman is a skilled designer who began sculpting Holocaust memorials over forty five years ago, beginning with a small bronze sculpture featured in the World’s Fair in New York. “It was placed as the centerpiece surrounded by letters of Anne Frank. There are now over 350 replicas of this sculpture around the world.” With his expertise, Mr. Hyman was able to accommodate the committee’s additional specifications—panels with a timeline, places to

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13 Ibid.
14 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
15 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
16 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
17 Ibid.
18 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
19 Ibid.
display names of survivors and liberators, and a visual component. Mr. Smith liked the idea of a timeline because it illustrated the chronology of events, helping to convey the development of the Holocaust. The proposed design required approval from the committee and the City of Columbia; it passed unanimously.

Mr. Hyman has designed many memorials in bronze, wood, and stone, but the one located in Columbia is the largest of its kind. The granite memorial structure rests on a stone platform in the shape of the Star of David. The memorial combines both educational and artistic elements. The front of the memorial contains a timeline outlining historic events from 1920 to 1946, and in the center is a map of European death and concentration camps. A slanted Star of David rests on top of the memorial. The back side includes quotes by President Eisenhower and an unknown Holocaust victim, lists of local survivors and liberators, and images of Holocaust symbols including barbed wire, a crematorium, and a railcar. Four stone benches surround the memorial and display quotes by four local survivors and liberators. Mr. Smith felt that the austere benches would dissuade homeless people from sleeping on them, and they enabled older citizens and young children to read the memorial text while sitting comfortably. Financial support began with a donation from the South Carolina Council on the Holocaust and continued through the private contributors, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Dr. Filler decided to raise more money than what was needed for the construction and materials because she wanted to have a revolving fund to support Holocaust education. Approximately $60,000 was donated, and the South Carolina

20 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
21 Selden Smith, October 31, 2010.
22 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
23 Selden Smith, October 31, 2010.
24 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
Holocaust Education Commission was established with the ability to fund between $3,000 and $4,000 annually to South Carolina grantees proposing Holocaust education programs.26

The collaboration between the Holocaust Memorial Committee, City of Columbia, Fort Jackson, and University of South Carolina, allowed the process to become a community-wide effort, and Dr. Filler feels the project was highly supported by Columbia as a whole.27 Many memorial visitors have contacted Dr. Filler, remarking how beautiful, educational, and appropriate the memorial is for the area; its impact has been far-reaching.28 The memorial’s dedication pamphlet also illustrates the strong relationships within Columbia and includes much of the same verbiage found on the memorial. Letters from Governor Jim Hodges, Mayor Coble, Dr. Palms, Major General Barrett, and Mr. Irwin Hyman are reproduced in the pamphlet and reflect the memorial’s wide influence. Lists of South Carolina liberators and survivors, along with quotes and biographies featuring local Columbia residents, allowed visitors to connect to the memorial during the dedication ceremony. Historic data, such as camp liberations, is also included in the pamphlet. As for Dr. Filler, among her many accomplishments and philanthropic activities, the development of the Holocaust Memorial in Columbia, South Carolina, is the one achievement she would like to be remembered for.29 Mr. Smith attributes the success of the memorial project to Dr. Filler’s effective committee meetings.30 The members were heavily invested, Dr. Filler listened to their concerns, and no decisions passed until the whole committee agreed. According to Mr. Smith, “It was the best example of a committee that I’ve seen in my life.”31 From Dr. Filler, “To remember means to know. To know means to teach others. To teach others means to never forget. Let us honor all of those who experienced one of our history’s worst

26 Ibid.
27 Lilly Stern Filler, October 31, 2010.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Selden Smith, October 31, 2010.
31 Ibid.
examples of inhumanity. Let their actions, their sufferings, and their deaths be a lesson to us all.”

Today, the memorial is the site for the annual Yom HaShoah services. Dr. Filler is still active in the community, and has worked with the South Carolina Holocaust Education Commission to develop Holocaust information panels that are available for use in schools, conventions, and other events.

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32 “Columbia Holocaust Memorial Dedication: June 6, 2001.”
33 Selden Smith, October 31, 2010.
North Carolina has pursued a different route in Holocaust memorialization. Research suggests that in place of traditional monuments and museums, education has served as the preferred method of remembrance. This is an intriguing concept considering that nearby states have exulted efforts to create structural memorials in conjunction with other learning programs. The North Carolina Jewish community is as affluent and tightly knit as its neighbor, South Carolina. However, the number of survivor who became permanent residents of North Carolina was small. Furthermore, even the early survivor groups who did remain in state, along with other leaders in the community, chose alternative styles for the state’s Holocaust commemoration. A brief investigation of North Carolina’s Jewish culture from mid-twentieth-century to the present reveals that the state embraces its Jewish heritage through didactic lessons, not the built environment, and focuses on educating future generations. This is further illustrated through Charlotte, North Carolina’s future memorial program—the Butterfly Project.

Holocaust survivors easily found homes in North Carolina, both in metropolitan areas and in rural settings across the state. “European-born Jews, displaced by the Holocaust, were drawn to North Carolina for retirement or career opportunity.”¹ Physician offices, textile mills, synagogues, educational institutions, among other attractions drew the refugees to cities.² Jews who fled Europe during the Holocaust also sought refuge in rural North Carolina. A farm co-op,

² Ibid, 320.
Van Eeden, outside of Burgaw provided refugees with ten acres, a cottage, and a cow to begin their new lives. However, immigrants experienced a strange transition. Many displaced persons were affluent urbanites living in cool climates, and the agricultural environment of humid, rural North Carolina was different from what they were used to. Also, few of them spoke English, and if they did, the accents of North Carolina were different from those of England. “These cosmopolitans had left their native Germany, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia and found refuge in England, Australia, or Palestine before migrating to the United States.” This transitional period may account for some of the survivors’ short stays in North Carolina. Many moved to the North by the mid 1940s because they preferred the climate and atmosphere. Refugees utilized North Carolinian opportunities as stepping stones, as many moved to different locations in the United States or Israel. The small and transient survivor populations perhaps affected North Carolina’s chosen form of Holocaust memorials: education.

Holocaust awareness and remembrance was strong, however, in the Jewish communities that remained in North Carolina, even as early as 1940. The subject reached many synagogues and civic clubs through eyewitness accounts and national articles, compelling rabbis to express themselves through writing and sermons. Many immigrants had lost family members, and even those established in North Carolina for a few generations had family members overseas who had been murdered. “The principal Holocaust remembrance, beyond personal mourning, was to rebuild the lives of survivors.” Organizations like Save an Overseas Survivor, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the Joint Distribution Committee, and Kindertransport promoted this work, and their initiatives were administered in the local communities in North Carolina.

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3 Ibid, 248.
5 Ibid, 323.
6 Ibid, 249.
7 Ibid, 257.
“Holocaust memorialization remained a defining element of Jewish identity. At first, efforts to honor the victims and learn from their example were largely personal.”8 Stories shared between close friends and family members, memorabilia silently hung in shops, and private educational crusades marked the beginning of memorial attempts. Soon, efforts broadened to encompass Jewish communities as a whole. Yom HaShoah was added to Jewish liturgical calendars and North Carolina synagogues showcased Holocaust materials like rescued Torahs. These activities tied the survivors together. The 1960s and ‘70s aroused even more interest in the Holocaust because of two defining events—the Eichmann trial and Israel’s Six Day War. With the creation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, North Carolina was quick to follow with a state council on the Holocaust, created in 1981 by founding chair Dr. B. Elmo Scoggin. By 1985, the council was established by legislative decree—the first state to take this step.9 The national council, local councils, and the creation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. broke new ground. No longer was the subject a private discussion; instead it was a national issue to all. Thus, Holocaust memorialization became a public dialogue, eventually finding its way into the North Carolina education system.

The North Carolina Council on the Holocaust’s mission reflects the state’s preferred strategy. “Through its education programs and annual commemorations, the Council strives to help prevent atrocities similar to the systematic program of mass murder by the Nazis of six million Jews and others, including gypsies (Roma), homosexuals, handicapped persons, and religious and political dissidents, from 1933 to 1945.”10 The group reached out to the community by creating events and curricular tools that could be used in the classroom, and to educate the

8 Ibid, 321.
public in general. “The council’s primary purpose was educational, and it sponsored filmstrips, books, speakers, workshops, and school curricula.”11 Local videos were recorded and featured by the Council such as *The Holocaust: A Personal North Carolina Story*, for example, presented interviews with survivors and liberators. Books written by local survivors include *Protective Custody: Prisoner 34042* by Dr. Susan Cernyak-Spatz and *Home Is Somewhere Else* by Lilian Furst. Like many councils, North Carolina held memorial services and survivors attended as guest speakers. Teacher workshops were organized by Linda Scher, with the help of survivors and academic experts. Speaker series occurred at many state universities and public schools. Survivors such as Gizella Abramson and Dr. Susan Cernyak-Spatz would travel to share their stories with the younger generations. These educational programs were just the beginning of didactic Shoah tools, and soon after, Holocaust courses and programs were created in many public North Carolina universities by Jewish academic leaders.12

Education is an important and influential industry for North Carolina—its universities were the engines of the state’s economic growth.”13 This may explain why educational tools rather than monuments and museums have been North Carolina’s chosen means of preserving the memory of the Holocaust. Latent anti-Semitism persisted into the mid-twentieth-century and it may also serve as a reasonable cause for North Carolina’s lack of structural Holocaust memorialization. Schools that once had quotas or glass ceilings for Jews now had Jewish professors, deans, and chancellors, even research centers named for Jewish community leaders. “Faculty members who had the widest influence in North Carolina, if not in the academic world, tended to be Jews who publicly identified as such.”14 The student population experienced similar

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11 Rogoff, *Down Home*, 322.
12 Ibid, 322. Entire paragraph cited from same source.
13 Ibid, 357.
14 Ibid, 358.
growth as Jewish attendance skyrocketed throughout the end of the twentieth century. “As Jewish student and faculty bodies grew, Jewish studies secured its place in the curriculum.” This opened the doors to teach Holocaust courses through Jewish studies programs. By the late 1980s and early '90s, “Jewish studies were thoroughly integrated into the broader liberal arts curriculum,” with specific Holocaust-related subjects and programs to follow. Duke University initiated Jewish studies in 1943, and revived it in 1972; by the 1980s five hundred students were enrolled. UNC-Asheville created the Center for Jewish Studies in 1982. East Carolina University included Jewish Americans within its Ethnic Studies program. UNC-Greensboro offered a Jewish Studies major, and since 2001 has supported the Levy-Loewenstein Holocaust Collection since 2001, featuring scholarly monographs, personal memoirs, and reference books detailing the history of the Holocaust. Appalachian State University founded its Center for Judaic, Holocaust, and Peace Studies in 2002. UNC Chapel Hill created the Carolina Center for Jewish Studies in 2003—“an ambitious development plan to build on faculty teaching, Jewish subjects in religion, history, and literature.” Additionally, “endowed professorships drew ranking scholars in archaeology, rabbinics, and Holocaust studies.” UNC Charlotte offered a minor in Judaic Studies within the Global, International, and Area Studies department; several Holocaust classes are required courses to graduate. Smaller educational groups also integrated Holocaust programs into their curriculum. In 1999 Asheville’s Center for Diversity Education featured a

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15 Ibid, 357.  
16 Ibid, 359.  
17 Ibid, 322-361.  
19 Rogoff, Down Home, 361.  
20 Ibid, 361.  
21 Ibid, 361.  
program, “Choosing to Remember: From the Shoah to the Mountains.”\textsuperscript{23} The Holocaust provided a focal point for the center’s mission to teach racial, religious, and ethnic tolerance.\textsuperscript{24} In 2006, a generous donation by the relatives of Mrs. Sonja van der Horst was given to the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill to establish the JMA and Sonja van der Horst Distinguished Professorship in Jewish Studies. As a survivor, Mrs. van der Horst was given Holocaust reparation funds which she invested, and upon her death she requested that these funds be donated to support the education of Jewish history and culture.\textsuperscript{25} This situation serves as yet another example of North Carolina’s chosen form of memorialization—education.

More evidence of North Carolina’s progressive strategy is apparent in Shalom Park, a campus located in Charlotte, North Carolina, that houses Temple Israel, Temple Beth El, the Levine Jewish Community Center, the Jewish Federation of Greater Charlotte, Jewish Family Services, Temple Israel Religious School, Temple Beth El Religious School, Consolidated High School of Jewish Studies, Charlotte Jewish Preschool, Charlotte Jewish Day School, Levine-Sklut Judaic Library & Resource Center, and the Charlotte Jewish News. Shalom Park is Charlotte’s hub for Jewish life, a central location for Jewish culture, education, and worship services. “Today, the 54-acre campus of Shalom Park provides a welcoming environment, not only for the local Jewish community, but for the entire Charlotte metro area as well, with an array of educational, religious, recreational, entertainment, cultural, and community service offerings. With no equivalent concept found anywhere in the nation, Shalom Park stands as a preeminent

\textsuperscript{23} Rogoff, \textit{Down Home}, 323.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 323.
\textsuperscript{25} The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, \textit{Sonja’s Story: Holocaust Reparation Funds Support Jewish Studies Professorship} (Chapel Hill, NC: News from the Center, Spring 2006).
example of community-based organization cooperation.”26 The Charlotte Jewish community is highly invested in its future generations, promoting growth through this all-inclusive campus.

My research suggested that there were no permanent Holocaust museums or monumental structures in North Carolina. While a Raleigh museum displayed an Anne Frank exhibition for two years, it was not housed at a fixed location afterwards.27 Today, the North Carolina Council on the Holocaust “sponsors three traveling exhibits for use at no charge in public libraries and in middle and high schools across the state.”28 In an effort to identify permanent memorials or exhibits, I contacted Jewish leaders, including Dr. Leonard Rogoff, research historian of the Jewish Heritage Foundation of North Carolina; Dr. Marcie Cohen Ferris, Associate Professor of the American Studies Department at UNC Chapel Hill; Mr. Michael Abramson, chair of the North Carolina Council on the Holocaust; Mr. Mitch Rifkin past chair of the North Carolina Council on the Holocaust; and Dr. Leah Wolfson, from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. These sources were unaware of any existing Holocaust museums or memorials in the state, but my research did uncover an attempt to create a memorial in Charlotte, North Carolina, that never materialized. According to Mr. Benjamin Hirsch, in the 1980s he was invited to visit the Hebrew Cemetery in Charlotte by Mr. Blumenthal.29 Mr. Hirsch was asked to replicate his original memorial design located in Greenwood Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia, so that the same memorial could be placed in Charlotte. Mr. Hirsch refused, stating that he designs memorials for the particular space, and he did not feel it was appropriate to simply reproduce a design. Instead,

27 Rogoff, Down Home, 322.
28 “North Carolina Council on the Holocaust.”
he said he would design a new memorial for Charlotte’s cemetery, but this option was not pursued.\textsuperscript{30} Thus, no memorial is located in the Hebrew Cemetery.\textsuperscript{31}

It is not surprising that many North Carolina Jewish leaders were unaware of any structural memorials, especially considering that the one monument previously located in a public park is now in storage as the park and surrounding area undergoes renovation.\textsuperscript{32} Little to no history was available for this memorial, except that it was erected before 1998, then on East Morehead Street and relocated to Marshall Park with other monuments, such as one to Martin Luther King, Jr. This setup has some similarities to Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, where there is a “park of memorials.”\textsuperscript{33} No images were available from the Levine Sklut Judaic Library and Resource Center’s archives and it was not possible to photograph the concrete and metal monument while in storage.\textsuperscript{34} This situation further suggests that North Carolinians value educational programs and tools more than monuments and structures.

North Carolina’s Holocaust memorialization style and support of the Jewish community appears forward looking. It seems they switched gears, stepping away from the tragic past of the Holocaust, and toward Judaism’s future. Groups informed and educated the public, especially future generations, so that the subject was understood and preserved. This viewpoint continues into the present with Charlotte, North Carolina’s future program and memorial, the Butterfly Project.

The Butterfly Project is an artistic and educational effort to represent the one and a half million children who perished in the Holocaust (Figures 49, 50, 51). The project was pioneered

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Sandra Goldman, phone conversation with author, February 23, 2011.
\textsuperscript{32} Sue Worrel, e-mail message to author, March 3, 2011.
\textsuperscript{33} Abridged article from the archives of \textit{The Charlotte Observer} sent from Jenny Stern, March 3, 2011.
\textsuperscript{34} Sue Worrel, March 3, 2011.
by the San Diego Jewish Academy in California. Marilyn Pearlman saw the butterflies in San Diego and thought the project could be replicated in Charlotte. Additional inspiration came from the Children’s Holocaust Memorial in Whitwell, Tennessee, and the poem, “The Butterfly,” written by a Holocaust victim at Auschwitz. Charlotte’s Butterfly Project will consist of a memorial garden, and sculpture adorned by thousands of ceramic butterflies. Mrs. Barbara Ziegler and Mrs. Gwen Orland are guiding the project with the support of many volunteers, including Mrs. Wilma Asrael. Initial funding came from small individual and group donations, along with a grant provided by Lenora Stein Education Fund. Judy August and Jill Newman, past presidents of the Levine Jewish Community Center (LJCC) Board, continue to lead fundraising efforts. The LJCC provides crucial staff support, without which, says Mrs. Ziegler the “project would never have gotten off the ground.”

Volunteers bring the clay butterflies to interested community groups and participants are taught the basic history of the Holocaust, paint the butterflies in honor of children who died, and are given a certificate containing the participant’s name and that of the young Holocaust victim. Mrs. Ziegler was given the list of children’s names from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and each participant is assigned one child. During every program the group reads the names of the children aloud, creating a more personal experience, and it is common to have several children with the same last name, implying that cousins and siblings were murdered together. Next, the butterflies are transported to the LJCC, glazed, and fired to a bright finish. Over 2,600 butterflies have been painted by Charlotte groups, including school children, residents of nursing homes, scout troops, churches, and members of the local Lions Club. Mr. Paul Rousso, a Charlotte artist, was chosen to design the sculpture. As the butterflies are finished, Mr. Russo

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35 Barbara Ziegler, e-mail message to author, March 1, 2011. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
and Mrs. Patrick Robertson—a local mosaic artist—adheres them to the large heart-shaped sculpture on LJCC’s property.\textsuperscript{36}

Several Yom HaShoah events will take place this year in Charlotte, including a speaker series, craft market, teacher workshop, memorial dedication, music, prayers, shofar blowing, Kaddish, and a live butterfly release. Dr. David Chadwick is a pastor at Forest Hills Church and he will discuss modern day genocide at Temple Beth El. A Mother’s Market Place will be open to the public; funds will support refugees in Africa. The following day, the LJCC will host a teacher workshop with a panel of Master Teachers from Charlotte Mecklenburg schools, Davidson and University North Carolina-Charlotte. The workshop is titled “From Remembrance to Hope in Today’s Classroom.” On May 1, 2011, Yom HaShoah, the sculpture, covered with beautiful butterflies, and its garden will be dedicated. Following the dedication and memorial service, the play, \textit{Who Will Tell the Story, Passing on the Legacy}, produced by Mrs. Wilma Asrael, will be presented to guests. Dr. Racelle Weiman will also hold an event that evening, concluding with a discussion on “Voices of the Children of the Holocaust.”\textsuperscript{37}

The Butterfly Project will continue as a hands-on artistic and educational program, and additional butterflies will decorate the sculpture thanks to an endowment for ongoing Holocaust Educational Programming at the LJCC. From Mrs. Ziegler, “We hope to have visitors—schools, youth groups, senior citizens come to the LJCC, visit the Library and use the facility for resources, books, videos, films, etc., visit the garden and speak to an educator. We want to be a referral source to the programs offered by the North Carolina Council on the Holocaust and Appalachian State Center for Judaic, Holocaust and Peace Studies.”\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid. Entire paragraph cited from the same source.
Holocaust education remains as the focal point of North Carolina’s overall memorialization. While it seems strange that the state has not erected a museum or a traditional monument dedicated to the Holocaust, its chosen form of remembrance appears just as effective as that of neighboring states. Educational programs and learning tools inform the public, survivors are honored in commemoration services, and young Jews are encouraged to maintain their heritage but look to the future.
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

This thesis explored the co-dependence between the intangible educational and cultural practices of Holocaust memorialization and the creation of physical structures and objects. Preservation is not only necessary for the physical monuments, but also the social practice, ritual, and commemorative events connected to it, and the education and pedagogy for the generations to come. It is the conservation of memory. To keep the memory of the Holocaust alive, it is necessary to preserve structures. However, action cannot stop with the physical environment. Preserving the intangible, such as oral histories, ritual performances, literature, public displays, and other customs is also essential.

Holocaust commemoration demonstrates surprising diversity and change over time. Beginning with performances and paper monuments, experiences of the Shoah were portrayed in oral histories and published material, all of which were shared and discussed predominately within private settings—residences, Jewish social circles, and synagogues. Later, survivor groups and Holocaust committees wanted visual representations of the Holocaust and memorials were created, also located on private property. Many synagogues allocated space for religious Holocaust relics—torahs, menorahs, and photographs. Plaques, stained glass windows, and small monuments were commonly found in Jewish community centers, synagogues, and Jewish-owned businesses. Larger memorials constructed in cemeteries, provided ideal locations for annual Yom HaShoa services. Victims of the Holocaust were given symbolic graves, complete with headstones, through the erection of these stone markers. During the 1980s and ’90s Holocaust
memorial committees built even larger monuments in public areas, creating spaces of their own. The national Holocaust museum opened during this time, and the Shoah was represented in the award-winning film, *Schindler’s List*.\(^1\) New York, the largest city in the United States, opened its Museum of Jewish Heritage in 1997. As a subject, the Holocaust was now showcased publicly due to the growing prominence of Jewish Americans and the passing of survivors. Commemoration has continued into the twenty-first century, evolving with the addition of educational forms.

This chronology begins with performances, such as sermons, plays, and books; leading to smaller private, monuments; continuing further as large, space encompassing memorials in public locales; and resulting in didactic program. The Southeastern United States illustrates these various forms. In North Carolina, for example, several rabbis discussed the horrors of the Holocaust in their sermons.\(^2\) In Charleston, South Carolina, a huge, community-wide theatrical production to commemorate two hundred years of heritage, *For Those Who Live in the Sun*, depicted a displaced Jewish family in search of a home after World War II.\(^3\)

Small-scale memorials like the ones found at Synagogue Emanu-El and Brith Sholom Beth Israel in Charleston and Temple B’Nai Israel in Spartanburg, South Carolina, contain a restored Torah scroll as a relic from the Holocaust.\(^4\) Shoah commemoration plaques hang in the Jewish Community Center of Charleston, South Carolina, and Temple B’nai Israel of Anderson, South Carolina.\(^5\) Holocaust windows are installed in Tree of Life and Beth Shalom, both in

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1 *Schindler’s List* was one of many Holocaust films. See article “Holocaust Humor” from *Moment* magazine in April 1999 for discussion of other movies, plays, books, and shows.
5 Ellen Draisen, e-mail message to author, December 8, 2010.
Columbia, South Carolina. In 1965, the survivor group in Atlanta, Georgia commissioned an outdoor enclosure entitled, Memorial to the Six Million on the property of Greenwood Cemetery.

Atlanta’s memorial stands as a precursor for the near explosion of Holocaust committees and public memorials in the 1980s and ’90s. Examples in Miami, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; and Columbia, South Carolina, reflect the transition from private, contemplative environments to publicly showcased locations. Projects in Whitwell, Tennessee, and Charlotte, North Carolina, are highly educational and reflect the shift from purely physical remembrance forms to didactic, interactive memorials.

Holocaust memorialization’s shift from private, contemplative locations to the public arena parallels a rise in Jewish Americans’ socio-economic status. Survivors may have originally lacked the language skills, status, and wealth to construct memorials in public parks. But by the 1980s and ’90s, Jewish Americans were a powerful and affluent group. Even if survivors did not have ability to put Holocaust commemoration high on the public agenda, by the late twentieth century, their social connections or relatives did. American Jews’ heightened public profile plays a role in the evolution of Holocaust commemoration and helps explain the proliferation of major monuments and museums. Nonetheless, some states with small Jewish populations, such as Mississippi, are in an earlier stage of development. At this time, Mississippi is without a physical Holocaust memorial in the public domain and its public education program is just beginning to start.

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6 Viewed by author.
8 Hasia Diner, personal discussion with author, Charleston, South Carolina, March 2, 2011.
Stylistically, many American memorials compare to forms found at European concentration camps. Material usage and composition are also similar. For example, Atlanta’s Memorial to the Six Million is composed of stone, and contains human ashes and soap. Stone and human remains were commonly incorporated in European memorials. Miami’s Holocaust Memorial includes many figurative elements, and its main sculpture is an amputated hand—two specific symbols found in later examples in Europe.

Like the early monuments erected on Holocaust sites, American memorials were inspired by survivor groups, as illustrated by the Southeastern case studies surveyed here. American memorials overcame pressures by Yad Vashem to give Israel a monopoly on Holocaust memorialization. This is an amazing feat, adding to their significance. Ultimately, memorials, monuments, and museums will outlive the survivors and other eyewitnesses. Original Holocaust materials, such as barracks at concentration camps, were built with temporary intentions, and are currently facing preservation issues. American memorials have the potential to outlast these structures. For Americans who cannot travel to Europe or Israel, local monuments provide the only opportunities for commemoration experiences.

If memorials are built to preserve the memory of the Holocaust, then maintaining these memorials will secure the preservation of the Holocaust memory. As eyewitnesses—survivors, liberators, refugees, and other European residents—die off, their first-hand experiences and knowledge will disappear with their passing. Inevitably, this time is quickly approaching. Original Holocaust material is also aging. The remaining concentration camps serve as some of the earliest memorials, and their neglect may eventually lead to decay and destruction. For these reasons, American memorials have an even greater significance because they will outlast the

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passing of key observers and historic structures built with only temporary intentions. Holocaust memorials will remain to inform the public, honor the survivors and liberators, and provide a prayer space for victims without graves. For those who are unable to travel and visit the European Holocaust sites in person, these memorials act as some of the only educational structures that they will ever experience. The memory of the Shoah relies on both approaches—education and structural memorialization, intangible and tangible material—and these edifices are worthy of documentation, research, and preservation.
APPENDIX A: FIGURES

Figure 1: Three Eagles, Majdanek Concentration Camp, 1943

Figure 2: Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Monument, Warsaw, proposed in 1943, dedicated in 1948

Figure 3: Cornerstone in Riverside Park, New York City, proposed in 1944, dedicated in 1947
Figure 4: International memorial, Dachau Concentration Camp, Dachau efforts began in 1949, dedicated in 1968

Figure 5: Flossenburg Concentration Camp, Flossenburg efforts in 1946, erected in 1946

Figure 6: Flossenburg town memorial, efforts in 1946, erected in 1946
Figure 7: Treblinka Concentration Camp, initial memorial in 1959, additional stones in 1964

Figure 8: Abstract memorial, Majdanek Concentration Camp, dedicated in 1969
Figure 9: Obelisk example, Buchenwald Concentration Camp, erected in 1945

Figure 10: Obelisk example, Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp, dedicated in 1952
Figure 11: Neuengamme Concentration Camp, erected in 1953

Figure 12: Modern memorial and sculpture, Neuengamme Concentration Camp, erected in 1965
Figure 13: Beth Israel Congregation memorial, Florence, South Carolina, dedicated in 1998, front view

Figure 14: Beth Israel Congregation, Florence, South Carolina, dedicated in 1998, profile view
Figure 15: Jewish Community Center of Charleston plaque, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1972

Figure 16: Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1992, garden view

Figure 17: Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1992, detailed image
Figure 18: Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1992

Figure 19: Brith Sholom Beth Israel plaque, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 2009

Figure 20: Beth Shalom memorial window, Columbia, South Carolina, dedicated in 1996
Figure 21: Emek Shalom Holocaust Cemetery Memorial, Richmond, Virginia, constructed in 1955

Figure 22: Memorial in Philadelphia Pennsylvania, built in 1964
Figure 23: Holocaust Memorial Center, Detroit, Michigan, opened in 1984, original location and has since moved

Figure 24: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C., opened in 1993

Figure 25: Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York City, New York, opened in 1997
Figure 26: Memorial to the Six Million, Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated in 1965

Figure 27: Memorial to the Six Million, Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated in 1965, drawing by Mr. Benjamin Hirsch
Figure 28: Memorial to the Six Million, Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated in 1965, sketch by Mr. Benjamin Hirsch

Figure 29: Memorial to the Six Million, Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated in 1965, human ashes

Figure 30: Memorial to the Six Million, Atlanta, Georgia, human soap dedicated in 1969
Figure 31: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990

Figure 32: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990, sculpture detail

Figure 33: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990, colonnade arbor and inscription wall detail
Figure 34: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990, tunnel detail.

Figure 35: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990, dome detail.

Figure 36: Holocaust Memorial, Miami Beach, Florida, dedicated in 1990, Sculpture of Love and Anguish.
Figure 37: The Breman Museum, Atlanta, Georgia, opened in 1996, outdoor view of Selig Center

Figure 38: The Breman Museum, Atlanta, Georgia, opened in 1996, museum entrance

Figure 39: The Breman Museum, Atlanta, Georgia, opened in 1996, Holocaust exhibit
Figure 40: The Breman Museum, Atlanta Georgia, opened in 1996, floor plan

Figure 41: Holocaust Memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1999
Figure 42: Holocaust Memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1999, tallit detail

Figure 43: Holocaust Memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1999, inscription wall detail

Figure 44: Holocaust Memorial, Charleston, South Carolina, dedicated in 1999, metal detail
Figure 45: Children’s Holocaust Memorial, Whitwell, Tennessee, dedicated in 2001

Figure 46: Children’s Holocaust Memorial, Whitwell, Tennessee, dedicated in 2001, monument
Figure 47: Holocaust Memorial Monument, Columbia, South Carolina, dedicated in 2001

Figure 48: Holocaust Memorial Monument, Columbia, South Carolina, dedicated in 2001, rear view
Figure 49: The Butterfly Project, Charlotte, North Carolina, dedication in May 2011

Figure 50: The Butterfly Project, Charlotte, North Carolina, dedication in May 2011, installation
Figure 51: Butterfly Project, Charlotte, North Carolina, dedication in May 2011, ceramic butterfly detail
APPENDIX B: NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM, MEMORIAL TO THE SIX MILLION, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Memorial to the Six Million
other names/site number Memorial to the Six Million Martyrs

2. Location

street & number 1173 Cascade Avenue, S.W.
city, town Atlanta ( ) vicinity of
county Fulton code 121
state Georgia code GA zip code 30311

( ) not for publication

3. Classification

Ownership of Property: Category of Property:
(X) private ( ) building(s)
( ) public-local ( ) district
( ) public-state ( ) site
( ) public-federal (X) structure
( ) object

Number of Resources within Property: Contributing Noncontributing
buildings 0 0
sites 0 0
structures 1 0
objects 0 0
total 1 0

Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: N/A
Name of previous listing: N/A
Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

Memorial to the Six Million, Fulton County, Georgia
4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets the National Register criteria. ( ) See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official

W. Ray Luce
Historic Preservation Division Director
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

3/18/08

In my opinion, the property ( ) meets ( ) does not meet the National Register criteria. ( ) See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official

State or Federal agency or bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

( ) entered in the National Register

( ) determined eligible for the National Register

( ) determined not eligible for the National Register

( ) removed from the National Register

( ) other, explain:

( ) see continuation sheet

Keeper of the National Register

Memorial to the Six Million, Fulton County, Georgia
### 6. Function or Use

**Historic Functions:**

Recreation and Culture: monument/marker  
Funerary: graves/burial

**Current Functions:**

Recreation and Culture: monument/marker  
Funerary: graves/burial

### 7. Description

**Architectural Classification:**

Modern Movement: International Style

**Materials:**

- **foundation**: Concrete  
- **walls**: Stone: granite  
- **roof**: N/A  
- **other**: Metal

**Description of present and historic physical appearance:**

The Memorial to the Six Million is an open-air structure designed as a memorial to the murdered Jews of the Holocaust. It is located in Greenwood Cemetery in southwest Atlanta. Greenwood Cemetery, which includes over 3,000 Jewish and gentile burials, became the principal Jewish cemetery in the first decades of the 20th century after the last burial plots were sold in Oakland Cemetery near downtown Atlanta. Jewish burials in Greenwood Cemetery are in a Jewish section of the cemetery, which is organized by synagogue congregation. Completed in 1965, the memorial is located at the intersection of two cemetery roads. The memorial is nestled in a valley on the south side of the cemetery adjacent to the Jewish section.

The Memorial to the Six Million includes the walls that form the memorial, memorial plaques and monuments, and the remains of unknown victims of the Holocaust. The memorial, devoid of architectural ornament, conveys its monumentality and its meaning through its form and its lithic materials. A small hedge located around the base of the memorial is the only landscaping element associated with the nomination.

The memorial is composed of four L-shaped walls of varying heights between seven- and thirteen-feet tall. The memorial measures roughly 50-long and 25-feet wide. The walls are laid in uncoursed Stone Mountain granite blocks. The walls interlock to form a single "interior" space that has no roof and is open to the sky. Entrances are located on each of the four sides. The architect, Benjamin Hirsch, described the plan as "symbolically inviting people from the four corners of the earth to enter and share in the messages. The abstract relationship of the walls to each other provides the necessary privacy [for worship] by truncating the entrances. The interior is accessible but not
apparent until it is entered.\footnote{Benjamin Hirsch, American Institute of Architects Twenty-Five Year Award Nomination Statement (1991): n.p.}

The interior is a long, rectangular space enclosed by the four interlocking walls. Although not completely enclosed, the stone walls limit views of the outdoors to the sky. In the center of the space are six white torches, which represent the six million Jews killed in the Holocaust, that soar above the walls of the monument. The torches rise from a black granite coffin that contains the ashes of an unknown victim from the concentration camp at Dachau, Germany.

Memorial bronze plaques and stone markers are located throughout the monument. Nearly all of these plaques and markers were installed when the memorial was completed in 1965. These plaques and markers are described below:

**Exterior plaques and markers**

1. "6,000,000" is the title of the iron plaque located at the main entrance (photo 10). It is mounted on the north side of the memorial. The plaque is made of rusting iron, which was chosen by the architect because the rust streaking down the stone walls of the memorial resembled blood. A biblical passage is inscribed on the plaque in English and Hebrew.

2. A small, free-standing stone dedication marker is located in front of the memorial (photo 10). A bronze plaque on the marker reads: "Dedicated April 25, 1965/In Blessed Memory of the Six Million Jewish Martyrs/ Perished in the Hitlerian Holocaust/ In Europe 1939-1945/ Erected/ By/ Eternal Life-Hemshech/ Organization of Survivors/ Atlanta, Georgia/Benjamin Hirsch, AIA Architect/ Abraham (Abe) Besser, Builder."

3. A small, stone marker lies flat on the ground on the west side of the memorial (photos 12-13). This burial marker is inscribed in Hebrew and English: "Here Rest/ Four Bars of Soap/ The Last Earthly Remains/ Of Jewish Victims/ Of the Nazi Holocaust." The marker was added in 1969 when the bars of soap were interred at the site.

**Interior plaques and markers**

4. A tent-shaped bronze plaque sits atop the black granite coffin in the center of the interior space that reads: "On Sunday, April 25, 1965/ Were Saved Here/ for/ Eternal Rest/ Ashes/ from the/ Mass-Grave in Dachau/ of the/ Jewish Victims/ of the/ Nazi-Holocaust in Europe/ 1939-1945/ May Their Memory Be Enshrined Forever." (Photo 19.)

5. A bronze plaque is located on the south wall below the eternal flame that reads a passage from Exodus in English and Hebrew: "The Bush Burned With Fire And Was Not Consumed." (Photo 20.)

6. A bronze plaque located on the north wall reads in English and Hebrew: "One Million Jewish Children/ Victims of the Nazi Barbarism in Europe/ 1939-1945." (Photos 16-17.)
7. A bronze plaque located on the east wall reads in English and Hebrew: "In Memory Of/ All The Heroes That Perished In Resisting The Nazi Oppression/ Of The Years Of The Holocaust 1939-1945/ This Plaque Is Dedicated On The/ 25th Anniversary Of The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising/ April 21, 1968." (Photo 24.)

8. Bronze plaques located on the west wall are dedicated to the family members of the Atlanta survivors who built the memorial (photos 21-23). A bronze plaque at the top of the wall reads in English and Hebrew: "For These I Weep" and a plaque near the bottom of the wall reads in English and Hebrew: "Perished in the Martyrdom By The Hitlerian Murderers." The center of the wall is filled with thirteen vertical rows of over one-hundred yahrzeit plaques. Each plaque was dedicated by an Atlanta survivor in memory of a family member that was killed in the Holocaust. The plaques, written in English and Hebrew, bear the names of the victims, often entire families.
8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

(X) nationally     (X) statewide    (X) locally

Applicable National Register Criteria:

(X) A     ( ) B    (X) C    ( ) D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): ( ) N/A

( ) A     ( ) B    ( ) C    ( ) D    ( ) E    (X) F    (X) G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions):

Architecture
Social history

Period of Significance:
1965

Significant Dates:
1965 – Memorial to the Six Million completed
1965 – First prayer service held at the memorial on April 25, 1965

Significant Person(s):
N/A

Cultural Affiliation:
N/A

Architect(s)/Builder(s):

Hirsch, Benjamin (architect)
Besser, Abraham (builder)
Statement of significance (areas of significance)

The Memorial to the Six Million is an open-air memorial to the murdered Jews of the Holocaust located in Greenwood Cemetery in southwest Atlanta. Completed in 1965, the memorial was built by survivors who resided in Atlanta and sought a place to pray for family members that perished in the Holocaust. The memorial is Georgia's oldest and most visible reminder of the Holocaust and is symbolic of the struggles of the Jewish families who fled Europe in the midst of the Holocaust. The memorial in Atlanta remains the centerpiece of Holocaust education and observances in Atlanta. Since its dedication on April 25, 1965, memorial services have been held every year during the week of Holocaust Memorial Day in the spring and during the High Holy Days in the fall.

The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is part of a tradition of Holocaust memorials that were built in the United States after World War II. Holocaust memorials were built in Europe immediately after World War II, but in the United States decades passed before they began to appear in American cities. Many of the early monuments were small, inscribed tablets or other small-scale structures in the form of traditional funerary monuments. A plain obelisk erected in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1947 is considered the first local memorial in the United States dedicated to victims of the Holocaust. In New York City in the 1940s, a small, stone plaque dedicated to Holocaust victims was placed in Riverside Park as a placeholder for a larger, permanent memorial that was never built. In 1955, survivors of the Holocaust in Richmond, Virginia, built a small, three-part stone monument inscribed with the names of “our loved ones who died in Europe...as victims of their faith.” The Richmond memorial is an early example of a Holocaust memorial built by survivors and dedicated to the memory of specific persons who were killed in the Holocaust. The Richmond memorial was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1999.2

The majority of Holocaust memorials constructed in the United States were built after 1965, the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II. Most of these were built in the 1980s and 1990s and were often large in scale, incorporating sculptures, landscaped gardens, and sometimes museums or educational exhibits. In Denver, Colorado, the city council dedicated the 27-acre Babi Yar Park to the victims killed near Kiev in 1941. The park, dedicated in 1970, includes an amphitheater, Grove of Remembrance, Boxcar Bridge, and two granite tablets inscribed in English and Hebrew. In 1984, The Holocaust was dedicated near the Palace of the Legion of Honor in Lincoln Park in San Francisco, California. The sculpture and landscaped setting features a grouping of life-size white bronze figures. Ten bodies lie in a heap as a lone figure stares past barbed wire toward the Bay. In Miami Beach, Florida, a group of Holocaust survivors formed a group to build a permanent memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. Dedicated in 1990, the memorial comprises a 72-foot tall bronze sculpture of an outstretched arm overrun with tormented human figures. The sculpture is located in the center of a reflecting pool and is surrounded by a colonnade that includes names of Jewish victims.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., is the largest and most

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important Holocaust memorial in America. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter established the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which submitted a report on the creation of a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. The commission was chaired by Elie Wiesel, writer and Holocaust survivor. In 1980, the United States Congress created the United States Holocaust Memorial Commission, with its mandate being the creation of a memorial to the six million Jews and millions of other victims who perished during the Holocaust. In 1988, construction began for the memorial museum on a two-acre site adjacent to the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The building, inspired by Holocaust sites, concentration camps, and ghettos, was completed in 1993. The museum contains three floors of permanent and temporary exhibition spaces that present the history of the Holocaust and honor the memories of the victims.

The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is nationally significant in the area of architecture because it is an early example of the large-scale memorials that were constructed in cities across America in the last decades of the 20th century. More than a tablet or sculpture, the Atlanta memorial is an architectural monument with interior and exterior space. In 1984, Dr. Helen M. Fagin, a survivor and scholar on the Holocaust, cited the Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta among other U.S. Holocaust memorials to the Holocaust as inspiration for survivors in Florida to form a group with the purpose of building a Holocaust memorial in Miami Beach.

The memorial in Atlanta is also significant in the area of architecture at the national level because it is an outstanding example of modern architecture in Georgia and because it is an excellent example of modern architecture used to create a memorial. Benjamin Hirsch, the architect, graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology, College of Architecture in 1958. He practiced primarily in Atlanta between 1962 and 1995, specializing in religious architecture. Hirsh, who no longer practices architecture, designed the Memorial to the Six Million as an abstract monument with interlocking walls that provide a private, interior space for mourning and contemplation. Its abstract form and unadorned walls are a departure from the classical canon and allegorical monuments that were built in Georgia for most of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Benjamin Hirsch believed that the design “must be a space that invites the public in, yet creates the privacy and atmosphere of holiness. . . . The manner in which the limits are confined becomes, therefore, the major criteria for the Memorial/Monument.”3 In 1968, the National Conference on Religious Architecture presented its merit award for excellence in design to Benjamin Hirsch for his design of the Memorial to the Six Million.

The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is significant in the area of social history at the state and local levels because it provided a place for Jews in Atlanta to mourn the deaths of family members who died in the Holocaust. Benjamin Hirsch, the architect of the memorial and a survivor of the Holocaust, wrote, “when we, the survivors of Nazi Germany’s purge against the Jewish people, erect a memorial to our murdered loved ones, we owe it to the victims to also make this memorial a reminder to the world that this tragic event was allowed to happen in the twentieth century.”

Memorial to the Six Million, Fulton County, Georgia
Architect Benjamin Hirsch described the building program as serving three basic functions:

For the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust who lost their families to the brutality of Hitler's followers, it must be a substitute for the actual graves of their loved ones, which do not, to their knowledge, exist. It must be a place conducive for saying the kaddish, (Jewish mourning prayer), a place conducive to contemplation and meditation in privacy.

For the generation of non-Jews that were little affected personally but lived through World War II and are prone to say “How long must we remember?” it must be a constant reminder that this unbelievable act of man against man happened in their lifetime and that our “civilized” world did nothing to stop it from happening.

For those born after the war or for future generations, the monument should stimulate inquiry into this event, which very likely by then will be minimized in the pages of history.4

Benjamin Hirsch believed “the design must be imposing enough to achieve the latter two functions. It must be a space that invites the public in, yet creates the privacy and atmosphere of holiness required by the first function. The manner in which the limits are confined becomes, therefore, the major criteria for the Memorial/Monument.”5

Since its completion, the Atlanta memorial has been a central location of Holocaust education in Atlanta. Memorial services have been held every year during the week of Holocaust Memorial Day in the spring and during the High Holy Days in the fall.

National Register Criteria

A – The Memorial to the Six Million is significant at the state and local levels in the area of social history because it provided a place for Jews in Atlanta to mourn the deaths of family members who died in the Holocaust. It was the first Holocaust memorial constructed in Georgia and remains the largest and most substantial memorial to victims of the Holocaust in the state.

C – The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is nationally significant in the area of architecture because it is an early example of the large-scale memorials that were constructed in cities across America in the last decades of the 20th century. The memorial in Atlanta is also significant in the area of architecture at the national level because it is an outstanding example of modern architecture in Georgia and because it is an excellent example of modern architecture used to create a memorial.
Criteria Considerations (if applicable)

F – The Memorial to the Six Million is significant as a commemorative property and meets Criterion Consideration F. The memorial is significant in the area of social history because the memorial derives its value as a significant cultural expression of the survivors of the Holocaust who settled in Atlanta. The survivors formed Eternal Life-Hemshech, a group dedicated to creating a Holocaust memorial where the survivors could say the kaddish for family members killed in the Holocaust. These survivors had little money and had to overcome language differences within the group. The largest contribution was $500, but most contributed $100 toward the $11,000 cost.

G – The Memorial to the Six Million, completed in 1965, achieved its significance within the last fifty years and meets Criterion Consideration G. The memorial is significant in the area of social history because it provided a place for Jews in Atlanta to mourn the deaths of family members who died in the Holocaust. Built by survivors of the Holocaust who settled in Atlanta, the memorial serves as a place for private worship and public ceremonies. The memorial represents the efforts of a newly established Jewish population in Atlanta to overcome cultural and social differences for the purpose of building a single memorial in honor of those killed in the Holocaust.

The Atlanta memorial is part of a broad pattern of Holocaust survivors in America building memorials to honor the memories of family that were killed in Europe between 1939 and 1945. The Holocaust memorial in Atlanta is part of this broader movement of Holocaust commemoration in the United States, which has been intensively studied by scholars in the last several decades. The movement began almost immediately after World War II and has continued to the present. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., completed in 1993, is among the best known of these later memorials. Since the Atlanta memorial was completed in 1965, sufficient time has passed for it to be viewed in its historical perspective.

The Memorial for the Six Million in Atlanta is significant as an early example of Holocaust memorials in the United States, typically built in the 1980s and 1990s, which incorporated large-scale sculpture, landscaped gardens, and sometimes museums, such as in Dallas, San Francisco, Tucson, and Washington, D.C. The Atlanta memorial, with its monumental form and interior and exterior space, is an excellent early example of this type of memorial.

The earliest Holocaust memorials in the United States were often inscribed tablets or markers. These were mostly plain, small-scale structures. Emek Sholom Holocaust Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, built in 1955, is among the early Holocaust memorials in America. It is a small, three-part tablet with inscriptions on each panel. The National Park Service determined that Emek Sholom met National Register Criteria Considerations F and G and it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in the area of social significance in 1998.

The Atlanta memorial meets Criterion Consideration G in the area of architecture because it is an excellent example of modern architecture in Georgia. Modernism was embraced slowly in Georgia, like most Southern states. Professors at the School of Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology promoted the modern aesthetic of the Bauhaus as early as the late 1930s. Benjamin
Hirsh, architect of the memorial, studied under Paul M. Heffernan, who trained at Harvard University under Walter Gropius and who promoted modernism while he was the director of the Georgia Tech School of Architecture.

The Memorial to the Six Million, although not an early example of modern architecture in Georgia, is among the best examples of modern principles of design translated to a commemorative monument. Its form derived from basic geometry, its lack of references to past historical styles, and its monumental scale are all elements of modern architecture. The interlocking walls clad in Stone Mountain granite unify the design. This memorial is among the first large-scale commemorative monuments constructed in Georgia that defies traditional classical design and embraces the tenets of modernism.

The architect of the Memorial to the Six Million, Benjamin Hirsch, is 76 years of age and lives in Atlanta. Properties associated with living persons are not usually listed in the National Register, however, Hirsch’s “productive career” ended in the mid-1990s. Hirsch was most active as an architect from 1962 to 1995 and he retired from the profession in 2007. The Holocaust memorial is a project from the beginning of his professional career and, although he later specialized in religious architecture, this is the only Holocaust memorial designed by Hirsch. In 1968, the National Conference on Religious Architecture presented its merit award for excellence in design to Benjamin Hirsch for his design of the Memorial to the Six Million. Additionally, the architect has expressed his view that the memorial is among his most important designs.

Period of significance (justification)

The period of significance begins and ends in 1965, the year the Memorial to the Six Million was completed.

Contributing/Noncontributing Resources (explanation, if necessary)

The Memorial to the Six Million is counted as one contributing structure. The Holocaust memorial includes memorial plaques that were part of the original design and some later monuments, such as the "bars of soap" monument, which was added in 1969. The memorial, plaques, and monuments are related functionally, physically, and visually as a single assemblage. The Holocaust memorial is, therefore, counted as one contributing structure. The memorial is the only resource associated with this nomination.

Developmental history/historic context (if appropriate)

In 1964, a group of 100 Holocaust survivors in Atlanta organized under the name Eternal Life-Hemshech for the purpose of building a memorial to the memory of their loved ones who were among the murdered Jews of the Holocaust. (Hemshech translates to ‘continuation’ in Hebrew.) The group wanted the memorial to serve as a place to say Kaddish, the Jewish prayer for the dead. The committee comprised Abraham Gastfiend, Mala Gastfiend, Gaston Nitka, Rubin Lansky, and Rubin...
Pichulik. Dr. Leon S. Rosen served as chairman and Lola Lansky and Nathan Bromberg were co-chairs.

The form of the monument and the location were debated among the group. Most believed that a cemetery was appropriate because the *Kaddish* is traditionally said at the graveside of a family member. Eventually, they chose a site for the memorial in Greenwood Cemetery, then the most prominent Jewish cemetery in Atlanta.

Initially, the Eternal Life-*Hemshech* planned for a monument in the form of an inscribed marble slab. Benjamin Hirsch, a young Atlanta architect and survivor of the Holocaust, attended early meetings of the group and proposed his own ideas for a larger, more substantial memorial. Some members resisted increasing the scope of the project, but others, such as Lola Lansky, insisted on adopting Hirsch's design and his proposal was accepted.

Funds for the memorial were raised entirely within the Holocaust survivor community in Atlanta. These survivors had little money and had to overcome language differences within the group. *Hemshech's* 1965 financial report states that the completed monument cost $11,000. This included $2,400 for the small plot of land, $7,924.21 for construction, and $440 for landscaping. The entire project was funded with mostly $100 contributions. The largest single contribution was $500.

The Memorial to the Six Million was dedicated on April 25, 1965, with a *Yizkor* prayer service. In 1968, a plaque in honor of the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was unveiled on the inside east wall. Memorial services have been held every year during the week of Holocaust Memorial Day in the spring and during the High Holy Days in the fall. In 1970, Lola Lansky, as president of Eternal Life-*Hemshech*, invited the Atlanta Jewish Federation to co-sponsor the annual *Yom HaShoah* commemoration for the entire Atlanta Jewish community. This annual event continues to be co-sponsored by *Hemshech* and the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta.
9. Major Bibliographic References


______.  *Home is Where You Find It.* iUniverse, 2006.

______.  "Representative Projects of Religious Architecture by Benjamin Hirsch." [2001].


Previous documentation on file (NPS): (X) N/A

( ) preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested

( ) preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been issued date issued:

( ) previously listed in the National Register

( ) previously determined eligible by the National Register

( ) designated a National Historic Landmark

( ) recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #

( ) recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

(X) State historic preservation office

( ) Other State Agency

( ) Federal agency

( ) Local government

( ) University

( ) Other, Specify Repository:

Georgia Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A
10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property  0.031 acres.

UTM References

A) Zone 16    Easting 735780    Northing 3734330

Verbal Boundary Description

The historic district boundary is indicated by a heavy black line on the attached map, which is drawn to scale.

Boundary Justification

The National Register boundary follows the current legal boundary of the Memorial to the Six Million. The boundary includes only the memorial and no other portions of the cemetery.
State Historic Preservation Office

name/title Steven Moffson, Architectural Historian
organization Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources
mailing address 34 Peachtree Street, N.W., Suite 1600
city or town Atlanta state Georgia zip code 30303
telephone (404) 656-2840 date March 15, 2008
e-mail steven.moffson@dnr.state.ga.us

Consulting Services/Technical Assistance (if applicable) (X) not applicable

name/title
organization
mailing address
city or town state zip code
telephone
e-mail

( ) property owner
( ) consultant
( ) regional development center preservation planner
( ) other:

Property Owner or Contact Information

name (property owner or contact person) Karen Lansky Edlin
organization (if applicable) Eternal Life Hemshech
mailing address 205 Northland Ridge Trail
city or town Atlanta state GA zip code 30342
e-mail (optional) N/A
Photographs

Name of Property: Memorial to the Six Million
City, County, State: Atlanta, Fulton, Georgia
Photographer: James R. Lockhart
Negative Filed: Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Date Photographed: January 2008

Description of Photograph(s):

Number of photographs: 24

1. Main façade (east) and north side, photographer facing south.
2. Main façade, photographer facing west.
3. South side, photographer facing north.
4. Main façade and south side, photographer facing northwest.
5. Main façade and south side, photographer facing northwest.
6. Main façade, photographer facing west.
7. Main façade, photographer facing west.
8. Main façade, photographer facing west.
9. Main façade, photographer facing west.
10. Main façade with dedication marker and “6,000,000” plaque, photographer facing west.
11. Main façade, detail, with “6,000,000” plaque, photographer facing west.
15. Interior of memorial with casket and torches, photographer facing southwest.
16. Interior of memorial with casket and torches, photographer facing north.
18. Interior of memorial, six torches, photographer facing west.


20. Interior of memorial, eternal flame, photographer facing south.

21. Interior of memorial, memorial plaques, photographer facing southwest.

22. Interior of memorial, memorial plaques, photographer facing northwest.

23. Interior of memorial, memorial plaques, photographer facing west.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 08000351 Date Listed: 4/21/08

Property Name: Memorial to the Six Million

County: Fulton State: GA

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Signature of the Keeper 4/21/2008

Amended Items in Nomination:

This SLR is issued to amend the registration form to change the level of significance from national to state.

Section 8: Statement of Significance

The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta was nominated at the national level, in the area of architecture “because it is an early example of the large-scale memorials that were constructed in cities across America in the last decades of the 20th century.” Without a broader context and comparative analysis, consideration of significance at the national level does not appear justified at this time.

The Memorial to the Six Million in Atlanta is part of a tradition of Holocaust memorials that were built in the United States after World War II. Significant in architecture and social history, the Memorial’s abstract modern form and unadorned walls are a departure from the more classical and allegorical monuments that were built in Georgia for most of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The structure is the first Holocaust memorial constructed in Georgia and remains the largest and most substantial memorial to victims of the Holocaust in the state.

After consultation with and concurrence by the Georgia SHPO, the nomination is hereby
amended to list the property at the STATE level of significance.

The Georgia State Historic Preservation Office was notified of this amendment.

**DISTRIBUTION:**
- National Register property file
- Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)
Memorial to the Six Million
Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia
Sketch Map
National Register Boundary
Approximate Scale: 1" = 250'

SITE LOCATION
GREENWOOD CEMETERY
Memorial to the Six Million
Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia

Sketch Map

National Register Boundary

Approximate Scale: 1" = 70'
BIBLIOGRAPHY


The Jewish Community Center of Charleston. Speech Delivered at the Kalushiner Society Plaque Dedication to the Six Million (Charleston, SC: Center Talks, January 9, 1972).


