

Were The House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust: Digital technology and new media as a means of storytelling in creating an imaginative template to preserve Holocaust testimony

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When visitors come to see our multi-media installation, they notice the words of Rabbi Nachum Yanchiker illuminated on the back wall of the exhibition hall. The Rabbi, who was the Headmaster of the Slabodka Musar-Yeshiva near Kovno, Lithuania, supposedly stood up and told his students to save themselves among screams that “...the Germans are coming.” Students who survived recollect that his last words were these:

*...and do as our holy sages had done. Pour forth your words and cast them into letters. This will be the raging wrath of our foes and the holy souls of your brothers and sisters will remain alive. These evil ones schemed to blot out our names from the face of the earth but a man cannot destroy letters. For words have wings and they endure for eternity.*¹

Were the House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust is a project that is inspired by words and became the focus of an illustrated presentation that took place at the 2009 Legacy of the Holocaust Conference in Krakow, Poland. The project is currently installed in a round exhibition space located in the Michael Klahr Education Resource Center on the campus of the University of Maine at Augusta, which is located in proximity to the state capitol, three hours north of Boston. This newly constructed educational resource center is the home of the Holocaust and

Human Rights Center of Maine (HHRC), and is named for a child survivor of the Holocaust (see figure 1). Premiering in 2007, *Were the House Still Standing* incorporates an innovative approach to storytelling through images, text, sound and space. Advances in digital technologies augment traditional art forms, enabling us to construct a documentary and visually poetic experience in which individual testimony, collective memory and history merge within a three dimensional format.



Figure 1. Michael Klahr Education Resource Center home of the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine, Augusta, ME. Architects: Harold Hon and Sam Wooten of Shepley Bulfinch Richardson and Abbott, Boston, MA. Photo courtesy of Harold Hon.

Karen Kelly, a student at the university viewed the project and commented that:

...[E]verything echoed; footsteps, the rustle of people's clothing as they walked to their seats as well as the murmuring of voices hushed in an expectation of secrecy. Against the back wall were the words of Rabbi Yanchicker. As it begins, a haunting melody from a flute and the echo of waves and the mournful call of the loon cry out and surround me. There is a feeling of peace. And then the sirens begin. The rushing of water projected onto the screen on the floor contrasts with the gravestones projected onto the walls. A cacophony of voices

*imposed upon the images of the stones, each voice trying to be heard over the din of others, souls crying out to be saved. As I watched the story unfold from my seat in the back of the theater, my heart began to break. Tears fell silently from my eyes in helpless frustration.*²

Through their words, this generation of Holocaust survivors is leaving us a powerful insight into history. As we bear witness to their life stories and become stewards of their testimony, we have a responsibility and opportunity to engage and educate those who come after us in the language and forms of our time: digitally-enhanced video, photography and audio. This project conveys the Holocaust journey of individuals who chose to settle in Maine, where they raised families, built careers, and contributed to the civic activities in their neighborhoods while maintaining their religious traditions.

In 1985, a rally took place in a rural town in central Maine. Individuals wearing hooded robes spewed their venomous rhetoric of hate and challenged the residents of this peaceful community. In the crowd that gathered on that overcast afternoon to protest the words of intolerance were Jewish survivors of the Nazi genocide. These courageous individuals emerged at the front of the crowd to confront the hooded speakers in an impassioned stand for tolerance. Motivated by this rally, a core group of Holocaust survivors, educators and concerned Maine citizens met and founded the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine (HHRC).

Since the founding of the HHRC in 1985, a dedicated group of citizens has traveled the length and breadth of the state to visit schools and civic organizations. Some in this group are Holocaust survivors and others are World War II veterans who took part in the liberation of Nazi concentration camps. They have shared their extraordinary stories of survival and bearing witness to one of the darkest periods of human history with thousands of Maine students, teachers and community organizations.

Today, many of these individuals can no longer endure the rigors of long distance travel and others have passed away. Their stories, nevertheless, must be told. In an attempt to preserve these testimonies as a significant resource and contribute to the educational mission of the organization, the HHRC Board of Directors commissioned me to create an installation that weaves together a rich fabric of narrative, sound, and imagery for future generations. To create this installation, the University of Maine at Augusta granted me a Trustee Professorship Award in 2004 that relieved me of my teaching responsibilities and provided me uninterrupted time to conceptualize and research this project.

I collaborated and consulted with educators on the HHRC's education committee who first deliberated with me on various titles for the installation until we selected *Were The House Still Standing*. These suggestive words come from a poetic narrative that I found in a High Holiday supplement at a local synagogue.³

The title of this installation suggests the loss of individual and collective memory of family and friends, as well as the loss of whole communities. In a fuller context, the title refers to the possibilities that were lost as a result of the Holocaust. In the epilogue of *Were the House Still Standing*, we listen to actors recite the words of a young child speaking to his father. This narrative comes from a paragraph found in Chaim Potok's novel, *My Name is Asher Lev*. The child asks his father why the Torah considers the killing of an individual as if a whole world has perished. The father responds that the killing of one person is like killing a whole world because one also kills all the children, and the children's children, who might come to that person.⁴ This reaffirms the understanding that this great tragedy goes well beyond the eleven million victims of the Nazis, including some 1.5 million Jewish children.

It was an honor to be asked to develop the concept and direct this project. For the past twenty-five years, I have been deeply involved on a personal and professional level with Holocaust memorials and issues of remembrance. In 1989, I

was awarded a commission to design and build a large outdoor Holocaust memorial for the Jewish community in Scarsdale, New York, which is called, *Dwelling of Remembrance*. Since then, I have traveled to Eastern Europe over a dozen times to explore my family's roots, walk the paths in my grandfather's *shtetl* in Poland, and to learn of the fate of my own ancestors. These journeys contributed to my understanding of the Holocaust, and from these experiences I fabricated a series of installations, including a project called *Fragments of Dispersion*, which was exhibited at the Charter Oak Cultural Center in Hartford, Connecticut. The art critic Sal Scalora wrote about this art piece, "...Katz's 'sparrow song' is replete with grief, pain, sadness, discovery, respect and yes, even healing.... Katz has traveled the rails of his own history within the great pool of human experience."

When Rochelle and Jerry Slivka, Holocaust survivors who settled in Maine in the aftermath of the Holocaust, wanted to have a memorial built in Maine to commemorate their losses, they approached me for a vision. After reviewing numerous drawings, they settled upon a minimalist sculptural design. The *Slivka Holocaust Memorial*, composed of granite, steel and dogwood trees, is now permanently installed on the grounds of Temple Beth El in Portland, and is the only Holocaust memorial in Maine.

To create *Were the House Still Standing*, I soon realized that I would need to consult with a Holocaust historian and bring together an experienced design team in multi-media exhibitions, as well as engineers who would be able to fabricate a delivery system.

Douglas Quin is the co-creator of this project. He is the founder of **dqmedia** and is primarily responsible for fabricating a harrowing and insightful soundscape. Quin holds a doctorate in Acoustic Ecology, and has worked on multimedia exhibit designs for numerous venues including the Smithsonian Institution and *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* for the Martin Luther King Jr. Historic Site. He was the sound designer and mixer for Werner Herzog's Academy Award® nominated film about Antarctica called

Encounters at the End of the World. Quin traveled extensively throughout Europe to collect sound recordings for this installation.

Matt Dibble of Dockyard Media, a documentary filmmaker based in Oakland, California, was the videographer for the project. His work on installation projects has been exhibited at the National Gallery of Art, the Whitney Museum, The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and many other museums throughout the country. His most recent film, which he shot, edited and co-directed with Y. David Chung, is *Koryo Saram, The Unreliable People*, a one-hour documentary about the fate of Koreans who, in 1937, were ethnically cleansed from Russia by the Stalin regime and re-located to desolate regions of Central Asia. In 2008, the film won a Best Documentary award from the National Film Board of Canada.

Robert Bernheim, Ph.D., served as historical consultant, and wrote the historical overview displayed at the entrance of the exhibit area. Bernheim received his Ph.D. from McGill University, and served as Interim Director of the Leonard and Carolyn Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont. He is currently the Executive Director of the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine.

I challenged the team to weave together an artistic vision that would seamlessly integrate both storytelling and documentary. This was accomplished through 4 synchronized video streams projected onto 3 wall-mounted screens, and a sculptural ramp located at an inclined angle on the floor of the exhibit space (see fig. 2). In addition to narrative testimony from Holocaust survivors, soundscape and music provide a key role in drawing visitors into the installation's space and its message. The sound design takes advantage of 16 channels of audio, which can be assigned to any one of 16 loudspeakers, mounted in the wall and ceiling of the exhibit hall (see fig. 3). Finally, the exhibit includes 15 large-format photographic portraits of the Maine survivors. These are illuminated at various points during the presentation, requiring synchronization with sound, video and a 24-channel lighting plot



Fig. 2. *Were the House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust*, view of the installation.

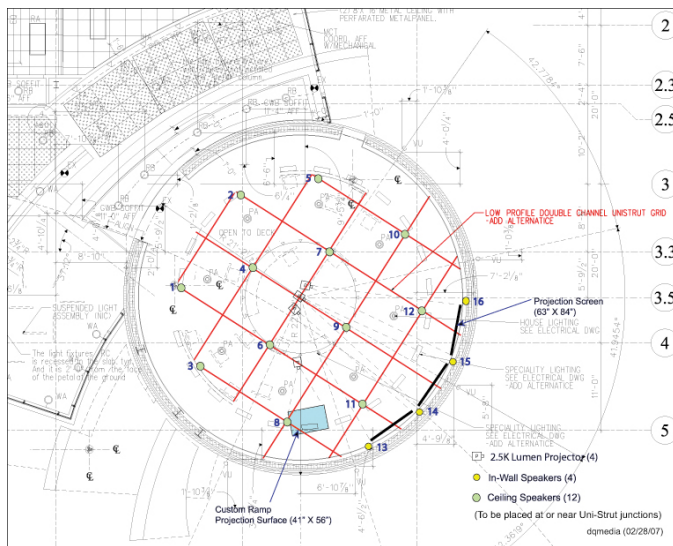


Fig. 3. *Were the House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust*, reflected ceiling plan of the installation.

In creating a complex and innovative approach to digital storytelling, **dqmedia** and its technology partners, BBI Engineering, Inc., worked with me and Matt Dibble to provide a flexible and elegant turn-key solution for the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine (see fig. 4).

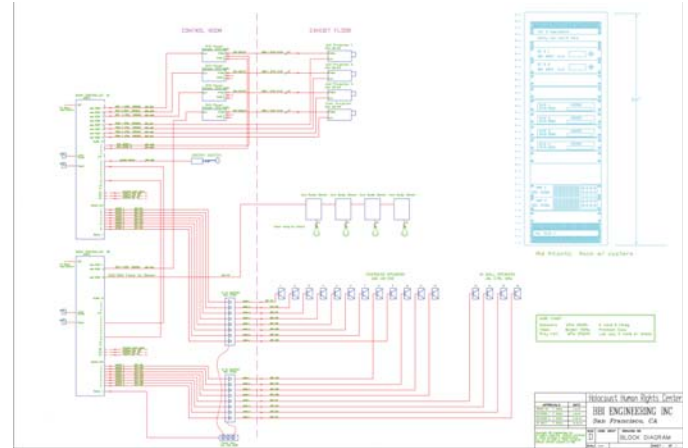


Fig. 4. *Were the House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust*, system block diagram.

Sound effects and music were considered central to the visitor experience from the outset of planning for *Were the House Still Standing*. In considering the range of possibilities, we worked toward what Matt Dibble described as "an ethic" of image selection—both with regard to archival still and motion picture images and appropriate audio. The team felt that every aesthetic choice needed to be informed by ethical and moral consideration and deliberation.

The first decision we made was to use available audio testimony from the survivors themselves, as opposed to studio readings of written transcripts by actors. This posed numerous challenges given the varied quality of recordings that had been made over a period of two decades. We recognized that few of the interviews had been professionally recorded and that they were, for the most part, simply a means to an end; namely, a written transcript.

Once this material had been identified and the decision had been reached, our work turned to extracting, restoring, editing and conforming audio from more than 30 hours of videotaped interviews. In the case of Alfred Kantor, an artist and survivor whose story is included in the installation and who had passed away, we only had access to his written testimony. His words are read by Kirby Wahl, an actor and theatre professor at Elon University.

The survivors' testimony was of primary importance and guided all other choices with regard to soundscape, music and effects.

The various soundscapes and effects that visitors hear include site-specific recordings made in the United States, Poland, Holland, and France, as well as archival audio recordings. These were integrated into the project to illustrate the narrative and, through the visceral experience of sound, to reveal complementary truths and bring visitors into the heart of the stories. It is perhaps useful to share some of the conceptual framing and thinking that went into the sound design.

We wanted to establish a clear role for music and to use musical selections sparingly and thoughtfully. The main music passages for the installation comprise themes and improvised variations on several *niggunim*, melodic instrumental compositions, including *Sholem Niggun*. Excerpts include short phrases and longer melody lines played by Cantor Judy Ribnick on solo clarinet was recorded in New York City. At one point, toward the end of Act I, some of her phrases are reworked using a digitally sampled cello. A noted rabbinical scholar, Melitzer Rebbe Shlita, once commented that a *niggun*, "speaks to the heart's deepest emotions and it is more expressive than words."⁵ He further suggests that a *niggun*, "rises higher and faster than words" and that, as a wordless prayer, it, "facilitates the wonderful emotional release of tears and laughter."⁶

Another solo features Stacey Mondschein Katz who chants a prayer in Hebrew over the traditional lighting of the Shabbat candles on a dark, wintery Maine night. The last word in the prayer is *Shabbat*, where a chorus of harmonies suggests the voices of those who are no longer with us.

The intention behind featuring a solo instrument was also a way of focusing attention on one person and on singular experience—as we listen to individual testimony and memory and try to understand and weigh individual and collective action and responsibility. In contrast with the solo clarinet, there are two selections of music performed by ensembles.

Choosing music from Johann Strauss's overture in the comic operetta, *Die Fledermaus*, involved a number of ideas. On the one hand we wanted to communicate something of carefree gaiety and cultural vibrancy before the war—as survivors Kurt Messerschmidt and Gerda Haas reflect on their youth. In addition to the waltz meter, tempo and mood, there are a number of other reasons behind the choice.

The work premiered in 1874 and has enjoyed widespread popularity to this day. Vienna was still, for many who perceived themselves as culturally literate in the 20s and 30s, the cultural seat of Central Europe—albeit through the now-faded lens of the Habsburg Empire. Strauss was Austrian, like Hitler. However, he was also part Jewish. This fact seems to have been overlooked by the Nazis in their relentless drive to purge German culture of "degenerate" influences. As an aside, we note that Hitler twice failed to gain admittance to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, in 1907 and 1908. The Nazi *Anschluss*, or Annexation of Austria, in 1938 and Hitler's triumphal entry into the city perhaps had a special significance for him, as he envisioned a Reich to rival the Habsburgs—one lasting a thousand years.

Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, issued personal invitations to the International Handicrafts Exhibition in Berlin. The invitation, dated May 30th, 1938, featured a special gala performance of *Die Fledermaus*. Furthermore, at the close of the war, as Hitler retreated to his bunker in the heart of Berlin, he is said to have consoled himself by listening to *Die Fledermaus*.

Thus, there are a number of complementary, and sometimes contradictory or not ironic, aspects to the music selection here. We are reminded of Kurt Messerschmidt who witnessed *Kristallnacht* and who is feathered in the installation. He became a cantor in Berlin and continued his illustrious career in the United States. His background in music and what he describes in the epilogue as some of the ironies and contradictions of Nazi belief, dogma and practice, kept him resolute throughout his ordeal.

The other central piece of music is an archival recording of the *Horst-Wessel-Lied*, or *Horst*

Wessel Song. The anthem's lyrics were written by Horst Wessel who was a Nazi militia commander in Berlin. He was assassinated in 1930 and became a "martyr" or folk hero for the Nazi cause. With the Nazi ascent to power in 1933, the song evolved into something of a double national anthem of Nazi Germany, where it was combined with part of *Das Deutschland Lied*. The song was banned at the end of the war.

Finally, in the epilogue, Cantor Kurt Messerschmidt sings a hymn, *Ani Ma'amin*. This affirmation of faith in the coming of the Messiah was, "sung by Nazi victims," as they were lead to the gas chambers.

The installation is structured around a prologue, four acts and an epilogue, with five *entr'actes* (literally, "between acts"). The acts are organized more or less chronologically: Act 1 covers the pre-war period; the second act includes the period from 1938 through the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939 and the early war years; Act 3 covers concentration camp experiences and/or survival; and, the final act features accounts of liberation and subsequent emigration.

The prologue soundscape includes a *niggun* followed by ocean waves. The motif of water, both in image and sound, symbolizes the journeys undertaken by survivors as well as the flow, or passage of time. The ocean waves subside as visitors see a triptych of a brilliant sunrise in the Belgrade Lakes region of Maine. The dawn chorus includes a loon—which is heard both here and in the epilogue.

From this peaceful place, the soundscape dissolves into the still mid-morning of a forest scene, also in Maine, before shifting to a Jewish cemetery in Lutowiska, in Eastern Poland, near the Ukrainian border. It was in Lutowiska, in either June or July of 1942, the Gestapo murdered 800 of the town's approximately 1,300 Jews in the marketplace. Insects and ravens recorded near this area are heard as distant thunder rolls across the Bieszczady Mountains and a train passes by. This is the first of many train recordings that visitors hear during the course of the narrative.

As the train subsides, an air raid siren sounds a warning and fades into the dialogue of Esther van Peer, a 12-year-old Dutch girl, who reads from Anne Frank's diary entry of Saturday, July 15, 1944, "...I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness, I hear the ever approaching thunder, which will destroy us too, I can feel the sufferings of millions..."⁷ Thunder booms and the soundscape dissolves into the cacophony of a police car siren, mobbing rooks and church bells recorded in Krakow, Poland and archival recordings of goose-stepping German troops.

The prologue audio concludes with waves and the view of the ocean at Pemaquid Point, a rustic setting of granite outcroppings along the Maine coast.

Act 1 soundscapes and sound effects include a variety of recordings from Poland and Holland—restaurants, public squares and marketplaces in Krakow, Zamosc, Kazimierz Dolny and Amsterdam. We wanted to reinforce and animate Julia Skalina's comment about wanting to show her grandchildren something of life before World War II through her photograph album.

The first *entr'acte* begins. We hear Julia Jakubowska introducing herself in Yiddish. The recording is from an interview conducted in Warsaw. Julia Jakubowska was born in Vilna and suffered imprisonment and forced labor at the hands of the Nazis and the Soviets before ending up in a Jewish orphanage at the end of the war. We next hear from Tadeusz Jakubowicz, another Polish survivor who escaped from Plaszow concentration camp near Krakow as a child and hid with his parents in the nearby forest for more than two years. Plaszow is the camp that many associate with the film, *Schindler's List*. Krystyna Budnicka is heard introducing herself, again in Polish. She is the sole surviving member of her extended family of 14 who went into hiding beneath the streets of Warsaw during and after the period of the Warsaw Ghetto. As these people speak, we hear the names and camp numbers of people who perished at Auschwitz-Birkenau, being read in Polish by Ewa Norek and Jacek Lachendro. This builds into a chorus before fading into the crash of waves that "wash us ashore"

at the back door of Julia Skalina's house—our first Maine survivor to speak. The idea behind the *entr'acte* soundscape was to remind visitors that all those who made their way to Maine came from different countries and spoke many different languages. The names are recited to give names to the nameless and faces to the faceless.

The second *entr'acte* begins with a *niggun* passage against which we hear the sounds of breaking glass—a reference to the events of November 9, 1938, the so-called *Kristallnacht* (“Crystal Night” or “Night of Broken Glass”), an evening of rioting and retribution against Jewish shops and institutions in Berlin, that came in the wake of the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a young Polish Jew. From the sounds of destruction we hear the voice of Adolf Hitler addressing a Hitler Youth rally, from an archival recording made in 1933. He is heard exhorting the crowd that responds with, “*Sieg Heil*” (“Hail [to] Victory”). The din of the crowd ebbs, as the sound of a flamethrower is heard, along with the roar of fire and falling debris from burning buildings.

In Acts 2 and 3 the emphasis is placed on the survivors' individual narratives, with minimal sound design. The echo of a train is heard and an occasional phrase of the clarinet.

The third *entr'acte* focuses our attention on what Robert Bernheim describes as, “industrial killing on an unprecedented scale,” as trains appear to crisscross the space. The motif of the train is repeated, sonically and visually, throughout the presentation, from the photograph of the tracks near Belzec—site of one of several extermination camps—at the entrance to the exhibit hall, to the image on the floor ramp screen of the railroad tracks going into the complex at Auschwitz II (Birkenau) and train and track imagery on the wall screens. The Nazis relied on a vast transportation network of railroads throughout Europe and the Soviet Union in executing their Final Solution to the Jewish Question—carrying millions of souls to their deaths. The sounds of trains recorded in Poland and elsewhere are heard from various perspectives. These dissolve into the screeching of gurneys and their tracks leading to the ovens of the crematoria at

Auschwitz I. The oven doors groan on their rusty hinges and are heard slamming shut. A match strike, fire crackling and roaring fade to wind. The single match, like the solo clarinet, the reading of individual names, the emphasis on each person's story and, later, the solitary cricket, are sonic gestures that serve as reminders of individual or singular identity and primacy of individual experience.

The fourth *entr'acte* is another *niggun*, placed here as a contemplative musical respite and time for reflection, as we emerge from the core experience of the camps and survival.

As survivors and liberators recount their experiences in Act 4, moments and memories are illustrated with the sounds of battle and liberation. American Sherman tanks are heard and a B-17 bomber appears to fly over as Joe Poulin writes his letter home to his fiancée describing his visit to the Ohrdruf concentration camp. Note the date of the letter: April 12, 1945 is the day President Roosevelt died and also the day that General Eisenhower visited Ohrdruf.

The fifth and final *entr'acte* was inspired by survivor Charles Rotmil's comment in Act 4 that he remembered hearing bells ringing as the allies liberated his area. The bells include several recordings from different locations in Europe. We hear the large bell from Westminster Cathedral in London. This was often used as the signature sound at the start of BBC radio broadcasts—a key source of information throughout the war. There is also the ringing of bells from Westerkerk (Western Church) in Amsterdam. The clock tower was just visible from the Achterhuis where Anne Frank and her family hid. In her diary she often noted the bells, and on Saturday, July 11, 1942, she wrote, “Daddy, Mummy and Margot can't get used to the sound of the Westertoren clock yet, which tells us the time every quarter of an hour. I can. I loved it from the start, and especially in the night it's like a faithful friend.”⁸ We also hear bells from the Church of St. Mary and the Cathedral of Saints Stanislaw and Wacław in Krakow.

Throughout *Were the House Still Standing*, we placed an emphasis on the sounds associated with

modern warfare and, as noted, "industrial killing." Tanks, rockets, airplanes, machine guns, flame throwers, trains, crematorium ovens and doors are heard, both alone and juxtaposed with the appropriate imagery and narrative passages.

Sirens and horns figure prominently in the installation audio, including vintage air raid sirens and Doppler shifting horns of German police cars, sounds of the battlefield and blasts of a ship's steam whistle.

Julius Ciembroniewicz, M.D., a highly respected neurosurgeon, describes the outbreak of the war, the sounds of Stuka dive bombers are heard overhead. The Stuka, or Junkers Ju87, was a key weapon in Hitler's *Blitzkrieg*, or Lightning War. The airplane was equipped with wind-driven sirens mounted under the fuselage or wings of the aircraft. These instruments of psychological warfare were designed to inspire fear and terror, emitting a piercing, screaming sound, as the planes hurtled out of the sky toward the ground on bombing runs. The designer of the Stuka, Hugo Junkers, called the sirens "The Trumpets of Jericho"—a reference to the Battle of Jericho, as described in the Old Testament (Joshua 5:13-6:27).

Later in the narrative, sirens of battle are revisited as Alan Wainberg, another survivor, describes the end of the war and the Russian (Soviet) liberation and occupation. Here a battery of Katyusha multiple rocket launchers howl through the battlefield soundscape. The Germans dubbed these weapons "Stalin Organs"—a reference to Joseph Stalin and to their distinctive sound.

In reviewing the installation, Professor David Scrase from the University of Vermont wrote,

...As each individual begins to speak, a portrait of that person lights up. At the same time pictures of the survivor or liberator appear on the screens. Such pictures are sometimes from the dark days of the events - a small child, a young adult... We accordingly see people in their gardens, with their grandchildren, sitting at home. In addition, there are scenes from the Maine landscape, scenes of the lakes, rivers and

streams, of the sea, of islands, of trees and flowers. Sometimes it is winter. Sometimes it is spring, summer or fall. One overall effect is of continuity. The generations reflect what a grandfather explained to a child, that one human life is never just one being but always contains the lives of future generations. The seasonal changes also reflect the continuity and renewal of life. The water beneath the icy surface of a frozen stream continues to flow and, after the thaw, is revealed as living water in motion.

*We hear Yiddish, Hebrew prayers, and the sounds of nature. Again, the effect is of continuity as well as devastation. Were the House Still Standing is a tour de force, a work of art.*⁹

Through the medium of modern technology, we have crafted a collage of oral histories leading the viewer through a prism of stories that recall youthful dreams, memories of shattered communities, lost friends and families. These stories also reveal acts of courage, faith, survival, dispersion and reconstruction. We bind together stories told to us by our neighbors who once faced a world of indifference, silence and collective reluctance to help save millions of Jews and other innocent victims of Nazi genocide. By embracing and pushing postmodern boundaries, new technology allows us to explore and preserve Holocaust testimony, create unexpected forms of storytelling and connect with the next generation.

Notes

¹ Seidler, Victor. Shadows of the Shoah: Jewish Identity and Belonging (New York: Berg Publishers, 2000) 95-96.

² Exhibit exit survey, 2007.

³ High Holiday reading supplement of Temple Shalom, Auburn, Maine. 2003.

⁴ Potok, Chaim. My Name is Asher Lev (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1973).

⁵ Yitz. "The Power of a Niggun." 16 February 2006. <<http://heichalhanegina.blogspot.com/2006/02/power-of-niggun-our-friend-lazer-of.html>>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Frank, Anne. The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition (New York: Doubleday, 2003) 716.

⁸ Ibid. 236.

⁹ Scrase, David. "Were the House Still Standing: Maine Survivors and Liberators Remember the Holocaust Review." Newsletter of the Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine Winter 2008.