Programme de la maîtrise en muséologie
Université du Québec à Montréal

Putting a Face to a Name: Using Recorded Survivor Testimony in the Permanent Exhibitions at the Montreal Holocaust Museum and Yad Vashem

Rapport de travail dirigé (9 cr.)
Présenté à
Madame Jennifer Carter

MSL-6700, *Travaux dirigés*

Rachel Lambie

Eté 2019

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Mettre un visage a un nom : L'utilisation des témoignages enregistrés dans les expositions permanentes de la Musée de l'Holocauste de Montréal et de Yad Vashem

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

In many museums that commemorate atrocities or historical tragedies, the exhibits rely heavily on survivors' experiences. In fact, many of these museums were founded by survivors, as is the case with many Holocaust museums. These museums were created not only to memorialize the events that took place during the Holocaust, but also to help the survivors deal with their grief and to educate the generations to come on how and why these events came to be. In the case of many of these events, physical artefacts (alternatively, "evidence") are not often left behind, and when they are, they are most often the objects used by the oppressors and not those used by the oppressed. This means we have to rely on alternative "artefacts" to tell the whole story. One of the most valuable examples is survivor testimony; having the ability to hear about the experiences of real people is a great privilege, particularly the stories are not told second hand but in the voices of the storyteller themselves.

In this vein, my project is an exploration of the use of recorded survivor testimony in Holocaust museums through a comparison between the manners in which it is used at the Montreal Holocaust Museum and at Yad Vashem's Holocaust History Museum in Jerusalem. I begin by defining testimony, and describing its use in the world more broadly as well as within museums. I also provide a definition of memorial museums, as that is the category into which Holocaust museums fall. By establishing this as a basis, I am then able to do a thorough analysis of the exhibitions I have chosen for my case studies. Following this foundation, I then introduce the Montreal Holocaust Museum and Yad Vashem. From there, I analyse the use of recorded testimony within both permanent exhibitions and through other means of transmission offered by these two museums, including their pedagogical tools (designed for the classroom) and their online presence.

In the first chapter, I rely on resources that provide definitions of testimony in order to create a solid basis for my further discussions. In order to do so I cite from Elizabeth Fricker's article "Testimony: Knowing Through Being Told", in which the author provides a detailed description of testimony and the different ways in which it is used. In addition, I consulted Steffi de Jong's book *The Witness as Object: Video Testimony in Memorial Museums*, as her work directly connects to this study and she also provided clear descriptions for the basis I build in chapter one. I also integrate the writing of Elizabeth Crooke through her book *Museums and*

Community: Ideas, Issues and Challenges. By using Crooke's book, I aim to underscore the importance of community work within museums in order to explain the necessity for the conservation of recorded testimony and oral history within a museum collection. I also take this opportunity to distinguish oral history and recorded testimony. Further, I discuss this necessity within the context of memorial museums, relying on the scholarship of Paul Harvey Williams' book *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* as well as Tony Kushner's article "Holocaust Testimony, Ethics, and the Problem of Representation" and Robin S. Grenier's article "Moments of Discomfort and Conflict: Holocaust Museums as Agents of Change". These texts show that memorial museums, and Holocaust museums in particular, are not only well-versed in the use of recorded testimony but are innovators when considering its use within an exhibition and the broader use within a museum's educational tools. This is a necessary step because Holocaust museums are sometimes considered to be paradigms in the use of recorded testimony and oral history within their exhibitions and pedagogical tools. By exploring the broader range of use, I then narrow my focus in order to properly describe my case studies.

Following this brief discussion of the theoretical concepts grounding my research, I use my second chapter to introduce the first of my two case studies: the Montreal Holocaust Museum. I rely heavily on the information found within the *Docent and Facilitator Training Manual 2018*, currently in use by the Montreal Holocaust Museum, as it presents the history of the Museum in a straightforward and clear manner. I also use much of the Museum's website, including their mission statement and the pdf versions of their pedagogical tools. I have also included the map of the permanent exhibition (see appendix 1), which is offered to visitors in English and French. I use sections of this map within the chapter when I discuss the finer details of the exhibition (see figures 1-4 in chapter 2). I also include the work of Steven High and Stacey Zembryzcki in order to illustrate the ways in which recorded testimony is used more generally by the Museum for internal projects as well as work with outside partners. Lastly, I include notes from visits to the permanent exhibition at the Museum, which allows me to present a comprehensive explanation of its layout and how testimony is used as a part of its display. These notes are invaluable to my presentation and the analysis in my fourth chapter.

In the third chapter, I introduce Yad Vashem's Holocaust History Museum. For this case study I rely on the Museum's published catalogues, including *To Bear Witness: Holocaust*

Remembrance at Yad Vashem, *Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum*, and *Yad Vashem: Moshe Safdie – the architecture of memory.* These three documents offer the necessary context for the history of the Museum, as well as outlining the architecture and providing a detailed description of the galleries that form the permanent exhibition of the Holocaust History Museum. With the addition of resources from Yad Vashem's website, including the mission statement and photographs of the interior of the exhibition, I include as much information about the exhibition as possible. I also refer to the map found in *Facts and Feelings* when discussing the individual galleries, as it is extremely detailed and drawn to scale. As with the Montreal Holocaust Museum, I made several visits to the permanent exhibition at Yad Vashem and took detailed notes. Again, I use these notes to supplement the information found in the catalogues and to aid with my analysis. Like in chapter 2, I have also included a map of the permanent exhibition (see appendix 2) and use sections of the map within the chapter (see figures 1-10 in chapter 3).

In the final chapter, I analyse the use of testimony within the permanent exhibitions of both case studies. Much of the information I consulted for this chapter comes from the resources named above, as well as from personal notes I took during my visits to the two museums. In addition, I reference Nora Golic's *travail dirigé*: *Les témoignages audiovisuels de sujets traumatisants: Deux modèles, deux expertises*. This project was completed in 2015, and her work concentrates on the use of survivor testimony in the Shoah Foundation and at the Memoria Abierta, both of which are in Argentina. Her work is relevant to my project because as one part of her project she outlines the process used by the Shoah Foundation for recording survivor testimony. This same process is used at the Montreal Holocaust Museum and at Yad Vashem for the collection of recorded testimony, and thus was an integral source to use in my analysis of how these videos are used. In addition, I employ pedagogical tools from the Montreal Holocaust Museum as well as information from both of the museums' respective websites and YouTube pages. This aids in my analysis of how recorded testimony is used by the museums more broadly, in particular outside of their permanent exhibitions.

This project employs a number of different research methods, including field work and comparative analysis. For each of the case studies, I made several intensive visits to the permanent exhibition, read through all of the printed literature published or provided by each museum, and

explored both museums' digital profiles (websites, social media pages, etc.). Once I collected all of the information, I used it to supplement my comparative analysis of both case studies. This analysis will serve to provide a detailed spectrum of the ways in which testimony is used within Holocaust museums, using data from a larger museum (Yad Vashem) in contrast with data from a smaller museum (Montreal Holocaust Museum). In addition, both exhibitions were launched in the early 2000s and thus provide considerable information on the importance of testimony in exhibitions in the contemporary era.

Chapter One: Recorded Testimony

In this chapter, I provide a definition of testimony in a broad sense, before addressing what it means within a museum context. This is to offer a sound basis for the rest of my discussion. I also differentiate between oral history and recorded testimony, and discuss some of the practices involved in each. I then explore how it is used within memorial museums, providing a definition for memorial museums and consider their role within society in general. Finally, I discuss how testimony is used within the context of Holocaust museums, in order to set up the discussion in my following chapters.

1.1 Testimony and Its Uses

What is testimony? It is the act of recounting a personal narrative, and what is said is understood to be true. In her article "Testimony: Knowing Through Being Told", Elizabeth Fricker provides a description of testimony. She writes:

> The expression 'testimony' in everyday usage in English is confined to reports by witnesses or experts given in a courtroom, or other formal setting. But in analytic philosophy the expression is used as a label for the process by which knowledge or belief is gained from understanding and believing the spoken or written reports of others generally, regardless of setting.[1]

This is a concept that is not limited to the courtroom or to a philosophical setting, as Fricker outlines, but is actualized within other contexts as well. She continues her definition by saying that many of an individual's beliefs come from a source outside the individuals themselves. She lists several examples: personal communication (hearing from a person); from books ("purportedly factual books"); from written records; from newspapers, television, and the Internet.[2] One could also argue that Fricker's title is, in itself, a definition of testimony: "knowing through being told." That is, accumulating knowledge and belief through the act of telling and believing what is told to be true.

While one of the most well-known uses of testimony is in legal cases, it is used in other contexts as well. It is quite common in Christianity, particularly in the Evangelical tradition, wherein Christians will share a story from their life, often the story of how they became a Christian,

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[1] Elizabeth Fricker, "Testimony: Knowing Through Being Told", in *The Handbook of Epistemology*, 109.
[2] *Ibid*, 109.

in order to demonstrate a way in which God did something particularly worth sharing. This is often a solemn event that reflects the importance and seriousness of the narrative they tell. This is also seen in aspects of cognitive therapy and large-group sharing circles, such as Alcoholics Anonymous. In cases like these, it is the seriousness and severity of the narrative that is shared that underlines the importance of testimony. Testimony is also collected as part of human rights tribunals, truth commissions, and other instances of people living under social oppression. These are shared and collected during Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (such as the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission addressing the residential school system in Canada) or through published oral or written autobiographical narratives (considered "testimonial literature" – an example of this is Romeo Dallaire's writings on Rwanda). This wide variety of testimony means that there is significant nuance in terms of using testimony within museums, as it is a question of what kind of testimony is used and how it enhances the exhibition.

It is also worth noting that there is a difference between testimony and oral history. Oral history is the history of a community or a group of people that has its origins in a spoken tradition; rather than having the stories and traditions of this group written down from the beginning, they are preserved in the memories of the community and passed down from generation to generation.[3] Sometimes these traditions and stories are written down or recorded in other ways (voice or video recordings, for example). This process usually occurs by the time these traditions are well-established within the community and the recording is more of a formality or as a way to share this history with others, though sometimes recordings are created out of a fear of losing that history.

Within a museum, both oral history and testimony can be used as part of an exhibition. Steffi de Jong points to a number of ways testimony is used in museums in her book *The Witness as Object*. She often refers to testimony as "historical witnessing", which provides us with a sense of its function within the museum. De Jong writes that museums "integrate the very process of recalling an event and verbalizing it into their representation of history. Thus, the very moment of remembrance and narrated memory have become legitimate objects of display."[4] While de Jong uses the Museo Diffuso in Torino as an example of using testimony in permanent exhibitions, she

[3] "Oral History: Defined," *Oral History* Assocaition, accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.oralhistory.org/about/do-oral-history/.
[4] Steffi De Jong, *Witness as Object: Video Testimony in Memorial Museums* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2019), 5.

mentions that many museums have done so. She writes that it is "only one example [...] from many museums that have decided to introduce into their permanent exhibitions videos with extracts from interviews with witnesses of a historical period or event."[5] She mentions that in most cases the testimonies are not the only parts of the exhibition on display, and that the objects and artefacts are intertwined and integrated into the exhibition. She goes on to outline several different ways in which testimony can be used at museums: through audio guides, in video interviews, or even by having survivors giving guided tours and sharing parts of their personal experience as they go through the exhibition. While some testimonies are what de Jong calls "professional-looking, almost artistic films" and are presented on high-definition screens, others lack the same opportunities and must make do with what is available to the museum at that time.[6] This distinction and outlining of possibilities is a necessary step, as it shows that testimony can be integrated into an exhibition, no matter the funding or facilities available, nor the size of the museum in question.

1.2 The Use of Recorded Testimony in Museums

Recorded testimony is collected in many museums and is included as part of their respective collections, on par with physical objects and artefacts. This is particularly true in: monuments and museums dedicated to the conservation of heritage; in community museums; and memorial museums and memorial sites. The use of testimony provides an aspect of humanity to the subject at hand, whether it is the donor of an object discussing its origins or someone providing further insight and context to an event. By providing this human element to an exhibition, the history and subject become more "real" – there are faces and names that can be connected to an event, and this makes an exhibition less didactic, and thereby easier to engage with for a larger audience.

The use of recorded testimony can also be understood as a way of connecting the museum to the community and heritage of its subject. The consideration in these cases is that the museum does not simply conserve artefacts, but also the narratives associated with these objects. Given the connection between heritage and oral history, we could surmise that testimony, whether video, audio, or textual, has also become an essential part of a museum collection. It can be presented in

[5] *Ibid.*, 4-5.
[6] *Ibid.*, 4-5.

the form of additional information in the description of an object (within a museum's database, for example) or as an artefact in its own right, and as an essential part of history itself.

This use of oral history and testimony aids in the preservation of history. Elizabeth Crooke, professor at the Ulster University, writes, "The past is an essential component of ethnic myths that forge nations: it provides a sense of antiquity and ancestry; aids with the definition of a sense of place; and can be used to represent the golden age."[7] While Crooke's point here is about nationalism and representation, it also holds true for the place of oral history within community. By preserving the past, through artefacts or through oral history and testimony, we can go even further than providing information or context for artefacts or specific narratives, to the point of expanding upon the history of a nation. This can be seen not only in memorial museums, as discussed below and in more depth in chapter 3 with the Yad Vashem case study, but also with other history museums as well. For instance, the Canadian Museum of History's collection includes 3 312 original wax cylinders which were recorded between 1899 and 1949. About half of these recordings preserve French-Canadian songs and folklore, while the other half relate to Indigenous cultures from across Canada.[8] While many of these recordings are incredibly fragile because of the way they were recorded onto the wax cylinders, the fact that these are preserved at all are a testament to Crooke's point. By conserving these recordings, even though they might be unusable (due to the fragile nature of the wax cylinders, or due to the sacred nature of some of the Indigenous recordings), the Museum has a record of this history in the voices of the people it concerns. In the case of the French-Canadian folk music, excerpts have been digitalized and made available online.[9]

In this case, the Museum is a national, government-funded institution. In situations where there might not be as much funding for research or conservation, Crooke points out that the responsibility of conserving history, and oral history in particular, often falls to community-led heritage movements. She writes, "Frequently, these are grass-roots initiatives developed by people who are non-experts in the practice of heritage or museum management, but who are well aware

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[7] Elizabeth Crooke, *Museums and Community: Ideas, Issues and Challenges* (London, UK: Routledge, 2008), 14.
[8] Civilization.ca – Marius Barbeau – The Wax Cylinder Collection, accessed June 6, 2019, https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/barbeau/mbf0300e.html.
[9] Civilization.ca – Marius Barbeau – Songs of the "Good Old Days", accessed June 6, 2019, https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/barbeau/mbf0400e.html.

of the value and significance around them and its potential."[10] In some cases, it is these community-organized groups that inspire museums to create their own projects, or that even spearheaded these projects. By placing these undertakings in the realm of community rather than museum, thereby creating a "bottom-up" rather than "top-down" approach, the projects in question take on a personalized aspect and are tailored to the needs of the communities associated with these museums.

The question of why museums should use video recollections, rather than audio or textual formats, is addressed by Donald A. Ritchie in his book *Doing Oral History*. His book functions as a guideline for recording one's own oral history collection, and it addresses the fact that many of these oral histories have been documented through transcripts or audio recordings. Ritchie writes, "Memories can be recounted in more than words. Transcripts can indicate laughter, sobs, finger pointing, or fist shaking. But some expressions and gestures are too complex or subtle to reduce to words."[11] By this he is underlining the human aspect of oral history or testimony that can sometimes be lost in past methods of collection. He continues: "Transcripts, audio recordings, and videos all impart the same basic information, but video provides an extra dimension to oral history interviews."[12] Through this, we can see that Ritchie's method is a suggestion that once again emphasizes the humanity of a testimony or oral history and allows the viewer to garner a more complex understanding of the situation in question.

1.3 Recorded Testimony Within Memorial Museums

A memorial museum, as the name implies, is a museum that serves as a memorial or addresses a more sensitive subject than a "standard" history museum. These museums do so by creating educational exhibitions and public programs that take place within the context of a memorial environment, usually commemorating tragic events of great significance.[13] In his book *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, former NYU professor Paul Harvey Williams describes the memorial museum as "a specific kind of museum dedicated to a historic

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[10] Crooke, *Museums and Community*, 15.
[11] Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (Oxford University Press, kindle edition), 137.
[12] *Ibid.*, 137.
[13] "911 Memorial Museum FAQ", 911 Memorial, accessed July 16, 2019, https://www.911memorial.org/memorial-museum-faq.

event commemorating mass suffering of some kind."[14] While they do not necessitate existing in the locations where the events took place, they often are in these locations. Williams goes into further detail on this aspect. He writes, "Unlike Holocaust memorials, which now exist in the nations of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders alike, the memorial museums on which I focus are normally located only in the place of suffering."[15] This question of location is one that is worth addressing as well, both in terms of visitorship (who is coming to the museum and in which category do they place themselves: victim, perpetrator, bystander, voyeur, etc.) as well as in terms of curation (ie, whose story is presented). What Williams means by the question of location is whether or not the museum is located in the original location (which can cause a sense of morbid fascination for some visitors). As he states in the quote above, the majority of Holocaust memorials now exist in many locations, not solely the places where these events occurred, and that is also relevant. Because these memorial museums can be in many locations (places of oppression and places of empowerment), it is testimony that makes connecting to this history possible, particularly in museums that are created for this purpose. Williams elaborates on this by stating, "memorial museums ideally possess conditions and tactics that allow visitors to reflect on these issues in a supportive environment."[16] This is not always the case, and sometimes the visitor will bring their own nervousness about the subject with them to the exhibition, emphasizing their own uncertainty about where they stand in relation to the victims and into which category they may fall. Ideally these anxieties would be addressed or quelled within an exhibition through the manner in which the textual information is presented (forms of narration, for example), although in some cases the intent is to leave the visitor with that sense of anxiety in hopes that it would inspire change.

Williams writes that in the case of many memorial museums, the motivation for visiting an exhibition is educational. Sometimes it takes the form of honouring the history of a location or an event, and sometimes a visit occurs because it is seen as the appropriate thing to do as a visitor. There is also a third possibility, which is that for some there can be a form of morbid curiosity, and an interest in not only seeing where such an event might have occurred, but also seeing artefacts and objects associated with this event. However, Williams notes: "...anecdotal evidence from those working within memorial museums (and my own observations) suggests that nearly all

[14] Paul Harvey Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 8.
[15] *Ibid.*, 132.
[16] *Ibid.*, 132.

visitors arrive willing to take their messages seriously."[17] This shows that no matter the motivation for visiting a memorial museum, the seriousness of the subject comes through. This is pivotal for the discussion of preserving heritage through testimony and the voices of real people, as the human element necessarily comes through in memorial museums, no matter the subject.

A good example of memorial museums is that of Holocaust museums, and it is within this context that recorded testimony is often used in exhibition and outreach programs. This is because, in part, these museums are the ones with which the public is most familiar. De Jong states: "The exhibition of video testimonies, while also practiced in museums and exhibitions with other subject matter, was first – and still is – primarily found in exhibitions on the Holocaust and the Second World War."[18] As such, Holocaust museums have a significant history of testimony collection. Many Holocaust museums began with survivors at their core, whether they were founded by survivors or for survivors.

Tony Kushner, a professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Southampton, elaborates on the complexities of using Holocaust testimony. In his article "Holocaust Testimony, Ethics, and the Problem of Representation," he writes:

> We stand at a crucial point in the use of Holocaust testimony. While enormous progress has been made in recent years in both collecting and the respect paid to survivor testimony, the use that is to be made of this material has hardly been subject to debate. This lacuna is especially striking as, adding together the written, oral, and video testimony, it is the largest body of material on one event produced by those who experienced it, perhaps already totaling some 100,000 individual accounts.[19]

Museums and organizations, both community-run and otherwise, have amassed these testimonies and histories in order to preserve them for future use and for future generations. Kushner refers to this as a form of "rescue archaeology". In recent years, the numbers of survivors is dwindling and the ones who remain are sometimes too frail or ill to delve into a part of their personal history that can be painful, exhausting, and emotionally overwhelming for them.[20] The initial projects to collect these testimonies were sometimes undertaken as early as the last months of the war[21], or

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[17] *Ibid.*, 142.
[18] De Jong, *Witness as Object*, 6.
[19] Tony Kushner, "Holocaust Testimony, Ethics, and the Problem of Representation", *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (2006), 275.
[20] *Ibid.*, 275-276.
[21] *Ibid.*, 276.

immediately after, and were often presented as a memorial for murdered friends and family members. In later years, survivor testimonies were also used as legal evidence in the Nazi War Trials, and they were meant "to confirm the 'real' nature of Nazism."[22] These early collections of testimony show the variety of ways that these human narratives were used and helped to pave the way for other types of testimony that would come.

Kushner's article outlines the history of collecting oral testimony on this subject and mentions that it did not garner any serious scholarship until the 1960s, because many scholars did not consider testimony and oral history to be legitimate forms of academic endeavour. Testimony taken prior to this often involved many elaborate steps for, with the primary example being Yad Vashem's questionnaire, which was developed in the mid-1950s. Kushner writes that this questionnaire "[which was] developed to interview survivors included nearly five hundred standard questions, enabling standardization (and presumably quantification) of responses."[23] This elaborate questionnaire, while providing the opportunity to gather the same information from all survivors, also includes significant challenges to survivors trying to provide testimony owing to the sheer number of questions. However, this was done in an effort to validate these testimonies as legitimate resources within the scholarly realm.

Eventually, scholarship would evolve along with these processes and these ways of thinking. In 1987, a book entitled *The Holocaust* was published by Martin Gilbert. Gilbert used victim testimony to show the history of the Holocaust, in an effort that Kushner refers to as "pathbreaking".[24] This text was the first of its kind, and it revolutionized the way in which testimony was used to illustrate the events of the Holocaust. Kushner writes:

> In some respects, Gilbert's book remains exceptional. No one subsequently has attempted a detailed chronology of the Holocaust based on the testimony of the persecuted. Nevertheless, the approach of reproducing testimony as an illustrative device to show the development of the Nazis' campaign of extermination has become almost standard.[25]

The standardization of this manner of illustrating history is another way in which Holocaust survivor testimony became the paradigm for sharing testimonies, in particular those of survivors.

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[22] *Ibid.*, 276.
[23] *Ibid.*, 277-278.
[24] *Ibid.*, 278.
[25] *Ibid.*, 279.

Through this initial process, the academic field surrounding this area began to become more open to the use of testimony in scholarly discussion (through the realisation that it was, in fact, a primary source). It became recognized as a way to reach parts of history, especially that of marginalized groups, that may not have seen the light in other circumstances.

In recent years, there have been other uses in programming for testimony that have been developed. These go beyond audio or visual recordings and in-person presentations and embrace the use of social media and digital technology to share these histories and important stories. These include elements of transformative learning, as outlined by Robin S. Grenier in her article "Moments of Discomfort and Conflict: Holocaust Museums as Agents of Change". She outlines that the act of transformative learning emphasizes that learning is inherently social in nature, and thus the human element is imperative to proper education.[26] She presents several museums that use alternative forms of presenting their history in order to foster dialogue about the subjects. For instance, Grenier points to an exhibit that is offered at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in which police officers in training have the opportunity to hear from Holocaust survivors and liberators in person, and then to take part in dialogues in order to make connections between history and the current political and social situation, as well as their role in law enforcement. This aims to provide empathy and a deeper awareness of a number of different situations in these officers.[27] It is projects like these that allow for a more complicated contemporary interpretation of the past, as well as providing the opportunity to create lasting and meaningful change for the future.

Regardless of its various uses in programming, however, testimony necessitates a witness. Jennifer Hansen-Glucklich, in "Poetics of Memory: Aesthetics and Experience of Holocaust Remembrance in Museums", writes, "without the visitor, the testimony of victims and the proof of the perpetrator's crimes would disappear without any lingering trace."[28] While many Holocaust museums today have a substantial collection of testimony, only portions of these collections are in use within exhibitions and in public outreach. While Hansen-Glucklich's definition is accurate, it does not take into account the parts of these collections that are still in storage or have yet to be

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[26] Robin S. Grenier, "Moments of Discomfort and Conflict: Holocaust Museums as Agents of Change" in *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 12, no. 5 (2010), 576.
[27] *Ibid.*, 581.
[28] Jennifer Hansen-Glucklich, "Poetics of Memory: Aesthetics and Experience of Holocaust Remembrance in Museums" in *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 30, no. 3 (2016), 321.

used. Perhaps the process of recording these testimonies amounts to having a witness, whether it is the person interviewing the survivor or an eventual reader or listener for the testimony in question.

1.4 Conclusion

Thus, it is possible to see the importance of testimony in a number of contexts. While the one that is perhaps most familiar is the court room or a religious ceremony, there are other cases where testimony is used and it is just as poignant. This is particularly true in the case of museums, as it can be used to provide further information on artefacts within a collection or on the subject of the museum itself. With memorial museums, this is even more likely, as often insider information on these subjects can be difficult to obtain. Through the collection of recorded survivor testimony, this has become possible, and the diffusion of that information has also become easier to do. Because Holocaust museums have been using this technique for so long, their processes have become something of a paradigm for this method of collection, as well as for the use of this type of museum collection within an exhibition. In the following chapters, I present two case studies which demonstrate the different ways in which a collection of this type is used, in Holocaust museums of two different sizes and contexts.

Chapter 2. Montreal Holocaust Museum

In this chapter I present the Montreal Holocaust Museum (MHM) as my first case study. I begin by providing the mission, in order to have a sense of the way in which the Museum currently functions. I then outline the history of the Museum, the organizational structure, and the pedagogical tools, in order to show what the Museum is currently working on. Following this I describe the architecture of the building, and the Museum's location within its current building. I then describe the Museum's permanent exhibition in detail, focusing on where the exhibition employs the use of recorded survivor testimony. Finally, I discuss the Museum's application for Apple and Android devices, which functions as both an audio guide and a catalogue for the permanent exhibition.

2.1 Mission of the Museum

The Mission of the MHM is to educate people of all ages and backgrounds about the Holocaust, while also including the dangers of antisemitism, racism, hate, and indifference.[1] This is accomplished through its permanent exhibition, its commemorative programs (such as its organization of *Yom HaShoah* services, amongst others), and its educational initiatives (for example, the creation of pedagogical tools and the Biennial Teachers' Conference). The goal is to promote respect for diversity and the sacredness of human life to all who encounter the Museum.[2] This is emphasized by the events and programming developed by the Museum. The organisation itself is a non-profit organisation and a recognized charity, which is managed by a Board of Directors who are responsible for the organisation's strategic orientations and policies. The actions of the Board are decided on a tri-annual basis in order to accomplish the aforementioned objectives.[3]

In addition to these main goals, the MHM also seeks to provide tools to teach about promoting respect and human dignity, as well as tools to respond to acts of racism. In this vein, the Museum is tasked with presenting opportunities for intercultural understanding and promoting other educational programs and activities. Through the years these have included the Holocaust

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[1] "Mission and Organization," Montreal Holocaust Museum, accessed May 12, 2019, https://museeholocauste.ca/en/mission-and-organisme/.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Docent and workshop training manual, 2.

Education series (films and organized discussions on subjects relating to the Holocaust), invited guest speakers and activities for students (including writing workshops), and teachers' conferences.

One of the Museum's primary goals is to continue to develop strategies for the acquisition of testimony and to develop further strategies for its leadership in collecting oral histories. The MHM has connections to national archives and testimony collections, notably that of the USC Shoah Foundation[4] and Concordia University's Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling.[5] These connections mean that their testimony collection is available not only though the Museum itself but on an international level. The Museum also aims to be innovative in its methods of presenting survivor testimony, particular given the "reduced opportunities for survivor speakers."[6] This includes interactive workshops that will be available in conjunction with a guided visit of the permanent exhibition, linking the items in the collection with recorded testimony. As the details of this workshops have not yet been made public, I do not discuss them in the course of this project.

2.2 History of the Museum

The Montreal Holocaust Museum was originally named the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre (MHMC).[7] It was founded in 1976 by survivors of the Holocaust who immigrated to Montreal and was opened to the public in 1979. The MHM runs as a non-profit organization, managed by a Board of Directors who are responsible for the organization's policies.[8] By 1980, the MHMC had adopted a program of temporary exhibitions, with the aim of educating the public on the subject of the Holocaust. In 1985 they produced a temporary exhibition called *Children of the Holocaust*, presenting survivors' personal narratives and the Museum's collection. By 1989, the Centre had

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[4] The USC Shoah Foundation is an organization that surrounds a visual history archive, founded by Steven Spielberg and based at the University of Southern California. It houses nearly 55, 000 testimonies conducted in 65 countries and 43 languages, including many of the MHM's collection. These videos can be accessed through the USC Shoah Foundation's website: https://sfi.usc.edu/.

[5] The Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) is made up of over 200 affiliates. They are academic and community-based researchers, students, artists, educators and practitioners specializing in different disciplines. In particular, there is an emphasis on listening to survivors of areas of conflict, and there has been significant work done in conjunction with the MHM, including parts of the *Montreal Life Stories* project. For more information: http://storytelling.concordia.ca/ and for *Montreal Life Stories*: https://www.lifestoriesmontreal.ca/.

[6] "Mission and Organization," Montreal Holocaust Museum, accessed May 12, 2019, https://museeholocauste.ca/en/mission-and-organisme/.

[7] The name was changed from the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre (MHMC) to the Montreal Holocaust Museum (MHM) in 2017.

[8] Docent and Workshop Facilitator Training Manual 2018, 2.

produced its first permanent exhibition, entitled *Splendor and Destruction*. This exhibition was in the same location that the current permanent exhibition is in and followed roughly the same themes, which I will discuss in more detail below. In October 1998, the Museum introduced its first formal Holocaust Education series. This included evenings with speakers, Holocaust testimonies, and film screenings.[9] Events of this kind have continued throughout the years, focussing on education beyond the walls of the Museum.

In February 2001, the Ministry of Culture and Communications of Québec recognized the centre as a museum rather than a community organization and memorial centre. In light of this distinction the permanent exhibition was reworked and officially launched in 2002. This exhibition is currently in place, although a new iteration of it is in progress.

In 2013, the MHMC launched an application that works as an audio guide for the permanent exhibition.[10] It can be downloaded to an Apple or Android device. This program provides more context for the objects within the exhibition as well as more information and photographs of other artefacts related to the specific subject. Should the visitor download the application to their own device, it is possible to access the guided tours and the information anywhere (within the exhibition or not), while another option is that visitors can borrow iPads from the main desk which only run the application. There are three different routes within the program, allowing visitors to have a more focussed visit, or visitors can input specific numeric codes for an object if they don't want to follow a pre-ordained route. These routes are entitled: *Life Stories: Holocaust Survivors in Montreal*; *Children and Teenagers During the Holocaust*; and *Deconstructing Genocide*. It should be noted that the routes within the application do not cover the subjects addressed within the entire exhibition as they are on specific themes, and thus the application is meant to supplement a visit to the Museum rather than to guide visitors through the historical narrative. This is not the case with all audio guides in all museums.

2.3 Organizational Structure of the Museum

The MHM is divided into eight departments. These include Remembrance, Education, Events and Communications, Museum Collection and Coordination, and Human Rights. While much of the work produced by the Museum is a collective effort, each department has its own responsibilities.

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[9] *Ibid.*, 3.
[10] *Ibid.*, 3.

The Remembrance Department, for instance, is in charge of the testimonies. This includes organizing the interview process, ensuring that the volume and subtitles work for the recordings, maintaining the collection, and cataloguing them within the database. This department is also responsible for organizing any survivors who provide testimony to groups or who are speaking at events or memorial services organized by the Museum. Whenever another department needs to use testimony as part of a project, it is necessary to work in tandem with the Remembrance Department. This is true of the Museum Collection and Coordination Department, which is responsible for the permanent exhibition as well as the travelling exhibitions, since testimony is a part of these. The Education Department also relies on the Remembrance Department for testimonies to use in pedagogical tools and educational workshops designed for school groups. This does not account for the live testimonies provided after a school's museum visit, as that is the responsibility of the Remembrance Department and the Front of House coordinator. For commemorative events (such as Yom HaShoah) the planning is done in part by the Human Rights Department, amongst others, and any survivors who speak at the event in question are organized through the Remembrance Department and the Remembrance Coordinator. In this way, it is possible to see how integral the connections between the departments are, particularly in terms of the way testimony is conserved and used at the Museum.

2.4 Pedagogical Tools

By 2007 the Museum had created the first of several teaching tools designed for the classroom. These tools, many of which are still in use today, enhance students' understanding of the Holocaust and the permanent exhibition. The tools include:

- *Hana's Suitcase*, in 2007;
- *The Heart from Auschwitz* in 2009;
- *Exploring the Evidence: the Holocaust, Cambodian Genocide, and Canadian Intervention* in 2011;
- *Draw Me the Story of... The Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust* and *A Brief History of the Holocaust* in 2012;
- *A Brief History of Antisemitism in Canada* in 2015;
- *Teaching about the Holocaust Using Recorded Survivor Testimony* in 2016.

These tools combined objects from the Museum's collection, resources from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, young adult novels and literature (in the case of *Hana's Suitcase* in particular), as well as recorded survivor testimony collected by the Museum. This was facilitated by the digitizing of the collection of survivor testimonies that began in 2010. In 2013, the Museum launched the first of its travelling exhibitions which was also produced as an interactive digital exhibit. This was called *United Against Genocide: Understand, Question, Prevent.* It was created in partnership with the Rwandan, Cambodian, and Armenian communities of Québec. This travelling exhibition meant that the scope of the Museum went beyond teaching about the Holocaust by highlighting that there are commonalities amongst human rights atrocities. This shows that, by learning more about these situations, the aim of these tools is to create a better future for the world overall.[11]

In 2016, the Museum launched another travelling exhibition: *"And in 1948, I came to Canada" – The Holocaust in Six Dates*, as well as a new website. In conjunction with this, the Museum adopted its new name in 2017.[12] This change is significant because it marks a new era for the institution and means that it is moving beyond the mandate of a space memorializing a specific event and towards an educational museum space.

2.5 Museum Architecture

The MHM is located in the Cummings House of the Federation CJA (Combined Jewish Appeal)[13] building. The exhibition space is located on two floors of the building, beginning on the main floor ("zone 1"). It continues on the basement level ("zone 2") and finished on the main floor once again ("zone 3" and "zone 4"). It has operated in the same location since its opening in 1979. This placement is significant in terms of its symbolism within the Jewish community. While the neighbourhood in which the building is found is no longer the core of Montreal's Jewish community as it once was in the 1970s, the fact that it is located directly opposite the Federation lobby from the Jewish Public Library (JPL) is significant. The Museum's location mirrors that of the JPL, which is one of the central institutions in Montreal's Jewish history and is one of the two

[11] *Ibid.*, 3.
[12] *Ibid.*, 3.
[13] This is the title of what equates to the Jewish Community Centre in Montreal – the Federation CJA is an organization that funds projects to enhance Jewish life and engagement in Montreal, Israel, and the world. https://www.federationcja.org/en/who/ Accessed July 6, 2019.

primary Jewish archives in the city. The JPL has been a cultural hub for Jewish learning, communal life, and Yiddish literature since its founding in 1914.[14] Housing the Holocaust Museum across the lobby from the JPL's most recent iteration underlines the fact that this Museum and its core messages are central to the Jewish way of life in Montreal, as the library is a central meeting place for the Jewish community.

2.6 Museum Layout and Content[15]

The permanent exhibition of the Montreal Holocaust Museum is entitled *To Learn, To Feel, To Remember*. This title is on display in the entryway of the Museum, and it also functions as an invitation for how the visitors should experience the exhibition. It is displayed along the top of the walls in English, French, Hebrew, and Yiddish, and the text is lit from behind, showing droplets of water which symbolize tears. This is part of an art installation by Lisette Lemieux entitled "Kristallnacht (nuit du verre brisé)". The list of donors to the MHM is also included as part of this installation, and the piece as a whole is intended to be reminiscent of the events of *Kristallnacht.* It is in this area where visitors purchase tickets to the exhibition, but also obtain any information about events relating to the Holocaust or organized by the Museum. This is also where it is possible to borrow one of the iPads for the MHM application. The entryway grounds the visitor in the space prior to beginning their visit, and it is clear that this is an exhibition that has the survivor community at its centre. This community is the *fil conducteur*, the primary thread, that runs through the exhibition.

[14] "Jewish Public Library," Museum of Jewish Montreal, accessed May 20, 2019, http://imjm.ca/loation/1045.
[15] See appendix 8 for photographs of the Montreal Holocaust Museum's permanent exhibition.

2.6.1 *Zone 1*: 1850-1930s

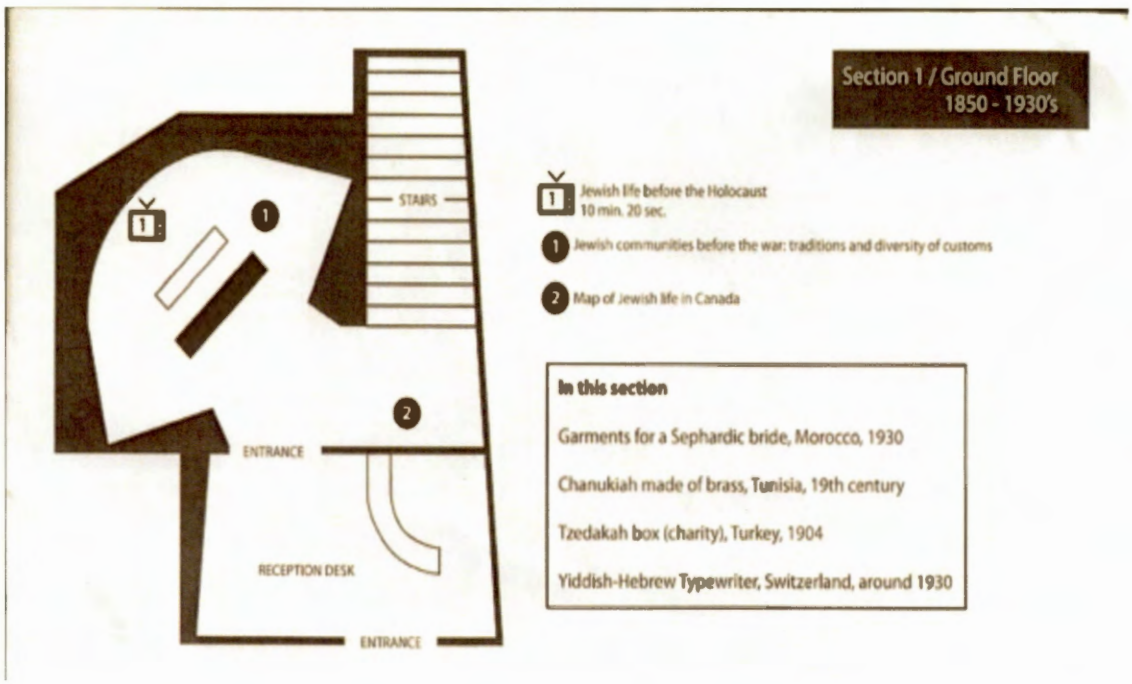

***Fig. 1**: Excerpt from the map of the MHM's permanent exhibition; shows the lobby and zone 1, including major themes covered in this area.*

Visitors enter the exhibition on the main floor of the building. They enter through glass doors, which have a dark tint but are not opaque. This area is tiled, with a subdued colour palate, particularly beige and dark grey. This provides a sense of the sombre nature of this exhibition. In addition, on the walls near the entryway there are two quotes: "More than the Jews observed Shabbat, Shabbat preserved the Jews"[16]; and "The family is the whole life and soul of a Jew."[17] These quotes illustrate how diverse the Jewish community was at this time, addressing those in the community who were religious with Ahad Ha'am's quote and also presenting the importance of family with Mendele Mocher Seforim's quote. As this first section aims to address the complexities of the Jewish communities at this time, these quotes present two distinct yet similar priorities. The quotes are in burgundy on a lighter beige background, provided in the same four translations as before: English, French, Hebrew, and Yiddish. This is a common occurrence throughout the exhibition; while descriptive texts are written in English and French, anywhere

[16] Ahad Ha'am, pen name of Asher Hirsch Ginsberg (1856-1927), appendix 3.
[17] Mendele Mocher Seforim, pen name of Sh. Y. Abramovitch (1835-1917), appendix 4.

where quotes appear, they are in all four languages. This is because these were the most important languages to the communities to which the founding survivors belong. The area where testimony is shown in this room has a faux-stone design, with a bench that is secured to a wall. This bench faces the wall that holds the screens for the testimony presentation, which contains the testimony of Jews from all over Europe. There are several screens in this area: testimonies that originate in Eastern Europe are displayed farther left, and as the survivors' origins move west the videos appear in various screens towards the right. The clips from these testimonies form a video that is 10 minutes and 20 seconds long. This is the standard practice within the exhibition; all of the testimonies on display are clips of interviews that have been put together into broader themes. This means that the visitor hears from multiple survivors at each stop. While this film does not mention specific dates, it addresses the time prior to the Nazi rise to power in the 1920s.

The first section of the Museum provides context for the events of the Holocaust. On display there are religious and secular objects, as well as objects from all over Europe and North Africa. These displays aim to show the visitor the wide variety of Jewish communities that existed prior to the events of the Holocaust. This room also emphasizes that these Jewish communities did not exist in a vacuum or individually; some were small Jewish villages (ex, the *shtetls* in Eastern Europe), while others were integrated into society (like those in France). In the middle of the room, there is a set of screens on the wall. Upon pressing the play button, the screens show a series of video testimonies concerning survivors' experiences of antisemitism prior to the Holocaust. This video compilation includes testimonies from Western Europe, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Northern Africa. The artefacts and the testimonies work together to show that these communities were formed from a diverse group of people. They also serve to remind the visitors that antisemitism did not begin with the Holocaust, but that it has always existed in different forms. This, too, comes up throughout the permanent exhibition. At the end of this first room, the Museum also includes a small section on North American Jewish communities. The exhibition has eight stations for testimony in all.

2.6.2 *Zone 2*: 1919-1939

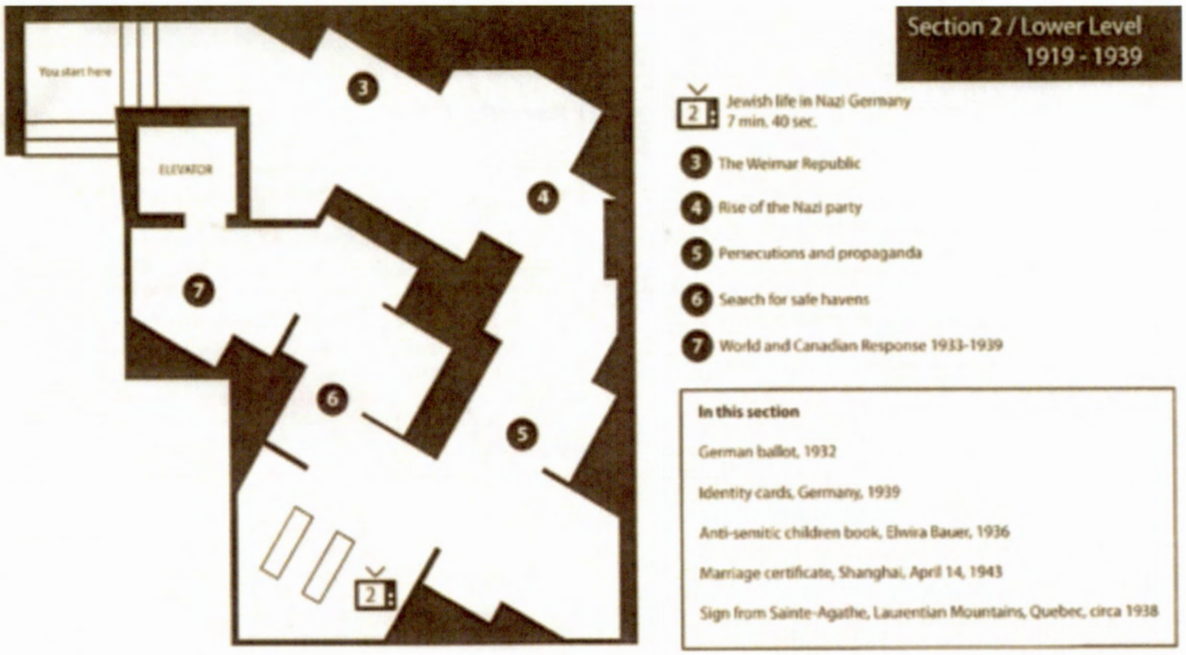

***Fig. 2**: Excerpt from the map of the MHM's permanent exhibition; shows the layout of zone 2, including major themes covered in this area.*

For the second section of the Museum, visitors descend to the building's basement level where they encounter the situation of the German-Jewish communities after the First World War, but before the Second World War. They are introduced to the effects of the Treaty of Versailles on the German population, as well as the spread of antisemitism in Germany at this time through propaganda. Following this, there is the description of Nazi policies and the Nazi rise to power, including an explanation of race theory and the Nuremberg Laws. This also includes the effects that these laws and policies had on the minority communities within the German population and presents the slow integration of restrictions that were put into place on the Jewish community over time. The exhibition includes a video of a number of testimonies depicting Jewish life in Nazi Germany that is about seven and a half minutes long. In this video, German-Jewish survivors discuss the reactions of the community to the increase in restrictions and to Nazi policies, as well as talking about antisemitism in this period. Finally, the video shows the solutions that were possible for the Jewish communities (opportunities for emigration, for instance), and the reasons that Jewish people took these opportunities (or, in many cases, the reasons they did not).

Following these testimonies, the exhibition shows a display on emigration from Nazi Germany prior to the events of *Kristallnacht* in November 1938.[18] This section includes archival footage of the *Kindertransport*[19] as well as artefacts relating to this event, and the narratives surrounding German emigration to Shanghai. These emigration options are outlined in the recorded testimonies that are on display, mentioned above, as the survivors describe their experiences with leaving Germany. This is a fairly short part of the exhibition, as this event takes place directly before *Kristallnacht*, which is the next part of this exhibition. The exhibition displays *Kristallnacht* using photographs and textual descriptions, including a brief outline of the catalyst for this massacre and the subsequent Nazi retaliation. The photographs that are chosen depict German synagogues before and after the *Kristallnacht* riots. During these riots, 30,000 Jewish men are rounded up and arrested in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland[20], and over 250 synagogues were ransacked and destroyed. In addition, Jewish storefronts were smashed and looted. This is a critical part of the Holocaust narrative, as it is the tipping point for the German Jewish communities; after the events of November 1938, persecution and restrictions intensified quickly and it was no longer possible to escape the country.

The last topic the visitor encounters in this section of the exhibition is the discussion of antisemitism in Canada during this era. Visitors see a sign that was used in Ste. Agathe, north of Montreal, which says, "Jews are not wanted here, so scram while the going's good". Next to this sign is a bar graph showing the immigration rates for Canada between 1901 and 1939. The graph is in two colours, with the white bar representing the total number of immigrants who entered Canada in that year and the purple representing the total number of Jewish immigrants who were allowed entry. In every year shown, the number of Jewish immigrants is so small that the purple on the graph can barely be seen; the numbers never exceed 10% of the total number of immigrants.

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[18] *Kristallnacht*, or "the Night of Broken Glass", was a violent riot against the Jewish communities of Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland overnight from November 9-10 1938. It marks a breaking point in the Holocaust narrative, and is often seen as the event that began the Holocaust. Officially, it was understood as a retaliatory action for the assassination of a German diplomat by a Polish-Jewish refugee named Herschel Grynszpan, though its quick organization and execution shows that it was planned long in advance. During this riot, Jewish-owned storefronts were smashed and looted, synagogues were destroyed and their sacred objects (torah scrolls, etc.) were taken into town squares and burned, and over 30, 000 Jewish men were rounded up and arrested.

[19] The *Kindertransport* was an organized rescue effort that took place in the nine months prior to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. This program meant that Jewish families in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland could send one child under the age of 18 from each family to safety in the United Kingdom, and through the *Kindertransport* nearly 10, 000 children were fostered in British homes, hostels, foster homes, schools, and farms. Often these children were the only members of their families to survive the Holocaust.

[20] The historical German name for the northern, southern, and western areas of former Czechoslovakia.

Both the sign and the graph work as a grounding for the visitor to remember the universality of antisemitism at this time, and particularly to emphasize that it was not something that occurred solely in Europe.[21] This is an integral aspect of the exhibition as it provides another facet to the outbreak of the Second World War. The MHM outlines the fact that there was more that could have been done to help the European Jews fleeing persecution but, in light of growing worldwide antisemitism and the onset of war, little was done until after the war.

2.6.3 *Zone 3:* 1939-1950s

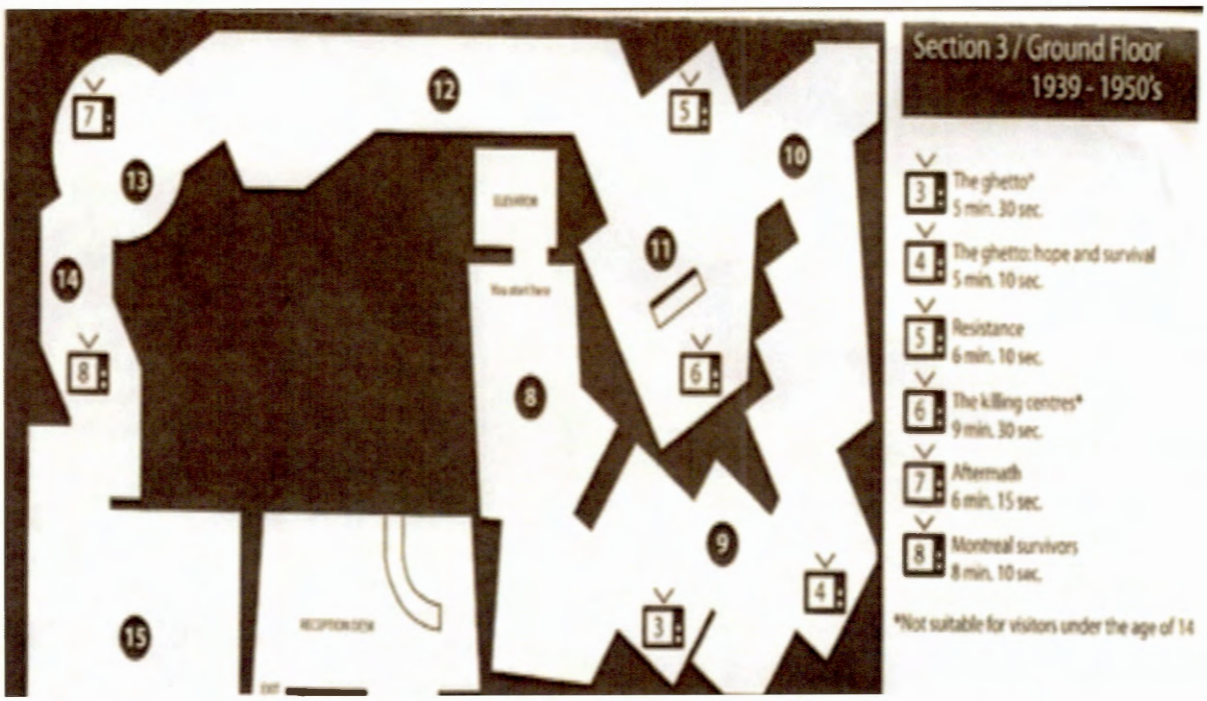

***Fig. 3**: Excerpt from the map of the MHM's permanent exhibition; shows the layout of zone 3, including major themes covered in this area.*

For the third section of the exhibition, visitors return to the main floor using an elevator. This section, which takes up the majority of the Museum's main floor, begins with the Occupation of Poland by the Nazis in 1939 and the start of the Second World War. It is necessary to have some focus on this subject prior to going into a detailed analysis of the Holocaust as the occupation marks not only the official start of these two concurrent events (the Second World War and the

[21] See appendix 6.

Holocaust) but also a Nazi strategy that meant that suddenly there were 2.5 million more Jews under their control. The exhibition presents the swift implementation of the restrictions that had been introduced in Germany over several years, and that in Poland were implemented in a matter of weeks. In this stage as well, the exhibition goes into further detail on non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust, naming the Roma and Sinti peoples, people with "physical and mental handicaps", and people identified as "homosexual"[22], among others.

With the invasion of Poland, the exhibition then presents life in the ghettoes. With this section, the design changes in a subtle way. Around the descriptive texts and photographs there are wooden slats and metal grates. In this section the first testimonies of section three are located. There are two sets of testimony videos which are both about 5 minutes long, and the benches in these areas also have wooden slats suggestive of a traditional wooden bench. This provides the visitor with a sense that things are different in this context than in others within the exhibition, and sets the section on ghettoes apart, as the ghettoes themselves set the Jews apart from the rest of their community. The first installation, which presents sections of interviews illustrating what life was like in the ghettoes, addresses the close living quarters, the rampant disease, the lack of food, and the quality of life (or lack thereof) that existed in these ghettoes. While there are artefacts and photographs in this section as well, having the ability to hear about these conditions from survivors is invaluable. The second video installation, which is still in the section on ghettoes, discusses situations of hope and survival amidst these horrible circumstances. The survivors in this compilation talk of schools, culture (theatre and orchestra), and marriage. While the ghettoes were by no means happy places (and the Museum does not present them as such) they were places of continued community. Here, again, we see the *fil conducteur* of community carried through.

The exhibition then presents the question of deportation to Concentration Camps or Killing Centres. It specifies that within Poland and the ghettoes, this generally occurred when a ghetto was liquidated. Due to the fact that ghettoes were not used in other areas of occupation outside of Poland, deportation in these countries was immediate. This is also where the exhibition presents the *einsatzgruppen*[23] and the beginnings of large-scale mass murders. Visitors can see archival

[22] These are the terms used in the exhibition. I recognize that they are insensitive terms in our current era, but I wanted to remain consistent with the wording used in the displays. As mentioned in this case study, the descriptive texts within the exhibition date to the early 2000s, prior to evolution of this type of language. The exhibition also includes the word "gypsy" alongside the term "Roma", in order to help with the transition of terminology.

[23] The word *einsatzgruppen* means deployment groups, and it was a term that was employed by the Nazis to refer to the mobile killing units that followed the front and performed mass executions in the newly occupied areas.

footage of the cattle cars being loaded for deportation in this hallway, which ends in a display case containing two prisoner uniforms.

Following this area is the area that presents survival in the camps. This is emphasized by the change in colour scheme, with this area being a light grey with bricks in the places where there were wooden slats in the section on ghettoes. By removing the colour from the areas around the display, visitors also get a sense of the fact that being in these camps was not living, but surviving. There was no colour in peoples' lives and in many ways, they were not treated as human beings. The exhibition space contains two composite testimony videos: one that is just under 10 minutes long on the Killing Centres, and another that is about resistance and is about 6 minutes long. Once again, these videos illustrate the MHM's method of presentation for this difficult subject quite nicely. The first video, about the Killing Centres, is thematically darker than most of the other testimony videos in the permanent exhibition due to the sensitive subject matter. This video is presented in an area separate from the main path of the exhibition, with an area to sit down and process the testimonies heard. This area is decorated with faux-stone, as are the benches, once again to provide subtle thematic elements to visitors. This design continues to evoke the earlier sense of the de-humanity of the subject. The stone in this area serves as a visual marker that creates a link in the visitor's mind to a gravestone and to the lives that were lost as a result of these Killing Centres.

The second testimony, which is about resistance in the camps, focuses on the thin glimmer of hope that existed despite the tragic events. This second video is directly opposite a number of display windows which show artefacts connected to different manners of resisting, including armed resistance and maintaining identity despite living in hiding. It is also in the same area as the Heart from Auschwitz.

The Heart from Auschwitz artefact is a delicate handmade birthday card in the shape of a heart that is a symbol of resistance for many who visit the Museum. It was made by a woman named Zlatka Pitluk for her friend Fania while they were working at a factory in Auschwitz, and it is signed by the women who worked with them. The creation of this card required not only skill but courage, as Zlatka had to make it in secret and had to steal much of the material to make it. The card is held together with a glue made from bread and water (meaning Zlatka gave up her rations in order to have it stick together) and the purple material that covers it is from a blouse she smuggled into the camp. Had her actions been discovered, she would have been killed. Zlatka and

the women who worked with Fania risked their lives in order to do something kind in the midst of Auschwitz. This is not the end of the Heart's story, however; Fania brought it with her on the Death Marches[24] by hiding it in her armpit. It reminded her of her humanity, and gave her a reason to live. In this way, it represents another form of resistance and acts as a symbol of hope and perseverance. The Heart is often used by the Museum in its pedagogical tools to emphasize the significance of resistance during the Holocaust and to highlight the importance of kindness amid adversity.

The exhibition continues by presenting the Death Marches, which occurred in the final months of the War. There is no testimony on this subject that is included as part of the exhibition, and it is a relatively brief panel with only two objects on display. While the Death Marches are an integral part of the Holocaust narrative, it is a subject that is only briefly addressed within the MHM's exhibition. In this area, the history of the Nazi collaborators is presented on one side of the hallway, and 6 examples of the Righteous Among the Nations on the opposite wall. This method of presentation brings the dichotomy between these two groups into stark focus. In this area as well, the colour palette begins to lighten, and continues to do so as the visitor progresses.

The hallway widens as the exhibition begins to conclude, providing information on the process of liberation and the end of the War. The discussion about liberation incorporates artefacts, archival footage, and photographs, as well as textual description, to illustrate its point but does not provide any testimony. Liberation is presented neither as wholly joyful nor as completely difficult, but as a complex mixture of the two. This is because when the camps were liberated, the people who were in them often could not return home for a variety of reasons, including other people having moved into their homes or antisemitism still rampant in these towns. Following this section, there is a depiction of the establishment of the Displaced Persons Camps. In this section, the Museum displays objects that were kept from these Camps, including report cards and diplomas, marriage records, photograph albums, and baby boots. These displays aim to present the wide variety of activities that occurred in these camps, highlighting the reconstruction of daily life. It is in this section as well that the penultimate testimony compilation is presented, running at just over

[24] The Death Marches were the forced marches of the prisoners in the camps at the end of the Second World War between autumn 1944 and April 1945. With the allied forces approaching and the end of the war in sight, the Nazis tried to move all their prisoners as far away from the front as possible in order to keep this operation as covert as possible. These marches resulted in thousands of deaths, either from exposure, exhaustion, or from being killed en route.

6 minutes and entitled *Aftermath*. In this video, the survivors describe their personal experiences of liberation, and how they tried to piece together their lives. Once again, the MHM presents testimonies that try to cover the positive and the negative experiences of these circumstances.

The final part of the formal exhibit relates to survivors emigrating to Montreal. On display are artefacts relating to the Jewish community that was vibrant at the time of the exhibition's creation. It is also the part of the exhibition that presents the founding of the Museum itself, as it was the work of Montreal's survivor community. It is in this section that the MHM presents its final testimony compilation, entitled *Montreal Survivors*, which is just over 8 minutes long. While the video is aimed at ending the exhibition on a positive note, it also provides some nuance and complexity to the narrative. In this video, some survivors discuss how difficult it was for them to talk about the Holocaust. Others talk about how any time they share their testimony, they have nightmares. While perhaps a part of the goal is to end on a positive note, this video also emphasizes to the visitor that even though something is "over", it can still affect those involved deeply and, in a way, for some it is never over.

2.6.4 *Zone 4:* Memorial Room

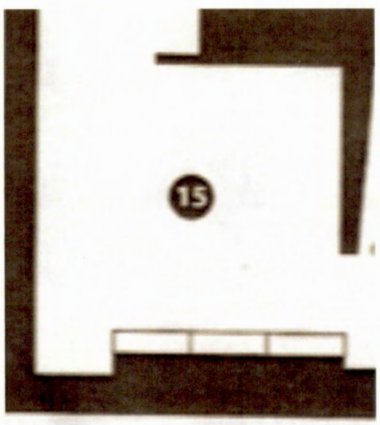

***Fig. 4**: Excerpt from the map of the MHM's permanent exhibition; shows the layout of zone 4.*

The conclusion of the exhibition is the Memorial Room. It does not have textual description or labelled artefacts on display. In the middle of the room there is a column with an urn and an eternal flame on top. There is no testimony for this room, because it is not meant as an exhibition space; it is meant as a place to say the *kaddish*, the mourner's prayer, and to remember all that was lost. The thematic elements within the room also highlight this fact; one corner is made of black stone and has the names of significant locations of loss etched into it, while another wall is backlit by windows and the text written on the shades presents the names of Jewish communities that were lost or almost destroyed during the Holocaust. There is a bench along the far wall, where visitors can stop to remember and reflect. Above the bench are six candles, representing the six million Jews who were killed during the Holocaust. Finally, above

the candles are the words "We are the heirs…" written in English, French, Hebrew, and Yiddish, in order to remind the visitors of the exhibition's message. It is not only the survivors and their children who are the heirs, but every visitor who comes in and learns about the Holocaust is an heir to that history and has the responsibility to learn from the past.

Roger Simon addresses this responsibility in his book *The Touch of the Past*. Within his chapter on Holocaust survivor video testimony, he remarks on how because of the manner in which these interviews are filmed, visitors will often feel as if they are "with" the interviewee as the survivor recounts their story.[25] Because of this, the visitor's connection to the interviewee and the history can be strengthened. There can also be a sense of the enormity of the subject, and the fact that the information provided within an exhibition or testimony clip far exceeds what is being presented. Simon writes, "It is a demand and responsibility for thought instigated by finding oneself, not just receiving the text as information, but positioned so that in order to preserve the memory of those lives, one must enter into conversation with still others regarding the grounds of one's epistemological limits."[26] It is thus through viewing and participating in testimony, as well as discussing and critically thinking through what was seen, that this responsibility manifests itself.

2.7 Application

The MHM audio guide application is also a place where testimony is used to present the Museum's subject matter. As mentioned above, the application was launched in 2013 and is free to use. There are three different tours that are offered by the program: *Life Stories: Holocaust Survivors in Montreal*; *Children and Teenagers During the Holocaust*; and *Deconstructing Genocide*.[27] When borrowing an iPad from the Museum, visitors are provided with headphones in order to listen to the voiceovers within the application and the recorded testimonies interwoven into the tours. Because these are designed to supplement a visit and to provide additional information, they do not have a specific narrator (texts can be read by the visitor or read to the visitor by a male voice). The user of the tour is expected to go through the exhibition and read the information provided in the displays, and to use the application to explore the subjects in more depth, as the tours do not cover every aspect of the exhibition. Particularly in the case of *Children and Teenagers* and

[25] Roger Simon, "Holocaust Survivor Testimony", in *The Touch of the Past* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 169.
[26] *Ibid.*, 168.
[27] See Appendix 5.

Deconstructing Genocide, the tours provide additional contextual information rather than an audio guide-style tool. Testimony is provided within the tours in this fashion, primarily to elaborate on specific objects or themes discussed in the exhibition. While it is possible to follow each tour individually, another option is inputting the numeric codes found within the exhibition. This means not following a specific tour but picking and choosing which artefacts or subjects to learn more about.

The *Life Stories* tour is recommended as an introduction to the Museum and to Holocaust history, as it highlights some of the most significant objects in the Museum's collection. It has 19 stops and 13 pieces of recorded testimony that provide more detail and context for the artefacts on display in the exhibition. This tour is a way for visitors to personalize their experience even if they are on an individual visit rather than a group tour. The context and extra information provided in the application mean that the visitors are learning more about the community and the survivors who donated objects in addition to the history of the Holocaust.

In *Children and Teenagers*, there are 11 stops, with 7 testimonies included. As the title suggests, this tour provides further information on the lives of children and teenagers during the Holocaust. This is significant because many of the survivors who are involved at the MHM were children during the Holocaust, and because many of the survivors who are still able to give live testimony (rather than recorded testimony) were children as well. Steven High and Stacey Zembrzycki, who worked on the *Montreal Life Stories* project with Concordia University, write about this in the case of the MHM as well as in other situations of survivor testimony; they mention that often, Holocaust survivors are more comfortable speaking to children because they were the same age when living through these horrors, and they find it easier to relate to children because of the age connection.[28]

The third tour, *Deconstructing Genocide*, has 11 stops, including 7 testimonies. This tour explores the different stages of genocide by looking at the historical events of the Holocaust. This subject is related to some of the pedagogical tools created by the MHM for students. The tour serves to remind users that the Holocaust was not an isolated event but followed the pattern of genocides that can also be seen in cases such as that of Rwanda and Cambodia. It also shows visitors that genocides have a source, and that there are systematic processes that must be

[28] Steven High, *Oral History at the Crossroads: Sharing Life Stories of Survival and Displacement* (University of British Columbia Press, 2015), 101.

undertaken in order for mass murder on this scale to occur. This is another part of the MHM's mission that is relevant, but not necessarily addressed within the permanent exhibition; while we cannot and should not compare genocides, by understanding the reasons one occurred we can better understand others and learn to look for warning signs of potentially similar situations.

Because the application is available for free to download onto a personal device as well, it can be interpreted as not only an audio guide for the exhibition but also as a type of catalogue for the Museum, as a formal catalogue is not currently in print. While the application does not provide information on every artefact on display, many objects do have information and description provided within the program. In addition, there are some cases where an artefact will have significant contextual information that could not be provided within the exhibition due to the limits of space. For example, within the exhibition there is a letter donated by Sara Schichter. The letter is from Schichter's mother and was thrown out of a train during her deportation. The textual description in the exhibition tells this story, but within the application visitors find not only a photograph of the letter, but also a photograph of Schichter's mother, Balja Kaminski, and a video of Schichter sharing the story of this letter.[29] By having the ability to not only see the artefact in question but hear from the person who donated it, the narrative comes to life and takes on a personal aspect.

2.8 Conclusion

Through prioritizing the survivor narrative, the MHM has created an important space for itself within Montreal's cultural identity. This is particularly true given the great importance that the organization has always placed on education, both when it comes to children and with its adult visitors as well. It is this dedication that illustrates the importance of sharing testimony and also the significance of hearing someone else's testimony. The description of the Museum's history, content, and interpretations found above will be invaluable in the discussion on its use of recorded testimony, as well as its process of collecting and preserving testimony, that are found in the chapters to come.

[29] MHM Application (2013): *Life Stories: Holocaust Survivors in Montreal,* 109. Deportations.

Chapter 3: Yad Vashem

In this chapter, I introduce the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum. First, I will provide the Museum's mission. Then I will discuss the history of the site with a particular focus on the establishment of the *Holocaust History Museum* (HHM), which serves as my second case study in this project. Following this, I will discuss in detail the permanent exhibition of the Museum, highlighting where testimony is used as part of the display whenever possible. By providing a detailed profile of this case study, I will then have a solid basis to analyse and discuss the methods used regarding testimony at Yad Vashem in my next chapter.

3.1 Mission of the Museum

The Museum's mission can be understood through a Jewish tradition called *Vehigadeta Lebincha*, which translates as "And you shall tell your children".[1] Yad Vashem places an emphasis on educating younger generations about the Holocaust. The Museum's mission states:

> Despite - or perhaps because of – the breakdown of borders and boundaries, today, more than ever before, young people are expressing a keen interest in their own history and identity. Yad Vashem is addressing this need by harnessing technology and constantly expanding the horizons of communication to perpetuate the dialogue between past, present and future.[2]

The Museum pursues its mission by providing the history of the Holocaust through the voices of Jewish survivors, while encouraging visitors of all backgrounds to consider a universal perspective on this history. The Museum aims to reinforce the connection between the Jewish visitors and their ancestors. Ultimately, the goal is to inspire visitors to build a more ethical future for all of humankind.[3] In addition, the mission mentions that Yad Vashem is considered a pioneer of Holocaust museums around the world, particularly in regard to the creation of this ethical ideal. By presenting historical atrocities in a way that encourages and fosters social justice, Yad Vashem acts as a model for other museums of the same type. The Museum's mission states, "By preserving its Jewish character within the universal context, and yet maintaining the authentic individual voice emanating from testimonies, diaries, artifacts and other documentation, Yad Vashem continues to

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[1] "Mission Statement." Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum. Accessed May 1, 2019, https://www.YadVashem.org/about/mission-statement.html.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

pave the way for a brighter future."[4] This means that everything the Museum creates has this concept as its goal, and it aims to make the world a better place through education.

3.2 History of the Museum

The idea for a Holocaust memorial in the form of a Museum was first presented to the government of the new state of Israel in the summer of 1947.[5] As a result of this, the first committees were formed to begin the planning of this museum complex. By August 1953, the *Holocaust Remembrance and Heroism Law – Yad Vashem* was passed in the state, establishing the Museum in Jerusalem. This was necessary because Yad Vashem is what equates to a national museum, and it therefore required a law in order to establish the Museum as such. The law outlines that it is a memorial not only for the six million Jewish people who were killed during the Holocaust, but also for the families who survived; for the communities, synagogues, and organizations that were destroyed by the Nazis; for the Jewish people who martyred themselves during the Holocaust in order to save others; for the heroism of Jewish soldiers and resistance fighters during that time period; for the heroic efforts of those in ghettoes and other locations directly affected; for the struggles those who survived had to face in order to continue surviving; for the soldiers who sought to liberate the camps; and for the Righteous Among the Nations who risked their lives.[6] With this initial mission in mind, construction began on the Museum, and the cornerstone for the first building was laid on July 29, 1954.[7] The first building and memorial were opened in 1957.[8] In the early 1960s, the Museum installed its first basic historical exhibit and by 1973 had established a building (the Historical Museum) to house a permanent exhibition that covers this history.[9] It was the first of several galleries and exhibition spaces that would open on the site of Yad Vashem, with the Holocaust Art Museum opening in 1982.[10] This original historical exhibition was in use until the 1990s, when a new development plan was launched that was meant to reinvent Yad Vashem as a complex in order to accommodate a larger number of visitors.

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[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Bella Gutterman and Avner Shalev, eds., *To Bear Witness: Holocaust Remembrance at Yad Vashem* (Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, 2005), 12.
[6] *Ibid.*, 16.
[7] *Ibid.*, 19.
[8] David Silverklang, "More Than a Memorial: The Evolution of Yad Vashem", in *Yad Vashem Quarterly Magazine* (Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, Fall 2003), 6-7.
[9] Gutterman and Shalev, *To Bear Witness*, 22.
[10] *Ibid.*, 22.

The exhibition is laid out in a chronological manner, with a focus on the historical themes of the Holocaust period. Dorit Harel, lead designer for the creation of the exhibition, writes that, "The team members, most of whom were historians, did not take into account that what lay ahead of them was the creation of a multidisciplinary historical experimental museum. Their focus was on historical themes of the Holocaust period."[11] This didactic approach to presenting the history, through various lenses and means, allows the visitors to connect with the history through different opportunities. These include audiovisual presentations, artefacts on display, the use of recorded survivor testimony, the playing of music, and even recreations of buildings and locations that "transport" the visitor to another part of the history. The themes chosen for this new exhibition were based on the headings that appeared in the 1995 Yad Vashem Program.[12] The newer exhibition is larger and provides further detail on these subjects.

In addition to the re-creation of the History Museum, the reinvention of the Yad Vashem complex in the 1990s also included the establishment of the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies, the digitization and online storage of the collection, the construction of new buildings for the archives and library that would allow for the expansion of research done at the Museum.[13] These additions to the Museum meant that it could more completely fulfill its mission, and use different methods to connect to its intended and expected visitors. The methods of digitization in use at Yad Vashem are also of note when considering the use of testimony, as the Museum has collected it in various forms (written, audio, video, etc.) since the institution opened and it is necessary for these processes to evolve over time. This essential part of its collection is where the HHM sources all of the testimony used within the permanent exhibition, and the storage space for these testimonies constitutes the final gallery space of the exhibition.

3.3 Museum Architecture

The HHM was inaugurated in March 2005. It was both a reimagining of the permanent exhibition by a new design team as well as a new architectural concept. There was a competition to choose the architect of the new building, and Moshe Safdie's design was chosen. The building is shaped as a triangular prism. Harel writes, "Safdie's proposal called for a central prism cutting through

[11] Dorit Harel, *Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum*, 2nd Ed. (Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem, 2010), 17.
[12] *Ibid.*, 17.
[13] *Ibid.*, 52.

the Mount of Remembrance from one side to the other. Much of the structure is underground, burrowing through the bedrock, with the triangular glass tip of the prism cantilevered over the surface area of the Yad Vashem site."[14] The building's re-emergence and the exhibition's conclusion have the same final note: a view of the city of Jerusalem. While the exhibition begins at the closed end of the prism, and continues through the hill, it comes out the other side onto a balcony that faces the cityscape. Safdie's design is particularly intricate here, as the walls of the building curve outwards so that the prism physically opens up to the skyline. In this way, his building works as a visual metaphor for learning about the Holocaust. As mentioned above, the closed end of the building starts the exhibition, and as visitors walk the length of the building they travel underground, through the hill, to emerge on the other side as the building opens up to the view of the city. This can be interpreted as concluding the exhibition on a hopeful note, though the exhibition does not present it in so many words.

The visual metaphor that Safdie created with the Museum's edifice is particularly poignant when considering its connection to the subject matter. Avner Shalev, director of Yad Vashem as of the early 1990s, writes:

> Visitors to Yad Vashem cross a narrow bridge on their way to the Holocaust History Museum. A concrete wall that pierces the mountain looms overhead. When they enter the museum, they encounter a prismlike [*sic.*] structure that slices into the mountainside. A segment of sky is visible overhead. On the triangular wall to the left are scenes of people moving about, part of a video art presentation by Michal Rovner using authentic images from the diverse and vibrant prewar Jewish world. The images and sounds of this montage invite viewers to consider the lives that these people led – ordinary but effervescent lives that were about to come to an abrupt, catastrophic, and unforeseeable end. At this stage visitors turn from that bygone world and begin to move through the prism, which continues to the exit, where they will be greeted by another segment of sky and the view of present-day Jerusalem.[15]

As Shalev mentions and as I will explore in more detail below, the design team of the exhibition took Safdie's metaphor into account when planning the layout of the exhibits, and they took great care to use the architecture to underscore the central message of the exhibition.

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[14] *Ibid.*, 18.

[15] Avner Shalev, "Building a Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem", in *Yad Vashem: Moshe Safdie – The Architecture of Memory* (Zurich, Switzerland: Lars Müller Publishers, 2006), 50.

3.4 Exhibition Layout and Themes[16]

The exhibition is organized both chronologically and thematically. It starts with the pre-Holocaust context, from 1900-1933, continuing on through the events of the Holocaust, 1933-1945, and ending with liberation and the establishment of the Displaced Persons camps, 1945-1955, with a final note of hope being the view of the city of Jerusalem. There are eight main rooms, as well as the Hall of Names which concludes the exhibition. This last room is both an exhibit in the Museum and a functional storage facility; it demonstrates the amount of testimonies collected by the Museum by showing the files used to store the information. The building is made of grey concrete, and the walls are not painted. This is to emphasize the seriousness of the events and to focus on the subjects presented by not providing any methods of distraction. There is nothing to look at but the exhibition itself. With few exceptions, the floors are also undecorated, meaning that the experience is uniform and also serves the purposes mentioned above with the bare walls. The barriers between the visitors and the exhibits are made of plain wire, which also helps to highlight the severity of the subject matter. It really helps to provide ambiance for what the visitor is seeing. While the exposed concrete is stark, the space still feels very light, perhaps due to the height of the building itself. In the central hallway, the exhibition is lit from above using white light as well as natural light from the skylight at the top of the prism. In the exhibition rooms, which are side rooms through which visitors are guided, a warmer, yellow light is used. In this way the Museum also guides the visitor through the exhibit, as the lighting changes signify subject changes as well. The route is serpentine, and weaves in and out of every room. In this manner the exhibition is comprehensive but accessible, and it is not possible to become lost or leave the path.

[16] See appendix 9 for photographs Yad Vashem's permanent exhibition.

3.4.1 *First Zone*: The Jewish World Before the Holocaust

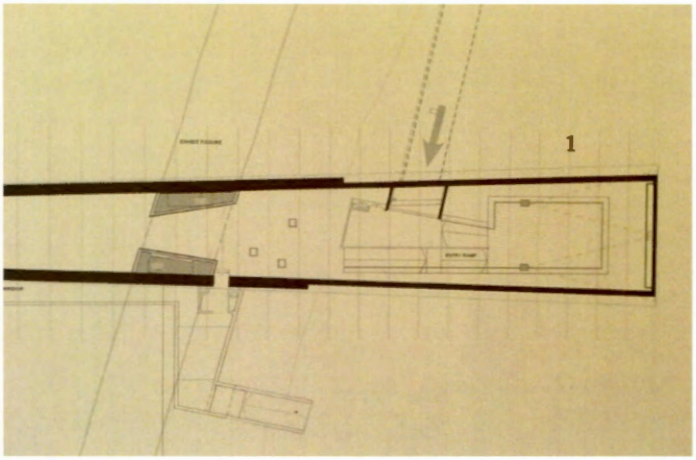

***Fig. 5**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the first zone.*

The exhibition begins at the closed-off end of the prism. The first thing the visitor encounters is a black and white film of Jewish day-to-day life before the Holocaust, projected onto the triangular wall at the end of the building. Harel calls this "The Jewish World As It Was" installation.[17] The video includes ambient sounds and some traditional klezmer-style background music; however, it is not a narrative featuring specific people. Harel writes, "The videoart [*sic.*] installation is aimed at revealing to the visitor the world of Jews in European communities. It was a vibrant, diverse world, involved with enormous dynamism in several worlds – home and family life, the synagogue, the yeshiva, schools, the street, work, youth movements, and politics."[18] The video is constructed from archival footage, sound recordings, and original photographs, but no testimonies. The goal is to provide a sense of what life might have been like, but not to discuss details at this stage, which is necessary in order to comprehend the enormity of the events to come. In order to continue visiting the exhibition, the visitor needs to turn their back on the video, symbolizing how the Holocaust made it impossible to return to that way of life.

After turning away from the video and beginning the route down the prism, the visitor stops at a small display which discusses the Estonian Jewish murders in September of 1944, known as the Pyre at Klooga Camp. There are two large photographs depicting the event, as well as artefacts that belonged to the victims, which are displayed in glass cases that rise from ruptures in the floor. Harel calls this "the area where the story of the annihilation of European Jewry begins."[19] The choice to begin the exhibition with an event from 1944 is an interesting one, and in her book Harel

[17] Harel, *Facts and Feelings*, 61.
[18] *Ibid.*, 61.
[19] *Ibid.*, 64.

writes that this was one of two main options for the space.[20] The other possibility was introducing the idea of antisemitism in this space, starting "at the beginning of the story". The Klooga Camp option means that the visitors can start to prepare for what they will see in the rest of the exhibition. From the beginning no one is spared the truth, and it is clear that this was horrific and painful. Harel writes, "After several discussions presenting the various options, that of the Klooga pyre was chosen: it left the museum space exposed and uncluttered, with no exhibits whatsoever."[21] This, too, is worth noting: the fact that there was a need to leave room for the history to be exposed and to let it speak for itself. This is not something that is often taken into consideration in exhibitions, as sometimes the concern can be in trying to present every piece of the history rather than allowing for some space for the visitors to reflect on what they have seen.

From the Klooga Pyre exhibit, visitors head towards the first gallery. Just before the entrance to this space is a short display about Nazi book burning, particular of books written by Jewish authors, beginning in 1933. This is where the discussion of antisemitism prior to the events of the Holocaust is introduced, with video screens showing archival footage of the book burnings rising out of a pile of books. The display cuts across the main hallway, directing the visitors into the gallery.

[20] *Ibid.*, 64.
[21] *Ibid.*, 64.

3.4.2 *Second Zone*: Nazi Germany and the Jews

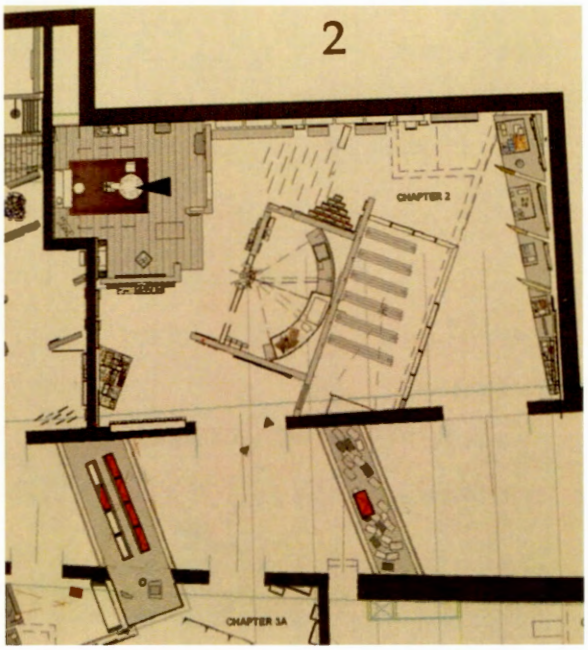

***Fig. 6**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the second zone and the transitional areas.*

In the first gallery the exhibition focuses on the pre-Holocaust context in Germany, primarily presenting the Nazi rise to power and a detailed history of antisemitism. It highlights the fact that antisemitism was not invented by the Nazi party but is prevalent throughout history. This section also presents the Nuremberg Laws, the introduction of Race Theory and the idea of the "Typical Aryan", general propaganda as well as some specific examples used by the Nazi party, the Third Reich, and the events of Kristallnacht. On the wall is a saying by a German essayist named Kurt Tucholsky, which summarises the main message of the zone well: "A country is not just what it does – it is also what it tolerates."[22] This was the inspiration for assigning this topic to the first gallery and it is one of the main threads that runs through the exhibit. The gallery contains two major audiovisual components: first, a film that plays in English and Hebrew that details the history of antisemitism up to the start of the Holocaust; second, within a room set up as an example of a "typical" German Jewish home, survivor testimonies that discuss the effects of antisemitism within Germany. This is the first instance where the visitor hears from a survivor within the exhibition. Harel also mentions that this gallery is larger than originally allocated. She writes, "This decision was taken with the awareness that visitors tend to remain longer in the first gallery they enter. We allocated 13% of the total museum space, 371 square meters, to this gallery."[23] Additionally, Harel notes that she wanted to allow visitors to have the space to reflect on the subject matter, particularly in this first room. She writes that the organization of the exhibition did not go according to her original plan, due to the rest of

[22] *Ibid.*, 68.
[23] *Ibid.*, 68.

the development group's concern with offering as much information as possible.[24] The exhibition continues with a transitional space that includes a film with ambient sound announcing the outbreak of the Second World War, leading to the second exhibition room.

3.4.3 *Third Zone*: From Outbreak of War to the Ghettoes

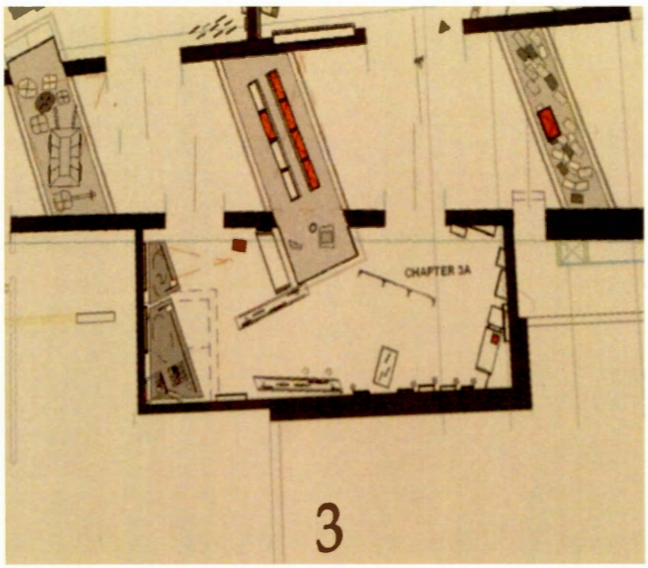

***Fig.** 7: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the third zone and the transitional areas.*

The next chronological stop in the exhibition is concerned with the occupation of Poland. This room has fewer displays, and so feels larger and more open than the previous one, though perhaps this is because it is a more specific subject. Harel writes:

> This gallery deals with the Nazis' attitude toward the Jews of Eastern Europe, immediately following the outbreak of the Second World War and the occupation of Poland. It presents the humiliation of the Jews, their being labeled, the seizure of assets, and deportation to the ghettoes.[25]

This gallery includes displays on forced labour, methods of humiliation and abuse, the burning of synagogues, and what the Museum refers to as "despoiling the Jews", which was a process by which Nazi oppressors collected the valuables and religious objects of oppressed Jewish communities for their own use. This gallery presents an exhibit of what Harel refers to as "Judaica artifacts and personal possessions looted from Jewish homes"[26], which constitute a portion of these collections. These objects are displayed in cases designed to emulate packing crates, in order to demonstrate how this process occurred. The gallery ends with a film of the Jewish expulsion to

[24] Harel uses the phrase "curating obsession" in this context, subtly underlining the differences of opinion. *Ibid.*, 68.
[25] *Ibid.*, 70.
[26] *Ibid.*, 70.

the Lodz ghetto, showing images but no sound. There are no testimonies used in this gallery. This leads into the transitional space, which has on display archival photographs of the expulsions to the Kovno and Krakow ghettoes, as well as an example of a wagon that was used for this purpose.

3.4.4 *Fourth Zone*: The Fate of Jews in Western Europe and in the Ghettoes

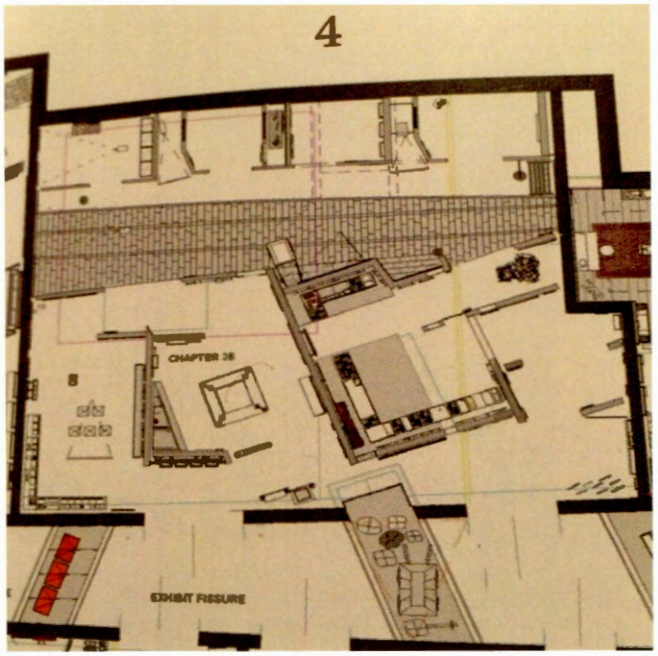

***Fig. 8**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the fourth zone and the transitional areas.*

The next exhibition space presents information on the Nazi policies in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as on life in the ghettoes. The gallery focuses on four of the ghettoes: the Warsaw Ghetto, the Lodz Ghetto, the Theresienstadt Ghetto, and the Kovno Ghetto. Harel writes that in this part of the exhibition, the "intention was to show everyday life in the ghettoes and how Jews faced the Nazi tyrants, until the ghettoes were dismantled."[27] It is for this reason that the exhibit focuses on these four ghettoes, which were the largest (in the case of Warsaw and Lodz), the best documented by the Nazis (Theresienstadt was used for propaganda to the allied forces), and the best documented by survivors (as was the case with the Kovno Ghetto in Lithuania). This part of the exhibition is also where the use of survivor testimony increases significantly, as there are several rooms off the main area where testimonies are shown. The main room is an impressive reconstruction of the main street of a ghetto: specifically, Leszno Street from the Warsaw Ghetto. It is one of the only spaces where concrete is not exposed; instead, the designers laid cobblestone flooring in order to transport the visitor to another place. Harel writes:

> The reconstruction of Leszno Street in the Warsaw Ghetto is a unique project. A section of the street was rebuilt using original cobblestones and sidewalks shipped from Warsaw. We also included a section of tramlines in the center of

[27] *Ibid.*, 74.

> the street. There are original streetlights and a bench, as well as the barrow for removing corpses. The exhibit of life in the street is rounded out by a film screened at the end of the street, providing a sense of the great congestion. Concealed loudspeakers transmit the background noises so visitors feel they are standing there, on Leszno Street in the Warsaw ghetto. [*sic.*] Low-rising screens show the beggars lying on the sidewalk.[28]

The cobblestone floor is a visceral shift from the rest of the exhibition, as visitors can literally feel the difference in the ghetto area. Even if someone was not looking at where they were going, it would be possible to tell that it was something different and unlike what they had seen previously.

The locations of the testimonies relating to life in the ghettoes is off of this street, so visitors walk into doorways that could have been houses, and listen to recordings of the survivors' experiences. In addition to this, the area also has on display photographs and objects related to life in the ghettoes, which include not only the manners in which the Jewish communities tried to maintain a sense of normalcy in their day to day life but also the horrors they faced. Harel mentions "appalling congestion in the streets, hunger, beggars, illnesses, dirt, lack of basic hygiene, and high mortality rates."[29] These are on display in the street area in the form of photographs and archival footage. She also mentions the important cultural institutions that were created in the ghettoes at this time, as well as the importance that these organizations had in people's survival. From this area, the visitor then proceeds through a section on the liquidation of the ghettoes, which includes more testimonies, and transitions to the next gallery through a video presentation on Operation Barbarossa. This helps to situate the visitor chronologically within the Second World War, in order to remind one of its timeline which runs parallel to that of the Holocaust.

[28] *Ibid.*, 77.
[29] *Ibid.*, 77.

3.4.5 *Fifth Zone*: 1941 – From Barbarossa to the Wannsee Conference

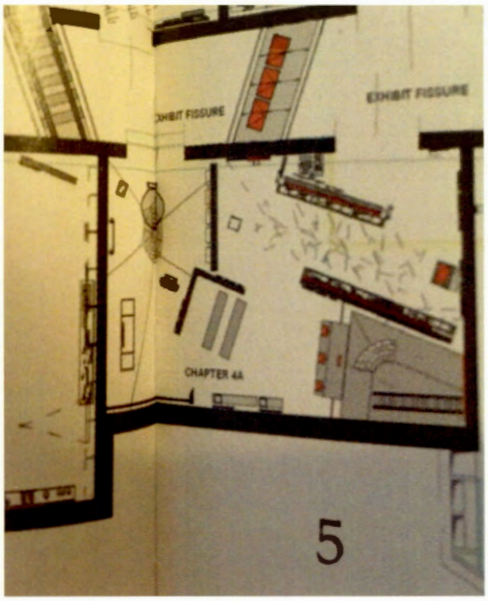

***Fig. 9**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the fifth zone and the transitional areas.*

The next gallery discusses the origins of the Final Solution. It introduces the *einsatzgruppen* using archival footage and images, as well as showing other ways that Nazi policies were put into place across Europe. It includes many testimonies, including some for specific locations and events. For instance, in this area the designers set up video screens showing the recorded testimony of the only survivor of an *einsatzgruppen* pit. These screens are in front of a large pit that has been built into the exhibition, so that the horrors of the experience are not lost on the visitor, as they listen to the testimony while standing on the edge of a pit. There are also testimonies about the experience of the Jewish people in Romania, interspersed with images of specific events. The section ends by presenting two different subjects: the attack on Pearl Harbour, and images of prominent Nazi officials including their names and positions. This is because, chronologically, the attack on Pearl Harbour occurred concurrently with the plan for the Final Solution. This is a part of the design team's desire to display both the history of the Holocaust and the history of the Second World War, and to help contextualize the visitor within the historical narrative. The images of the Nazi officials are not presented with the intention of honouring them, as is the case with survivor testimonies, but rather to shine a light on the perpetrators and to identify them for what they are. Visitors leave this gallery space, passing by a set of train tracks and ambient train noises which serve as the transition. These transitional spaces allow for increasing analogy in the exhibition design, as the visitors do not simply move from one room to another but are shepherded in through connected themes or artefacts.

3.4.6 Sixth Zone: "Final Solution" and The Resistance in the Ghettoes

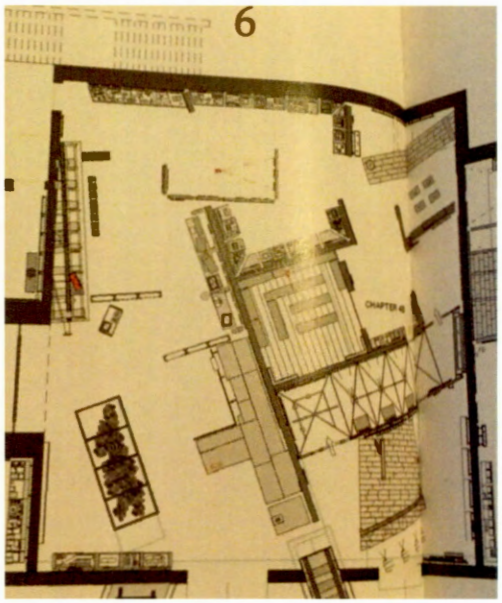

***Fig. 10**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the sixth zone.*

The sound of a train ushers visitors into the next room, whose subject is the ghetto liquidations and the arrival at Camps, going into further detail on the Final Solution. This gallery has an original photo and a contemporary photo of the entrance of Auschwitz (shown back to back on either side of a wall) as well as an authentic train car mounted to the wall. Harel writes, "To generate an effect of dynamism and movement I had the carriage cut at an angle, as displayed in the gallery. It is positioned diagonally, so visitors feel they themselves have just got off the train."[30] While a large portion of this room is dedicated to Auschwitz (as Harel notes, it was a special case and needs to be paid proper attention),[31] this part of the exhibition also discusses the liquidation of the ghettoes and the deportation to all camps (not just Auschwitz). There is a significant use of testimony in this gallery, on a variety of subjects: the liquidation of the Krakow Ghetto, the Great Deportation from Warsaw, Treblinka, and Killing Centres. There are ten testimony spots in total in this section. The designers made an effort to show examples of deportation from across Europe. Harel writes, "We see the embarking German Jews, well dressed, with fur coats, wearing hats, unaware that it would be their final journey. Eastern European Jews, contrastingly, are shown in tattered clothing, dispatched from the ghettoes with nothing at all."[32] This is a poignant message for the visitors, because it shows that the discrimination was not based on influence or affluence.

Following the discussion of how victims were brought to the camps, the exhibition presents the arrival process, in particular presenting the selection that occurred at Majdanek and Auschwitz-Birkenau. The designers questioned the best way to exhibit this procedure; Harel writes:

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[30] *Ibid.*, 79.
[31] *Ibid.*, 78.
[32] *Ibid.*, 78.

> We solved the question of how to link the selection performed on those sent for extermination with those sent to the labor camp, gaining borrowed time, by using photographs taken from different angles. In a blown-up photograph, we see the Jews selected for extermination being herded towards the crematorium, and from another angle we can glance into the barrack, crammed to the roof with wooden bunks.[33]

This selection process is one of the most infamous parts of the history of the Holocaust. While it did not occur in all camps, as most were either Killing Centres (in which victims did not reside) or Concentration Camps (in which people were imprisoned and forced to do labour until they died), it is still an iconic image in the Holocaust narrative.

This is also one of the only exhibition spaces where it is possible to see through to another room, as the wall dividing this section from the room that discusses the Concentration Camps and the Death Marches is actually a two-sided display. This was a purposeful choice on the designers' part, as it provides the visitor with the notion of what is ahead, despite the fact that there is more to see between the two rooms. Thus, not only is it possible to see photographs of the barrack but it is also possible to see a glimpse of a bunk from the barrack, a hint of what is to come. This design choice reminds the visitors of what is to come, in addition to highlighting the fact that the victims of these camps did not necessarily know what their fate was.

In addition, this room is where the designers displayed some of the objects collected from the victims upon their arrival. Perhaps the most iconic exhibit in this regard is that of the shoes. Harel writes, "There was no dispute over whether or not to display the collection of victims' shoes. But we pondered over how the shoes should be displayed – scattered among barbed-wire fences, or in a glass showcase?"[34] The designers decided on a glass case sunk into the floor, near the exit to the next room. The shoes of the victims, which would have been collected on the path to the crematoria, lead the visitors to the transitional space. In this case, it is marked by a twisted truck chassis, which was used to load corpses into the ovens.

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[33] *Ibid.*, 80.
[34] *Ibid.*, 83.

3.4.7 *Seventh Zone*: The World's Reaction, Partisans, Underground Organizations, Rescue Attempts and the Righteous Among the Nations

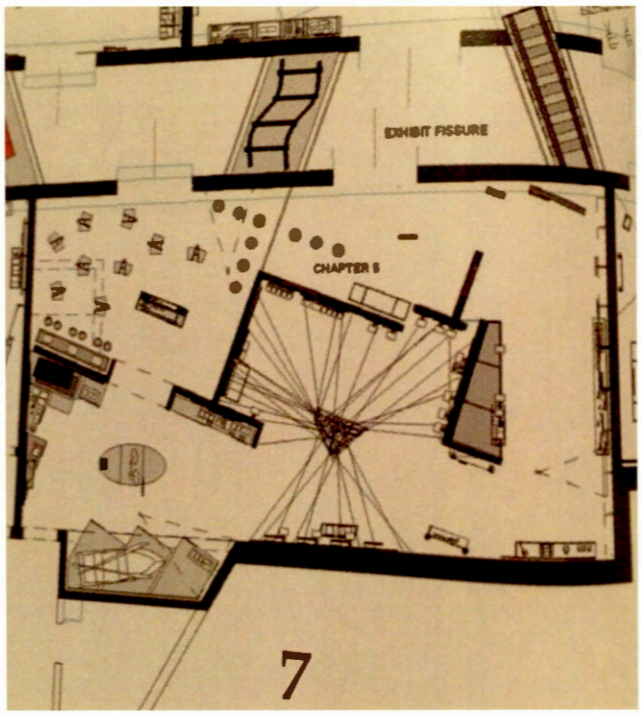
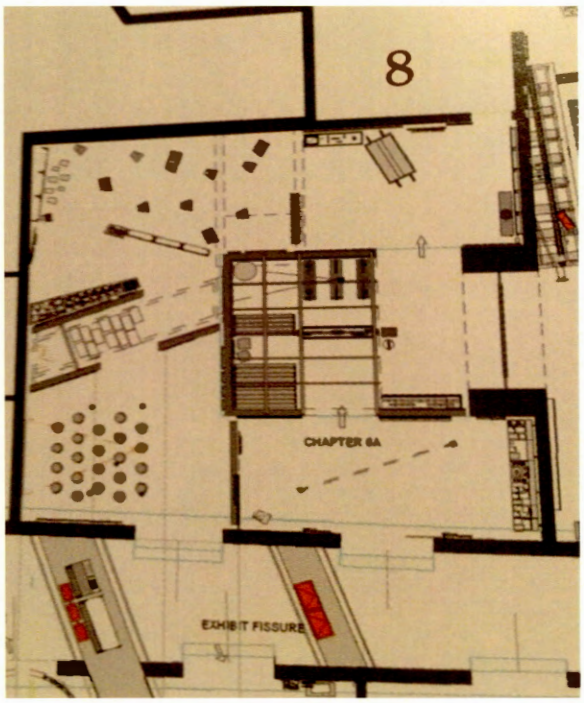


***Fig. 11**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the seventh zone and the transitional areas.*

The next gallery presents a number of related subjects: partisan fighters, resistance movements, the world's reaction and the Righteous Among the Nations. It is a room that feels almost hopeful, despite its surroundings (coming just after the section on Auschwitz and its selection process and just before the barracks and the death marches). The gallery has five places of recorded testimony, largely relating to partisan fighters and resistance movements, as well as one that discusses escaping into the forests from the camps. This is also the section that mentions the Righteous Among the Nations, who were non-Jewish people who risked their lives and all they had to save their Jewish neighbours and friends, and even in some cases people they did not know. Harel writes that this was a subject of great debate amongst the designers: "We pondered the question [if and how to allocate a place for the Righteous Among the Nations] because [they] are not intrinsically part of the Holocaust and destruction, nevertheless they are an integral part of the Holocaust story."[35] In the end, the design consists of two displays with a large photograph of eighteen individuals in the middle of the space, with drawers containing information about the rescue act as well as exhibits and documents. Of note as well is the display showing a copy of Schindler's List that is included in this area. Harel observes that in spite of the hopefulness of this topic, "the concrete walls were left exposed", once again harkening back to Moshe Safdie's visual metaphor and its implications throughout the exhibition.[36] The transition from this space includes archival footage of the Invasion of Normandy, once again

[35] *Ibid.*, 84.
[36] *Ibid.*, 84.

reminding the visitor of the dual timelines of the Holocaust and the Second World War and of where they are in the chronology of the narrative.



3.4.8 *Eighth Zone*: Jews in Concentration Camps and The Death Marches

***Fig. 12**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the eighth zone and the transitional areas.*

The visitor now enters the space dedicated to the condition in the barracks, and eventually the Death Marches. The exhibit consists of a set of bunks from the Majdanek camp, which were visible from the previous gallery relating to Auschwitz. Here, too, is a place where testimony is presented, as there are three testimony recordings shown relating to the topics. These are what I am calling "composite testimony recordings", as the videos are composed of excerpts from several survivors rather than one alone. The visitor passes through the barracks area, and around the corner, just out of site, is the section on the Death Marches. The manner in which this is presented is worth noting as well, because these Marches are shown as a series of footprints with markers. Each marker denotes a significant date (when a camp was liberated, or moved, for example) and they are staggered, so that the visitor has a sense of how the survivors also staggered and stumbled. At the end of this corridor, the visitor passes a wall and has the opportunity to hear more from survivors about this experience. As a transition to the last formal gallery of this exhibition, the designers chose to present the total number of Holocaust victims and related statistics, as a way of solidifying this point in the visitors' minds.

3.4.9 Ninth Zone: From Liberation Through Displaced Persons Camps and Rehabilitation

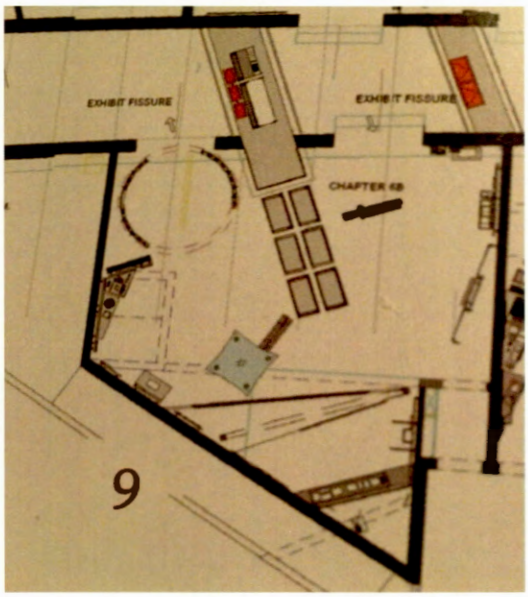


***Fig. 13**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the ninth zone and the transitional areas.*

The exhibition gallery depicts the complexity of liberation and life in the Displaced Persons Camps (DP Camps). It also discusses other aspects of life after the Holocaust, including the founding of the state of Israel, emigration policies, the DP Camps, and the Nuremberg Trials. Harel notes that not only is there a complexity of emotion regarding these subjects, but it is also complicated to decide on how this historical narrative should end. She writes:

> Some questions that were intensely debated by the design team were: should we present whole story of the liberated survivors in the Displaced Persons camps? What is the most appropriate way to represent the Nuremberg trials? And what is the place of the Eichmann trial? Another question on the agenda of contemporary historical discourse – should the exhibition of events from the Holocaust period conclude with the founding of the State of Israel? Was the founding of the Jewish state the reply to the Holocaust perpetrated against European Jews?[37]

Ultimately, the complexity is what is highlighted in this gallery, particularly in terms of these questions. The exhibition does showcase the founding of the state of Israel during this time as a positive element. The most impactful element is perhaps the playing of the Israeli national anthem (known as the *Hatikva*) within this portion of the exhibition. Additionally, it discusses the large waves of emigration to other countries and the survivors' endurance and resilience in their new countries of emigration. Harel writes, "At the center of the gallery are glass showcases with items symbolizing the unending trauma, the grim memories, and the night horrors – the exclusive world of Holocaust survivors that is their burden throughout life. On the surrounding walls the final period in the story of the Holocaust is related."[38] It reminds the visitor that this is a bittersweet

[37] *Ibid.*, 88.
[38] *Ibid.*, 88.

time. The word "liberation" has very optimistic connotations, but the reality is much more complex.

3.4.10 *Tenth Zone*: The Hall of Names

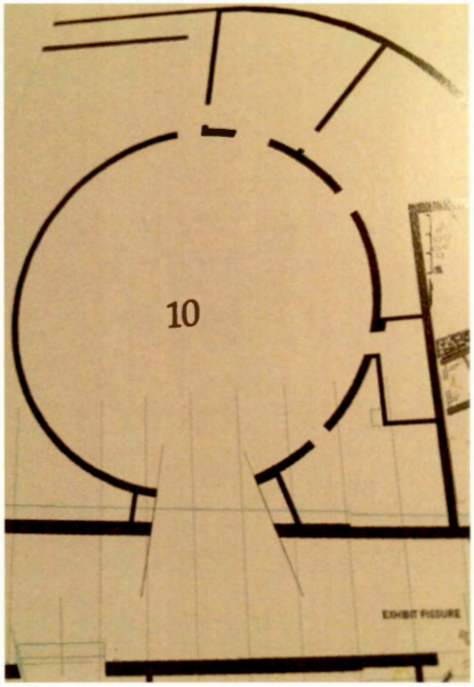


***Fig. 14**: Excerpt from the plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel's Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, shows the layout of the tenth zone.*

The final gallery of the permanent exhibition is called the Hall of Names. It is a cylindrical room in which the visitor walks along a ramp to a circular central space. This gallery is also the functional Center for Documentation of Yad Vashem, and is a "living" exhibit, in that it is a museum object that is still in use. The Center for Documentation is the storage space for the pages of testimony that the Museum collects. Harel refers to this area as a "repository of over three million Pages of Testimony that the staff of Yad Vashem has collected and studied since its foundation."[39] These Pages are kept in a filing system that surrounds the Cone of Memory, a cone which displays photographs of 600 victims and rises up to the top of the building. People are able to consult the testimonies by searching the computer database available in an adjoining room.[40] Harel adds: "Special files have been prepared for preserving Pages of Testimony for each of the six million who perished in the Holocaust."[41] In the circular space below the ramp, there is a pool of water which reflects the photographs above. Unlike in the other galleries, this space does not provide the visitor with any descriptive panels. From the visitors' perspective, it is designed to function as a memorial space, though it is different than the memorials found elsewhere on the Museum Complex. It reminds the visitor of the complexity of the history and the enormity of the loss, and also of how many lives were saved. The Hall of Names is the start of a section for quiet

[39] *Ibid.*, 93.
[40] https://www.yadvashem.org/archive/hall-of-names.html, consulted July 9, 2019.
[41] *Ibid.*, 93.

reflection that was built into the Museum's structure. Upon leaving this area, and to leave the permanent exhibition entirely, the visitor walks out onto the 'open' end of the prism, which per Safdie's design literally opens up out of the hill. This large balcony facing the cityscape of Jerusalem is intended to provide a hopeful note at the end of the visit.

3.5 Conclusion

As seen in the description above, the Yad Vashem History Museum endeavours to present the complete history of the Holocaust to a broad audience, including both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors. In its vast collection it shows not only the details of the events but also provides the visitor with a sense of how devastating this loss was. Even for visitors who know the history, and know that over six million Jews were killed, the permanent exhibition at Yad Vashem demonstrates this history in a way that facts and figures cannot, while still emphasizing the resilience of the survivors. It should be noted that the stories of non-Jewish survivors and victims are mentioned only briefly within this exhibition. Now that there is a decisive basis for the case study on this Museum, I will proceed to analyse and compare its use of recorded testimony to that of the Montreal Holocaust Museum in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Testimony Use at Yad Vashem and the Montreal Holocaust Museum

Both Yad Vashem and the Montreal Holocaust Museum are organizations that emphasize the necessity of hearing the voices of survivors. It is clear that within their respective permanent exhibitions, it is not possible to present the history of the Holocaust without also sharing the personal histories of the people who survived; showing the artifacts and sharing the facts only reveal one part of the history that is the Holocaust, and survivor testimonies provide another method of comprehending this insurmountable history. The current permanent exhibitions at both of these museums date to the early 2000s, and thus it is conceivable that they both would employ similar methods of transmitting the human aspect of this historical event. These similarities include emphasizing the importance of survivor voices within an exhibition, using clips from interviews rather than full interviews in order to hear from multiple survivors, and using testimony outside of the permanent exhibition. While some of the methods differ – choosing to group testimony by a larger thematic element rather than by specific events, or even by having the videos play automatically on a loop rather than being activated by the visitors, the methods are effective in helping to promote the mission of these institutions. Testimony also helps to provide a memorable experience which adds an element of humanity to the history. Both exhibitions present the narrative in creative ways which endeavour to leave lasting effects on their visitors.

4.1 Use of Testimony Within the Museums

Recorded testimony is included as part of the collection on display in both exhibitions. These testimonies are often edited together into thematic compilations, relating to circumstances within the Holocaust narrative such as pre-war antisemitism and experiences within the ghettoes. These not only inform the visit but provide context to the specific themes addressed. These compilations also allow of the opportunity to hear from several survivors on one subject, rather than one person alone. By doing so, the design teams of these exhibitions humanize their subject matter, allowing for the understanding that the facts presented are not just historical data but the accounts of real people. This helps not only to situate the visitor within the time period but also to provide personal context to the narrative presented; it is an element that enables the visitor to feel emotionally invested in the subject matter.

For both of these museums, emphasis is placed on the importance of hearing from survivors. In fact, a part of Yad Vashem's mission, and an entire department of the Museum, is dedicated specifically to the collection of information on living survivors and their testimonies, and the place where these records are stored forms the final room of the Holocaust History Museum ("The Hall of Names"). In the lobby of the Visitors Centre, the Museum provides a detailed form that can be filled out in order to share information on particular survivors (this form is also available online).[1] The MHM also provides the opportunity for survivors to record their testimonies for future use or consultation, and the Museum acts as the liaison between survivors and schools who are interested in hearing a survivor speak. These museums use a number of different methods to display these testimonies, which I will touch on next.

4.1.1 Use 1: Permanent Exhibitions

The first way that testimonies are used is within the permanent exhibitions. The testimonies used within these exhibitions are sourced from the museums' collections, and the ones on display are organized chronologically. These two museums use different methods for presenting their respective exhibitions, as MHM tends to use broader themes while Yad Vashem presents particular events. This means that testimony is used differently within these exhibitions as well. At the MHM, it is used to illustrate the thematic elements (life within the ghettoes, antisemitism before the war, and so on), while at Yad Vashem the testimonies are used to exemplify the particular events (the Ponar Death pit is an example of this, which I discuss below). Both of these perspectives allow visitors to understand the events of the Holocaust through survivor narrative. At the MHM, grouping related testimonies together means that it is possible to see how the lives of Jewish survivors were similar in the Lodz Ghetto and in the Warsaw Ghetto, for example, and thus provide a more comprehensive understanding of the history in question. At Yad Vashem, on the other hand, there is both more space within the galleries of the exhibition and more testimony stored in the Museum's collection. Through this collection process and the approach to recording testimony, an exhibition can provide narratives relating to more specific events. This allows for a more developed understanding of the event in question.

[1] "What Are Pages of Testimony", Yad Vashem, accessed May 29, 2019, https://www.YadVashem.org/archive/hall-of-names/pages-of-testimony.html; see appendix 7.

4.1.2 Use 2: Pedagogical Tools

Another way that testimony is used by these museums is for pedagogical resources which are available for school groups. Yad Vashem's survivor testimony film series, entitled *Witnesses and Education*, presents survivors' life stories in the locations where the events took place.[2] The website says:

> The survivors are accompanied on this journey by trained professionals from the International School for Holocaust Studies, and thus the orientation of the questions is pedagogical in nature, alongside outlines of the broader historical events that came to bear on the survivor's story. The series, select films of which are available in up to 15 languages, has proven a great success, and has been viewed by tens of thousands of educators, students, and public officials around the world.[3]

This project provides the viewers of the films, who are primarily students, with not only the opportunity to humanize the testimony (by putting a face to a name), but also to contextualize these narratives within their settings. By offering this opportunity, students are able to see that the event that they are studying is not simply numbers and facts to memorize but is something that really occurred.

The MHM uses parts of their recorded testimony collection in many of their pedagogical tools as well. This is in part to facilitate connections between the classroom and the Museum; it also serves to humanise the subject matter. At present, there are tools designed for students at the primary level, students in the secondary level, reference guides for teachers, and additional resources for the classroom. The tool that relates most specifically with the use of recorded testimony is one called *Teaching about the Holocaust Using Recorded Survivor Testimony*, designed for use with students of all ages. The tool focuses specifically on the testimony of Marcel Tenenbaum but could be adapted to work with any recorded testimony. The activities proposed within the tool are designed to help the students enhance their knowledge of the Holocaust through

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[2] "Survivors Testimony Films Series", Yad Vashem, accessed May 29, 2019, https://www.YadVashem.org/education/testimony-films.html.
[3] *Ibid.*

a survivor's experience.[4] The activities begin by providing the historical context of the Holocaust and the Second World War (in this case looking specifically at the situation in Belgium because that is where Marcel Tenenbaum is from). The class then analyzes the impact of the War and the Holocaust on individuals by reading a short biography of the survivor and contextualizing his life by looking at relevant maps. They then watch the testimony and respond to questions related to the narrative. Finally, as a class, they create timelines that encapsulate the events of the Holocaust, the Holocaust within Belgium, and a timeline of Marcel's life. This method of analysis enables the students to interact with the history they are learning and equips them with tools that encourages them to think critically about what kinds of questions to ask during subsequent visits to the Museum or the next time they hear survivor testimony.

4.1.3 Use 3: Audio guides

The MHM's use of testimony within their audio guide application, as addressed in chapter 2, is another example of including the survivor narrative within a visit to the Museum. Because the application provides three different routes for visiting the exhibition, visitors are offered more opportunities to connect with the subject matter in addition to the testimonies already on display. The audio guide that is in use for the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum is more traditional, providing information through a headset on the objects in the exhibition, and the catalogues published by the Museum do not provide further information on the testimonies.

4.1.4 Use 4: YouTube

Finally, both the MHM and Yad Vashem post some of their collection of recorded testimony on YouTube, making these videos accessible to a wider audience. By doing so, the videos are available to anyone, not just visitors to the museum in question or a user of a pedagogical tool. The videos are clips of the longer testimonies, which are kept as part of these museums' collections. For the MHM, the testimonies are posted with English or French subtitles, and are available free of charge; the clips are also made available on the Museum website where they are

[4] "Teaching About the Holocaust Using Recorded Survivor Testimony," Montreal Holocaust Museum, accessed May 29, 2019, https://museeholocauste.ca/app/uploads/2018/10/teaching_holocaust_survivor_testimony_qc.pdf, p. 10.

organized by theme or by particular event. For Yad Vashem, their YouTube page also hosts videos which address more of the thematic elements of their exhibitions and of the Holocaust more generally. Both the MHM and Yad Vashem provide information on their respective websites for ways in which these testimonies can be used outside the walls of the museum.[5] This not only helps spread awareness of both of these museums, it also provides the opportunity for people who cannot travel to hear and understand the importance of these exhibitions.

4.2 Manners of Use

The manner in which these testimonies are presented in their respective exhibitions is also worth noting. At the MHM, the videos must be activated by the visitor by pressing a button. These are often the only rest stops within the exhibition that allow for the visitors to sit down as most, though not all, of the locations for the testimonies have benches upon which visitors can sit. The testimonies are shown in English and French, and both versions have subtitles (it is the same video in both languages, but the subtitle language changes). The length of each video is clearly marked on the screen prior to pressing play, and the videos are between five and a half and ten minutes long. The survivors' names are presented during their first appearance in the video, as well as the camps or ghettoes in which they were interned, in order to provide context. This is also imperative because the survivors' testimonies run through the MHM's exhibition like the threads of a tapestry; in some cases, it is possible to hear from the same survivor in different parts of the Museum and to follow their story through the exhibition.

As can be seen above, both the Montreal Holocaust Museum and the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum recognize the importance of including survivor narratives within their exhibitions. This is done through the use of similar thematic elements, as both museums narrate the events of the Holocaust chronologically. This means that many of the major themes, such as experiences of antisemitism prior to the Holocaust and life in the ghettoes, are presented with the use of recorded survivor testimony in addition to explanatory panels and physical artifacts. The

[5] "Use Survivor Testimony to Teach about the Holocaust, Montreal Holocaust Museum, accessed May 29, 2019, https://museeholocauste.ca/en/ressources-et-formations/survivor-testimony/;
"Using Holocaust Testimony in the Classroom," Yad Vashem, accessed May 29, 2019: https://www.YadVashem.org/education/educational-videos/video-toolbox/hevt-testimony.html; "Using Testimony in Holocaust Education," Yad Vashem, accessed May 29, 2019: https://www.YadVashem.org/education/educational-materials/learning-environment/use-of-testimony.html.

importance of showing a variety of experiences as well as providing many possible ways to engage with the historical narrative is clear in both exhibitions, in addition to the conviction that this particular history is all the more powerful when it is made personal. It is evident at both Yad Vashem and the MHM that there is no better way to learn about this event than listening to the survivors.

Yad Vashem is a larger complex than the MHM, and as a result can present more of their collection. Yad Vashem's Holocaust Historical Museum includes 100 video screens as a part of the exhibition, including survivors' testimonies and original film clips which relate Holocaust history.[6] By comparison, the MHM has eight video screens within the exhibition, as well as several testimonies available as part of their application. While this investigation does not account for the number of testimonies, it is possible to look at where and how testimony is used within each museum.

At Yad Vashem, in part because it is a larger museum, the testimonies tend to be organized by event rather than by an overarching theme, as is done at the MHM. For instance, Yad Vashem has a symbolic reconstruction of the Ponar death pit[7], which includes the recorded testimony of the only survivor of this pit. The exhibition also places survivors' testimonies in areas surrounded by artifacts that relate to the subject of these specific testimonies. For example, the testimonies about everyday life in the ghettoes not only display the films but also artefacts relating to these stories and allow visitors to immerse themselves in the narrative. This is done through the use of photographs, ambient sound, artefacts like tapestries and objects that belong to survivors. At the MHM, the testimonies are arranged by larger subject, providing more perspectives on the subject at hand. A good example is the videos within the exhibition on the subject of the ghettoes. These videos are about five minutes each, and within eyesight of each other – the first is on the more general aspects of life in the ghettoes and the second is on hope and survival within these contexts. The survivors within these videos are not all from the same ghettoes; they are members of the survivor community in Montreal but not necessarily all from the Kovno ghetto or the Warsaw ghetto but from a wide variety of the ghettoes in eastern Europe. By presenting the testimonies in this way, the exhibition shows how similar the experiences were across all of the ghettoes rather

[6] Bella Gutterman and Avner Shalev, *To Bear Witness: Holocaust Remembrance at Yad Vashem*, 22.
[7] The Ponar Death Pit, also known as the Ponary massacre, was the mass murder of up to 100, 000 people by the *Einsatzgruppen*. It took place between July 1941 and August 1944 in Lithuania.

than comparing them one by one. By having these separate compilations on related topics, the exhibition also provides a more comprehensive understanding of the conditions in the ghettoes. This helps to lay the groundwork for understanding the present situation of the Jewish community in Montreal and around the world by providing a final set of testimonies that present a glimpse into the life of these survivors in Montreal, such as *Montreal Survivors* located at the end of the exhibition. The resilience and belief in the power of community is demonstrated through these videos and is a powerful takeaway from the exhibition in its present state.

At Yad Vashem, the testimonies play continuously on a loop, alternately in Hebrew and English. While the length of the testimonies is not posted, it is possible to figure out how long these videos are due to a timer that shows when the English or Hebrew version will be playing next. Near the screens are texts relating to the subjects of each compilation, though no information on the survivors is printed on the information panels. The survivors' names are presented in English and Hebrew at the beginning of each video, but these names come and go very quickly, making it difficult to remember the details of each person. Because these videos are organized by event or location (all of the clips shown in the section of the Lodz ghetto are from survivors who lived in that ghetto, for example) the compilations only provide the names of the survivors rather than the full contextual information.

There are also differences in how the various subjects are presented at each museum. The MHM, which was founded by survivors in Montreal, places a great significance on the importance of community. In each part of the exhibition, the historical events are presented with the focus primarily on how communities reacted or continued to survive in the face of hardship. At Yad Vashem, while there might be a similar inclination to address the community aspect, the exhibition focusses on the enormity of the massacre, almost to the point of overwhelming the visitor with so much information and so many victims that it can be difficult to process what is being presented. In both museums, this means a visit can be emotionally charged because of the subject matter and the lack of physical space in which to process the information. The communities are still present and mentioned as part of the exhibition, but in a different way than at the MHM. At Yad Vashem the communities feel more distinct from one another and do not have the same close connection as at the MHM, perhaps due to locality. In Montreal, the sense is that the exhibition is the story of

this particular local community and at Yad Vashem the history of these communities is presented as something impersonal, which does not have the same impact.

There is also a similarity in the manner in which these video compilations are edited. All of the testimonies used at the MHM and at Yad Vashem are recorded in the style used by the USC Shoah Foundation. This organization is affiliated with a visual history archive based out of the University of Southern California, and it houses nearly 55, 000 testimonies, including many from the MHM's collection.[8] The Foundation is also well-known for its processes of filming, editing, and cataloguing testimony, which is innovative and thorough. By using the Shoah Foundation's method, emphasis is placed on making the survivor as comfortable as possible, as the recordings often take between two and three hours and the process of remembering and sharing a difficult part of their personal history can be an exhausting ordeal as well as a trigger of traumatic memories. Knowing this, the Foundation has made every effort to create an environment in which survivors can recount their experiences in their mother tongue and take the time necessary to share as much as they wish. Nora Golic outlines two different approaches to testimony in her *travail dirigé*, entitled *Les témoignages audiovisuels de sujets traumatisants: deux modèles, deux expertises*. One of these is informed by the USC Shoah methodology. In particular, she writes that the objective of an interview using this technique is not to explain why an event like the Holocaust occurred, but to demonstrate the traumatising elements that an experience such as this leaves on a person's life.[9] This is also relevant when considering how these testimonies are used within the exhibitions at the MHM and Yad Vashem, as the intention is to augment the visitors' comprehension of the subject.

During an interview that uses the USC Shoah Foundation's methods, the survivor is encouraged to speak about the events of their lives before, during, and after the War. This includes personal anecdotes, and speaking about their family, education, community, religious practices, experiences of antisemitism, and so on.[10] This means that a recorded testimony in its entirety is comprehensive, so that there is a full history of each survivor's situation. With this method of recording a testimony, the different parts of a survivor's narrative are organized into three categories: life before the war, life during the war, and life after the war. For example, this means that a survivor might talk about their schoolyard experiences of antisemitism in the first part of the

[8] "USC Shoah Foundation", USC Shoah Foundation Website, accessed May 29, 2019, https://sfi.usc.edu/.
[9] Nora Golic, *Les témoignages audiovisuels de sujets traumatisants: deux modèles, deux expertises*, 25.
[10] *Ibid.*, 25.

interview (life before the war), their experiences of living in a ghetto in the second part (life during the war) and emigration to Canada in the final part (life after the war).[11] At the end of the interview, survivors often will show photographs relating to their current lives, or elaborate on objects they kept from these years and may have donated to a museum (as is the case of the MHM). These interviews are often filmed in the survivors' homes, again to provide a sense of comfort and familiarity. Golic writes that it is the survivor who determines the date and location of these testimonies, with the Foundation's methodology concentrating on the necessity for some amount of control on the survivors' part.[12]

In addition, the recorded testimonies are not edited within the collection. That is to say, the videos that are within the collection are complete (including any pauses or repetition made by the survivor during the testimony process), though within exhibitions and pedagogical resources clips from these testimonies are used and thus are edited.[13] At both the MHM and Yad Vashem, the production process includes compiling a series of clips to create a video that demonstrates a wide variety of experiences (hearing from men and women, people who were younger and people who were older, etc.) as well as adding subtitles in various situations (French and English at MHM, Hebrew and English at Yad Vashem). Golic writes that the complete testimonies are housed on a digital system based in Los Angeles, California, but that the central archives are at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., the Museum of Jewish History in New York City, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, and at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.[14] The MHM's entire collection of testimony is also housed on this digital archive, as are several of the oral history projects made by the Concordia University Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling and projects lead by McGill University as well.

The approaches to the use of testimony within these exhibitions are at once similar and different. One of the main similarities, however, is the effectiveness of these testimonies within their exhibitions. The primary question is whether or not these parts of the museums' collection enhance the visitor experience. In general, I would say that the testimonies fulfill this need. As mentioned above, providing survivor testimony as part of a historical exhibition adds another layer

[11] *Ibid.*, 25-26.
[12] *Ibid.*, 26-27.
[13] *Ibid.*, 27-28.
[14] *Ibid.*, 27-28.

to the experience, and personalizes it, so that a visit to the Holocaust Museum is not just about facts but about the people who lived through these experiences.

Many of the testimonies in these exhibitions are also connected to artifacts in the museum (the survivors donated them, or their families did) and that means that hearing a testimony is a direct link to the objects on display, and that, in turn, makes the parallels between the historical facts presented and the human element of the exhibition even more apparent. This also makes the exhibition more interactive and user-friendly, and less like a classroom. Rather than just presenting facts and figures, the exhibition allows visitors to hear someone's personal history from the individual. In addition, this method shows visitors how they can share what they have learned; there are particular stories the visitors can tell and they can talk about specific people, rather than feeling like they need to remember exact numbers and fine details.

While these museums display their testimony collections in different ways, one of the issues that arises is that this collection is presented in a manner that allows for these components to be bypassed in either exhibition. In the MHM, the visitor is responsible for activating the videos. Should they choose not to, the visitor could go through the entire exhibition without seeing any of the testimonies. At Yad Vashem, this is avoided by having the videos auto-playing on a loop. However, because the exhibition is so full of artifacts and videos, the visitor can become overwhelmed by amount of information. In addition to this, unlike at the MHM, the testimonies are not a place of pause within the exhibition. For the most part, visitors experience these testimonies and then continue on to the next display, and there is little time or space for reflection. This is partly because there are so many choices for listening to testimony at Yad Vashem, and because the displays are largely in the midst of the exhibition (rather than set off to the side or within the exhibition but with somewhere to sit down) that it can feel overwhelming. At the MHM, many of the testimony spaces provide space to sit and reflect or even just to stop in the exhibition. Finally, Yad Vashem is designed so that there are two routes for visiting: "The long visit route which requires three or four hours, passes through all the galleries: visitors taking this route observe and engage with all the exhibitions, explanations, film-footage and artifacts. Those who prefer the shorter route can walk through the galleries without halting to observe more thoroughly."[15] It was not clear to me during my visits what this shorter route was, nor is this route

[15] Dorit Harel, *Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum*, 26.

made apparent in any of the texts I have found, unless it is simply following the circuit laid out for the exhibition but not pausing in any of the rooms. It is also unclear to me, if this is the "shorter route" as described by Harel above, how a visitor is supposed to visit the exhibition without feeling disrespectful to the subject, should it not be possible for them to linger and pay attention to every detail. This is particularly true when it comes to the testimonies as this shorter route relies on their exclusion, which means that an integral part of the transmission of this history is avoided.

4.3 Conclusion

Within these two museums, it is clear that survivor testimony is an essential component of the permanent exhibition. Through the voices of these survivors, history is brought to life for the visitors and it is possible to establish a clear connection with the artifacts on display, the facts presented, and with other resources visitors may have consulted prior to their museum visit. With these museums' use of testimony outside of their exhibitions, such as through social media and pedagogical resources designed for the classroom, Yad Vashem and the MHM are underlining the importance of survivor testimony in learning about the events of the Holocaust. The efforts that are being made to continue this process, by means of recording testimony while survivors are still able to do so, provides the opportunity for the current means of transmission to evolve and adapt to different teaching styles and manners of presentation.

Conclusion

My project demonstrates the usefulness and applications of testimony through the permanent exhibitions at the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum and at the Montreal Holocaust Museum. By concentrating on these specific case studies, I show a spectrum of use as both examples allow for an understanding of use within a larger museum and a smaller museum, as well as providing a comparative demonstration of exhibitions from the same era.

In the first chapter, I presented a description of what testimony is and discussed how it is used within society more generally and within museums more specifically. As part of this discussion I illustrated the ways in which Holocaust Museums work as the quintessential example of using testimony within museum exhibitions. In addition, I discussed how using testimony in this way is an effective means of transmitting the history and the mission of a museum by adding a human element to the exhibition. This was a necessary first step for this project as it provides a foundation for the rest of my discussion.

By establishing this basis in the theory of how testimony is used within the context of a Holocaust Museum, I was then able to introduce my two case studies, the Montreal Holocaust Museum and Yad Vashem. I presented the history, mission, and organization of each museum, as well as a detailed description of the architecture and the contents of the permanent exhibitions and pedagogical tools. In the case of the Montreal Holocaust Museum, I also present the audio guide application which provides further information on the permanent exhibition by means of including objects within the collection but not on display, as well as recorded testimony collected by the Museum. The application has three potential routes, which I discussed in detail. As this application functions as a catalogue for the Montreal Holocaust Museum as well as an audio guide, I consulted it in a similar way as I did the printed catalogues provided by Yad Vashem.

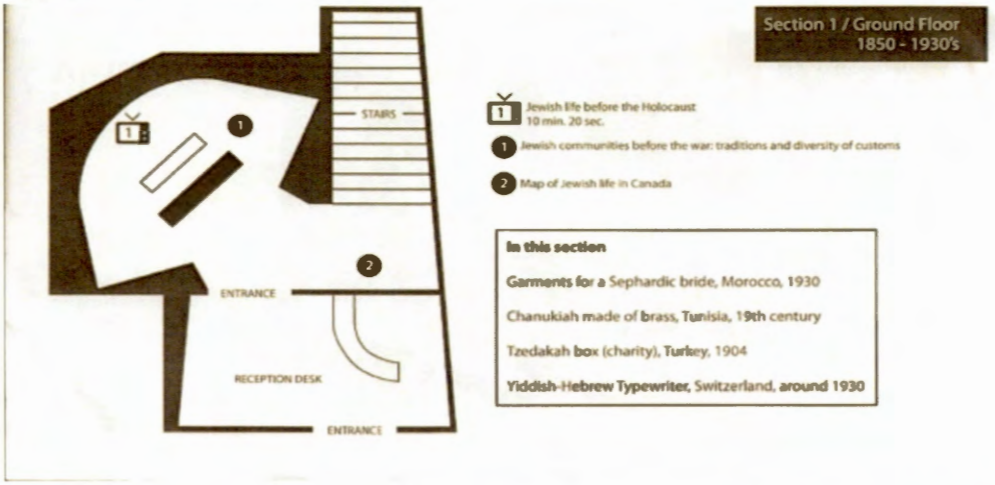
In my final chapter, I compare the two case studies and provide detailed analysis of how testimony is used within both of these exhibitions and within the respective museums more generally. I also analysed the manners of use within these two museums, as the exhibitions are of different sizes and this means they use and present testimony quite differently. While both museums agree on the importance of hearing the Holocaust narrative through the voices of survivors, the manner of transmitting these testimonies differs in each exhibition. I discussed how

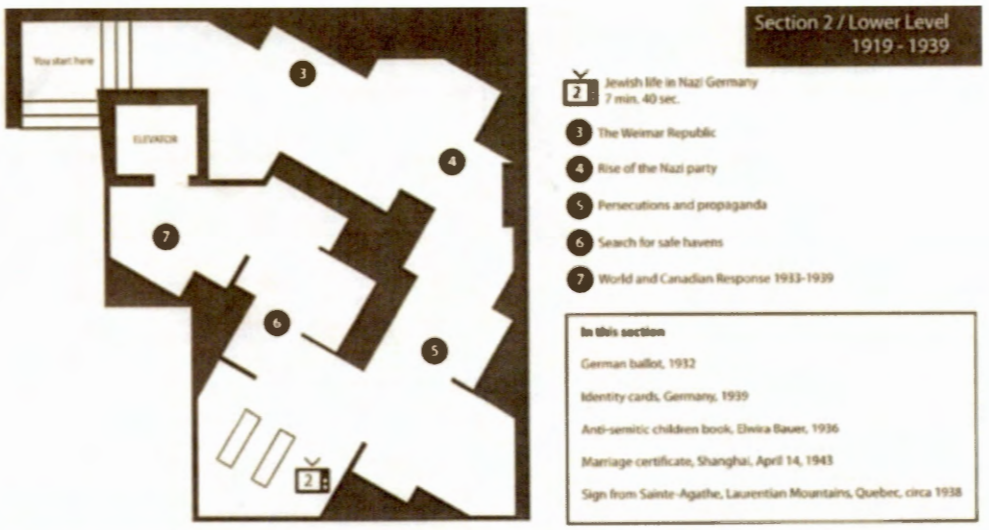
the differences appear in presentation (with videos playing on a continuous loop or needing activation from the visitor) and the differences in presentation of theme (while both are chronological, larger exhibition space makes it possible to display more detail on specific historical events, while in other cases the exhibition focuses more on the local community and presents the narrative through that lens). Amidst these differences, however, there are also similarities between the two that allow for some understanding of how integral recorded testimony is to the transmission of this history. These differences are important as they show the variety of ways in which testimony can be and is used by Holocaust museums in two different contexts. This means there is not only one way to present this type of historical narrative and that the methods can be adapted to fit different audiences. At their most basic, these methods serve to create connections between the historical narrative and the artefacts on display. But the use of recorded testimony also provides an opportunity to connect with the subjects in a more personal way, particularly when it is included as part of the pedagogical tools or outreach programs supplied by a museum. By taking the history beyond the facts and figures that could be taught in a classroom, using recorded testimony reminds viewers and students that history was made by living people, and they each have a story.

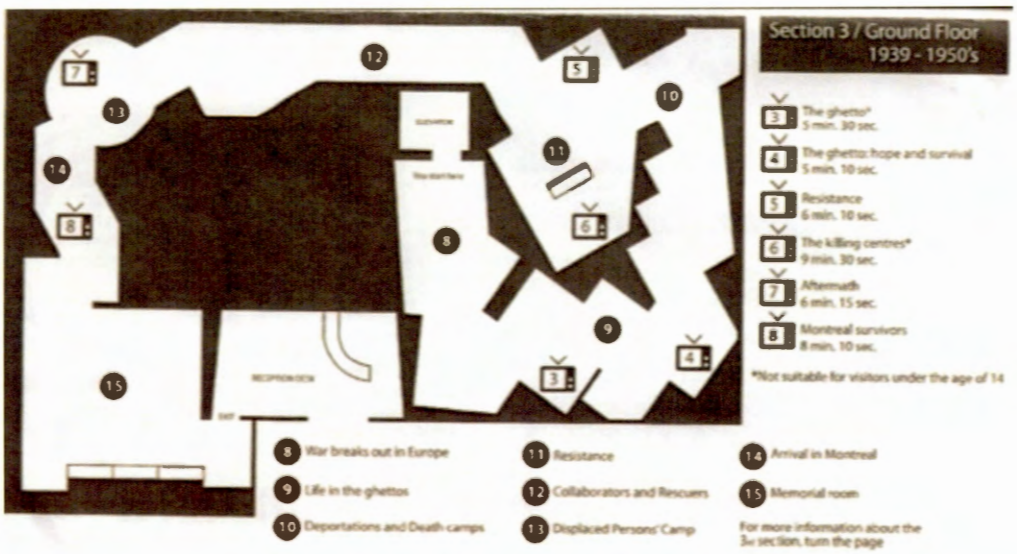
The goal of this project was not to establish whether one case study used testimony in a more effective way than the other. Rather, the objective was to display the variety of ways in which testimony is used within Holocaust museums. By using these museums as examples, it is my hope that further work will be done regarding testimony within permanent exhibitions in all manner of memorial museum, not just ones relating to the Holocaust. By working to preserve the personal narratives and histories of survivors of various traumas, as well using personal narratives in effective and creative ways, the educational value of these accounts can grow. This will also be the case as survivors are no longer able to tell their histories personally, and museums will have to find alternative methods for presenting their subjects.

APPENDICES

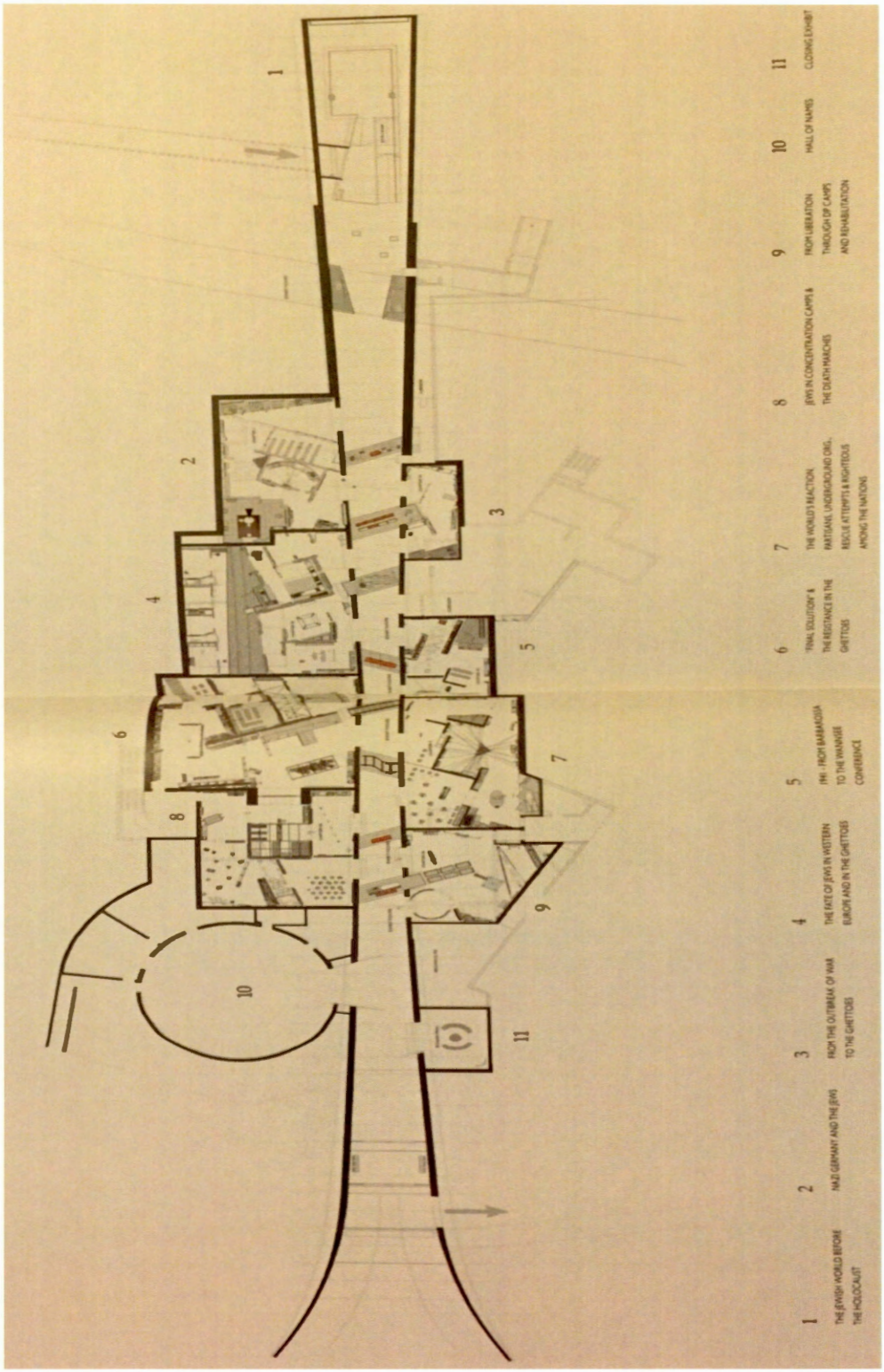
Appendix 1: Montreal Holocaust Museum Floor Plan





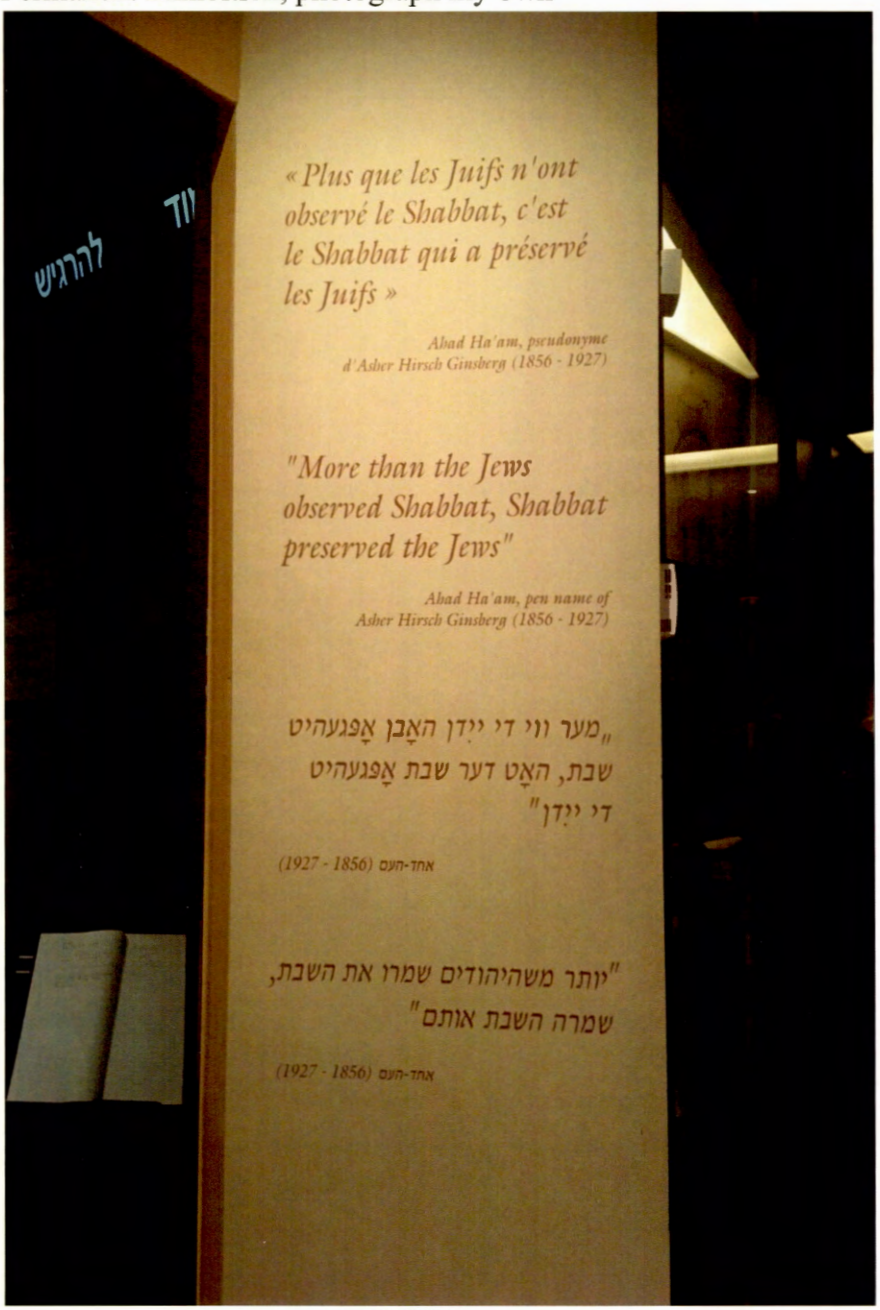


Appendix 2: Yad Vashem Floor Plan

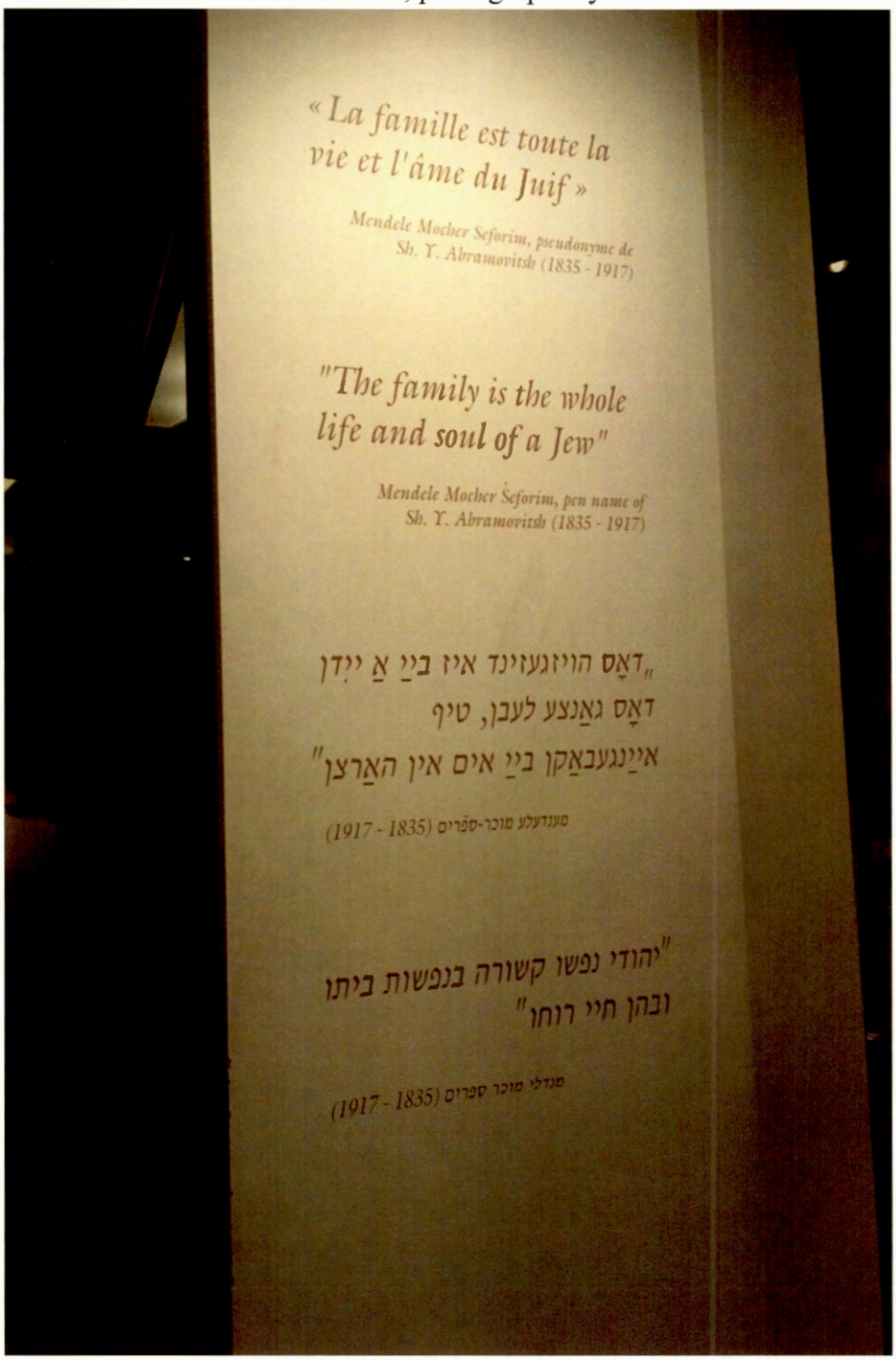


The plan of the Holocaust History Museum found on pp. 22-23 of Dorit Harel- s *Facts and Feelings: Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum*

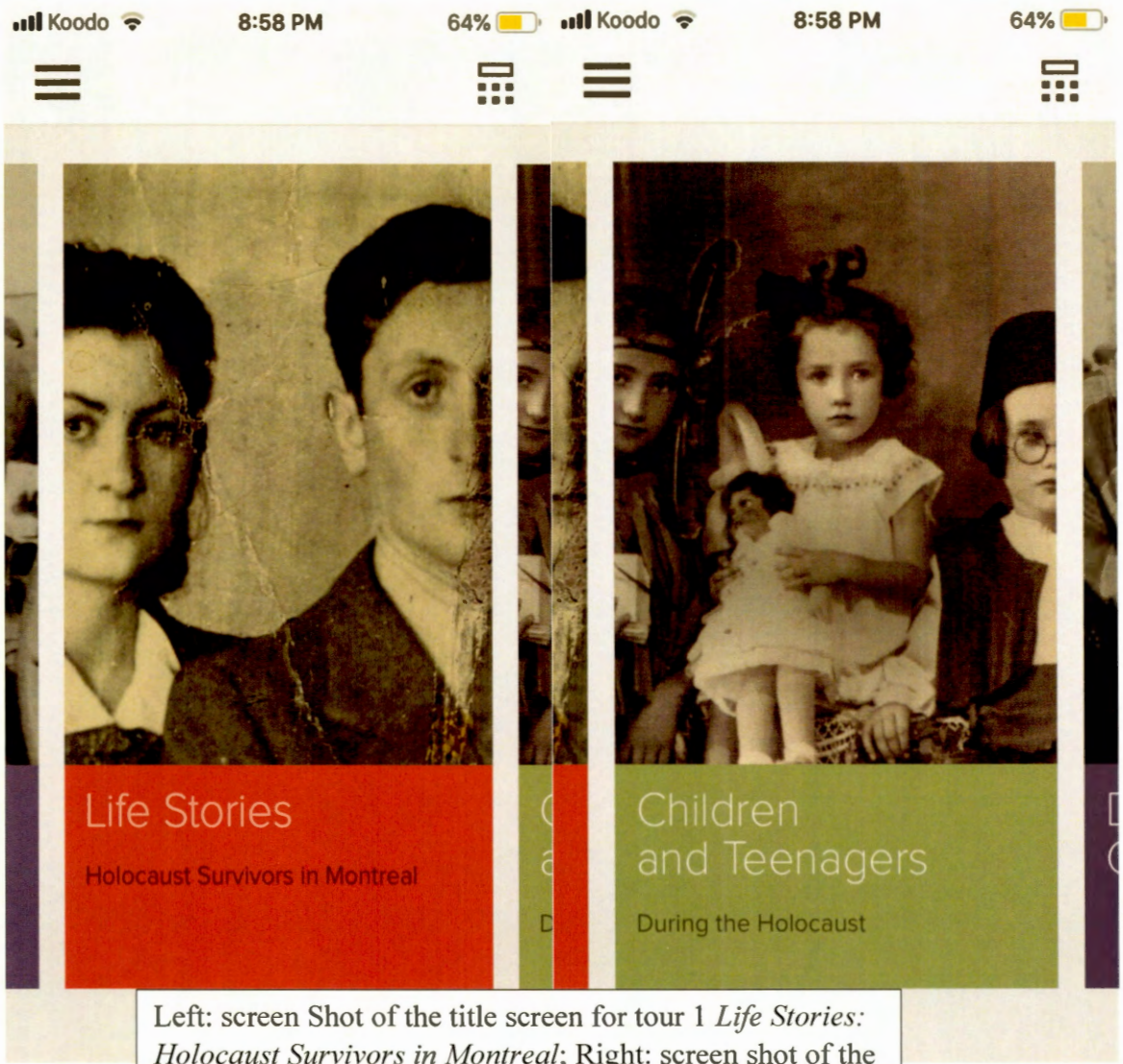
Appendix 3: Ahad Ha'am quote, presented as part of the Montreal Holocaust Museum's Permanent Exhibition, photograph my own



Appendix 4: Mendele Mocher Seforim quote, presented as part of the Montreal Holocaust Museum's Permanent Exhibition, photograph my own



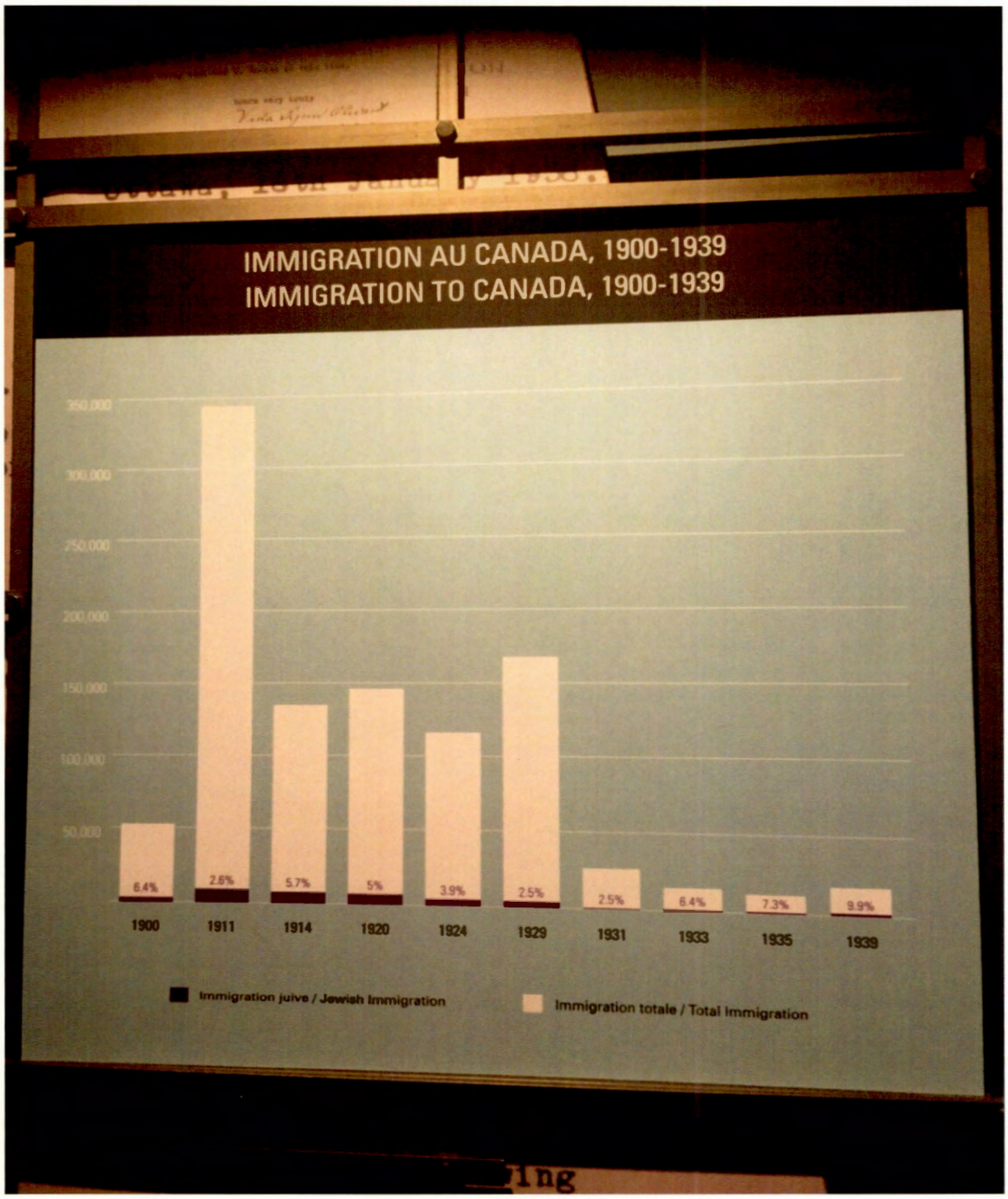
Appendix 5: screen shots from the MHM's application



Left: screen Shot of the title screen for tour 1 *Life Stories: Holocaust Survivors in Montreal*; Right: screen shot of the title screen for tour 2 *Children and Teenagers during the Holocaust*

Top left: screen shot of title screen for tour 3, *Deconstructing Genocide*; Top right: screen shot of the stop number selection process; Bottom left: screen shot of stop list for *Life Stories*; Bottom right: screen shot of stop list for *Children and Teenagers*

Appendix 6: Graph showing numbers for Canadian Immigration between 1900-1939 presented as part of the Montreal Holocaust Museum's Permanent Exhibition, photograph my own



Appendix 7: Yad Vashem Page of Testimony

היכל השמות
ת"ד 3477, ירושלים 9103401
Hall of Names
P.O.B. 3477 Jerusalem 9103401

Page of Testimony דף עד

יד ושם
YAD VASHEM

דף עד לריטום והנצחה של קרבנות השואה; נא למלא דף עבור כל קרבן בנפרד, בכתב ביזור ובאותיות דפוס. **יש לצרף טופס נפרד עבור כל אחד מהנספים.**
Pages of Testimony commemorate the Jews who were murdered during the Holocaust - Shoah .Please submit a separate form for each victim, in block capitals. **Fields outlined in bold are mandatory.**

חוק זיכרון השואה והגבורה - תשי"ג 1953 קובע בסעיף מס' 2 כי "המשקידו של יד ושם הוא לאסוף אל המולדת את זכרם של כל אלה מבני העם היהודי שנפלו ומסרו את נפשם, נלחמו ומרדו באויב הנאצי ובשותפיו ולהוציב שם וזכר להם, לקהילות, לארגונים, ולמוסדות שנחרבו בגלל השתייכותם לעם היהודי".

The Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Law 5713-1953 determines in section 2 that: "The task of Yad Vashem is to gather into the homeland material regarding all those members of the Jewish people who laid down their lives, who fought and rebelled against the Nazi enemy and his collaborators, and to perpetuate their names and those of the communities, organizations and institutions which were destroyed because they were Jewish."

תמונת הנספה
נא לרשום את שמו של הנספה בצד האחורי של התמונה
נא לא להדביק

Victim's photo
Please write victim's name on back
Do not glue

Maiden name: שם משפחה לפני הנישואין (שם נעורים):	**Victim's family name: שם משפחה של הנספה:**			
Previous/other family name: שם משפחה קודם/אחר:	**Victim's first name (or nickname): שם פרטי (גם שם חיבה/כינוי):**			
Approx. age at death: גיל משוער בזמן המוות:	Date of birth: תאריך לידה:	**Gender: Male/Female מין: זכר / נקבה**	Academic title: תואר אקדמי:	
Citizenship: נתינות:	Place of birth (town ,region ,country): מקום לידה (עיר, מחוז, מדינה):			
Family name of victim's father: שם משפחה של אב הקרבן:	First name of victim's father: שם פרטי של אב הקרבן:			
Maiden name of victim's mother: שם משפחה של אם הקרבן:	First name of victim's mother: שם פרטי של אם הקרבן:			
Maiden name of victim's spouse: שם נעורים של בת הזוג:	First name of victim's spouse: שם פרטי של בת/בן הזוג של הקרבן:	Victim's family status and no. of children: מצב משפחתי של הקרבן ומס' הילדים:		
Street: כתובת:	**Permanent residence (town, region, country) מקום מגורים קבוע (עיר, מחוז, מדינה):**			
Member of organization or movement: חבר בארגון/תנועה:	Place of work: מקום עבודה:	Victim's profession: מקצועו של הקרבן:		

פעולות ומקומות בזמן המלחמה - מעצר \ גירוש \ גטו \ מחנה \ צעדת מוות \ מסתור \ בריחה \ התנגדות \ לחימה (הקף בעגול):
Places and activities during the war - arrest / deportation / ghetto / camp / death march / hiding / escape / resistance / combat (mark relevant):

Street: כתובת:	Residence during the war (town, region, country): מגורים בזמן המלחמה (עיר, מחוז, מדינה):	

נסיבות המוות: מעצר \ גירוש \ גטו \ מחנה \ רצח המוני \ צעדת מוות \ מסתור \ בריחה \ התנגדות \ לחימה או לא ידוע – שואה (הקף בעגול):
Circumstances of death: arrest / deportation / ghetto / camp / death march / hiding / escape / resistance / combat or unknown – Shoah (mark):

Date of death: תאריך המוות:	Place of death (town, region, country): מקום המוות (עיר, מחוז, מדינה):

אני, הח"מ, מצהיר בזה כי הנתונים שמסרתי על פרטה נכונה ואמיתית לפי מיטב ידיעתי והכרתי. ידוע לי כי דף עד זה וכל המידע שבו יהיו גלויים לציבור.
I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this testimony is correct to the best of my knowledge.
I understand that this Page of Testimony and all the information on it will be publicly accessible.

Previous/maiden name: שם משפחה קודם:	Family name: שם משפחה:	Submitter's first name: שם פרטי של ממלא דף העד:	
State/Zip code: אזור/מיקוד:	City: עיר:	Street, house no., Apt.: רחוב, מס' בית, דירה:	
My relationship to the victim (family/other): הקרבה שלי לקרבן (משפחתית או אחרת):		הנני ניצול השואה: כן \ לא I am a Shoah survivor :Yes / No	Country: מדינה:

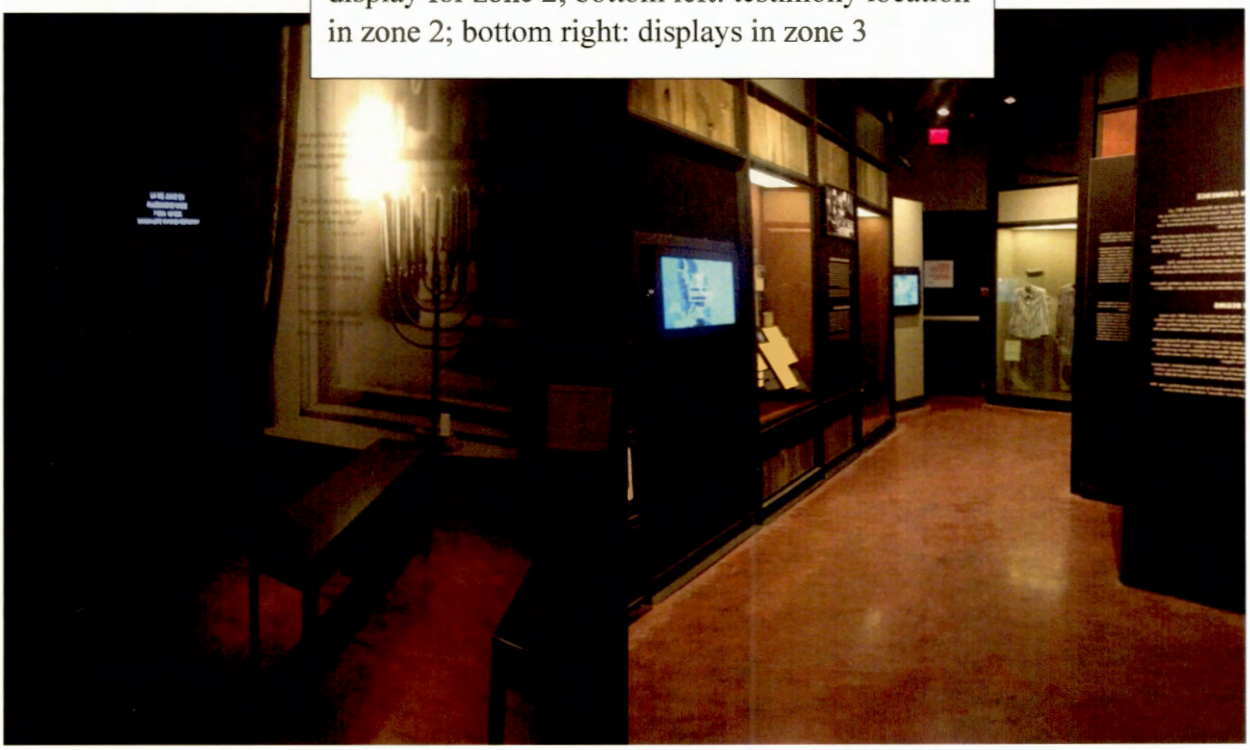
בזמן המלחמה הייתי במחנה \ בגטו \ במסתור \ בזהות בדויה \ ביערות \ במחתרת (הקף בעיגול):
During the war I was in a camp / ghetto / forest / in hiding / had false papers / the resistance (mark relevant):

Date : _____ :תאריך Place : _____ :מקום **Signature** : _____ :חתימה

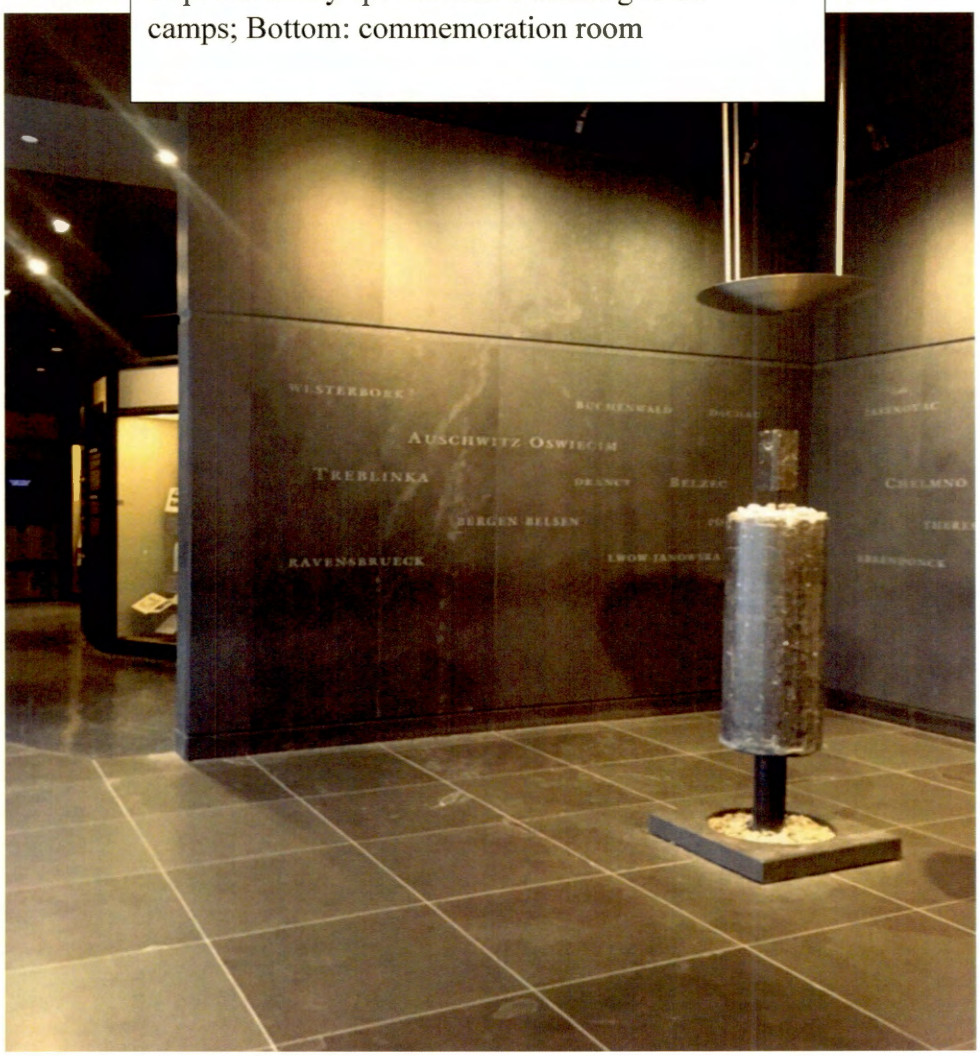
"... ונתתי להם בביתי ובחומותי יד ושם ... אשר לא יכרת" ישעיהו נו, ה
"... And I shall give them in My house and within My walls a memorial and a name ... that shall not be cut off" Isaiah, 56:5

Appendix 8: Photographs (by author) of the Montreal Holocaust Museum

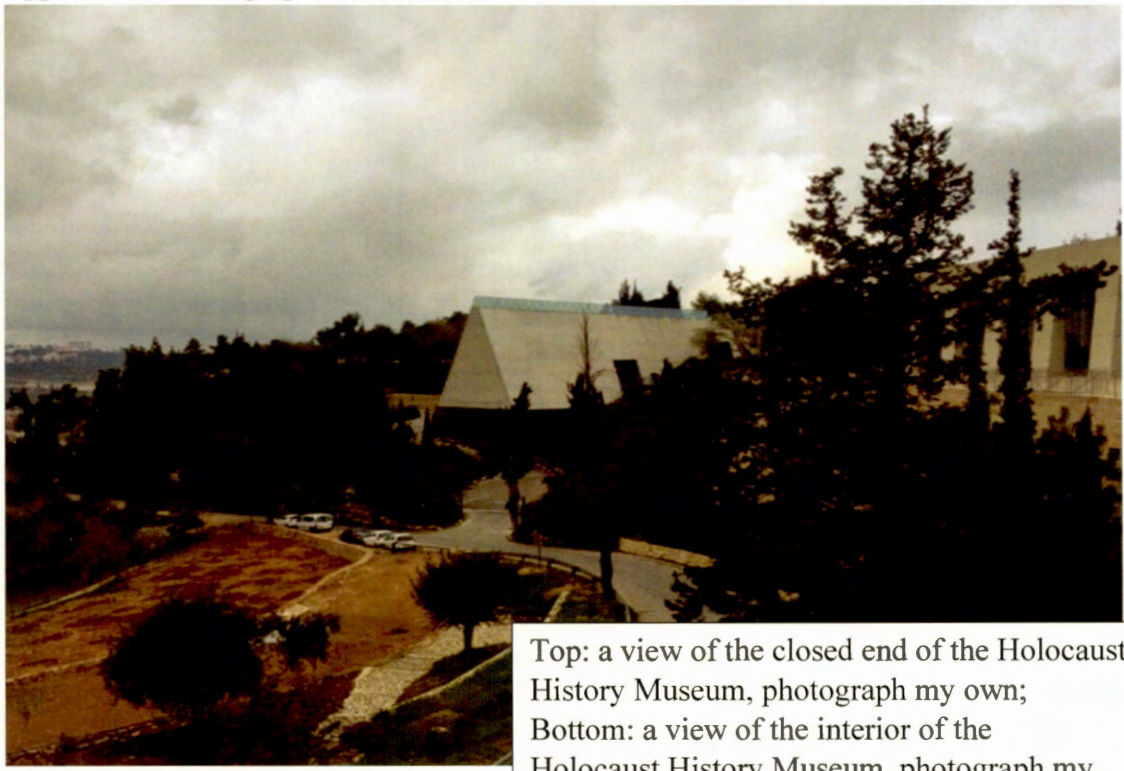
Top left: entry display for zone 1; top right: entry display for zone 2; bottom left: testimony location in zone 2; bottom right: displays in zone 3

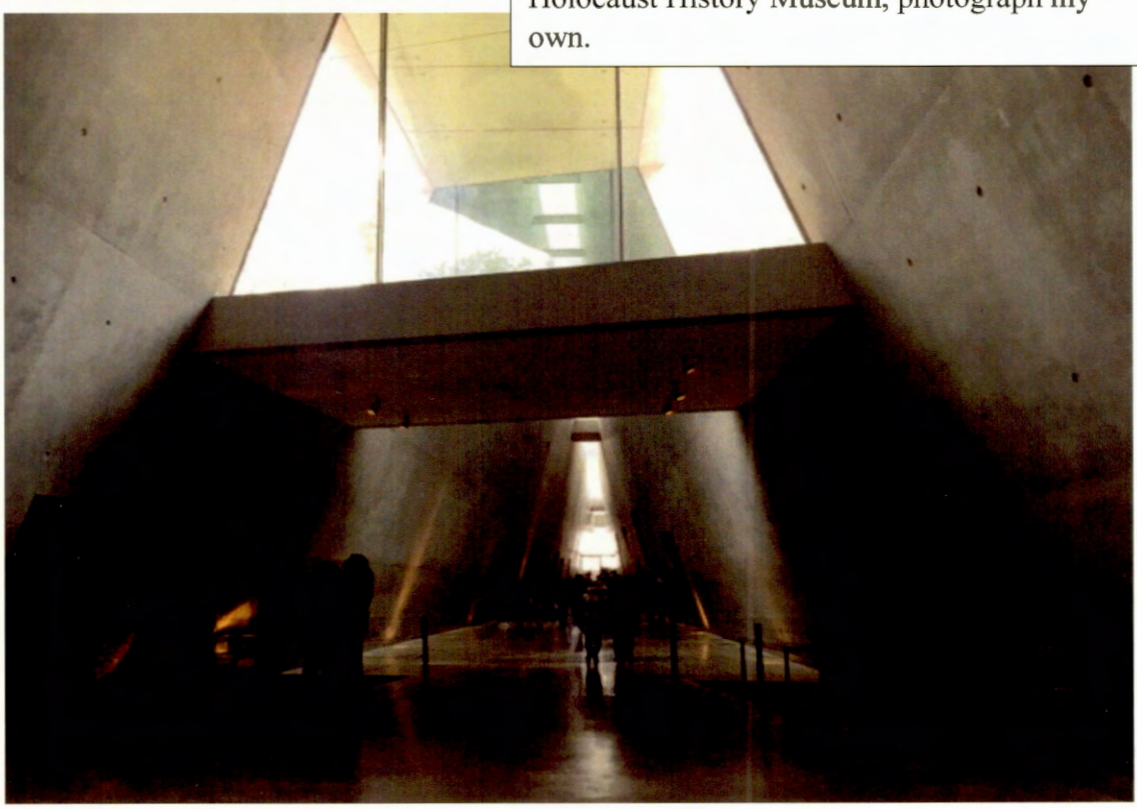


Top: testimony spot in zone 3 relating to DP camps; Bottom: commemoration room

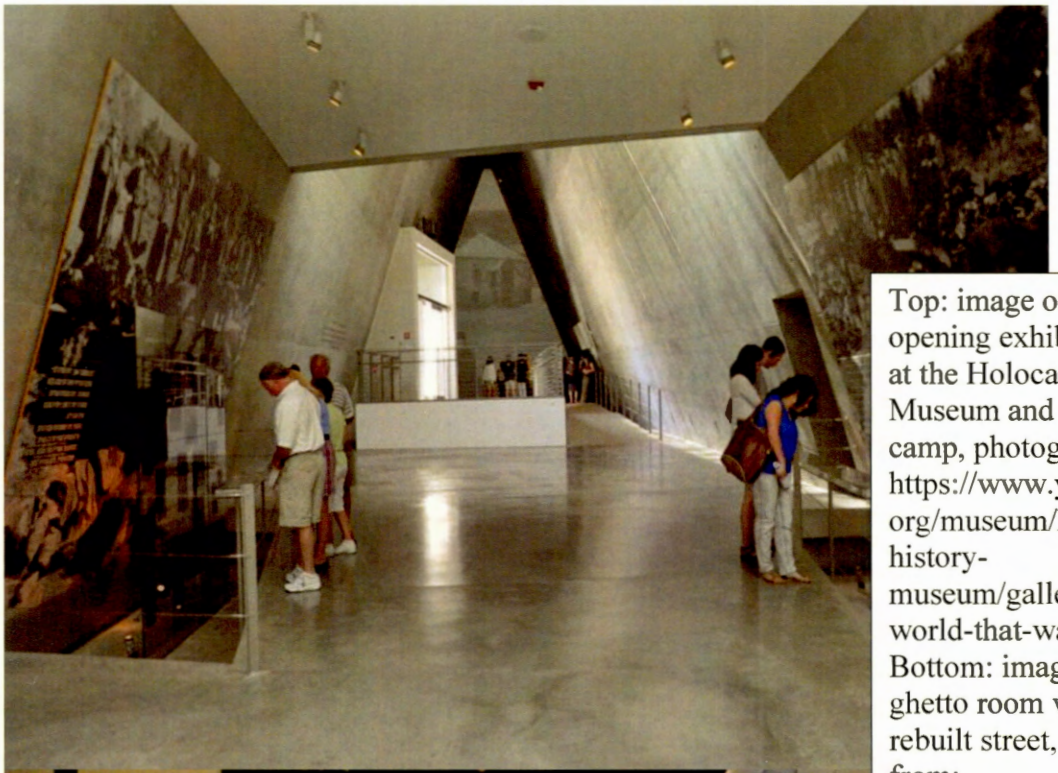


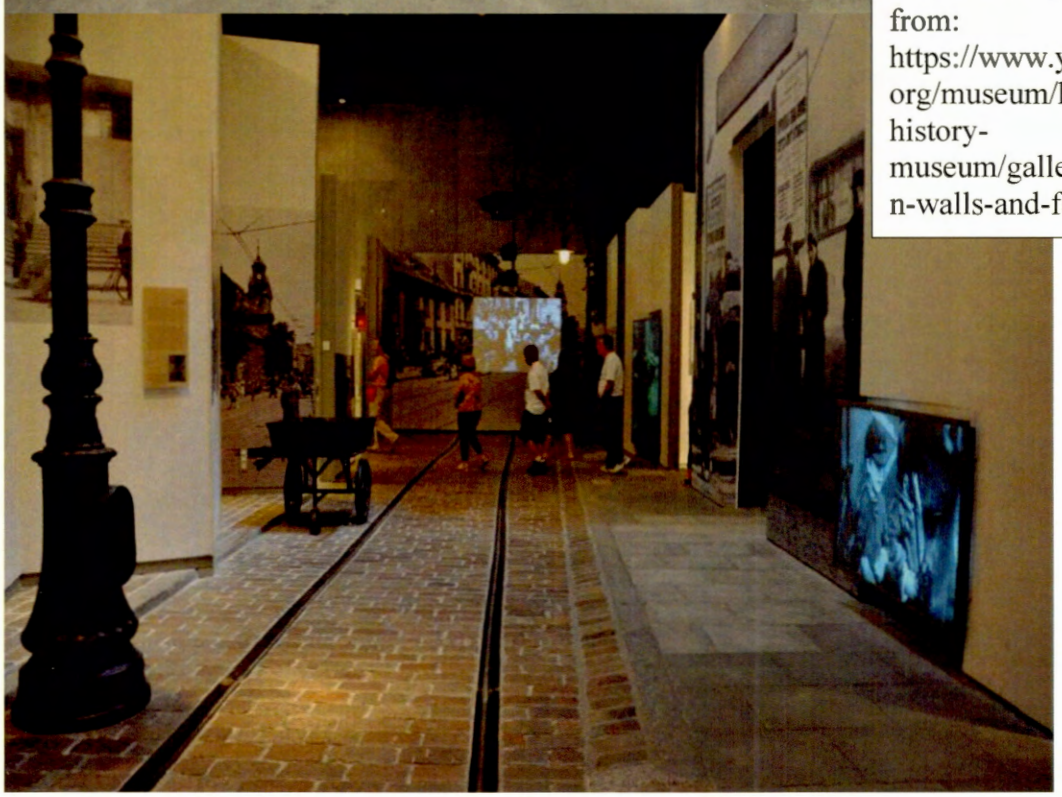
Appendix 9: Photographs of Yad Vashem



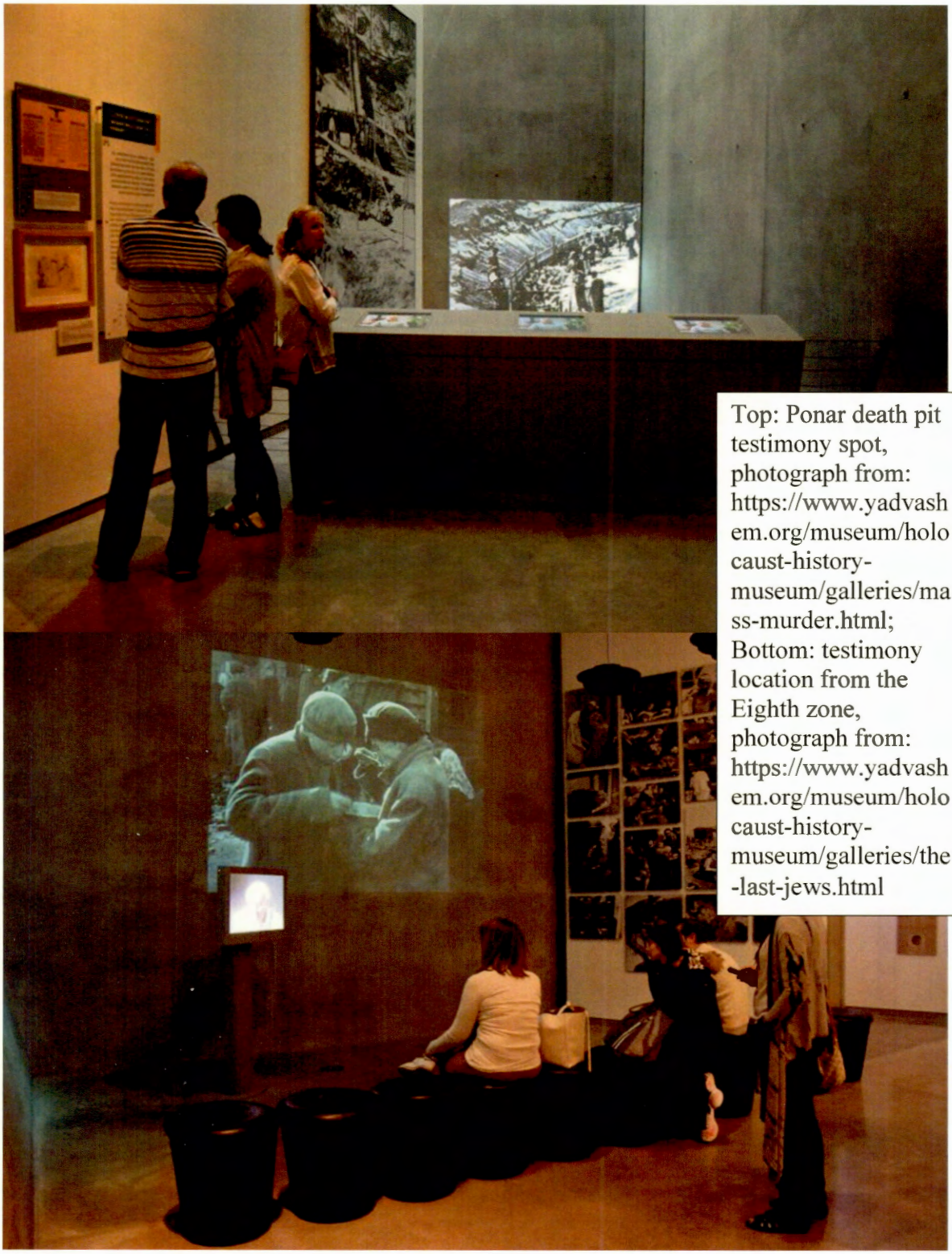


Top: a view of the closed end of the Holocaust History Museum, photograph my own;
Bottom: a view of the interior of the Holocaust History Museum, photograph my own.





Top: image of the opening exhibition space at the Holocaust History Museum and the Klooga camp, photograph from: https://www.yadvashem.org/museum/holocaust-history-museum/galleries/the-world-that-was.html; Bottom: image of the ghetto room with the rebuilt street, photograph from: https://www.yadvashem.org/museum/holocaust-history-museum/galleries/between-walls-and-fences.html



Top: Ponar death pit testimony spot, photograph from: https://www.yadvashem.org/museum/holocaust-history-museum/galleries/mass-murder.html; Bottom: testimony location from the Eighth zone, photograph from: https://www.yadvashem.org/museum/holocaust-history-museum/galleries/the-last-jews.html

Image of a testimony location from the ninth zone relating to the DP camps, photograph from https://www.yadvashem.org/museum/holocaust-history-museum/galleries/return-to-life.html

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