From Nothing to Something:

Recognizing Hidden Children as Holocaust Survivors

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Figure 1: Maria Segal at her First Communion

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Introduction

> "Something" was those people with the numbers tattooed on their arms. Tante Lina who had lost her two children, her husband, and her father in the concentration camps. "Something" was Aunt Ruth who at sixteen had carried her mother on her back across the snow into the woods of a wintry Poland living on dead leaves and trash pickings. My father's cousin's fifteen year old boy who escaped from the very mouth of the crematorium of Auschwitz. Those Stories; they were something… and in our family, they were as common as the ten-cent phone call.[1]

For much of her life, Josie Levy Martin struggled to accept her identity as a Holocaust survivor. Born in 1938, she was an infant when Adolf Hitler's troops invaded Poland and World War II officially began. She never saw the inside of an active labor or concentration camp, both of her parents survived the war, and while living in Vichy France she was spared the unimaginable brutality witnessed by Jewish people in more thoroughly persecuted parts of Nazi Europe.

Yet even as she lacks many hallmark characteristics of what comes to mind when a Holocaust survivor is imagined, the fact of the matter is that her childhood was stolen. At the age of five, she spent roughly a year in a Catholic convent, being denied her Jewish identity and forced to change her name. Extreme measures were taken to hide her away and keep her safe as the war drew to a close, leaving her feeling abandoned and confused. While those measures were necessary, they exacted a toll upon her psyche that continued to impact her throughout adulthood. In the decades to come, Levy Martin faced a disconnect between the intense reality of her childhood trauma and the way in which her broader society defined and categorized it.

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[1] Josie Martin. *Never Tell Your Name* (AuthorHouse, 2002), 192.

Levy Martin is a specific type of Holocaust survivor called a hidden child. Her experience and identity does not easily fit into an organized package, yet it is not a singular one: estimates are that thousands of Jewish children concealed their Jewish identity in a variety of ways for survival in World War II. While it is indisputable that the war forever changed their lives, acceptance into the canon of Holocaust survivors took many years to come to fruition and is still being worked through on both an individual and collective basis today.

While the manner in which hidden children were "hidden" widely differed, those who fall under this classification all managed to survive by concealing their identity for a time in one way or another. Whether hiding in a Catholic convent or posing as an adopted gentile child, each survivor discussed in this thesis was forced to hide their Jewish identity in order to survive. In doing so, they lost a part of their childhood naïveté and experienced both physical and emotional trauma that would mark them as victims of Nazi persecution. Manners of hiding include posing as non-Jewish youths in Catholic institutions, Protestant homes, and even the occasional mosque, as well as literally hiding in secret rooms, much like the iconic Anne Frank.

Today hidden children are indisputably classified as Holocaust survivors, yet the decades between the conclusion of World War II and the 21st century contained many obstacles for a secured survivor status. Personal inhibitions had to be tackled, supportive institutions formed, and academic definitions defined and redefined countless times along the path that led hidden children away from anonymity towards collective recognition.

Who is a Holocaust survivor?

Defining who is and who is not a Holocaust survivor has been a task that has experienced much back and forth in the decades since the conclusion of World War II in 1945. In his book, Michal Aharony identified two major reasons that a definitive definition is hard to reach. The first issue is the matter of drawing a boundary around the Holocaust itself and deciding whether its victims should include non-Jews such as Poles, Roma, homosexuals, and the like. Second is a matter of law: both a broad and a narrow definition are included in Israeli law, each having their own repercussions regarding reparations and other financial ramifications.[2] The legal ramifications of survivor status were far more imperative in the decades immediately after war when reparations were due and survivor status implied monetary compensation. Seventy years after the war's conclusion, this fiscal and legal pressure has decreased significantly, allowing for more flexibility in the definition. As such, today it is far more scholarly than legally-minded.

A further issue is deciding which geography and demographics to include within the definition. In the early 2000s two of the world's leading experts on Jewish community demographics, Jacob Ukeles and Sergio DellaPergola, each published an analysis of remaining Holocaust survivors. Each judged Holocaust survivor status based on the same criteria: a Holocaust survivor, or Nazi victim, was any Jew who lived in a

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[2] Michal Aharony, *Hannah Arendt and the Limits of Total Domination: The Holocaust, Plurality, and Resistance* (Routledge, 2015), 63–64.

Nazi occupied country for any span of time. Despite using the same operational definition, their estimates varied widely from 687,000 to 1,092,000, respectively. The difference in numbers stemmed from a disagreement over whether or not to include various North African countries. Controversy grew from the two scholars disagreements, with much criticism being directed towards DellaPergola for arguing that countries he included did not experience the Holocaust in the same manner of European Jews, and as such they should not be included.[3] To him, survivor status directly hinged on degree of trauma experienced.

Each of these factors and more must be taken into consideration when discussing survivor status, and there will always be disputes as to the true nature of a survivor. However, a standard must be set for the sake of academic discussion no matter what technical disputes arise. According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Holocaust survivors are defined as, "any persons, Jewish or non-Jewish, who were displaced, persecuted, or discriminated against due to the racial, religious, ethnic, social, and political policies of the Nazis and their collaborators between 1933 and 1945."[4] This definition provided by one of the world's foremost Holocaust institutions is today accepted by many scholars as the standard operational definition. Under it, hidden

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[3] Amiram Barkat, "Who Counts as a Holocaust Survivor?," *Haaretz*, April 18, 2004, http://www.haaretz.com/who-counts-as-a-holocaust-survivor-1.119868.

[4] "Frequently Asked Questions — United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," accessed February 24, 2016, http://www.ushmm.org/remember/the-holocaust-survivors-and-victims-resource-center/benjamin-and-vladka-meed-registry-of-holocaust-survivors/registry-faq#4.

children like Levy Martin whose lives were threatened by Nazi rule are classified as survivors, as are a myriad of other nontraditional people such as those mentioned above.

Anne Frank Phenomenon

Even once given official recognition as Holocaust survivors, hidden children straddle an ambiguous divide. They are further nontraditional survivors in that they are simultaneously survivors themselves and, if their parents also lived through the war, the children of survivors. Deborah Wolf argues that because of this inclusion in two separate categories, they experienced both direct and indirect effects of the Holocaust, which only exacerbated the after-effects in post-war life.[5] An example of one of these effects would be a compounded survivor's guilt in which the hidden child feels both the weight of their own and the weight of their parents; this is seen in Levy Martin's experience of perceiving herself to be at fault in surviving that is discussed later in the thesis.

Generationally-speaking, survivors of their typical age are relatively rare. Young children in World War II were especially vulnerable in that they were more defenseless, more prone to sickness, and less likely to survive without an adult's protection. It is estimated that roughly 1.5 million Jewish children, nearly 1 in 10 of the pre-war population, were killed by German Nazis and their collaborators.[6] Hidden children, already a small subset of Holocaust survivors, melded into this small pool of young

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[5] Diane L. Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland*, The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 14.

[6] "Children during the Holocaust," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed February 25, 2016, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005142.

survivors who quickly became typified by their more cohesive groups, such as the Kindertransport, due to larger amounts of media attention and sensationability.[7]

Public knowledge of the existence of hidden children spread in an unforgettable fashion as the pages of 15-year-old Anne Frank's diary became a world-wide bestseller. While in hiding with her immediate family, Frank spent just over two years writing on her family dynamic, concealed existence, and future aspirations.[8] Otto Frank, Anne's father and the family's lone survivor, was given the pages of her diary after the war's conclusion; with copious amounts of revision and editing, he released it for public consumption. Once published, *The Diary of a Young Girl* unassumingly portrayed young Anne as the poster child for Nazi persecution and spurred a flurry of research regarding her role as an iconic child survivor,[9] sexually developing adolescent,[10] and defining model for coming of age narratives.[11] Whether or not Otto Frank had intended to, in

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[7] The Kindertransport is the unofficial name of a rescue attempt that took place from 1938 to 1940. It is estimated that as many as 10,000 children were brought to Great Britain from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria for safekeeping. For more information on the children it saved, see Judith S. Kestenberg and Charlotte Kahn's *Children Surviving Persecution: An International Study of Trauma and Healing*, ch. 13.

[8] Anne Frank et al., *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, 1995.

[9] *Anne Frank as a Universal Icon of the Holocaust*, accessed November 14, 2015, https://books-google-com.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:9443/books/about/Anne_Frank_as_a_Universal_Icon_of_the_Ho.html?id=eysLOAAACAAJ.

[10] Elizabeth C. Evert, "Sexual Integration in Female Adolescence: Anne Frank's Diary as a Study in Healthy Development," *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 46 (1991): 109–24.

[11] Theresa Rogers, "Understanding in the Absence of Meaning: Coming of Age Narratives of the Holocaust," *Open Journal Systems Demonstration Journal* 1, no. 1 (May 24, 2005), http://journals.sfu.ca/present/index.php/demojournal/article/view/4.

publishing his daughter's diary he created a historical figure who would grow to stand as the cornerstone for immense amounts of research.

In the decades to come, the popularity of Frank's story created an understanding in those who read it of what it meant to be a child during the Holocaust. Iconic as her story may be however, scholars have remarked on the obvious fact it is in no means representative of the experience of every child survivor.[12] In her book *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland*, Diane L. Wolf tackles what she calls the "Anne Frank Phenomenon" with the assertion that Frank is in fact an atypical example of what it was like to be concealed child in Holland.[13] Her claim stems from extensive research and is supported by interviews from surviving hidden children. In doing so, Wolf presents a sociological narrative of the standard experience for a hidden child in Holland.

Beyond Anne Frank was not published until 2007, over sixty years after the war's end, indicative of the trend that for much of the late 20th century the narrative of children in the Holocaust was largely driven by discussion of Frank, only sparingly intermixed with additives of other survivors' unique stories conveyed through memoirs, plays, and film. Only as the century progressed into the late 1970s and 1980s did hidden children increasingly become a topic of discussion through films such as Louis Malle's *Aux Revoir les Enfants* and fictional novels like Morris Gleitzman's *Once*.

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[12] Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank*, 7.
[13] Ibid.

Academic Attention

The experience of being hidden came to the attention of psychologist Eva Fogelman, who in 1984 partnered with Dr. Judith Kestenberg to begin intensive research on child survivors of the Holocaust. They began holding monthly meetings in New York, which eventually evolved into the National Association for Child Holocaust Survivors (NAHOS).[14] The project quickly became the International Study of the Organized Persecution of Children: A Project of Child Development Research, a project that Fogelman claims was inspired by the extensive work that Judith and Milton Kesterberg had previously done in regards to interviewing "righteous gentiles," non-Jews who risked their own safety and security in order to help Jews during the war.[15] This organization aided efforts to bring hidden children public acknowledgement by providing structure and support and bringing together previously-established social networks.

The term hidden child is one that can be looked at in many ways. In a historical context, it is a term typically associated with a Holocaust survivor who, at some point over the course of World War II, concealed their identity as a means of survival. Hidden children are oftentimes neither concentration camp survivors nor second-generation survivors, a term created for the children of those whose parents endured the Shoah, the Hebrew word for the Holocaust.[16] The thought that their stories did not belong alongside

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[14] "ITF_Directory-National Association of Jewish Child Holocaust Survivors, Inc (NAHOS)," accessed November 25, 2015, http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/directory/organization/OrganizationDetails.html?organization_id=2485&start=600.

[15] Eva Fogelman, *Conscience & Courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, 1st ed (New York: Anchor Books, 1994), 378.

[16] [Define second-generation survivors]

the horrors witnessed by concentration camp survivors is quite common among those who were largely shielded from the worst of the war.[17] This precarious position in the hierarchy of survivors caused those who identified as hidden children to remain in the shadows while more prominent groups took the podium.

It seems that in the wake of Frank's story and those of other prominent survivors who had endured the horrors and pains of the concentration camps and various other Nazi atrocities,[18] hidden children had fallen by the wayside in both public and private discourse. Multiple reasons have been given for this. Some hidden children thought that their experience was a singular one until late adulthood,[19] while others felt as if there was no room for them in the conversational climate of the mid-20th century due to the feeling that they did not fit into established networks of survivors.

Only after it became apparent that hidden children were indeed a unique yet comprehensive group of Holocaust survivors whose experiences overlapped in many domains did serious research take place in analyzing their stories. One imperative seminal piece that opened the door for scholarly work on hidden children is *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* by Debórah Dwork. Her immense contribution

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[17] Ralph Blumenthal, "Magda Denes Is Dead at 62; Wrote of Hiding From Nazis," *The New York Times*, December 31, 1996, sec. Arts, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/12/31/arts/magda-denes-is-dead-at-62-wrote-of-hiding-from-nazis.html.

[18] See Elie Wiesel's *Night*, Viktor Frankl's *Man's Search for Meaning*, or Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz*, among others, for examples.

[19] Frank J. Prial, "Coming Out of Hiding: Childhoods as Non-Jews," *The New York Times*, May 5, 1991, sec. N.Y. / Region, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/05/nyregion/coming-out-of-hiding-childhoods-as-non-jews.html.

to the subject is widely acknowledged, with many a book detailing survivor stories crediting Dwork's strong coverage of the hidden experience as groundbreaking.[20]

Children with a Star was presumably not intended to be a pioneering work for the subject of hidden children: its overarching focus is a complete coverage of the copious ways in which children were treated throughout the course of World War II. As such, it contains a mere two chapters that relate to the hidden experience: *Into Hiding* and *In Secret*. Outlines within these chapters is a look at the various ways in which children found themselves in hiding, the methods by which they were hidden, the networks of rescuers who risked their lives for Jewish children, and the daily life of these children once concealed.[21] Each chapter is supported with heavy oral testimony from survivors themselves, providing intimate details of their own private experience as a hidden child.

Part of what make's Dwork's work so crucial to the subject is the definitions and observations she brought to the categorization of hidden children. Much of her terminology was seized upon by later works that built off of her seminary piece for further study. One prime example of this is her describing "in hiding and hidden" children in contrast with "in hiding but visible" children.[22] The first, characterized by Anne Frank's experience, encapsulates those whose entire existence was hidden from the outside world behind walls, in attics and basements, or even under floorboards.

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[20] See *The Hidden Children* by Marks and Mazal Holocaust Collection. Jane Marks and Mazal Holocaust Collection, *The Hidden Children: The Secret Survivors of the Holocaust* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993).
[21] Deborah Dwork, *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 32.
[22] Ibid., 31.

Oftentimes, it is what first comes to mind when thinking of Jews in hiding and was a common method for a wide range of age groups. The latter was experienced mainly by children, and only occurred successfully when they were able to blend in with, or pass as, non-Jews. Sometimes the group in which they hid with was one of distant relatives, sometimes a foster family, sometimes an organized institution. For these children, true jeopardy was not the act of being in the open, rather it was being discovered as fraudulent. As such, they were liabilities to both themselves and their protectors. Many of Wolf's case studies are the latter, as is the case for many Jewish children in the Netherlands during Nazi occupation. It is within this sphere that Levy Martin resides.

Furthermore, Dwork outlined the "typical" experience for hidden children in categorical terms. In regards to how they were hidden, she claims that arrangements were either informal (i.e., through the help of a family friend or relative), formal (i.e., through an established organization), or in rare cases, the child would find themselves in hiding without any sort of premeditation.[23] Dwork claims that while every child experienced a unique time in hiding, "certain aspects of life in hiding were almost universally shared." These aspects were as follows. First, for the most part, children lacked a fundamental understanding of what was happening around them, or why they were in the situation they were in. Second, there was a constant tension of fear and anxiety present in every child that resulted from the disconnect between a child's previous life and their current situation. This culture of uncertainty was, apparently,

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[23] Ibid., 32.

especially true for younger children who interpreted the situation as constant instability rather than unique tragedy.[24]

Lastly, in a paper titled "Adult Survivor Syndrome on Deprived Childhoods of Aging Holocaust Survivors," Haim Dasberg analyzed child survivors and theorized that they exhibited differences from their adult counterparts as a result of the facts that a) they experienced deprivation in childhood, b) at a young age they were exposed to extraordinary trauma and loss, and c) they reconstructed their losses as they aged into adulthood.[25] This exploration highlights the academic consensus that there are differences between child and adult survivors that have yet to be explored fully. The conclusions reached in this thesis combine with others, further shedding light onto the psychology of children survivors as well as providing survivors themselves the academic attention they were so long left out of.

Role of Institutions

Integral to the development of hidden children as a subset of holocaust survivors are the institutions which ultimately united them. Organizations in general have been pivotal to Holocaust survivors, from the International Red Cross Tracing Service (ITS) which connected survivors in displaced persons camps with remaining relatives to the

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[24] Ibid., 69.
[25] Dasberg H, "Adult Child Survivor Syndrome on Deprived Childhoods of Aging Holocaust Survivors.," *The Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences* 38, no. 1 (2001): 13–26.

Anti-Defamation League (ADL) which actively promotes education and fights antisemitism.[26]

Conferences where Holocaust survivors could meet each other, share their stories, and form connection networks have also been an integral part of post-war experience for decades. As news of these meetings spread, survivors world-wide were increasingly encouraged to share their experiences publically. Global meet-ups formed for survivors themselves as well as second-generation survivors. The first conference for survivors, the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Israel, was held in June 1981, and the first for second-generation survivors took place in May 1984.[27] Overarching themes of education, understanding, connection, and an overall promotion of the generational and collective memory that lives on through survivors' families combined in varied ways for each different conference, but what remained consistent within each was the sense of collective identity that participants were left with.

While many survivors and their descendants found community in sharing, hidden children oftentimes found themselves in isolation. For them, it took almost another decade for the First International Gathering of Children Hidden During World War II to be held in 1991 specifically for their unique experience.[28] For some, this conference was the first time they publically acknowledged their status as a Holocaust survivors. It was

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[26] "About the Anti-Defamation League," *ADL*, accessed February 25, 2016, http://www.adl.org/about-adl/.
[27] "Over 1,700 Children of Holocaust Survivors Hold First World Meeting," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, accessed November 23, 2015, http://www.jta.org/1984/05/30/archive/over-1700-children-of-holocaust-survivors-hold-first-world-meeting.
[28] Prial, "Coming Out of Hiding."

not until that point that they too gained the collective identity which eventually stood as the building block for further connection, support, and identification as witnessed by the beginning of Toronto' s survivor recognition project *We Who Survived* as well as Santa Barbara's *Portraits of Survival*, discussed later.

The fact that a disconnect exists between hidden children and the broader umbrella of Holocaust survivors of which they are a subset is undoubtable evident, but its reasons for being so are far more difficult to clearly identify. What is clear is the intention with which hidden children sought to interact and the impact of these interactions on the survivors themselves. When asked to comment on the purpose or meaning of the conference, Abraham Foxman, former chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, replied, "We want to get to know each other. We want to hear each other's stories. We want to meet others who share the guilt and the pain that, for so long, we thought we endured all alone."[29]

Imperative to post-war coping for many survivors are the connections formed with others whose experiences are similar. The First International Gathering was a necessary step in facilitating these connections, as is the continuing work of the Red Cross ITS discussed later. Local institutions are also immensely beneficial in creating and maintaining networks, however. The Jewish Federation of Santa Barbara is an impressive example of that. In its 2004 exhibition *Portraits of Survival*, thirty-six panels were dedicated to local survivors, many of whom can be classified as hidden children. Its

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[29] Ibid.

inclusion of hidden children contributes greatly to both the local awareness and global historical memory of Holocaust survivors.

Research Methods

Identification of an overall post-war path taken by hidden children is immense in size and scope; with limited resources, it is impossible to do the subject complete justice. As such, the methods of this thesis are both inspired by previously published academic studies and drawn from local resources.

Deborah Wolf's research is heavily reliant on interviews with seventy survivors and provides a sturdy framework for further research and analysis of the hidden child experience. While it produced an invaluable work detailing the fundamentals of hidden children in World War II, the scope of her project was large, time-consuming, and resource-exhaustive. As this project aims to explore the effects of childhood identity concealment on adult live via a case study of two hidden children of the Holocaust, other sources must be utilized.

Maria Segal and Josie Levy Martin share many commonalities. Both born into Jewish European families in the 1930s, they experienced Nazi persecution at a young age, concealed their Jewish identities, survived the war, wrote memoirs detailing their respective childhoods, and today reside in Santa Barbara County. Additionally, each has shared their story in a video interview with both the Shoah Visual History Foundation and the Santa Barbara Jewish Federation. Their stories have been told and retold

countless times in various contexts, and they have both consented to be interviewed for this project.

There are three main types of source material used to form and contrast the two narratives: 1) self-authored memoir, 2) public record interviews with both the Shoah Visual History Foundation and the Santa Barbara Jewish Federation, and 3) interviews conducted by myself with each woman. Information given in each of these mediums changes based upon the context, the targeted audience, and the time at which the information was recoded; comparing each of the four sources reveals key aspects of the experience of identity concealment at an early age.

A focal point of this case study is memory. Detail, frequency of mention, and conviction while recalling life events are all key pieces to the overall narrative conveyed. Inherent to the study of personal narratives as constructions of historical memory are the limitations that accompany the narratives, their storytellers, and the audience itself. Memory is by nature flawed. As such, it impossible to rely entirely on oral testimonies or published memoirs without also utilizing various other methods. And yet, at times it is the best source of information available.

Memoirs are autobiographical and written for an audience. As such, certain liberties are taken to make them more enjoyable to the reader or to present the author and other subjects in a certain light. In a paper on the merits and methods of oral history, Paul Thompson makes the assertion that no matter how impartial the writer may try to be, there is still the possibility that the memoir will only cover information sensational enough to make the final edit or that it will leave out potentially discrediting

facts.[30] In addition to bias of the author, the reader's own opinions, prejudices, interpretation, and agenda in analysis must also be acknowledged.

Drawbacks aside, there are many merits of memoirs when constructing social history. What follows is an exploration of the effects of early childhood concealment on adult life, conducted with a historical case study of two Jewish women who as children in Nazi occupied Europe were forced to conceal their identity in order to survive. Segal and Levy Martin witnessed numerous similarities and differences throughout the duration of their Jewish childhood in Nazi Europe. These aspects will be identified, examined, and connected to post-war beliefs and experiences.

Elie Wiesel (born in 1928) wrote that his generation of Holocaust survivors "invented a new literature, that of testimony," as a result of the intense trauma they witnessed and the obsession to chronicle it that resulted.[31] This literature has been coined testimony or memory studies by scholars, many of whom recognize it as a controversial academic medium. Robert Eaglestone challenged this traditional notion of historical validity in his argument that there is a second way to understand truth: "not as 'the agreement of correspondence of a judgment, an assertion or a proposition within its object' but as an existential uncovering or revelation, a way of showing 'who we are and how things are in the world.'"[32]

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[30] Paul Thompson, "Problems of Method in Oral History," *Oral History* 1, no. 4 (1972): 1–47.

[31] Elie Wiesel, Ill.) Northwestern University (Evanston, and Department of History, *Dimensions of the Holocaust: Lectures at Northwestern University* (Evanston, Ill.: The University, 1977), 7.

[32] Robert Eaglestone, "Identification and the Genre of Testimony," *Immigrants & Minorities* 21, no. 1–2 (March 1, 2002): 137, doi:10.1080/02619288.2002.9975035.

In studying memory, it is quite common to encounter redundancies, flawed recollections, and even blatant lies, yet it is also possible to find an underlying narrative that compliments traditional historical fact. While the results of this research cannot be generalized to include the entire population of hidden children in World War II nor to the even larger population of children who have been forced to conceal their identity for safety during wartime in general, they contribute knowledge to an experience that remained unspoken for too long.

Case Studies

Introduction

Maria: A Lifetime of Searching

Maria Segal (née Miriam Polonowicz) compares Okuniew, Poland to the fictional town Anatevka from *Fiddler on the Roof.* In 1935 she was born to Lieb and Leah Polonowicz, their second youngest child of seven total; together with her family, Maria spent the pre-war years as an Orthodox Jewish child in Okuniew whose earliest memories consist of ceremonial food preparation, cleaning dishes for Passover, and trips to nearby Warsaw with her father. When the Germans invaded Poland in 1939, she was five years old.

A reoccurring theme throughout Maria's wartime experience is constant change. Shortly after the German invasion, her and her entire immediate family were forced to leave Okuniew for the Warsaw Ghetto where they shared a small apartment with her uncle and his family. Sometime just before the onset of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,[33] a gentile woman by the name of Stasia offered to smuggle Maria from the ghetto and give her a job taking care of cows back in Okuniew; Maria recalls her mother's words of encouragement that day, "Go. You are the only one in the family that has a chance to

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[33] The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was an effort undertaken in April 1943. The Jewish Combat Organization, headed by Mordecai Anielewicz, rose up in resistance when SS officers attempted to relocate the entirety of the ghetto to the Treblinka extermination camp; with roughly 750 resistance fighters, it was the largest concentrated Jewish revolt of WWII. For further reading see Israel Gutman's *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*.

survive, because all of us will be killed sooner or later."[34] Unfortunately, her mother's prediction was correct.

Eventually Maria found a semi-permanent home with Wanda Hadryiak and her husband Jurek, the couple whom she credits her survival. They moved from Okuniew to Warsaw, narrowly avoided imprisonment in Płaszów (a temporary labor camp), eventually finding themselves in Krakow when the Russian army liberated it in 1945. For the remainder of the war and for years after, Maria continued to bounce around in various cities, living with numerous families. In the years following the war, Maria spent a brief period in Paris with her only remaining uncle, Abraham, before making the decision to move to Canada in 1950; she was 16 upon her arrival in Quebec. After spending a handful of years Canada, Maria moved to the United States then spent her years as a mother, teacher, and eventually a social worker. Today she lives in Santa Barbara, California and is an active member with the Santa Barbara Jewish Federation.[35]

Josie: It Wasn't Nothing

Josephine Levy Martin was born to Sylvan and Erna Levy (née Felsenthal) in 1938 with the threat of war menacingly looming over her birthplace in Sarreguemines, France. Located in the long disputed Alsace-Lorraine territory on the border between France and Germany, the town served as a suitable conduit for her family when they fled from their

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[34] Maria Segal, *Maria's Story: Childhood Memories Of The Holocaust* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: BoehmGroup, 2009), 4–8.

[35] For those interested in a more detailed account of Maria Segal's life story, her memoir *Maria's Story* is available for purchase online.

home in Germany in 1935. As the war progressed however, the Levy's increasing anxiety for their safety eventually caused them to flee once again in 1940. Their second resettlement was to Montbron, France, a town fairly close to the German occupation zone yet still under protection of the Vichy French State. There they remained for three years, keeping a low profile and hiding their identity in order to stay safe.

As 1942 drew to a close, the Allied forces landed in French Morocco and Algeria and the German forces began to tighten their grip on the pseudo-independent Vichy territory. For Josie and her parents, this meant trouble when German losses resulted in increased aggression throughout mainland France. As raids in Montbron intensified in number, Sylvan and Erna decided to send five-year-old Josie 50 km away to the town of Lesterps. There she was taken in by Sister St. Cybard, a prominent nun who had recently relocated to Lesterps as punishment for her involvement with the French Resistance. She was also given a new, non-Jewish name- Josie L'Or- and instructed to never reveal her real name while in hiding. The two shared a small room in a convent from January 1944 through the war's end, when Josie's parents emerged from hiding and returned to find that their daughter, too, had survived the war.[36]

The Levy family temporarily resettled in France before permanently relocating to Los Angeles, California in 1947. There her parents lived the life of struggling immigrants while Josie worked hard to overcome stereotypes and enthusiastically embraced American culture. Staying in Southern California, Josie eventually graduated from the

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[36] For those interested in Josie's her wartime experience, her memoir *Never Tell Your Name* provides an in-depth account of her time in Lesterps with Sister Saint-Cybard. See page 34, footnote n. 45.

University of California, Los Angeles and spent years as a teacher then school psychologist. She now lives in Santa Barbara with her husband Ed Martin and actively participates with community outreach.

Analysis

Segal and Levy Martin share many commonalities: they both concealed their Jewish identity as children, lost family in the Holocaust, emigrated to the United States, chose jobs wrote memoirs on their experiences, participated in similar survivor projects, and moved to Santa Barbara, California in the 2000s. Both of their lives were interrupted by the war when they were five years old, and both retain memories of saying goodbye to their mothers at separation. They have both left interviews at the USC Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education and at the Santa Barbara Jewish Federation's Portraits of Survival exhibit, demonstrating an active interest in the preservation of memory and education of the Holocaust. Each of these overlapping domains create an ideal case study through which post-war experience, history of memory, and experience as a survivor can be analyzed.

One crucial difference between the two that is immediately apparent from a brief reading of their respective memoirs is that while Levy Martin struggles for decades into adulthood with the ambiguity of her survivor status, Segal never once addressed the issue. This glaring difference brought to mind a question that has not as of yet been addressed in the academic field: what wartime factors influenced post-war self-identification of Holocaust survivor within the subset of hidden children?

Analysis of previously recorded videos as well as in person meetings with both women was undertaken in order to explore the theme of hidden child post-war survivor identification. After reading both memoirs, interviews were conducted with the women to get to the heart of the one burning question: why is is that Segal never questioned her survivor status, whereas Levy Martin took decades to acknowledge that her experience was something important?

Conditions

Wartime Location

As previously mentioned, Maria Segal was born in Okuniew, Poland in 1935. Okuniew is a small village located approximate 15 miles east of Warsaw. While with today's technology it is easily searchable on an electronic map platform, Segal mentioned that try as she might, she has never been able to find the town on older maps. The town has a long history stretching back to the Middle Ages, yet little mention is made of it in English texts. One estimate of the Jewish population at 1900 is a total of 287,[37] though there is no mention of its total population for the same year.

Segal recalls her pre-war days in Okuniew as simplistic and traditional, and the town she recalls as split between the Catholic church and Jewish synagogue. In both her memoir and in interview, she describes it as very primitive, without running water or electricity. On her first trip back to Europe as an adult in 2000, Segal experienced great

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[37] "JewishGen Locality Page - Okuniew, Poland," accessed March 9, 2016, http://data.jewishgen.org/wconnect/wc.dll?jg~jgsys~community~-519589.

disappointment in the fact that much of what she remembered- the synagogue, her childhood home, familiar storefronts- was gone. The Jewish cemetery, where her paternal grandfather had been buried after having died of a heart attack with the first Nazi roundups, is now unkempt and overgrown.

When German troops overcame Poland just over a month after invasion, Okuniew's close proximity to Warsaw was a dangerous factor. In April 1940, mere months after Nazi troops settled in, Segal's entire family was rounded up and sent to the Warsaw Ghetto. There they joined her maternal uncle's family; all nine of her immediate family shared one room with one bed. Some time later- Segal's timeline of this period is understandably shaky- a woman named Stasia who owned a small farm in Okuniew came and asked to take Segal in to take care of her family cow, Betsy. Segal quipped that when telling her story and claiming that Stasia had saved her life, a listener remarked that it was Betsy, not Stasia, who saved had her life.[38] Segal only narrowly missed starvation or deportation in the Warsaw Ghetto.

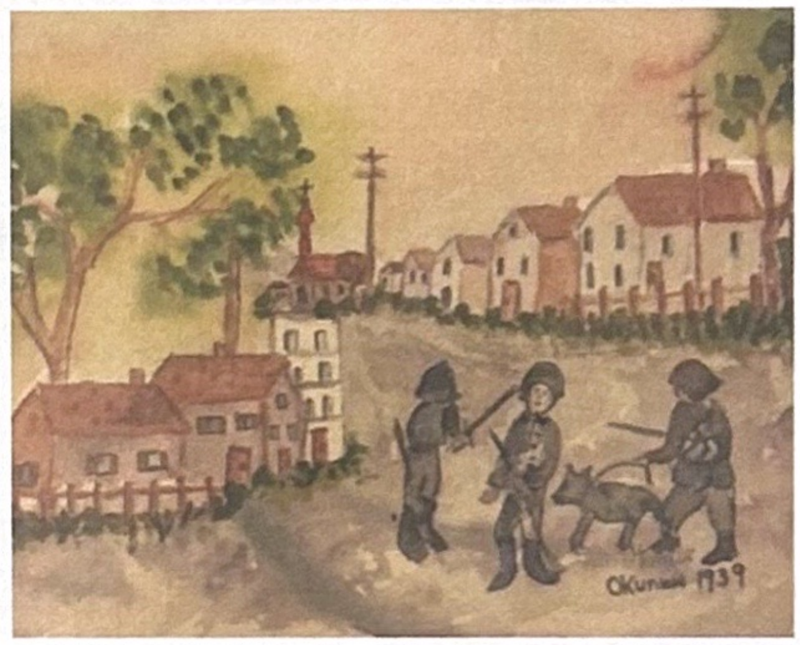

Figure 2. Segal's painting remembering Okuniew.

Poland as a whole was arguably the most dangerous country to live in as a Jew in World War II, with estimates claiming that up to 3 million Jewish citizens were killed before the war's end. Conditions were worsened by brutal treatment of Poles by Germans, who felt as if the Slavic people were racially inferior; an additional 1.9 million

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[38] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.

non-Jewish Polish citizens also died at the hands of Nazi troops.[39] These tensions would affect Segal in the second half of the war when Polish-German tensions rose and the Warsaw Uprising brought her and her caretakers into the conflict.

In short, Segal's birth in 1935 Poland ultimately put her in a series of dangerous circumstances. Poland's invasion as the beginning of WWII, Okuniew's proximity to Warsaw, and the Warsaw Ghetto uprising were contributing factors that led to her family being sent to a concentration camp. Her pre-war location contributed greatly to the extreme trauma she faced as she was forced to move from town to town with her caretaker, Wanda.

In contrast to Segal's experience in Poland, Josie Levy Martin was born in Sarreguemines, a town found in the confines of the Alsace-Lorraine territory. Her parents, along with her grandparents, had relocated from Germany before the war began in order to escape persecution that accompanied the 1935 Nuremberg Laws. According to family lore, provisions of the Chamberlain Truce allowed the release of certain German political prisoners, including Levy Martin's paternal grandfather. He had been arrested years before and sent to Dachau before the war began, back when the now infamous concentration camp was a forced labor camp for political prisoners. Through some means- Josie assumes bribery- Sylvan Levy was able to free his father.[40] Once reunited, the family fled to Alsace-Lorraine due to its close proximity and its heavily saturated German culture within France.

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[39] "Polish Victims," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed March 14, 2016, https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005473.
[40] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 10 February, 2016.

In just a few years' time, the Levy family once again relocated, this time to Montbron, France where young Josie had her first memories. Montbron was, as Levy Martin puts it, a "hotbed of resistance" in 1944. Southwest France was the seat for many a French Resistance fighter, including Josie's cousin who joined the anti-Nazi movement at the age of 16.[41] The Resistance, also called the *Maquis*, sought to hinder German occupation in any way possible, including blowing up railroad lines and halting ammunition shipments.

As the war's end was nearing in 1944, German frustration over the *Maquis* success led to increased raids throughout Southwestern France looking for resistance fighters and stowaway Jews alike. It was this increased aggression that caused Sylvan and Erna Levy to fear for Josie's safety, despite the fact that a neighboring family often sheltered them. Le Guardes acted as a safety net for the not yet separated Levy family, going so far as to once offer to adopt young Josie. While her parents rejected the offer, they accepted shelter in the family's barn for some time after Josie had been sent to the Lesterps convent.[42]

To illustrate the danger her family faced, Levy Martin described an encounter her maternal grandfather had with German troops while hiding in 1944. He was a highly religious man, continuing even in hiding the practice of wearing his phylacteries each and every morning as he sat in prayer.[43] One day he had them laid out on a crude

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[41] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 10 February, 2016.
[42] Ibid.
[43] A phylactery is a leather bound box that contains Hebrew texts. It is worn around the arm of Jewish men as they recite their morning prayers, serving as a reminder of Jewish law.

wooden table, when a handful of Nazi soldiers came through the barn and saw him. Being German himself, he understood them completely as they remarked to one another, debating whether or not it was necessary to execute him. Miraculously, they left him alone and walked out.[44]

Sylvan and Erna Levy were constantly on the alert, but in hindsight they described not the fear they had for themselves, but the worry they expressed for families such as the Le Guardes who offered Jews shelter. Seeing as France was historically Catholic, they had the option of sheltering their daughter in a convent when German aggression increased and danger loomed. Vichy France, while by no means a safe haven for Jews throughout World War II, allowed many opportunities for resistance and concealment, which minimized trauma experienced by both Josie and her parents.

Figure 3. Levy Martin in post-war Paris.

Duration of Concealment

After leaving Warsaw ghetto with Stasia, Maria Segal would find herself living in a myriad of places under the care of various people. When it was discovered that Stasia and her husband Janek were heavy drinkers, she left their home for Stasia's mother's house. There she lived with the Polanskys on a bigger farm and took care of more cows

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[44] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 10 February, 2016.

in addition to her original charge, Betsy. After months of living with them, long after the ghetto had been liquidated and her family deported, the police came to the door with orders to deport the young Jewish girl who had been rumored to be living there. For weeks on end, Segal hid in a cornfield by day and slept in the attic at night, constantly hearing news of various other local Jewish children who had been killed.

Amidst this cycle of hiding, a twenty-something Polish woman named Wanda heard of her plight and hatched a plan to take Maria in. Within days, the child found herself approached by the head policeman's wife; that woman urged her to disguise herself and, using a specific train schedule, travel to Warsaw. Segal does not know how exactly the risky rescue was orchestrated, discovering only later that Wanda had also been on the train in disguise, watching young Maria to ensure sure she arrived in Warsaw safely.[45]

Time is a hazy concept for Segal, not only because of her age while this was occurring. From the time of the German invasion in 1939 until liberation in 1945, she never once attended formal schooling or had a regular, dependable schedule. While in Warsaw with Wanda and her husband Jurek, the child changed her name to Marysia Hadrysiak and pretended to be their child. There she would continue to conceal her identity for months on end by working in the couple's grocery store by day in order to avoid the suspicions of neighbors and the maid.

Operating as a non-Jew was imperative to survival, but Maria, Wanda, and Jurek were in constant danger due to Jurek's involvement in the Polish Resistance. Air raids

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[45] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.

were frequent and dangerous; Wanda and Maria would oftentimes huddle with neighbors in bomb shelters waiting for this to quiet down so they could continue life as normal.

The day came when instead of freedom after the raid, the group was taken captive by a group of German soldiers who loaded them onto trucks, drove them to nearby fields, then sorted them into two groups. The women and children were left under guard while the men were taken to a field; minutes passed and shots rang out. As the Germans came back for the second group and began to herd them towards the same place, an officer Segal described as "god-like" road up on a horse, ordered the soldiers to halt, and escorted the survivors to a nearby church.

Just narrowly, the pair escaped an unfortunate escape once again in the days to come. While saved from the shooting squad by the officer, he had instead ordered their group to be taken to Płaszów to work temporarily before being deported to a concentration camp as political prisoners. Part of this process involved a medical inspection at the hands of Polish doctors, who potentially saved their lives by painting Segal's group with yellow chalk and claiming that they all had Jaundice. Wanting nothing to do with sick prisoners, the Germans released the group.

Following this tumultuous period, Maria and her caretaker lived for a time in a barn before joining Wanda's mother-in-law to discover that Jurek was still alive; he had been wounded after their separation as he fought for the Polish resistance. The couple reunited and together, the four moved to Krakow where they rented a two-bedroom apartment. There they remained until Soviet troops arrived in 1945 to liberate the city and trumpet the end of the war.

Figure 4. Segal, Wanda, and Wanda's mother-in-law. Est. 1946

Six of Maria's crucial formative years were spent hiding her identity under a false name, roaming from town to town searching for safety and shelter, and just barely missing being sent to a forced labor camp or shot down in a field as a Polish dissenter. Constantly on the move and never sure of whether or not she would see the next day, Segal's troubles were physically exhausting as well as emotional. Her teenage year would reflect this process of upheaval as she moved to yet another Polish city and spent some time in Denmark before emigrating first to Canada then the United States.

Though born in Sarreguemines, Montbron is the town where Josie Levy Martin opens her memoir with scenes of a classic grey town in France lined with narrow streets and paved with cobblestones. It is there that her earliest recollections take place, including conversations between her parents regarding the black market, the Maquis, and Nazi checkpoints. One poignant moment details a day when Erna feared for her

husband's safe return upon hearing shots ring out in the street. She ran outside without regard for her own safety, crying out her husband's name and freezing in shock seeing a man on the street in a crumpled heap who wore the same coat and shoes as Sylvan. It was not until Sylvan stepped from the shadows of a doorstep across the street and urged her and Josie to go back inside that she regained control of her senses.[46]

Years in Montbron grew increasingly intense and dangerous for the family, who hid together as a unit from the Nazi soldiers. At first it involved blowing out the candles in their small apartment and hiding on the floor, but as the war progressed it evolved to making midnight treks to the nearby woods for protection. There they would huddle together with various family members including her uncles Charles and Arthur and aunts Pauline and Meta; for the five-year-old child, these nights seemed an adventure that she asked her father to repeat.

True fear and anxiety crept into Levy Martin's childhood not with the midnight raids, but when her parents discussed sending her away to the Lesterps convent for safekeeping. As a young child would, she understood it not as a necessary safeguard but as an intentional slight on her parents' behalf. While her enchanting new name, L'Or or gold, evoked images of grandeur in her mind, she clung more to the thoughts that her parents had deserted her forever.

Once in the care of Sœur Saint-Cybard, young Josie learned lessons that every proper Catholic girl would: she said her prayers, learned about guardian angels, and

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[46] Josie Martin, *Never Tell Your Name*, 1st edition (Bloomington, Ind.; LA Vergne, Tenn.: AuthorHouse, 2002), 4–5.

even learned of the cross and mused that her parents should hang one on their wall to keep them safe. All of this was necessary for her concealment, for the nun was the only person in Lesterps who knew her true identity. While this Catholic influence confounded her Jewish identity enough to cause her to admit to sneaking away to church in high school,[47] the intensity of her education never extended towards official religious ceremonies such as baptism or First Communion.

Less than a year passed from the day Sylvan and Erna Levy left their daughter Josie in the care of Sœur Saint-Cybard in Lesterps to the day the war ended and they returned to reclaim her. This year undeniably had an impact on her post-war life as is evidenced by her adolescent struggles with religious identity, adulthood therapy sessions, and path towards acknowledging that her childhood "Great Nothing." This Great Nothing, the idea that her past was normative and therefore nothing worth talking about, is a reoccurring theme throughout Levy Martin's memoir, and she admits throughout both personal interviews that it took many years of psychotherapy and introspection to overcome.

Outcome of Immediate Family Members

The last factor under consideration is the ultimate outcome of a hidden child's parents and siblings, if they had them. This factor is undoubtedly the most emotional for a majority of survivors to talk about, especially those like Maria Segal who were

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[47] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 9 December, 2015.

orphaned. In addition to directly inducing emotional trauma, it is acknowledged as part of the aforementioned hidden child paradox described by Deborah Wolf.

When the Segal family first entered the Warsaw Ghetto as a cohesive unit, they were comprised of Lied and Leah Polanowicz and their seven children: Moishe, Yossef, Elka, Nicha, Shandulka, Maria, and Stasja.[48] There, the nine of them shared a single bedroom with a single bed, and all but Leah, the mother, and Maria's younger sister worked in the hopes of securing what food could be found. For Maria, this entailed holding yarn for a woman in order to ease the process of spinning it into yarn balls.[49] Conditions in the ghetto were notoriously horrendous; Segal remembers always wanting for food along with the rest of her starving community, where it was not uncommon for her to see dead bodies covered in newspapers strewn throughout the streets.[50]

It was into these conditions that Stasia Chojnaka, a local Okuniew woman, reencountered the Polanowicz family on a trip into the ghetto. As a gentile, she had the privilege to come and go as she pleased, and seized the opportunity to bring the Jewish residents food in exchange for their prized possessions and luxurious goods. As Segal put it, "when your stomach is empty, you don't think of much else but food to eat."[51] Stasja was looking for a young girl to come and care for her cow Betsy and Maria, who was at the time six years old, was the perfect age for the task. In exchange, young Maria would

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[48] Segal, Maria. Interview 43650. *Visual History Archive*. USC Shoah Foundation Institute. 2015. Web. 10 Jan. 2016. Not that in *Maria's Story*, Segal refers to her younger sister as Sonja, a name not listed in official records.
[49] Segal, *Maria's Story*, 14.
[50] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.
[51] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.

be able to collect debts that the local villagers owed her father and buy food for the family with the money.

Segal describes the moment her mother told her to go with Stasja consistently and with considerable emotion in her memoir and in three different interview formats. Though it was not the last time she would see her mother, the words spoken have become the goodbye that stuck in Maria's memory.

> My mother was standing by the window with my little sister. I had one little sister that was younger, everybody was older. And [Stasja] said, she asked my mother if I could go back with her and take care of her cow. And my mother said, "Go. I know that all of us are going to be killed, but you have a chance to survive." And I went. But you know, when I was about seven.. when you are a kid.. you don't think that way. I thought I would go out and come back...[52]

When recalling this, Segal choked up with emotion, remarking that it is the one memory from her past that never fails to move her. "That's the part where I still want to cry, but I try very hard not to."[53]

Segal was able to reenter the ghetto twice more, bringing her family food and supplies from Okuniew with each visit. On the third attempt, however, Stasja and her found the gates shut and under Nazi guard; they were forbidden to enter. By this time, the final orders to liquidate the ghetto had been given and in response, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was underway. Some time later while still with Stasja in Okuniew, Maria encountered an old acquaintance, Toba, and her boyfriend. It was through Toba that she learned her family had been rounded up into trucks and sent to a concentration camp,

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[52] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.
[53] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.

presumably Majdanek. Days after their reunion, Toba and her boyfriend were shot to death.

From the age of six on, Segal was left to find her own caretakers and make a family with those who helped her along the way. Wanda and Jurek, though only ten years or so older than her, ultimately became her long-term caretakers, peers, and family after years of concealing her identity, providing shelter for her, and staying in contact. Their role in providing for Segal as a child was so integral to her survival that in 2008, Wanda was awarded an honorary of citizenship by the Israeli Embassy for her role as a righteous gentile in the Holocaust.[54]

To this day, Segal has never attempted to search official records and find out the precise fates of her family. The only mention she made of using records to find information is the mention that one of her granddaughters used a service similar to the Red Cross International Tracing Service to search Segal's one surviving relative, her uncle Abraham, in order to find his identification number received in Auschwitz. Orphaned at such an early age, Segal was forced to be resourceful early on. Resilience fostered by her family's unfortunate fate instilled in her an unquestionable, subconscious certainty that the events she lived through made her a survivor.

In her memoir, Levy Martin's final chapter describes the moment her parents came to get her when the war had ended. In a childish fit, her inner dialogue protests

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[54] "The Righteous Member Wanda Hadrysiak Becomes an Honorary Citizen of Israel - Polscy Sprawiedliwi - Przywracanie Pamięci," accessed March 11, 2016, http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/cms/news-archive/919,the-righteous-member-wanda-hadrysiak-becomes-an-honorary-citizen-of-israel/.

and she pretends not to know her mother and father as they lean in to embrace her.[55] These feelings came from nearly a year of separation during which the child internalized feelings of betrayal, abandonment, and childlike resentment. To this day, she can recall the feeling of sorrow as she watched her parents bike away from her the day they dropped her off, referring to is as "the most searing memory [she] had."[56] Remarkably, both Sylvan and Erna survived the war. The pair talked to Sœur Saint-Cybard, expressed gratitude and warmth, then took little Josie with them; soon afterwards, the family emigrated to America with a second child on the way.

Levy Martin was born just as the rumblings of war spread through Europe, and she was an only child for the duration of it. Both of her parents survived in full health having hidden in barns and fields in the time she had been safe in the convent. Later on when she would ask about their time in hiding, they would give wisps of detail with minimal emotion. The two were sheltered by the Le Guarde family for some time while Sylvan worked as an orderly in a Catholic hospital. It was through the hospital's Nuns that he would hear of upcoming Nazi raids and retreat into hiding along with Erna. Levy Martin recalls her mother saying that in hindsight, they should have never left her in the convent- but how were they to know that they would escape capture and death??[57]

Throughout adolescence, Josie struggled greatly when her Jewish identity conflicted with her immigrant status in Los Angeles, California. She spent her adolescence grappling with connecting her bizarre, haunting childhood with her new,

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[55] Martin, *Never Tell Your Name*, 184–185.
[56] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 10 February, 2016.
[57] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 10 February, 2016.

modern life as an American. A disconnect developed between her aspirations and her parents' culture that she once addressed in a small scrapbook in which she wrote a story that began with the sentence, "Imagine two parents having to send away their only child, maybe never to see her again."[58] Upon finding her writings, her mother had a mournful look upon her face which Josie described as the result of the weight of painful wartime memories.

This confusion between Josie's generation and that of her parents in part caused her decades long journey to acceptance. Unlike Segal, Josie experienced the paradoxical aspect of being a hidden child that is both being a survivor herself as well as a second generation survivor. On the one hand, she had her own direct trauma: feeling abandoned in a convent, religiously conflicted between Catholicism, and alienated from her Jewish culture in adolescence. On the other, she also dealt with her parents suffering, and that of her extended family and all of their acquaintances- the concentration camp horror stories that were as common as a ten cent phone call. Ambiguity crept into her identity through this conflict, influencing when and how she conceptualized herself as a Holocaust survivor.

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Both hidden children in the sense that they changed their names and posed as gentiles, Segal and Levy Martin nonetheless had vastly different wartime experiences. Segal was born in notably antisemitic Poland, spent six years of wartime under a false name and in constant danger, and was orphaned in the processes. Levy Martin, born four

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[58] Josie Martin. *Never Tell Your Name* (AuthorHouse, 2002), 189.

years later in France spent the first few years of war out of direct danger, hid in a Catholic convent for less than a year, and was reunited with both parents after liberation. The pair are equally survivors of the Holocaust, yet they accepted this status in different ways as a result of their unique, individual circumstances.

Organizations

Institutions and organizations are an imperative piece of Shoah memory preservation in that they collect information, connect survivors, and educate the public. This takes place on many levels, international and local alike. When World War II was still in swing, the Red Cross formed what would eventually become known as the International Tracing Service and for decades to come, it would be used to help survivors find information of loved ones they lost. Fifty years later, Steven Spielberg started the USC Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, a project that aimed to collect interviews with survivors and document them for historical and educational purposes. In 2003, nearly ten years after Spielberg began his iconic project, the local Jewish Federation in Santa Barbara unveiled an exhibition titled *Portraits of Survival* which stands as a permanent educational tool that tells the stories of local survivors. Each of these organizations have distinct yet overlapping roles, and all have contributed to telling the story of hidden children.

Red Cross International Tracing Service (ITS)

In 2007, the International Tracing Service (ITS), a collection of personal information regarding victims of the Holocaust, opened globally for public use. It is estimated that the collection holds more than 30 million documents pertaining to victims of the Nazi regime. Primarily created to aid the search for lost relatives post-WWII, the information it contains covers a wide range of people that were in any way persecuted by the Nazis. One example of this sort of research is when Maria Segal's granddaughter

searched the database to find the records of her great uncle Abraham Polaniwicz and found his identification number. She used the information found to create a sculpture in tribute to her family's past, titled "12810."

In recent years it has been digitized; seven countries on ITS's International Commission including Germany, Israel, and the United States have a research node where survivors and scholars alike can come to study what had previously been the largest private collection of data pertaining to the Shoah.

The opening of the ITS caused a shift in its potential contribution to society. From its formation in 1943 as the Central Tracing Bureau until 2007, its primary function was tracing: families would submit names, last known location, and other relevant information, then the ITS would see what information it contained concerning the missing people's whereabouts. While older records are infrequent, one source estimates that over 45,000 families have searched for information since 1990 and roughly 1,600 people have reconnected with lost family as a result.[59]

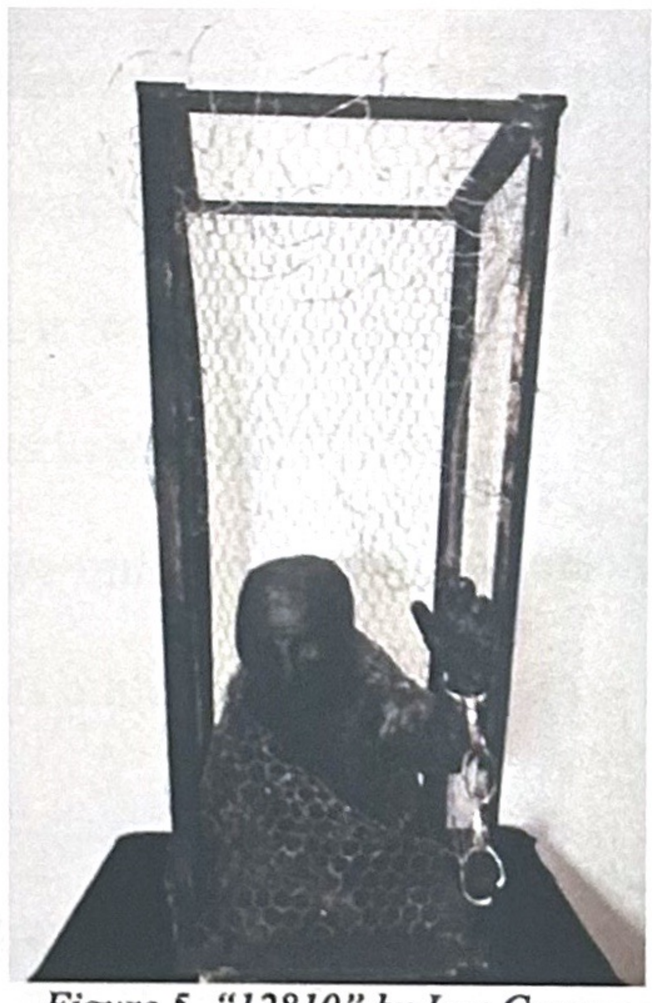

Figure 5. "12810" by Izzy Greer.

Once opened, the millions of records became available for scholarly use and research. In addition to the mass of volumes only available on-site, three collections are

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[59] "Red Cross Tracing Services Help Holocaust Survivors Find Loved Ones," *American Red Cross*, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.redcross.org/news/press-release/Red-Cross-Tracing-Services-Help-Holocaust-Survivors-Find-Loved-Ones.

entirely accessible on the internet: Effects preserved at the ITS, Inquiries by the Allies on "death marches", and the Child Search Branch.[60] These three collections are only a narrow slice of the actual collection held by the ITS, yet they have been used by over 36,000 researchers for academic, journalistic, and personal use.[61] Efforts to bring awareness to the existence of these archives go hand-in-hand with the new vision of the ITS that encourages both traditional usage for personal history tracing and new historical political, and educational research.

The push to simultaneously promote academic usage and while still maintaining its original tracing service has proven successful; total volume of personal inquiries rose roughly 25 percent from 2014 to 2015, with over 15,000 people seeking information on Nazi victims.[62] This has been attributed to increased interest from second and third generation survivors- those whose parents or grandparents lived through the war firsthand. If a connection is made, the ITS will at times give remaining relatives personal artifacts, such as when a goodbye letter was returned to its author's sons more than seventy years after being written.[63]

The past decade has witnessed a shift in the ITS that has managed to reinforce its original purpose while opining newer, more accessible roads for relatives and scholars to

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[60] "Home - Inventory Description," accessed February 29, 2016, https://digitalcollections.its-arolsen.org/?lang=en.
[61] "Inquiries Have Risen by More than 25 Percent," February 15, 2016, https://www.its-arolsen.org/en/press/press/press-detail/news/detail/News/inquiries-have-risen-by-more-than-25-percent/.
[62] Ibid.
[63] "Sons Receive Their Father's Farewell Letter after 72 Years," February 15, 2016, https://www.its-arolsen.org/en/press/press/press-detail/news/detail/News/sons-receive-their-fathers-farewell-letter-after-72-years/.

view archived documents and personal effects. In doing so, it has become an invaluable tool that should be further utilized to preserve history and promote memory studies through reexamining decades old information.

USC Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education

In 1994, one year after the release of Schindler's List, Steven Spielberg began the nonprofit formerly known as Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation and known today as the USC Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education. Its original goal was simple: find survivors, interview them extensively, and archive those recordings for preservation. As the project developed and grew exponentially, the ability to teach through testimony was realized and the Visual History Archive has since been promoted as a dynamic, emotional teaching tool. It is entirely digitized, and each interview is searchable by keyword; this was done so that students and instructors alike would have educational tools readily available.

A decade after opening, the institute founded the Center for Advanced Genocide Research; its mission statement states that it is "dedicated to advancing new areas of interdisciplinary research on the Holocaust and genocide, specifically discussing the origins of genocide and how to intervene in the cycle that leads to mass violence."[64] As the nonprofit's goals have shifted towards education and prevention, the collection has

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[64] Visit the USC Dana et al., "About Us," *USC Shoah Foundation*, accessed March 2, 2016, https://sfi.usc.edu/about.

expanded to include survivors from the 1994 Rwandan genocide, 1937-38 Nanjing Massacre, 1975-1979 Khmer Rouge genocide, and also the 1915 Armenian genocide.

Today, the collection hosts upwards of 53,000 individual interviews totaling 12,000 hours of testimony; the survivors were interviewed in 63 different countries and in 39 languages.[65] Included among those are interviews of both Maria Segal and Josie Levy Martin, totaling nearly four hours of testimony exhaustively detailing their wartime experience. Both are indexed under the indexing terms "false names," "identity concealment," "Jewish identity," "Jewish-gentile relations," and "temporary identity concealment."[66] Search functions within this database, built to be used much like the ITS is reconfiguring into, allow for the identification of survivors with similar experiences. For instance, the indexing term identity concealment reveals 25,724 separate testimonies from the European Holocaust collection alone.

Unique to this collection is that this archive has the ability to teach and preserve history with the voices of actual survivors. Combining stories of pre-war, wartime, and post-war life, it weaves a narrative that greatly contributes to the historical memory of the Holocaust that is beneficial for both new generations and those that comprise the stories. Being interviewed by the foundation allowed Maria Segal the chance to sit her children down for the first time and tell them for the first time what had happened to

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[65] Visit the USC Dana et al., "About the Visual History Archive," *USC Shoah Foundation*, accessed March 2, 2016, https://sfi.usc.edu/vha/about.

[66] Segal, Maria. Interview 43650. *Visual History Archive*. USC Shoah Foundation Institute. 2015. Web. 11 Mar. 2016. Levy Martin, Josie. Interview 2034. *Visual History Archive*. USC Shoah Foundation Institute. 2015. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

her as a child. Describing the day she showed them her two-hour interview tape, she remarked, "we sat down, all of us together. We sat down and we cried."[67]

Santa Barbara Jewish Federation

Local memory is the cornerstone of international records, much the same as the combination of countless individuals' memories form together to present a cohesive social memory. Through local chapters, Jewish Federations across the nation and the world have been able to connect survivors with support groups, provide educational tools for their respective communities, and preserve the memory of survivors who have since passed.

In the Santa Barbara Jewish Federation, there is a small room filled wall-to-wall with stories of local holocaust survivors. Included within them are traditional survivors, non-traditional sub-categories such as hidden children, and even those who never truly considered themselves survivors. Maria Segal has a two-panel segment, as does Josie Levy Martin, though while talking about how much she loved it, Segal sighed that it was hard to fit all of the her most sacred memories and information on two 2' by 1' panels.

Portraits of Survival was inspired by a similar exhibit that took place years earlier in Toronto, Canada titled *We Who Survived*; had it not been for international conferences bringing together international survivors, the project would have never taken off. Levy Martin recalls being at the original convention where the exhibit was held, then being approached when she moved to Santa Barbara in 2002 to contribute her story to the

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[67] Interview with Maria Segal. 12 February, 2016.

newly opening local chapter; although she had been active in survivor groups in Los Angeles, this was one of her first forays into the local Santa Barbara community.[68] Segal described her inclusion almost kismet due to the fact that it happened only after a woman approached her walking down the street and assumed she spoke Spanish. Once the confusion was cleared, Segal was invited to the federation's weekly Schmooze Room to meet with other locals and share her story; over a decade later, Segal volunteers weekly as a cook for the very same Schmooze Room.

Figure 6. Original Toronto exhibit titled "We Who Survived"

[68] Interview with Josie Levy Martin. 9 December, 2015.

Conclusion

This discussion produced a handful of theories that pose questions for future study of not just Holocaust survivors, but for the victims of any future crisis or genocide. It began with three questions: Why were hidden children recognized as Holocaust survivors later than other categories of survivors? What role did institutions play in earning recognition for hidden children? And lastly, why did Josie Levy Martin struggle with accepting their survivor status while Maria Segal never questioned it?

The first of these is partially explained by the idea that trauma rests on a spectrum. In the case of the Holocaust, concentration camp survivors and the like stand on the most severe end while those who escaped before the Final Solution was implemented, such as those who emigrated from Germany after the Nuremburg Laws passed, stand at the other. The fact that hidden children is such an encompassing umbrella term means that individuals within the sub-category would fall at all ends of the spectrum, as can be seen in the comparison of Segal and Levy Martin. This is a complex occurrence seeing as forming a cohesive indexing term has collected caused all hidden children to be conceptualized as one category. As a result, their individual experiences were simplified into one collective experience, hence the Anne Frank phenomenon.

I posit that part of the reason hidden children were delayed survivor status for so long is the popular notion that they were saved from most of the "horrors" of the Holocaust. If as collective whole they lay at the more benign end of the spectrum, then both survivors themselves and the public sphere in which they inhabit may have subconsciously reached the conclusion that they were not on par with other survivors

who witnessed the full atrocities of Nazi persecution. A hasty oversimplification of this particular group of Holocaust survivors has been happening since the day *The Diary of a Young Girl* was published, and it has persisted for decades.

In reality, individuals who can be assigned the classification hidden children have witnessed a broad range of emotional and physical distress. This distance between individuals can help to explain why some struggled to self-identify as Holocaust survivors. Both Maria Segal and Josie Levy Martin are technically hidden children survivors, yet their lives followed two completely separate paths that have left them dealing with their early distress in distinctly different ways. Factors such as year of birth, wartime location, duration of identity concealment, and immediate family outcome help to explain the differences in self-conceptualization they they experienced as adults.

In the future, these qualifications should be analyzed in greater depth through a larger study of individuals. Unfortunately, the window is closing for such studies to occur in a face-to-face interview atmosphere. Child survivors of the Holocaust are some of the last still alive today to share their experiences. Focus on memory studies does however have the opportunity to shift to other genocides and emerging global crisis's that have developed since World War II.

Institutions such as the USC Foundation Institute have made imperative first steps in documenting the stories of survivors of not just "the Holocaust," but of other global atrocities as well. In order to better perceive the psychology and collective memory of these unique and inspiriting individuals who have lived through the most horrific chapters of humanity, we need to continue to dig deeper and strive to form a more

accurate understanding of such tragedies. We owe it not just to unacknowledged survivors of the past, present and future, but also to those like Maria and Josie whose active participation in education and awareness are unfailing in bravery and benevolence.

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