

“Breaking Down Barriers” or “Building Strong Christians”: Two Treatments of Holocaust History

Simone Schweber
University of Wisconsin, Madison

**NOTE TO AUTHOR: NEED AN ABSTRACT AND REFS NEED TO
BE REFORMATTED APA STYLE.**

Abstract

Introduction

Sugarcoated or hard-hitting, watered down or highly concentrated, religiously infused or stripped of controversy, the Holocaust is typically taught in ways that crystallize ideological positions and particular worldviews, simultaneously reflecting and transmitting the values of individuals and communities, imagined (Anderson, 1991) or otherwise. Put differently, across U.S. school contexts, teachers teach about the Holocaust, in the process revealing the sociological needs of the present.

That situation should hardly surprise, given not only the well-documented plasticity of Holocaust discourses (Novick, 1999; Rothberg, 2000), but also the extremely localized nature of American schooling and the attendant diversity of its instantiations (Cuban, 1993). Of interest, nonetheless, are the instantiations themselves, the particular implications of particular representations. In a review of Roberto Benigni’s (1997) film, *Life is Beautiful*, the Nobel laureate Imré Kertesz poetically summarized this point. Claiming he couldn’t “well imagine what is in the film that ...provoked debate,” he speculated, “I suppose that once again a choir of Holocaust puritans, Holocaust dogmatists and Holocaust usurpers is being heard, asking: ‘Can, should the Holocaust be treated in this way?’ But what is ‘this way,’ more precisely considered?” (2001, pp. 270-271). The dimensions of Holocaust narratives as they are taught, “more precisely considered,” can be compelling.

Such narratives, upon investigation, illuminate people’s deeply

held beliefs about historical causality and human interaction. As such, they bear consequences, in Sam Wineburg's (2001) phrasing, for "coming to know others, whether they live on the other side of the tracks or the other side of the millennium" (p. 9). The master narratives framing history hold the potential to expose patterns of social relations in the present; the flexibility of Holocaust content simply emboldens the silhouettes of such master narratives in schools, revealing, for example, the collective memories schooling generates, the so-called lessons teachers attempt to convey, the tendentious meanings students understand, and the competing narratives ignored, occluded (Wineburg et al, 2001), or obviated altogether.¹

In the following essay, I present summaries of two Holocaust narratives, one constructed within a full-semester, 10th grade elective course taught at a public high school, the second through a quarter-long, 8th grade unit taught at a Christian fundamentalist school.² Methodologically, I generated and analyzed data at both sites through the same processes. All the class sessions in the unit were observed and documented through field-notes on what transpired.³ All class materials and examples of student work were collected. The teachers in both schools and a select group of students from their classes were interviewed multiple times throughout the semester.⁴ Almost all of the class sessions and all of the interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and along with the field notes, class materials and student work, coded for emergent patterns of meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The schooling experiences were then rendered as portraits. Integral to portraiture (Lawrence Lightfoot & Davis Hoffmann, 1997), I critiqued the teachers' practices, analyzing both the symbolic and consequential dimensions (Schweber, 2003) of their curricula.⁵ Though it is tempting to generalize from the summaries presented below, it must be remembered that they distill two instantiations of Holocaust teaching only, and that it is not at all certain how widespread or commonplace the patterns identified herein are.⁶ That said, while the contrasts between the two schools' aims, texts, teachers, pedagogies, and student understandings were dramatic, the juxtaposition of cases suggests similarities about the treatments of the Holocaust within very different kinds of American schools.

The theoretical category of the 'screen memory' frames my understanding of these Holocaust treatments. For the purposes of this article, the 'screen memory' is more cinematic than Freudian. Michael Berenbaum (1990) has written eloquently about Holocaust memory, explaining that:

...only a part of memory involves the past. The past image is projected on a screen of the present with which it interacts, and this new image in turn sheds light on the future. In addressing the authenticity of memory, we must examine both its source and

its projection. (p. 16)

Subscribing to realist notions of historical narratives, Berenbaum is interested in authenticating memory, checking its instantiations in the present against its 'source' or historical record in the past. At the very least, Berenbaum's wording assumes that the source and projection are somewhat extricable from each other, however jointly they present. They may interact, but they are not fused; "both must be examined."

While I agree in principle with this formulation, my own orientation is slightly dissimilar. Following Berenbaum's metaphor, I can consider schools as akin to movie houses, where the teacher projects a representation of the Holocaust, the 'screen memory,' and the students are likened to the film's audience, despite their active constructions of meaning in any classroom. In my version of Berenbaum's metaphor, however, Holocaust history itself is obliterated in the process of being 'screened.' It is inaccessible beyond what gets projected, or more precisely, taught, since the past is only viewable through the present, and the students sit, metaphorically, in the dark. Thus, there is no authentic memory, only collective memory. In this version, in other words, history is inextricable from its screenings, since schools as institutions are considered organs for the collective memory production of societal bodies. In short, the schooled narratives of the Holocaust engender its collective memories, not its history. The two cases reported on below empirically support this theoretical position.

Breaking Down Barriers

Mr. Zee had taught at Maplewood High School for over fifteen years and was widely recognized as an expert at teaching about the Holocaust when I started observing his popular, non-tracked, semester-long elective. Entitled *Facing History and Ourselves* (Stern Strom, 1977), the course was based on the curriculum of the eponymous organization, which designs and distributes curricula for a fee to schools nationally.⁷ Mr. Zee had worked for the Brookline, Massachusetts-based organization, and he actively promoted their programs, working them into even casual conversations. He was a great salesman for them, as he believed in their program deeply.

Like the school's population at large in which 56 first languages were spoken, the students in Mr. Zee's class were economically, ethnically, racially, religiously, and linguistically diverse. In response to such diversity, the administration at Maplewood High School had worked hard at inculcating inter-group tolerance. The outdoor cafeteria walls attested to those efforts; though bleached by the Southern California sun, they were still adorned with murals that proclaimed: "It takes different colors to make a rainbow"; "There is no one way"; and "Tolerate difference."

Mr. Zee's courses were among the most popular in the school. As a guidance counselor mentioned to me, all of his courses were over-enrolled, *Facing History* in particular. "I heard that this course like changes your life," one student explained when I asked why she had signed up. Other students' enthusiasm was similarly generated by word of mouth, from other students, teachers, and the principal. "It's the most important curriculum that occurs at this school," the principal explained when asked to describe the class. "The kinds of dialogue that never occur in real society," he elaborated, "occur in this class." He concluded the interview by telling me that he would require all students at Maplewood to take *Facing History and Ourselves* if he could.

Meeting five times per week, Mr. Zee's course was roughly divided into four phases. In the first six weeks, Mr. Zee focused on building a sense of community among his students. Mostly through story-telling and freeform discussions, he shared with his students experiences from his life and had the students discuss issues of racism and discrimination in theirs. Mr. Zee was the protagonist of most of his stories, frequently playing the hero, who stands up against racism and fights intolerance. In one story, for example, Mr. Zee spat in the face of a bully twice his size; in another, he reported the racist comments of a check-out clerk to her supervisor; in a third, he refused to let an uncle into his house unless the uncle desisted from using racist language; in another, Mr. Zee jumped out of his car in order to stop an elderly man from beating his wife with a stick. In this way, Mr. Zee's stories modeled for students a value system that encourages interceding and the capabilities to do so. One message of Mr. Zee's positioning himself as the main character of his stories, then, was that he, a "regular guy," and thus they, "regular students," could be heroes.

Always blatantly moralistic, his anecdotes sometimes took the form of cautionary tales rather than virtuous exemplars. In an extended story about his grandmother, for example, Mr. Zee narrated a turning point in her life. Whereas for years she had walked around a small lake every morning, greeting people of all ethnicities with a smile, she, a White woman, had once had her purse robbed by a Black man, and forever after, considered African-Americans with suspicion. After some discussion, Mr. Zee stated the moral lesson he hoped his students would imbibe from the story:

Here's what I'd like you to think about. I'd like you to think about the fact that distance can be created by many, in many different ways. My grandmother had distance created between her and her image of an entire group of people because of one negative experience out of thousands of experiences. It was able to create distance. The fear that she experienced became synonymous with the distance that she created in her mind between her and

a whole group of people. It wasn't about them; it was about her. The distance that gets created is sometimes created by ourselves. To recognize the human face of somebody, the specific human qualities, personhood, the individuality of people, is a big step towards getting rid of collective prejudices.

While I was often surprised by the choice of morals, I was nonetheless impressed with the high level of trust Mr. Zee was able to foster among students by telling them about his life. Rather than constructing psychological distance between students and teacher, Mr. Zee put his students at ease by revealing himself to them. Papers and pencils, the usual accoutrements of school, Mr. Zee explained to me later, could serve as a "block" for his less academically inclined students, which is why the students did not need them for class. He wanted all students in his non-tracked class, whether they were college-bound or not, to participate in class, which is why he made it easy for them. All that was required of them was to voice their opinions occasionally or listen to stories frequently.

The second phase of Mr. Zee's course I named 'the Identity Phase.' In it, each student presented an aspect of his or her identities to the class as a whole. Before they began, Mr. Zee was careful to set up rituals to accord each of the presenters with respect. The students were instructed to applaud both before and after each presentation, and they were warned, in a sterner than usual tone, neither to have books out on their desks nor to fall asleep during class. Mr. Zee described the Identity Project of a student in another class section in order to illustrate his goals for the projects in general:

...She brought in a candle for her Identity Project, a beautiful candle, ornate on the outside, and she talked about how she was like this candle. People saw her from the outside, and there, she seems pretty, smart, to have a lot going for her, but...on the inside, she's burning, and she explained why. She talked about the generational pain of having been abused as a child and having dealt with it and how she's still dealing with it. The pain has a legacy, which is that sometimes she's afraid of being with a man and [afraid of] what that will be like. So, afterwards, people were shocked, shocked that this was someone they thought they knew and didn't know at all. The point is that pain is universal; struggle is universal; and sometimes the people right next to you have a real nobility in getting through.

In the projects, an amazing array of student talents, hardships, hobbies, and strengths was conveyed through story telling, arts, video, dance, music, toys, and bodies. Aija, who at no other time during the

semester spoke in class, rapped about becoming a proud Black man. Jose told a heartbreaking story of his father's leaving their large family penniless, ending his project by pulling up his t-shirt to reveal a tattoo of his father's name spanning his entire back. Roberto read original love poems he had written in both English and Spanish (earning him an offer of accompaniment to the school prom). A quiet White teen talked about the ordeal of her mother's cocaine addiction. And Peaches, a Black teen known to have been in and out of the juvenile justice system for violent acts, brought in the toddler she cared for every day after school. Each project thus provided a glimpse into the world of that person's experiences, wielding a tremendous moral impact on the students in the class. As Erin explained, as a result of the Identity Projects,

I'm starting to look at people more personally now, and realize they're not just a face or how they look. They do things other than school, they have a life, and everybody's a lot more similar than they seem to be.

For the third phase of the course, Mr. Zee had warned the students that they would study the Holocaust academically:

We're gonna start looking more at history, ...[and there will be] more traditional work for a while. And some of you are gonna think, 'Cool, it's about time.' And others of you are gonna think, 'It was better when we didn't have to do this kinda stuff.' The end result has gotta be...on the same level as the first 6 weeks, where you're involved, you're curious, but you're also academic.

Polarizing academics with the state of being 'involved' and 'curious,' Mr. Zee's third phase of the course did incorporate more Holocaust-related content, although not enough to give the students a sense of what the Holocaust was, is, or has come to be. For the most part, Mr. Zee resumed many of the activities that had characterized the first phase of his course. He told stories; he recycled some key vocabulary he had taught; he showed videos. While the Holocaust was often a topic in these activities, it was seldom dissected. Rarely, in other words, was the Holocaust discussed in terms of the historical events that comprise it; rather, it tended to be discussed as 'the Holocaust'—a single, whole, assumptive entity. Thus, while it formed a kind of thematic link between activities or served as a historical backdrop to his stories, in actuality, it was left unexamined and uninvestigated.

In the second week of this phase, for example, a reporter visited Mr. Zee's first-period class, and assuming that students understood what comprised the Holocaust, she asked the students whether "it could happen here." Mr. Zee asked the students to write an answer silently

to the question before they discussed it aloud. When they were ready, Mr. Zee opened the discussion by using a format he called a tag team. A group of four students revealed their ideas to the whole class and then tagged four others to do the same. What was striking to me about this activity was that the range of students' answers displayed how little prepared many were to draw careful comparisons. Atlas, in the first group "tagged" by Mr. Zee, said, "I don't think it could happen...Back then it was unprecedented; now people have jobs studying history and they know what to look for." Rene, in the second group tagged, disagreed. "I think it could happen, 'cause who says we're not livin' in a Holocaust now? Just look at all the homicides and suicides!" In this format, Mr. Zee's students talked *about* the Holocaust without ever having discussed what constitutes it. Rene considered the Holocaust to be about "homicides and suicides," in part because she was never exposed to the concept of genocide, and Atlas had not learned enough about "it" to know in what ways the Holocaust was unprecedented and in what ways it was not. Mr. Zee's students understood the Holocaust's iconic status, which allowed them to discuss 'it'; they had not learned, however, what happened during the Holocaust, nor how its memory had accrued that status.

In our second interview, Erin expressed dismay at this state of affairs. Though she was enjoying Mr. Zee's course, she admitted that she felt "lost":

I like it [the course], but it seems like, I thought we were going to be more into the history by now, I mean, maybe he is, and he's moving too slow or too fast, but most of the time it's a lot of discussions, and to me, it doesn't seem like we're really into actual events. I mean, he said he's gonna try to stay away from the timeline thing, but for me, I'd appreciate it if we went over the facts of what happened more. I don't know, I'm kinda lost at this point in the class...He's a great teacher. He's a good teacher, but I'm used to teachers that just lay down what they're gonna do more than just kinda have fun with the whole class and like discuss and everything, so I'm not really used to him as a teacher, but I think he's really good.

For the final two weeks of the semester, Mr. Zee introduced his students, through videotaped testimonies, to people whom he hoped would serve as role models for them. The students saw no fewer than ten testimonies in as many days. Among the role models were: a rescuer who had shot a local policeman in order to save her Jewish charges during the Holocaust, a crusader who helped free jailed, battered women who had killed their husbands in self-defense, and a human rights activist who had brokered a truce between feuding gangs in Los Angeles. The stu-

dents saw so many testimonies in such a short time, in fact, that at one point, they confused the heroic activities of the individuals, mistaking the Holocaust rescuer with the battered women's advocate. "Too many videos in a week," one student muttered by way of explanation. Mr. Zee entitled this phase of the course 'participatory citizenship,' since these role models exemplified such activity.

Mr. Zee's course had clear successes, among them the high engagement level of his non-tracked students, the palpable sense of community he fostered through the sharing of personal stories, the unusually broad range of topics he touched on, and the opportunities he gave students to consider morally complex issues like American racism. For all these reasons and because of Mr. Zee himself, the students considered his class to have been a positive experience overall despite the reservations some expressed over its lack of factual content. The students had gotten to know each other and Mr. Zee very well; they had all felt comfortable in his classroom; and most of the students reported impressive moral learning from his course. Many had recognized and curtailed their propensities to stereotype, and some even documented an increased willingness to intercede on behalf of the unjustly oppressed. Mr. Zee had instilled in his students some of the moral lessons many would like students to learn from studying the Holocaust despite not actually teaching them about the Holocaust. But although he had engaged and inspired his students in non-traditional ways, teaching them to "face himself and themselves," Mr. Zee had not taught them to "face" Holocaust history.

In Mr. Zee's hands, Holocaust memory was eviscerated. It was stretched so thinly that it posed no challenge to his students—intellectually, spiritually, or ethically. With the laudable goal of empowering his students morally, 'breaking down the psychological barriers' between them, and not 'blocking' them academically, Mr. Zee regularly focused on the behavior of individuals, the roles of their decisions in shaping experience, and, conversely, the roles of their experiences in making decisions. In the story he told about his grandmother, for example, Mr. Zee concluded by saying, "The distance that gets created is sometimes created by ourselves [sic]." As was typical, this moral lesson spotlighted personal agency – his grandmother's part in forging "distance" in the wake of having been robbed. Obviously critical of her choice, Mr. Zee conveyed a maxim stripped of the story's larger, racialized context. In his choice of morals, Mr. Zee put "one bad experience" at the forefront, rather than putting thousands of stereotyped images and a history of racism into the background of her reaction. Though other morals in this story could have forged connections among the insidiousness of racism in U.S. history, the centrality of anti-Semitism in Holocaust history, and the lingering presence of prejudice and intolerance today, the moral Mr. Zee chose—that we 'sometimes' fashion distance our-

selves—did not foster these connections. He focused so exclusively on individuals—acting heroically or not, but in either case terrifyingly alone (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985)—that he neglected the larger forces of history in which individuals' decisions deserve to be contextualized.

Mr. Zee's emphasis on the theme of the individual was so complete that it impeded explanation for the Holocaust. The theme of the individual as a moral being—or of the individual acting alone—does not lend itself to explaining mass phenomena, the issues involved in group behavior. Thus, his paradigm not only obscured explanation of the perpetrators' behavior, it especially mystified excuses for that of the victims. The disjuncture that resulted is apparent in an accusatory remark Peaches made to me toward the end of the course. Having found out that I was Jewish, she exclaimed, "I still don't understand how y'all let yourselves be gassed like that." In her mind, European Jewish victims then, whom she conflated with a single American Jewish researcher now, had a choice in the matter of being mass murdered. The American mythos of individual agency, no matter how attractive as ideology, was decidedly compromised as an explanatory framework for Holocaust history.

The presentism of Peaches' remark was not incidental. Because Mr. Zee consistently threaded the past through the present and vice versa, Holocaust memory was 'democratized' in a sense. More than simply universalized, it was morally leveled. The pain of Holocaust survivors was likened, structurally if not substantively, to the trials of Mr. Zee's students. His insistence that "pain is universal; struggle is universal," was meant to actively diffuse the hierarchies of pain and privilege operating among the students in his class. At one and the same time, though, that constancy of comparison collapsed the historical experience of atrocity into the quotidian nature of contemporary American life. For both better and worse, the discourses of 'Holocaust uniqueness,' of horrific victimization, and of the special difference of living through a decidedly genocidal apparatus disappeared in Mr. Zee's classroom. While I agree with claims that "the extreme is always intertwined with normality and the everyday" (Rothberg, 2000, p. 12), in Mr. Zee's classroom the distinctions between them dissolved completely. Subscribing to free-market, capitalist notions of the self, Mr. Zee made it seem as though people create themselves entirely, regardless of historical moment. The resultant elisions allowed the course to end upbeat, hopefully, redemptively, the Holocaustal content submerged beneath the inevitable victories of 'participatory citizenship' in a multicultural age of individual triumph over adverse circumstances.

"Americanization" is by now a familiar trope in Holocaust studies (Rosenfeld, 1995; Ozick, 1996; Flanzbaum, 1999), though it "remains a contested process" (Rothberg, 2000, p. 251). Mr. Zee's 'American' cul-

tural mold channeled the Holocaust into a pathway that emphasized individualism, lauded heroism as individual accomplishment, and required redemption, constructing the Holocaust and post-Holocaust worlds as universally accessible, equivalently suffered, and teleologically driven toward moral triumph.

Building Strong Christians

Located on the rural outskirts of a midwestern city, Eternal Grace⁸ was a K-12 school associated with a charismatic, fundamentalist Christian church. The school had almost 500 students enrolled, and, as reflective of the growth in the population of fundamentalist Christians nationally, the administrators expected its enrollment to expand by 1/3 the following year. The building itself was stunning. Sitting on 28 acres of sculpted land, the \$3.1 million facility housed a daycare center, elementary, middle and high school classrooms, music rooms, gymnasias, a cafeteria, a state-of-the-art computer lab, and an impressive library.

The educational mission at Eternal Grace was two-fold. While preparing students academically, the staff mainly focused on teaching students to live “in the way of the Lord.” Their promotional materials elaborated what that meant. Training at Eternal Grace called for:

...teaching both the Truth of God as found in His Word, the Bible, but also truth as it exists in God’s world. We recognize that God is the author and source of all truth, and that true education is gaining this perspective and integrating it into all teaching. This perspective is theistic (God-centered), not humanistic (man-centered) and, as such, is opposed to atheism, evolution, permissiveness (an ‘open attitude’ in matters of morals and ethics), and existentialism (experience of ‘phenomena-orientation’ as the only reality). It stands in direct opposition to any thinking that is anti-Biblical or extra-Biblical.

Of the school’s two main educational goals, academic preparation served the aim of religious training, or, put differently, all teaching at Eternal Grace was geared towards creating strong Christians.⁹ The Holocaust unit Mrs. Barrett taught to her 8th graders at Eternal Grace was no exception.

The unit lasted for a full quarter, and not insignificantly, it occupied the first quarter of the school year. As such, it set the tone for the students’ experience in Mrs. Barrett’s classroom, pedagogically, intellectually and spiritually. Based almost wholly on a single text, the memoir of a Christian rescuer, the unit involved students’ reading chapters, answering questions about them for homework, and sharing

their answers when called upon during class time.

The memoir the students read, *The Hiding Place* by Corrie ten Boom (1971), is “probably the most widely read [work of] Holocaust literature in evangelical circles” (Ariel, 2001).¹⁰ The book describes the extensive rescue work of its author and her family, her resultant incarceration and loss, and the vicissitudes and triumph of her Christian faith throughout these ordeals. Ten Boom’s rescue work, though important in propelling her story in prison and then a concentration camp, is secondary, however, to the primacy of her faith as the driving force in the book. In fact, in *The Hiding Place*, ten Boom’s rescue work in Holland becomes so eclipsed by her missionary work in the concentration camps that as Mrs. Barrett’s students were reaching the final chapters of the book, one of the boys raised his hand in class to ask, “Did the Jewish people get...Are they still in that...Where are they?” This student had no idea what had happened to the Jews whom the ten Booms had hidden. Not only were their fates not discussed in the book, this student was even unsure as to whether ‘the Jews’ were still in the ten Booms’ hiding place, where the memoir had abandoned their stories. “Well, we’re not exactly told that,” Mrs. Barrett responded to the student’s query, “but we know that they were all caught except for one.” ‘Lost’ during the Holocaust, Jews were textually lost in this curriculum.

Also, as both the student’s question and the teacher’s answer imply, the Jewish characters in *The Hiding Place* remain nameless, with only two exceptions. The first is a character the ten Boom family calls “The Bulldog” for having a “rolling, short-legged gait” like the pets he loves. Even after introducing himself by name, Harry de Vries is referred to in the text (and by the ten Booms) as “The Bulldog.” This character “had become a Christian some forty years earlier,” according to the author, “without ceasing in the least to be a loyal Jew.” He described himself as a “completed Jew...a follower of the one perfect Jew” (p. 7): Jesus.

The other Jewish character named in the memoir is Meyer Mossel, whose “features are especially Semitic,” which makes hiding him especially risky. Mossel had been a cantor before coming to the ten Booms and, when asked to read from the Hebrew Bible one evening, his wailing is described as “half-sung, half-pleaded...so feelingly and achingly” that it recalled “the cry of the Exile itself” (p. 97). While evoking the image of an “ancient prophet”, Mossel’s characterization simultaneously suggests the modernity of a man shrugging off the constraints of tradition. Presented with the possibility of eating pork while in hiding, Mossel jokes that “of course...there’s a provision for this in the Talmud”; that is, a provision for what to do when the only available food is unkosher and thus prohibited under Jewish law. While chewing the meat, “eyes heavenward in pure pleasure,” Mossel adds, “I’m going to start hunting for it, too...just as soon as dinner’s over”

(p. 98). The characterizations of Jews within the text were thus brief, and both Jewish characters were in some way subsumed, at least symbolically, into Christian embodiments, 'The Bulldog' having become a Christian and Meyer Mossel having enjoyed eating as one.

Persecuted during the Holocaust and lost in the Holocaust curriculum, Jews were in a sense doubly victimized in Mrs. Barrett's enacted unit. In the following excerpt from class, Mrs. Barrett explained Jewish persecution after unearthing students' confusions about who was Jewish in *The Hiding Place*. It may well be that ten Boom's characterization of 'The Bulldog' as simultaneously a Christian and a 'completed Jew' produced some of the befuddlement that Mrs. Barrett confronted. She began by discussing a line from ten Boom's memoir:

Trace (reading): 'I pity the poor Germans, Corrie. They have touched the apple of God's eye.'

Mrs. Barrett: What does that mean, 'the apple of God's eye,' Dean?

Dean: The Jews were God's chosen people.

Mrs. Barrett: How do we know that?

Dean: The Bible says it.

Mrs. Barrett: Where does the Bible say that? How do we know that?

Dean: The Bible says it. [He doesn't know the specific answer, so instead repeats his earlier claim more emphatically.]

Mrs. Barrett: Okay, so the Bible says it. And we believe everything in the Bible is true. My question is, where in the Bible does it say so, in the Old Testament or the New Testament. Bessie?

Bessie: The Old.

Mrs. Barrett: The Old Testament, right. The Israelites were God's chosen people. They had special favor with God. What else did God do for Jews that was special? In what other ways did God favor the Jews? Dean?

Dean: He released them from slavery and all that stuff...

Mrs. Barrett: Okay, how about in the New Testament? Bessie?

Bessie: Jesus was a Jew.

Mrs. Barrett: Yes, Jesus was born as a Jew, wasn't he? On page 74...Corrie is moved to pray this prayer to God. It begins with 'Lord Jesus I offer myself...' What are the next three words, Reba?

Reba: 'For your people.'

Mrs. Barrett: 'For your people.' Again, Corrie is recognizing the Jewish people as God's special people, favorite

- people, people that God has a very, very strong love for. Yes, Jason?
- Jason: Was she Jewish? [Jason is asking whether Corrie is Jewish.]
- Mrs. Barrett: No, she was not Jewish. She was Christian. Her family has never been Jewish that I know of. They were Christians. ...They respected the Old Testament as well as the New Testament as we who are Christian should...Turn to page 73 and while you're turning to that page, I want you to think about something: The Jewish people were God's favorite people. They were God's chosen people. He had stayed with them. He had delivered them. He had answered their prayers at different times. He also allowed them to be hunted by enemies...Okay. Jesus was born as a Jew. What happened to Jesus and his relationship with the Jewish people? ...Justin? Did the Jews accept Jesus as the Son of God? As the Messiah?
- Justin: Yeah.
- Mrs. Barrett: Pardon, they did?
- Justin: I don't know.
- Mrs. Barrett: Put your book down, this isn't in your book. [Some of the students had been scanning for answers in the book.] Was Jesus accepted by Jewish people? Did Jewish people believe that Jesus was the Son of God, the Messiah?
- Justin: No.
- Mrs. Barrett: No. Okay. And so Jewish people rejected Jesus.

Hinted at, but never stated explicitly, Mrs. Barrett's conception of Jewish persecution rested on the Jewish rejection of Jesus as the messiah, who, for these Christians, supplanted Jews as the chosen people in God's eyes. As Jews abandoned God by rejecting Jesus during the first century (CE), so God abandoned or punished them during the Holocaust. The Holocaust, for fundamentalists, thus affirms Biblical judgment in our modern experience. In Mrs. Barrett's teaching, then, both the victimization of Jews and the rationale for their rescue were lodged in their special status of being chosen. In other words, Jews were not to be saved during the Holocaust because they were people, but because they were God's chosen people. Jewish identities as individuals, as well as their simple humanity as a collectivity, are somewhat shrouded in this view. Corrie ten Boom prays, "Lord Jesus, I offer myself for Your people. In any way. Any place. Any time" (p. 73). "Your people," capitalized as it is in ten Boom's text, can refer only to God's chosen people, Jews.

Though these excerpts may imply that Jews consistently appeared in classroom discussion, they did not. As the reading guide directed, most of the students' homework and in-class discussions focused on interpreting the book's meanings with the aid of the New Testament. Just as the book's text focused on the cultivation of ten Boom's Christian faith, so the reading guide focused students' attention on questions meant to cultivate theirs. Some examples include: "Psalm 68:20 says, 'God is to us a God of deliverances; and to the Lord belong escapes from death.' What almost happened to Corrie during a night of bombing raids?"; "What did Betsie mean when she said, 'There are no 'ifs' in God's world'?"; "In Chapter 13, Betsie encouraged Corrie to thank God for the fleas in their barracks, but Corrie could find no good reason to. What did they discover in Chapter 14 that changed Corrie's mind?"; "Read Colossians 3:12-17. What things does this passage encourage us to do?" The motto of the wildly popular publisher of the reading guide, Progeny Press, summarized the aims of the questions, which defined the texture of in-class work: "real books, deep questions, Christian answers." For *The Hiding Place* guide, the vast majority of the questions focused on understanding Corrie's story through 'Christian answers.'

The centrality of a fundamentalist Christian rescuer's story in teaching about the Holocaust eclipsed not only Mrs. Barrett's teaching about Jews, but also obfuscated both the considerably more complex role of Christians during the Holocaust and the deeply problematic complicity of Christianity as an institution in the perpetration of the atrocity (Carroll, 2001). The exclusive focus on Corrie ten Boom's experience compounded what might be called colloquially the "Schindler syndrome." Named for Stephen Spielberg's epic, pseudo-documentary, *Schindler's List* (Zaillian, 1993), the 'syndrome' refers to the centralizing of a rescuer's story in representing Holocaust history; though the story of *Schindler's List* was based on fact, it was nonetheless unrepresentative of Holocaust history as a whole, since Christian rescue activity during the Holocaust was highly unusual.¹¹ As Michael Berenbaum (1990) puts it, "righteous gentiles were numerically rare" (p. 14). In both *Schindler's List* and ten Boom's memoir, rescue redeems victimization and triumph overshadows tragedy. In both, too, Jews become supporting players to the main characters of the story, narrative props rather than full-fledged people. While Schindler and ten Boom are named, described, and identified with, the Jews they rescue remain an undifferentiated mass of humanity, indistinguishable as humans. Despite being physically rescued, their existence becomes narratively instrumental rather than existentially normative. In Mrs. Barrett's classroom, the distinctiveness of Jewish victimization within Holocaust history was denied, dwarfed, or supplanted by the centrality of conservative Protestant belief.

John and Elizabeth Sherrills' introduction to Corrie ten Boom's memoir exemplifies this trend. Describing the experience of hearing

Corrie ten Boom speak, after which they convinced her to write her memoir, the Sherrills conflate not only the collective experiences of Jewish victims and Christian rescuers under Nazi fascism, but even the individual experiences of a Jewish and Christian survivor:

It was in May 1968 that we attended a church service in Germany. A man was speaking about his experiences in a Nazi concentration camp. His face told the story more eloquently than his words: pain-haunted eyes, shaking hands that could not forget. He was followed at the lectern by a white-haired woman, broad of frame and sensible of shoe, with a face that radiated love, peace, joy. But—the story that these two people were relating was the same! She too had been in a concentration camp, seen the same savagery, suffered the same losses. (p. 5)

The broken man, the downcast and nameless Jew, plays the alter ego here to ten Boom's fullness as an uplifted and uplifting Christian.

Just as fundamentalist Christian eschatology considers Christians to have superseded Jews as the chosen people, so Christian suffering displaced Jewish persecution in *The Hiding Place*, and subsequently, in the teacher's enacted unit and in her students' understandings. That double displacement—which cast Christians as persecuted rather than persecutors—led Mrs. Barrett's students inadvertently to elide the differences between Jewish victims and Christian rescuers and between their differing circumstances in Holocaust history. When asked to identify what groups were persecuted during the Holocaust, Quincy, for example, replied, "...the Jews and the people who helped them out like the ten Booms." He paused to think for a moment, adding "all the people in the underground," by whom he meant not only Christian rescuers, like ten Boom and her family, but all resistance workers who aided (Christian rescuers) in their pursuits. Not incorrect, Quincy's answer was simply partial.

Dean's logic elaborated this kind of thinking. Like many of his peers, the strength of Dean's beliefs appeared immediately. In answer to our first interview question, to "describe yourself, your age, your religion, your family, etc.," Dean stated matter-of-factly, "All right. I'm fourteen. My religion is I'm a Christian, and I believe in God. He died for my sins." When asked later in the interview how perpetrators were able to execute atrocities during the Holocaust, Dean explained, "I believe the Nazis were atheists...They didn't believe there was a God, or it was just your life and that was it, basically." In other words, to become perpetrators, people either had to be atheists or had to dismiss the possibility of an afterlife, which, for Dean, was a certainty that included eventual judgment. Jews, according to Dean, were persecuted, "probably because they had a God and they believed in it. They really

believed in it and they wouldn't give it up." In Dean's thinking, Nazi atheists persecuted Christians and Jews alike for their adherence to God. Of course, many Nazis remained avowed Christian, Jews were persecuted and murdered regardless of their beliefs, and Christian rescuers like ten Boom were persecuted for their resistance activities, not for their Christianity. Ironically, though, Dean was partly right, considering that Nazi ideology embraced a neo-paganism that condemned Christianity as well as Judaism. But Dean's thinking was presumptive rather than informed; he had not reached his conclusions out of a familiarity with Nazi ideology but out of the conviction that belief in God or its antithesis was, and is always, ahistorically and acontextually the central determinant of human behavior.

Kira, in explaining God's role during the Holocaust, revealed an orientation similar to Quincy's and Dean's. From her perspective, though, Jews and Christians were persecuted equally by the Nazis not only for their beliefs, but for their expressions of that belief—what fundamentalist Christians call "witnessing" and what Richard Antoun (2002) defines as "pronouncing their own firm belief to...nonmembers" (p. 78). Kira likened those persecuted during the Holocaust to Christians persecuted during the Roman Empire. Indeed the "background narrative" (Mosborg, 2002) of Christians martyred by the Romans illuminated Dean's and her interpretations of the Holocaust. As Kira explained:

Kira: I think [God,] He was...kind of testing their faith, the Jews...because if they said that...they weren't Jews, then they wouldn't have been arrested and all that. So a lot of people were martyred there by saying they were Jews or saying they were Christians.

Susan (interviewer): What do you mean by martyred? What does that mean to you?

Kira: They died because of their faith, because they said they believed in God. Like the old Christians who said they believed in God and then they were nailed on the cross and burned or whatever. All those...I can't name them all off but...that they said they believed in God and then they died for it.

Jews, of course, were not persecuted for 'witnessing' during the Holocaust, nor because of their beliefs; if the students' theocentricity had been less dominant, or had they learned more Holocaust history, they might have realized that those who, like 'the Bulldog,' had converted to Christianity were still considered Jews under Nazi racial legislation. In considering belief and its expression all-important, however, Quincy, Dean, and Kira inadvertently elided the differences between Jews and Christians and between their differing circumstances in Holocaust

history. Alongside neglecting the possibility that Christians acted as perpetrators, such an orientation allowed students to completely ignore other groups persecuted during the Holocaust. The centrality of a chosen people in their collective memory narrowed their gaze to focus only on Christians and Jews, partially equating their experiences in the process.

Mrs. Barrett would likely have been proud of what her students had learned, for their theocentrism marked the cornerstone of her worldview. Mrs. Barrett had hoped that by reading the memoir, her students would emulate Corrie ten Boom; just as ten Boom's faith grew stronger during her imprisonments, so Mrs. Barrett wanted her students to turn to Jesus in their times of distress, whatever forms that distress might take in their lives. As she explained:

I teach *The Hiding Place* [because] I believe it's a story, which not only has historical significance, but teaches us many lessons about the persecution of others and about persecution that we, as Christians, may someday face. To be truthful, I fully expect as a Christian, whether in my lifetime or my children's lifetimes...that there will be, that we will have to deal with some type of persecution.¹²

In Mrs. Barrett's vision, just as Christians displaced Jews as God's chosen, ten Boom's suffering during the Holocaust both supplanted her Jewish charges' suffering and prefigured the future persecution of all Christians. For Mrs. Barrett, Holocaust history was hence instructive, its teaching instrumental. The memoir, she felt, did not promote vague lessons about humanity or ethics or history (though it did that too), but conveyed specific strategies for handling Christian persecution and thriving spiritually. Ten Boom, while imprisoned, had relied on Jesus, studied Biblical passages, continued to pray, proselytized to the unconverted in the camps, and forgiven her Nazi guards. No matter what spiritual trials or systematic persecution lay ahead for her students, Mrs. Barrett wanted them to follow ten Boom's example by identifying with her personally.

Elaborating her hopes for student learning in the unit, Mrs. Barrett continued:

I hope that the students become more sensitive to others, have more empathy and compassion for people with different beliefs. I hope, too, that they gain great boldness and willingness to stand up for what's right and not just go along with something that's wrong. I hope they learn the truth about this history, that they will understand what it was like to live in a concentration camp...But they will see that God can give us hope in any situation, that physical suffering is horrible and we all want to avoid it...and yet, we can find God in those times, in those places, whenever and wherever they are. And, if we give Him our pain,

give Him our suffering, whether He preserves us in our physical lives or not, that we can experience Him being with us, His closeness, and we can, only through God, find forgiveness and go beyond the situation to contribute to a world so that it would not happen again.

While Ms. Barrett considered the Holocaust a venue for instilling multicultural goals, she considered multicultural difference to refer not to categories of racial or ethnic identity, but to “people with different [religious] beliefs.” Moreover, the sensitivity to such others that she hoped to instill in her students bore no hint of any larger project of social justice. Primarily, Mrs. Barrett saw the import of the Holocaust in its relevance to her identity as a Christian, and she hoped that learning about it would bolster her students’ Christian identities. Ideally, she hoped that, through learning about Corrie ten Boom, her students would implant God more deeply in every facet of their lives. If the Holocaust itself was not interesting or important subject matter on its own terms, neither was any other history or any other subject matter in the school curriculum. Rather, all were subsumed into the work of building a strong Christian identity in each student and thus building a strong collective of Christians with a shared memory.

In sum, Holocaust memory in Mrs. Barrett’s classroom was funneled through Corrie ten Boom’s memoir, which casts the Holocaust as centrally a Christian experience, specifically fundamentalist and decidedly evangelical. In keeping with Eternal Grace’s mission statement, the Holocaust was curricularized as neither ‘anti-Biblical’ nor ‘extra-Biblical,’ but perhaps elastically Biblical. Corrie’s story, with its Christlike echoes, molds the Holocaust into an abbreviated passion play of sorts, where, in the place of Jesus, the “one perfect Jew” (ten Boom, 1984, p. 72), European Jews are symbolically sacrificed for her redemption. Simultaneously, then, Jewish suffering is both minimized and instrumentalized; it serves Corrie’s own beatitude. In the process, this Holocaust memory in Mrs. Barrett’s class overlooked the experiences of non-Jewish victim groups entirely, distorted the range of Christian behavior to render unimaginable Christian participation in atrocity, and disbanded non-theocentric explanations for the Holocaust or human behavior. The importance of belief in Mrs. Barrett’s students’ lives, their fundamentalist Christianity and its accompanying narratives, shaped their historical understandings so thoroughly that other explanations for persecution during the Holocaust—such as biological racism (Burleigh and Wippermann, 1991) or Church-based anti-Semitism (Carroll, 2001), economic depression or modern functionalism (Bauman, 1991)—were more than “occluded,” (Wineburg, et al, 2001). They were rendered invisible as possibilities. This narrowing of Holocaust memory, its confinement to Christological terms, can be read as an inverse of what

happened to Holocaust memory at the public school, where it was widened 'democratically' to serve anti-racist aims.

Contrasts and Comparisons

Beyond the obvious claims that schools necessarily inculcate particular value sets and that curricularized content areas therefore reflect those values, a comparison of Mrs. Barrett's and Mr. Zee's Holocaust narratives bears more nuanced implications as well. Broadly viewed, the narrative divergences were reflective of their schooling contexts. The two classes educated towards different ends: Mrs. Barrett's towards Christian identity, Mr. Zee's towards multicultural universalism. As a consequence, the two teachers employed radically different foundational texts. In Mrs. Barrett's classroom, Corrie ten Boom's memoir transmitted the Holocaust; in Mr. Zee's, the students' and his own personal experiences formed the container for Holocaust memory.¹³ Pedagogically, the two classes were dissimilar as well. In Mrs. Barrett's room, the students tended to recite short answers when called upon,¹⁴ and discussion was rare. The teacher-dominated, (memoir) textbook-driven discourse that resulted was a religiously driven pedagogical choice, meant to highlight the authority of the text and teacher, as well as the submission of the students. In Mr. Zee's room, by contrast, storytelling and discussion dominated, implying a non-hierarchical relationship between teacher and students. Whereas Holocaust memory became uniquely Christian in Mrs. Barrett's hands, it was symbolically democratized in Mr. Zee's.

Beyond the schooling contexts, however, the extremity of the differences between Mrs. Barrett's and Mr. Zee's Holocaust narratives embodies political critiques of both Christian and public schools more generally. The portraits are so extreme as to be practically prototypes of oppositional nightmares. In other words, Mr. Zee's course could easily encapsulate conservative Christian rightist excoriations of "progressive" public schooling writ large, while Mrs. Barrett's could certainly exemplify political liberals' denunciations of fundamentalist schooling. Humanistic, permissive, existential, and anti-Biblical, Mr. Zee's course flies in the face of Eternal Grace School's mission. His Holocaust narrative epitomizes the dangers conservative Christians consider inherent in public schooling as an institution (Apple, 2001). Mr. Zee's multiculturalism alone raises the specter that "an absolute faith in Jesus Christ is [not] the *only* means of salvation" (Apple, 2001, p. 114), an orientation that creates and perpetuates the cultural milieu necessary to "endanger Christianity" (Apple, 2001). On the other hand, many educators, multiculturalist and not, would decry the fundamentally anti-democratic strains of Mrs. Barrett's Holocaust teaching: its hierarchically organizing types of suffering (Christian over Jewish), its

exploitation of history for particularistic ends (the salvation of Christian children), its exclusionary dimensions (since only the suffering of so-called Biblical peoples, Christians and Jews, matters in the first place), its totalizing quality (Peshkin, 1986), and its religious essentialism. Notwithstanding these particularities, the withdrawal of Christian school children from the multicultural mix of public schools irks many democratic educators.

Despite the virulence of the critiques, in some respects the narratives can be read as convergent. Neither Mrs. Barrett nor Mr. Zee taught students history on its own disciplinary terms, but rather harnessed history to the heavy yoke of identity formation.¹⁵ American schools, both public and private, have always been in the business of identity formation (Kliebard, 1995), and I do not mean to suggest that any form of teaching can escape that charge; it is, after all, part and parcel of schooling. Schools exist for the purpose of forming specific identities. And yet, that both teachers discarded history so completely was striking. Both utterly rejected the teaching of history in its usual forms of either textual narration (the telling of who did what to whom and when) or of disciplined learning (the weighing of documents about who did what to whom and when). Not a single historical primary source document appeared in either classroom. The crucibles of identity formation left history so finely ground as to be invisible within the enacted curricula. History was abnegated.

Just as both teachers instrumentalized history, both Holocaust narratives instrumentalized 'otherness,' superceding or suppressing it. In Mrs. Barrett's room, true 'otherness' does not stand a chance, for it is unsaved. In Mr. Zee's class, the relationship to 'otherness' summons liberal critiques of classical multiculturalism; "Otherness" is at once glorified and disemboweled, relegated to the unrelenting sameness of individual difference. In both, then, others are taught about towards narcissistic ends, in order to understand the self. In Mrs. Barrett's room, others/Jews provide the stepping stones for personal salvation, having paved the way for 'chosenness'; in Mr. Zee's room, others provide the different threads from which the sameness of multicultural acceptance can be sewed. In an odd parallel, then, both classes feed on what might be called reflexive affirmation. A particular version of the self, Christian or multicultural, is projected onto the mirror of the Holocaust, reflecting back that same image of the self, if somewhat enhanced. While the natures of the selves are radically different—sacred vs. secular, collective vs. autonomous, specially loved by Jesus vs. abstractly respected by peers—the process is nonetheless similar at its core. Through an educational strategy of narrow identification with individuals styled for emulation, neither teacher taught about 'others' in themselves or 'otherness' for its own sake; both taught about 'difference' in service of the self, in service of a collectivized self.

The process of reflexive affirmation demanded dejudaization, the glossing over of Jewishness as a category central to Holocaust history. Berenbaum describes this process of universalization as a consequence of the Holocaust's 'screening' in the U.S. He explains that, "as the study of the Holocaust passes out of the ghetto and into the mainstream of American culture, it will inevitably be reunderstood in different categories—and thus, in part dejudaized" (p. 13). In some sense, comparing these cases reveals, in fine focus, competing mechanisms for dejudaization, the different narratives that different collective memories enshrine. In Mrs. Barrett's classroom, dejudaization was part and parcel of supercession; in Mr. Zee's, it may have been an outgrowth of multiculturalism. Either way, though, Jews were displaced, cast aside from the prominent role they played in Holocaust history.p

The "emplotments" (White, 1992) of Holocaust memory bore similarities across school sites as well; that is, the plots of the Holocaust narratives constructed in the two classrooms followed similar lines. The individual actor triumphing over adversity and finding redemption through suffering or its alleviation reverberated as a trope in both, perhaps a reflection of the originating Christian influences on American public education (Marsden, 1996; Popkewitz, 1998). Corrie ten Boom acquired almost saintly status at the conclusion of her memoir, and Mr. Zee, though compromised by teaching itself, garnered a more compromised version of the same awe by virtue of his story-telling heroics. In a sense, Mr. Zee's Holocaust narrative represented the secularized version of Mrs. Barrett's, where redemption has been translated as this-worldly success (in a multicultural America) vs. next-worldly salvation (in Jesus' embrace).

To return to the opening metaphor of this chapter, the two instantiations of the Holocaust I have been comparing can be likened to two radically different screenings of collective memory. Reflecting the sociological demands of their religiously narrow or ethnically diverse communities respectively, the two teachers shaped Holocaust memory, pressing it into molds that emboldened Christian particularity or promoted multicultural tolerance. The differences between the contents and pedagogies that resulted from the teachers' divergent aims, however, obscured profound similarities that emerged in their Holocaust enactments: similarities of dejudaization, narrative emplotment, instrumentalization of otherness, and treatments of historical information. Forced through the narrow funnel of reflexive affirmation, Holocaust memory in both classrooms was sweetened for easy ingestion, stripped of its horror, impotency, grandeur, and contingency. For both sets of students, then, the Holocaust occurred in a world where actors act autonomously, unrestricted by historical forces, where individuals always triumph, redeemed through or despite their suffering, and where the plotline always ends well. Whether 'building strong Christians' or 'breaking

down barriers,' these two Holocaust narratives were thus decidedly "American" screen memories.

Author Notes

1. For a fuller discussion of 'occlusion' as a function of history teaching and collective memory, see Wineburg, et. al, 2001.
2. For a more data-driven rendering (and somewhat different discussion) of the Christian school case study, see the article, "'Especially special': Teaching about Jews in a fundamentalist Christian school," which appeared in *Teachers College Record*. And for a more data-driven rendering and a more extensive discussion of the public high school case, see the chapter entitled "Facing ourselves but not history" in the book, *Making Sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from Classroom Practice*.
3. In the Christian school study, two research assistants helped me immeasurably, sharing in the work of observing, taking field-notes, interviewing, coding, and analyzing. They were Rebekah Irwin and Susan Gevelber. In the public school study, I worked independently.
4. In both studies, I sought students to be interviewed based on the criterion of 'representativeness,' but in the two schools what constituted that quality differed. In the Christian school, I invited students who represented the school's religious mission to be interviewed; in other words, I sought students who believed wholeheartedly and who identified themselves as such, calling themselves 'saved,' or 'born-again.' In the public school, I sought a group of students who 'represented' the diversity within the classroom make-up. Thus, I sought students from a range of race/ethnicities, socioeconomic statuses, previous school performances, grades/ages, genders, and interest levels in the subject matter.
5. By symbolic and consequential dimensions of the curriculum, I refer to the representation of the subject matter (the symbolic) and its impact on students (the consequences of that representation). Though the two dimensions are of course linked, they are artificially separable. For more on these terms and how I use them, see the article, *Simulating Survival*.
6. To date, no national surveys of Holocaust education practices have been conducted to warrant the claim that the patterns explored here are frequent, commonplace, or consistent across the U.S.A. The most comprehensive survey, which the University of Cincinnati Evaluation Services Center published in 2003, surveyed practices in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky only. That said, there are good reasons to consider the patterns to be generalizable, at least theoretically. The University of Cincinnati's study suggested, for example, that teaching towards moral goals is frequent in Holocaust classes, specifically, using Holocaust curricula to promote 'tolerance.' Moreover, the numerous evaluations of the *Facing History and Ourselves* program suggest that the patterns I identified in relation to the second teacher's case may well appear in other FHAO classrooms (Brabeck, Kenny, Stryker, Tollefson, & Stern Strom, 1994; Glynn, Bock, & Cohn, 1982; *Facing History and Ourselves*, 1993; Lieberman, 1986). As regards the first case's generalizability, it is even more likely to be a representative case, given that the curriculum guide Mrs. Barrett followed was published by Progeny Press, an exceedingly popular publisher of fundamentalist Christian classroom materials. In brief, while qualitative studies like the ones summarized above can never make claims about generalizability, these two are quite likely to be thematically representative of other classes nationwide.
7. Established in 1977, *Facing History and Ourselves* is one of the oldest Holocaust education organizations in the United States, and as such carries considerable name recognition. For more on their curricular history, see Melinda Fine's book, *Habits of the Heart*, Jossey Bass, 1995.
8. Eternal Grace, like all the proper names in this article, is a pseudonym.
9. I use the term 'Christian' here in the way that the members of Eternal Grace's religious community did, to refer to adherents of a particular tradition of Christianity that is fundamentalist, evangelical, and encompassing of both Charismatic and non-Charismatic

variants.

10. Yaakov Ariel (2001) has identified similarities across works in the genre he calls 'evangelical Holocaust literature,' including the critical attributes of being saved by Jesus and forgiving the oppressor. According to Ariel, the phenomenal success of ten Boom's memoir spawned the genre. *The Hiding Place* has sold over 2 million copies and gone through multiple printings in numerous languages. As a side note, I wish that I had been familiar with Ariel's writings before studying and writing about Mrs. Barrett's classroom, and I apologize to him for not citing his work earlier.

11. For a fuller explanation of this syndrome's attributes and interpretations, see, for example, Yosefa Loshitzky's (1997) edited volume entitled, *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List*. Despite the larger point about rescue being non-normative, Yaakov Ariel cites the historian Dan Michman to explain that "the percentage of fundamentalist Dutch Protestants who rescued Jews during World War II was more than three times their percentage in the total Dutch population, making up about 25% of those who saved Jews" (Michman, pp. 349-52).

12. While some might claim that Mrs. Barrett's convictions about eventual persecution are paranoid—especially in light of the fact that they were uttered while a fundamentalist Christian held the highest elected position in the U.S.A.—it is worth noting that it is one piece of an eschatological whole. In his wide-ranging analysis of the fundamentalist Christian right, Michael Apple (2001) explains that Mrs. Barrett's sense of eventual victimization "underpins (though not always at the level of consciousness) much of the emotional economy present within conservative evangelical movements...To be a Christian is to be *persecuted*" (pp. 115-116). For the historical origins of this orientation, see Paul Boyer's (2000) book, *When Time Shall Be No More*.

13. Though every student in Mr. Zee's class was given a *Facing History and Ourselves* textbook, the students would have needed to read them independently and of their own volition, as no readings were ever assigned or required.

14. Hugh Mehan (1979) labeled the tripartite unit of discourse that typifies classroom instruction as 'IRE': Initiation (by a teacher), Response (from a student), and Evaluation (of the response by the teacher). Mrs. Barrett's use of IRE was exceedingly traditional. For a more nuanced discussion of the IRE pattern, see Mehan's book, *Learning Lesson,s* or Cazden's (1998) careful elaboration on his book, *Classroom Discourse*. For examples of this kind of pedagogy within Mrs. Barrett's room, see Schweber & Irwin, 2003.

15. For a careful elaboration of the competing camps within the field of history education that I have oversimplified, see Peter Seixas' (2000) essay in the book he helped edit, entitled, *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*. And for an articulation of the competing camps' notions of purpose, see Keith Barton and Linda Levstik's (2004) book, *Teaching History for the Common Good*.

References

- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso Books.
- Antoun, R. (2001). *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Movements*. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Apple, M. W. (2001). *Educating the "right" way: Markets, standards, god, and inequality*. New York and London: Routledge Falmer.
- Ariel, Y. (2001). The faithful in a time of trial: The Evangelical understanding of the Holocaust. *Journal of Religion and Society*, 3(2001), 1-10.
- Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bauer, Y. (1982). *A history of the Holocaust*. New York: Franklin Watts.
- Bauman, Z. (1991). *Modernity and ambivalence*. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press.
- Begnini, R. (Director) (1997). *La vita é bella*. [Motion picture]. G. Braschi et. al. (Producers). Italy: Cecchi Gori Distribuzione.
- Bellah, R. N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Berenbaum, M. (1990). After tragedy and triumph: Essays in modern Jewish thought and the American experience. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Brabeck, M., Kenny, M., Stryker, S., Tollefson, T., & Stern-Strom, M. (1994). Human rights education through the "Facing History and Ourselves" Programme. Journal of Moral Education, 23(3), 333-347.
- Burleigh, M. and W. Wippermann (1991). The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945. Cambridge, England & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyer, P. S. (1992). When time shall be no more: Prophecy belief in modern American culture. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Carroll, J. (2001). Constantine's sword: The church and the Jews: A history. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Cazden, C. B. (1988). Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Books, Inc.
- Cuban, L. (1993). How teachers taught: Constancy and change in American classrooms 1890-1990. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Facing History and Ourselves. (1993). Project submission to the program effectiveness panel, US Department of Education, January.
- Fine, M. (1995). Habits of mind. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Flanzbaum, H. (Ed.). (1999). The Americanization of the Holocaust. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Glynn, M. T., Bock, G., & Cohn, K. C. (1982). American youth and the Holocaust: A study of four major Holocaust curricula. New York: National Jewish Resource Center.
- Kertesz, I. (2001). Who owns Auschwitz? The Yale Journal of Criticism, 14(1), 267-272.
- Kliebard, H. (1995). The struggle for the American curriculum: 1893-1958. New York: Routledge.
- Lawrence Lightfoot, S. & Hoffmann Davis. (1997). The art and science of portraiture. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lieberman, M. (1981). Facing history and ourselves: a project evaluation. Moral Education Forum, 6(2), 36-41.
- Loshitzky, Y. (1997). Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical perspectives on Schindler's list. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Marsden, G. (1991). Understanding fundamentalism and evangelicalism. Grand Rapids, MI.: W.B. Erdmans.
- Marsden, G. (1996). The soul of the American university: From Protestant establishment to established nonbelief. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mehan, H. (1979). Learning lessons: Social organization in the classroom. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Mosborg, S. (2002). "Speaking of history: How adolescents use their knowledge of history in reading the daily news." Cognition and Instruction 20(3): 323-358.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de memoire. Representations, 26, 7-25.
- Novick, P. (1999). The Holocaust in American Life. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Oliner, S. P. and P. M. Oliner (1988). The altruistic personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe. New York and London: Free Press, Collier Macmillan.
- Ozick, C. (1996, October 6). Who owns Anne Frank? New Yorker, 76-86.
- Parsons, P. F. (1987). Inside America's Christian schools. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1986). God's choice: The total world of a fundamentalist Christian school. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Popkewitz, T. (1998). Struggling for the soul: The politics of schooling and the construction of the teacher. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Rose, S. D. (1988). Keeping them out of the hands of Satan: Evangelical schooling in America. New York: Routledge.
- Rosenfeld, A. H. (1995). The Americanization of the Holocaust. Commentary, 99(6), 35-40.
- Rothberg, M. (2000). Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation. Min-

- neapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Schweber, S. (2003). Simulating survival. Curriculum Inquiry, 33(2), 139-188.
- Schweber, S. (2004). Making sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from classroom practice. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Schweber, S., and Irwin, R. (2003). "Especially special": Learning about Jews in a fundamentalist Christian school. Teachers College Record, 105(9), 1693-1719.
- Stearns, Peter, and Wineburg, Sam, eds. (2000). Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History. New York: New York University Press.
- Stern-Strom, M. (1977). Facing history and ourselves: The Holocaust and human behavior. Watertown, Massachusetts: International Education.
- Strauss, A. L. and J. Corbin (1990). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stuart, M. (Director). (1971). Willie Wonka and the chocolate factory. [Motion picture]. S. Margulies & D. Wolper (Producers). Unites States: Paramount Pictures.
- ten Boom, C. (1984). The hiding place. New York: Bantam books.
- University of Cincinnati Evaluation Services Center. (2003). An assessment of Holocaust education in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Evaluation Services Center.
- White, H. (1992). Historical emplotment and the problem of truth. In S. Friedlander (Ed.), Probing the limits of representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution" (pp. 37-53). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wills, J. (1994). Popular culture, curriculum, and historical representation: The situation of Native Americans in American history and the perpetuation of stereotypes." Journal of Narrative and Life History, 4(4), 277-294.
- Wineburg, S. (2001). Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Wineburg, S., Mosborg, S., & Porat, D. (2001). What can Forrest Gump tell us about students' historical understanding? Social Education, 65(1), 55-8.
- Wuthnow, R. (1989). The struggle for America's soul: Evangelicals, liberals, and secularism. Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans.
- Yates, J. (2002). American Evangelicals: The overlooked globalizers and their unintended gospel of modernity. Hedgehog Review, 4(2), 66-90.
- Zaillian, S. (1993). Schindler's List. S. Spielberg, Amblin Productions.

SIMONE SCHWEBER is Goodman Professor of Education and Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706.