

# **ANNE FRANK**



**Ronald Wilfred Jansen**

# Anne Frank

SILENT WITNESSES

Reminders of a Jewish girl's life



RWJ-PUBLISHING

**' I WANT TO GO ON LIVING EVEN AFTER MY DEATH ! '**  
**(Anne Frank)**

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# PROLOGUE

Annelies Marie ‘Anne’ Frank (hereafter referred to as Anne) has come to symbolise the Holocaust, and her diary has conquered the world. A plethora of biographies and books containing historical photos have been published on her life. The travelling exhibition *Anne Frank—A History for Today*<sup>1</sup> is the most visited Dutch exhibition outside of the Netherlands. The exhibition *Anne Frank: Her Life in Letters* (2006)<sup>2</sup> depicts her life in hiding with an impressive, panoramic video presentation of excerpts from her diary. Less well known to the public is the physical trail of Silent Witnesses, which serves to remind us of Anne in the (urban) landscape.

My interest in the persecution of Jews in general and of Anne in particular came about gradually. From 1994 to 1996, I participated in international voluntary projects through the Dutch volunteer foundation SIW—projects in the former concentration camps Sachsenhausen and Dachau<sup>3</sup> located in Germany. I wanted to enter into a dialogue with young adults from different countries. I was edging towards the second half of my thirties, whilst most of the others were in their early-twenties. Fortunately, one is never too old to learn.

We discussed Nazism and the dangers of neo-Nazism, with all of us horrified by the stories told by former camp prisoners and members of the resistance. A number of historians led discussions in the presence of local residents. Fortunately, some of them had the courage to face up to this black page in German history. Many (elderly) Germans, however, remain unwilling to face their past. We also participated in excavations and other activities; such activities were intended to foster mutual understanding, but with the secondary aim of facilitating fun together.

What struck me during these activities was the contrast between the current silence in the former concentration camps, combined with the hardships of the prisoners, on the one hand, and the harsh shouts of the camp guards during the war, on the other. I was struck by the

cruelty of the Nazi regime. Especially shocking were the lampshades made of human skin. Some of the younger participants were unable to deal with the horrors of the Nazi regime. American army videos displayed shocking images of the corpses of former prisoners in Buchenwald and other camps.

I visited the Achterhuis (the Secret Annex) for the first time in 2001. Visitors tend to be deeply impressed when they visit the Secret Annex, and I was no exception. I could feel the tension of the people in hiding, and I quickly realised Anne had become caught in the Nazi web: she had been snatched away from her usual environment. Anne had a keen interest in culture, religion, science and social matters, and was always concerned with the welfare of others. As a German refugee, she felt at home in Amsterdam and was eager to reach maturity. Her murder just because she was Jewish leaves a very bitter taste in my mouth. Her life was nipped in the bud.

I felt the urge to record Anne's life, not by means of a biography or a book containing old photographs—after all, so many of those have already been published—but in a different manner.

In 2008 and 2009, I went on a memorial tour, visiting Anne's various places of residence (hereafter referred to as main locations): her addresses in Frankfurt am Main and Aachen, the Merwedeplein in Amsterdam, the Secret Annex in Amsterdam where she went into hiding, and the Westerbork, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps where she was imprisoned.<sup>4</sup> I converted this historical journey into a (photo) book.<sup>5</sup>

The publication of the photo book proceeded with difficulty. The Anne Frank Fonds in Basel only permitted the use of five of Anne's quotes.<sup>6</sup> I wanted to publish the photo book in 2009, the year Anne would have celebrated her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. Since I was unable to find a regular publisher for the book, I decided to publish it myself. I quickly made a selection of photographs and edited them with the use of Photoshop; I purchased historical photographs from a stock agency; I did the layout myself and published the book in 2009 through a POD<sup>7</sup> publisher. For the English version of the book, I had to pay Random House<sup>8</sup> a (modest) amount of money because I had used a few



quotations from Anne's diaries. Unfortunately, however, my attempts at obtaining subsidies were fruitless.

Nevertheless, I was not put off. I positioned several historical photographs next to current ones taken from the same perspective, which painfully revealed the void left behind by Anne. Many people thought this approach was challenging, and consequently wanted to bring my photo book to the attention of the general public.<sup>9</sup> Hanna 'Hanneli' Elisabeth Goslar (born in 1928, hereafter referred to as Hanneli) was a friend of Anne's and liked my photo book.

The Anne Frank Stichting (The Anne Frank House) noted my original approach<sup>10</sup>, and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel remarked that my photographs bridge the gap between past and present.<sup>11</sup> In spite of this, however, neither organisation was prepared to publish my book<sup>12</sup>, which was a great pity. I decided, however, that I would not be deterred by any of this, and would add a final sequel to the photo book and booklet.

This book will be my last work on Anne, and it will be a supplement to the existing historiography of Anne. I wrote this book as a result of getting to know more about the main locations and the surrounding environment of Anne's residences, her hiding place, and various locations she liked to visit.

Another reason for writing this book is that time is running out for people who knew Anne to tell their story. In a similar vein, the book pays specific attention to the reasons behind why the places that remind us of Anne are disappearing.

The major monuments erected after the war, which commemorate Anne, the war and the persecution of the Jews, are mentioned in this book but not elaborated upon since its central theme is Anne's residential environment. These monuments serve to illustrate how Anne, along with other war victims, is being commemorated.

Various sources were consulted during the course of writing this book. Since the book is being financed by private funds, it does not include any photographs of Anne purchased from stock agencies or elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Ad Tiggeler<sup>14</sup> allowed me to use his collection of old postcards to illustrate this book. It contains excellent images, some

less well-known, including photographs of De Wolkenkrabber ('The Skyscraper', a block of flats looking out on Merwedeplein, Amsterdam). My gratitude also goes out to Jos Wiersema, who allowed me to use historical photographs from his collection<sup>15</sup>; images that go beyond the usual pictures.

Some materials from the photo book have been reused in this publication, supplemented by current photos of a number of places Anne visited, which I learnt of in 2010 and 2011 and had overlooked when making the photo book.

Anne maintained a scrapbook with photographs. Some of the places depicted in these photographs have not been identified exactly, even if they show Anne in front of a clearly recognisable background. Following the war, so much attention went to publishing *The Diaries* that not all old pictures were researched adequately with regard to their origin. The bitter fruits of this are now being harvested: the location of some of the buildings can no longer be established with certainty. Fortunately, however, I was able to recognise some of the places in these photographs when I was physically tracing Anne's footsteps.

For other photographs, however, I have not been able to establish location. One black-and-white photograph<sup>16</sup> shows an informal yet slightly uneasy gathering of three teenagers looking into the camera. Both boys are wearing neat suits that are in sharp contrast with their decrepit environment of bare vegetable gardens and unpainted sheds. The youngest boy is wearing clogs. A girl in a light dress gives the photographer a rather surly look whilst pulling one of the cords on her cardigan. This girl is Anne. The two boys standing next to Anne are Herbert Wilp (1928-2002, hereafter referred to as Herbert) and Hermann Wilp (1925-1945, hereafter referred to as Hermann), who came from Neuwied near Koblenz. Following the Kristallnacht<sup>17</sup>, Herbert and Hermann fled to Amsterdam. It is unknown where this picture was taken or what relationship existed between Anne and these boys.

Prior to travelling across Anne's locations, I studied the relevant literature in order to garner insight into what has been written about

Anne and where she stayed. Many books have been written about Anne. Melissa Müller's biography is well-structured and contains a wealth of background information on Anne.<sup>18</sup> The level of other writings differs greatly<sup>19</sup>, with practically all writers elaborating on others' themes.

The biography by Carol Ann Lee (hereafter referred to as Carol) contains several mistakes.<sup>20</sup> A meticulous description of Amsterdam locations reminiscent of Anne may be found in Bob Polak's book *Naar buiten, lucht en lachen! Een literaire wandeling door het Amsterdam van Anne Frank* [Outside: fresh air and laughter! A literary walk through Anne Frank's Amsterdam] (Amsterdam, 2006). His book was of great use to me. My book also contains information published before, supplemented by new facts about Anne's places of residence and presented from a new perspective.

*The Letters*<sup>21</sup> and *The Diaries*<sup>22</sup> Anne wrote are the main primary sources for reconstructing Anne's day-to-day environment, and are influenced by the opinions and interpretations of Anne, who, in turn, was influenced by her upbringing, environment and the spirit of her time. There is no information on how the others experienced the hiding: with the exception of Otto Frank (1889-1980, hereafter referred to as Otto), none survived the extermination camps. In spite of the chaotic circumstances in the Secret Annex during the fatal raid on August 4, 1944, excerpts of Anne's diaries remained intact. Many of the letters Anne wrote whilst living at Merwedeplein have undoubtedly been lost.

Margot kept a diary in the Annex<sup>23</sup> that most probably also has been lost, or perhaps Margot's diary is still hidden somewhere under the floorboards of the building at 263 Prinsengracht, in an old forgotten attic or orphaned in an archive that has escaped inventory. Who knows?

New information about Anne still occasionally crops up from hidden places. In 2008, one of Anne's postcards turned up in a gift shop in Naarden, the Netherlands<sup>24</sup>, along with a picture of a former admirer.<sup>25</sup> The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research<sup>26</sup> discovered some

letters by Otto, revealing that he wanted to flee the Netherlands with his family.

The period from December 6, 1942 up to December 22, 1943<sup>27</sup> is absent from the A version of *The Diaries*. The A version is the first version of *The Diaries*; the B version is the version rewritten by Anne herself, which she planned to publish in the form of a novel after the end of the war. The B version was never completed, probably because Anne was arrested, and ends on March 29, 1944. I prefer to take the A version, written by Anne between June 12, 1942 and August 1, 1944 as a point of reference because it is the uncensored version in which Anne wrote down her thoughts unreservedly and without consideration of her audience. In some places, the B version contains information that is lacking in the A version.

Otto contributed to a C version of *The Diaries*: The 1947 Dutch edition of *Het Achterhuis* [The Secret Annex], published by Contact, from which certain sensitive passages were removed by Otto<sup>28</sup>. The academic publication of *The Diaries*<sup>29</sup>, meant to scientifically refute the accusations by far-right extremists who claim *The Diaries* to be a forgery<sup>30</sup>, contains sensitive extracts written by Anne, which Otto had systematically kept out of previous publications.

A booklet containing difficult words that Anne wrote down<sup>31</sup> and the card catalogue of books<sup>32</sup> kept by Anne and Margot have not been found. An accounts book in which Anne noted down texts that appealed to her whilst she was in hiding has been preserved: the *Mooie Zinnenboek*, her Book of Beautiful Sentences (Amsterdam, 2004). (Please refer to the Bibliography section, Translator's Note, for more information on English editions and translations of titles in the). Some separate notes from the *Secret Annex* by Anne were preserved, and she also wrote stories, and in 1944 worked on a novel whilst hiding in the Annex. These were published in Dutch as *Verhaaltjes, en gebeurtenissen uit het Achterhuis. Met de roman in wording Cady's leven* (Amsterdam, 2005), and in English as *Tales from the Secret Annex. Including her Unfinished Novel Cady's Live* (Halban Publishers, 2010). The stories this book contains are partly anecdotes from the Annex, partly made-up fairytales and partly derived from

memories of the Jewish grammar school she attended, the Joods Lyceum. Both her stories and her prospective novel contain autobiographical elements: 'It isn't sentimental nonsense for it's modelled on the story of Daddy's life.'<sup>33</sup>

Anne does not elaborately describe her residential environment in her writings, presumably because it was a given to her—just like it is a given for us that we are free to walk down the street. One only notices that something is missing when it is gone. It was the same for Anne. During her period in hiding, she became more aware of the value of nature, fresh air and having some elbow room, and she described the chestnut tree, the birds and the sky above Amsterdam. Comparably, Anne did not write about her residential environments in Aachen and Frankfurt in any detail; she lived there only very briefly, and may not have remembered much about those places of her early childhood. During her hiding period, Anne mainly felt Dutch and probably did not feel any need to be reminded of her native country.

I was unable to obtain permission to consult the Frank family archives. I am unsure as to whether this would have proven useful; the exhibition *Anne Frank—Her Life in Letters* in the Amsterdam Museum in 2006<sup>34</sup> did not lead to new insights into Anne and her places of residence. Moreover, some other authors have already conducted extensive research in the Anne Frank Stichting archives.

I was unable to find specific sources, such as postcards or letters, Anne may have written in one of the concentration camps. She may have been prevented from writing—or perhaps she came to lack the strength. Many of the materials from the camps in which Anne stayed have been lost to posterity, meaning that her life in the camps can only be reconstructed through the eyewitness accounts of others.

I sought contact with people who (superficially) knew Anne and who were able to tell me about locations she had visited but did not mention in her writings. Whilst travelling along Anne's locations generally went fine, the contact with her former friends and acquaintances was more difficult. At times, their memory failed them, and they would make contradictory statements. Asking additional questions occasionally led to irritations.

Even today, some people continue to argue about who was or was not a friend of Anne's.<sup>35</sup> Some people who knew Anne and Margot are tired of the war and the attention that goes out to Anne.<sup>36</sup> Some do not like to be reminded of the loss of their family.

Some who were born during or shortly after the war are too young to remember anything concrete about that time. For many survivors, a visit to their old neighbourhood, the Rivierenbuurt, is very difficult. Hilde Goldberg-Jacobsthal (born in 1925, hereafter referred to as Hilde) had not been to her neighbourhood since 1943.<sup>37</sup>

Sometimes a person's health prevented me from having any contact; they understandably wanted to be left alone. Unfortunately, I had not been able to contact Hermine 'Miep' Santruschitz (1909-2010) before she passed away. Miep was the last surviving helper of the people in the Annex.

In 2010, I had a telephone conversation with Anne's friend Hanneli. This led to some new information on Anne's places of residence in Amsterdam. I am grateful to her and to the many others who helped me, such as Bernard 'Buddy' Elias (born in 1925, hereafter referred to as Buddy), all of whom are mentioned in the 'Special thanks to...' section of this book.

Various websites offered me the opportunity to publish a general request for information about Anne and her residential environment.<sup>38</sup> Through the 'Zuidelijke Wandelweg'<sup>39</sup> and 'Anne in de buurt'<sup>40</sup> community projects, I was able to reach people who did not belong to Anne's direct circle of friends but who did have important information on her previously unknown places of residence. 'Zuidelijke Wandelweg' and some other websites contain valuable information on the Rivierenbuurt, where Anne spent many years of her life.

Several German papers<sup>41</sup> only wanted to publish my request for sharing information about Anne if I paid them for it, which I declined because Anne is not a commercial product to me. What she left us is public cultural heritage.

Persons who have (in)direct experience of the war in Amsterdam provided me with a large amount of useful information about the war.<sup>42</sup> Karel N. L. Grazell (born in 1928, hereafter referred to as

Karel), who became one of Amsterdam's municipal poets, and Max C. van der Glas (born in 1938, hereafter referred to as Max)<sup>43</sup>, who is a writer and Holocaust survivor, did not know Anne in person, but they do know Amsterdam and its history extremely well.<sup>44</sup>

I reached people through the internet whom I would not have been able to reach through any organisation. I would gather information on the architecture of buildings and neighbourhoods in Amsterdam mainly from websites of the *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut* (NAI, the Netherlands Institute of Architecture)<sup>45</sup>, *Gemeente Amsterdam Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie* (BMA, the Amsterdam municipal agency for monuments and archaeology)<sup>46</sup> and *Joods Amsterdam* (Jewish Amsterdam).<sup>47</sup> Some elements that have disappeared from our landscape for good can be reconstructed virtually. I was fortunate enough to see Anne's chestnut tree 'live' from the Annex before it was blown down in 2010, but it can also still be admired in The Secret Annex Online.<sup>48</sup> The Secret Annex Online also served as a reminder during my reconstructions, and I would highly recommend it to anyone who has difficulty walking and would otherwise not be able to visit it.

I did not find any local papers that the Franks may have read during the war. Presumably, local papers were not distributed during WWII because paper was scarce and the strict German censorship suppressed their publication. Anne does not mention the *Amstelodamum* magazine that appeared during the war. However, an entrepreneurs' magazine dated January 11, 1940 states that Anne solved their puzzle and could collect her prize.<sup>49</sup>

However, consulting archives, reading, interviewing people or looking up information on the internet did not suffice for the purposes of this book. Travelling deepened my connection with Anne's environment, the distance between her places of residence, the size of her living space, and the elements reminiscent of her in the (urban) landscape. I could only experience the void Anne left behind by perceiving the world from her point of view.

I visited Amsterdam and Aachen again in 2010 and 2011 for the purpose of gathering additional information. The persons and

organisations involved provided permission to visit and record the locations inside and out, and I am very grateful to them.

Hopefully, the reader will be inspired to visit Anne's places of residence and share their experiences with others so that more people will take up an interest in Anne's cultural heritage, which extends beyond the Secret Annex, her diaries, and old photographs.

This book will hopefully contribute to the inventory and the preservation of the monuments that remind us of Anne. Private individuals, cultural institutions, research institutes and the government can contribute to this. A great deal of information about Anne is scattered, and there are things we still do not know.

It is important that the study of Anne's cultural heritage stimulates research into the physical traces left behind by other war victims so that they all get the attention they deserve<sup>50</sup>; after all, Anne is just one of millions of Holocaust victims.



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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.annefrank.org/en/Education/Travelling-exhibition/Introduction-international-exhibition/>.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.ymere.nl/ymere/index.asp?id=125> (Dutch only).

<sup>3</sup> I published a small report on my journey in the Dachau Newsletter by the Foundation for Friends of Former Dachau Prisoners: *Nieuwsbrief Dachau* (Stichting Vriendenkring van Oud-Dachauers. Nr. 9 – December 1994) pp. 8-9. (Dutch only).

The local media also covered the *Jugendbegegnungszeltlager* (youth gathering) in which I participated (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 August 1994), p. 7 (German only).

<sup>4</sup> Reports of my journey were published on <http://joodsactueel.be/2011/01/03/in-de-voetsporen-van-anne-frank-1929-1945/> and in a heritage magazine: Jansen, Ronald Wilfred. *Stille Getuigen. Sporen van Anne Frank in het (stedelijke) landschap* [Silent Witnesses. Reminders of Anne in the (Urban) Landscape], in: *Monumenten. Hét tijdschrift voor cultureel erfgoed* [Monuments. *The Cultural Heritage Magazine*] (Volume 32, issue 5, May 2011) (both Dutch only).

<sup>5</sup> My English photo book: Jansen, Ronald Wilfred, *Anne Frank. A Memorial Tour in Current Images* (2009) and its Dutch original are listed in the catalogue of the German National Library (<http://d-nb.info/998592757>). The English version is part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum library collection.

(<http://catalog.ushmm.org/vwebv/search?searchCode=GKEY%5E&searchType=0&searchArg=memorial+tour+in+current+images>).

‘In his photo book, Ronald Jansen reveals how our physical landscape contains reminders of Anne’s arrival and departure, presence and absence. Jansen tours Anne Frank’s home addresses, her hiding place and the concentrations camps where she was imprisoned, i.e. Westerbork, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen. In his report of this project, which he himself describes as a memorial tour or historical journey, Jansen takes old photos from the archives and puts them next to the pictures he has recently taken from the same perspective. One of the photographs, taken in the summer of 1932, shows three-year-old Anne playing with water in her garden. The photo taken decades later portrays the stones that were once a part of this scene. The building and the courtyard [Ganghoferstrasse 24, Frankfurt am Main, Frank family residence] are still there, but there are no children playing. In this way, Jansen captures the void Anne left behind.’ (Borgman, Erik and Liesbeth Hoeven, *Sporen van afwezigheid. Gedenken in stemmen, stenen en stilte* [Traces of Absence: Commemorating in Voices, Stones and Silence] (Zoetermeer, 2011), p. 55.

The residence stated in the books published by Unibook—which have been withdrawn from the market—is incorrect: Anne did not reside at 5 Liebfrauenstrasse in Eschweiler at this time but at 5 Elsa-Brändström-Strasse in Aachen. I am grateful to the Anne Frank Stichting for pointing this out to me (email dated 14 August 2009).

The paperback edition available through CreateSpace does state the correct address and also contains a current photo of the building. This English edition is available in full colour (ISBN 9781466281936) or in black and white (ISBN 9781463714345).

Since 2011, my photo book has been available in the Netherlands and Belgium through POD publisher [www.mijnbestseller.nl](http://www.mijnbestseller.nl) (ISBN 9789491080555 (English version) and ISBN 9789491080432 (Dutch version)). In 2011, I also published a black and white paperback booklet on Anne Frank at Mijnbestseller: *In de voetsporen van Anne Frank* (Following the footsteps of Anne Frank, ISBN 9789081423847).

<sup>6</sup> Email from the Anne Frank Fonds, 16 February 2009.

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<sup>7</sup> POD stands for ‘Print on Demand’. In POD, the author generally provides the text and layout. Most POD publishers in the Netherlands will provide registration at the central distribution centers in the Netherlands and Belgium (Centraal Boekhuis and Libris respectively). More information can be found on <https://portal.boekhuis.nl/cbonline/>. The POD publisher will often take care of sales and distribution. Seeking publicity is usually the author’s task.

Hoogeveen.nu (2 July 2009), Reformatorisch Dagblad (11 November 2009), Weekblad Meppel (25 August 2009), Auschwitz-Bulletin (53, no. 3, September 2009), the Krant van Midden Drenthe (19 August 2009), De Echo (‘Zuid’ edition, 3 February 2010), The Frankfurter Rundschau (13 June 2011) and the NIW (31) wrote about my publications. The Hoogeveense Courant (26 June 2009 and 14 August 2009) wrote an elaborate article on my photo project.

The *Krant van Hoogeveen* (25 August 2009), *Dagblad van het Noorden* (01 July 2009), *Meppeler Courant* (2 July 2009) and various other local (internet) media ([www.deloodsboot.nl](http://www.deloodsboot.nl)) and websites (<http://anne-frank.startpagina.nl/>, <http://concentratiekampen.loggy.nl/>, [http://www.goethe.de/ins/nl/ams/nlindex.htm?wt\\_sc=nederland](http://www.goethe.de/ins/nl/ams/nlindex.htm?wt_sc=nederland), <http://www.stiwot.nl/>) covered my publications on the internet. My gratitude goes out to all of them for their interest—especially the *Hoogeveense Courant*.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Random House is the exclusive licence holder for all Anne Frank texts in English within the US and Canada. They paid us a lot of money in order to acquire those rights, which is the reason they can decide whether or not to grant publishing rights of English Anne Frank texts and whether or not they want to charge money for it. This is normal procedure in international publishing.’ (Email from the Anne Frank Fonds, 1 September 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Verenigingsblad Waffel (June 2010, no. 44).

<sup>10</sup> ‘This book contains beautiful photographs. It is an excellent idea to take pictures of the places Anne has been to.’ (Translation of a Dutch email from the Anne Frank Stichting, 14 August 2009).

<sup>11</sup> ‘So far two members of the board are each holding a copy of your book and they are both very impressed with the book and like it very much.’ (Email from the Anne Frank Fonds, 17 August 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Email from the Anne Frank Stichting, 17 February 2009. The Anne Frank Stichting was of the opinion that my book did not fit their objectives. I do not really understand their point, but of course I respect their decision. The Anne Frank Stichting employs its own writers who publish books on Anne and sell them in their shop.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.gettyimages.nl/>.

<sup>14</sup> <http://members.casema.nl/a.tiggeler/>.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.amsterdamsetrams.nl/>.

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.gettyimages.nl/detail/3229104/Premium-Archive>.

<sup>17</sup> The Kristallnacht was a pogrom organised by the Nazis against Jewish people in Germany (9-10 November, 1938).

<sup>18</sup> Melissa Müller does a great job of separating main topics from side ones, structures her book well without losing sight of the chronological order of events and manages to place Anne in a broader context. Dutch edition: *Anne Frank. De biografie* (Amsterdam, 1998) English edition: *Anne Frank: The Biography* (Macmillan 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Even now, new books about Anne are being published, some of which provide a new perspective. An example is Francine Prose’s work *Anne Frank. Leven en werk van een schrijfster* (Amsterdam, 2009) which emphasises Anne’s artistic talents. English edition: *Anne Frank: The Book, The Life, The Afterlife* (Harper Collins Books, 2009). Anne’s life is also

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available as a graphic novel (Jacobsen S. and E. Colón, *Anne Frank. The Anne Frank House Authorized Graphic Biography* (Anne Frank House, 2010)).

<sup>20</sup> Carol Ann Lee states that Hanneli and her family emigrated to the US in 1940 (Lee, Carol Ann, *Pluk rozen op aarde en vergeet mij niet. Anne Frank 1929-1945* (Amsterdam, 1998) p. 82). English edition: *Roses from the Earth: The Biography of Anne Frank* (Penguin Books, 2000). In fact, Hanneli was deported to Bergen-Belsen. On page 83, Carol writes that Otto's office was located at Singelgracht, but his office was at Singel (no. 400, Amsterdam). (Lee, Carol Ann, *Pluk rozen op aarde en vergeet mij niet. Anne Frank 1929-1945* (Amsterdam, 1998) p. 68).

<sup>21</sup> Anne Frank Stichting, *Anne Frank. Haar leven in brieven* [Her Life in Letters] (Amsterdam, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> Official English title of *The Diaries: The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition*. The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (New York, 2003). Original Dutch title: *De Dagboeken van Anne Frank*. Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Amsterdam, 1990/2001).

<sup>23</sup> *The Diaries*, 28 September 1942.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.geheugenvanplanzuid.nl/tijdtijn/kaartAnneFrank.htm>.

<sup>25</sup> De Telegraaf, 26 February 2008.

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.yivoinsitute.org/>

<sup>27</sup> In *The Diaries* (20 May 1944) Anne describes how a toppled vase ruins some of her work. This may have included entries from her diary.

<sup>28</sup> Otto had recently lost his family, so it is quite understandable that he left out Anne's curses directed at her mother.

<sup>29</sup> *De Dagboeken van Anne Frank*, Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Amsterdam, 2001).

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t215308/>.

<sup>31</sup> 'I learnt some more new words today, 'bordeel' [brothel] and 'cocotte' [floozie], I bought a separate booklet for those.' (*The Diaries*, 28 October 1942).

<sup>32</sup> 'Father made Margot and me a filing box with cards that are blanc on one side. This will become our card catalogue of books; we will both write down what books we have read, by whom they were written and the date.' (*The Diaries*, 27 February 1943).

<sup>33</sup> *The Diaries*, 11 May 1944.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.ymere.nl/ymere/index.asp?id=125>.

<sup>35</sup> Eva Schloss' book (*Herinneringen van een joods meisje* [Memories of a Jewish Girl] (Breda, 2005)) states that she became Anne's friend. Eva lived at Merwedeplein during the same period as Anne. Anne does not mention her in her diary.

<sup>36</sup> 'I NEVER read Anne's diary, in spite of the fact that my daughter left it in our house for over a year. And probably I never will. My opinion on all those publications is the subject is being milked out (...) I think history has become too much focused on Anne, while so many other things were going on in the neighbourhood [Francien lived near the Franks].' (translation of a Dutch email from Francien Bachra, 21 December 2010).

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.geschiedenis24.nl/andere-tijden/afleveringen/2002-2003/Hilde-Goldberg.html>

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.bijbelantekeningen.nl/blog/2011/01/19/oproep-informatie-over-anne-frank-gezocht/>. De Weekkrant Amsterdam 11 January 2011 p. 4, <http://www.dichtbij.nl/amsterdam-zuid/regionaal-nieuws/artikel/1882689/gezocht-getuigen-anne-frank.aspx>, [www.echo.nl](http://www.echo.nl) 28 December 2010, <http://hetverhalenarchief.nl/user-stories>, Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad (NIW) 17 14 January 2011 p.37, <http://rivierenbuurt.weblog.nl/2008/05/08/profielschets-stadsdeelvoorzitter/>,

<http://www.seniorennet.nl/forum/viewtopic.php?t=71829&sid=432713e3d58f49e9b534626b863b51a5>, <http://www.deweekkrant.nl/pages.php?page=1528934>, Weekblad De Echo Editie

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Amsterdam Oud-Zuid 2 February 2011, <http://www.joodswelzijn.nl/de-Benjamin-Joodse-agenda/Oproepjes-activiteiten-ingezonden-door-lezers.aspx>.

The *Centraal Joods Overleg* (CJO, the Netherlands Central Jewish Consulting Body) does not have a magazine and only places content on their website that is directly related to the CJO. Some organisations, such as Gedenkst tte Bergen-Belsen and the Stadtbibliothek Aachen, do not have a newsletter. The Westerbork Camp Memorial Centre (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork) and the Anne Frank Stichting in Amsterdam did not reply when I asked for permission to publish a request for information about Anne.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.zuideljkewandelweg.nl/>.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.anne-in-de-buurt.nl/>.

<sup>41</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* ([www.faz.de](http://www.faz.de)), <http://www.zeitungsverlag-aachen.de/>, <http://www.az-web.de>.

<sup>42</sup> Max C. van der Glas.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.geheugenvanplanzuid.nl/ingezonden/113.htm>.

<sup>44</sup> This also applies to some of Anne's other former neighbours who may have seen Anne without knowing. 'I am afraid I cannot help you because I never met Anne. Still, our paths must have crossed regularly since we lived in Niersstraat across the school that Anne attended for a few years. By coincidence, I worked at Sporthuis Centrum in 1961, and there I became acquainted with a girl from Rotterdam who would travel up and down between Amsterdam and Rotterdam. She later found a room with the Vergnes family at [15 Merwedeplein](#). This means we know the roof terrace very well, although it was quite a feat to climb up there because it had no regular exit. Incidentally, I married that girl, and that will be 48 years ago this January [2011].' (Translation of email from John Hendriks, 22 December 2010).

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.nai.nl/bezoek/info>.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.bma.amsterdam.nl/>.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.joodsamsterdam.nl/>.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.annefrank.org/en/Subsites/Home/>.

<sup>49</sup> The periodical's title is *The Consumer* [De consument. Officieel orgaan op verkoopgebied verspreid door winkeliers aangesloten bij de Vakvereniging E.M.M] dated 11 January 1940. Page 7 lists the winners of puzzle 77 and 78. Anne Frank, 37 Merwedeplein won a photo album in group B (to be collected from shopkeeper J. v. Zalingen). In addition to a childrens' page, the periodical contains recipes, a serial and advertisements. Mrs. S. L. L. Fransen presented the periodical as a gift to the Anne Frank Stichting in 1996. (Email from the Anne Frank Stichting, 15 December 2011).

<sup>50</sup> 'Some are able to appreciate that [i.e. memories of Anne]. But we are her contemporaries and we lived in the same neighbourhood. We have seen so many houses being raided and none of those received the same attention. If I had had a say in it, the Merwedeplein residence would just have been rented out or sold.' (Translation of a Dutch email from Francien Bachra, 8 January 2011) Her lively memories of the Rivierenbuurt can be read on: <http://www.zuideljkewandelweg.nl/ingezonden/francienvanderveenbachra.htm>.