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From the editor

Inge Genee

This second on-line issue of *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies / Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises* contains three articles and a review, all of which were independently submitted to us. Together, the contributions cover a broad spectrum of subjects and approaches and offer something for everyone.

Gus Dierick's thoughtful essay on Simon Vestdijk's thinking on music, *Some thoughts on Simon Vestdijks's Essay 'Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is'*, will delight anyone interested in the history of music appreciation. It provides a rare glimpse into a lesser-known aspect of the work of one of the most important Dutch literary figures of the 20th century.

Jac Geurts' article *Clash of characters: Theodore Roosevelt's encounter with Queen Wilhelmina (1910)* describes conflicting accounts of the meeting between Dutch Queen Wilhelmina and former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt in the spring of 1910. The meeting is described in the context of Roosevelt's European tour in the year after his resignation and against the political, cultural and personal differences between the protagonists, providing the reader with an understanding of the complexity of the event.

Daniel Paul O'Donnell, in a paper entitled "*I certainly have the subjects in my mind*": *The Diary of Anne Frank as Bildungsroman*, attempts to uncover what Anne Frank herself had in mind when writing the various versions of her famous diary. It focusses on her developing identity as a writer, and argues that her goal in preparing her revisions was to produce not just a diary, but rather a *literary* diary.

Finally, we also offer you a review in this issue, written by Brent DeVos, of Stijn Bussels' recent book *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince Phillip of Spain into Antwerp* (Rodopi 2012). The reviewer critically evaluates Bussels' description of the elaborate welcoming ceremony staged by the city of Antwerp for the Spanish Prince Phillip in 1549 in the context of the complex socio-political circumstances in the mid 16th century.

This issue was produced with in-kind support from the University of Lethbridge Journal Incubator (<http://www.uleth.ca/lib/incubator/>), a joint initiative of the University of Lethbridge School of Graduate Studies and University of Lethbridge Library. The managing editors were Gillian Ayers and Jessica Ruzek.

Financial support was provided by the Nederlandse Taalunie, and by Dr. Cecil Houston, Executive Dean of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Windsor.

De la Rédaction

Inge Genee

Vous avez entre vos mains (pour ainsi dire) le deuxième numéro en ligne de la *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies / Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises*, qui contient trois articles et un compte rendu de livre. Toutes ces contributions nous ont été soumises indépendamment.

Les lecteurs qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de la réception de la musique apprécieront certainement l'essai de Gus Dierick *Some thoughts on Simon Vestdijk's Essay 'Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is.'* Il offre un rare aperçu d'un aspect moins connu de l'oeuvre d'un des auteurs néerlandais les plus importants du vingtième siècle, à savoir, ses pensées sur la musique.

Jac Geurts, dans son article *Clash of characters: Theodore Roosevelt's encounter with Queen Wilhelmina (1910)*, décrit les comptes rendus différents de la réunion entre la reine des Pays-Bas Wilhelmina et l'ancien président américain Theodore Roosevelt, au printemps de 1910. Cette réunion est décrite dans le contexte du voyage européen que fit Roosevelt après la fin de son mandat, et des différences politiques, culturelles et personnelles entre les deux personnages. Ainsi le lecteur saisit mieux la complexité de cet événement.

Daniel Paul O'Donnell, dans son article "*I certainly have the subjects in my mind": The Diary of Anne Frank as Bildungsroman*", essaie de découvrir ce qu'Anne Frank se proposait en écrivant et en réécrivant les différentes versions de son fameux journal. L'article se concentre sur le développement de son identité comme écrivaine, laissant voir qu'elle ne voulait pas écrire un journal quelconque mais un journal *littéraire*.

Le compte rendu, de Brent DeVos, nous présente le livre récemment paru de Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince Phillip of Spain into Antwerp* (Rodopi 2012). La recension évalue de façon critique la description par Bussels de la cérémonie à grande échelle qui accueillit en 1549 le prince espagnol Philippe dans la ville d'Anvers, description qui tient compte des circonstances complexes sociopolitiques au milieu du seizième siècle.

Ce numéro a vu le jour grâce à l'University of Lethbridge Journal Incubator (<http://www.uleth.ca/lib/incubator/>), initiative conjointe de l'University of Lethbridge School of Graduate Studies et de la bibliothèque de cette université. Nous tenons à remercier nos assistantes à la rédaction Gillian Ayers et Jessica Ruzek.

Nous remercions aussi ceux qui nous ont donné de l'aide financière, à savoir la Nederlandse Taalunie et le docteur Cecil Houston, Executive Dean of Arts and Social Sciences de l'Université de Windsor.

Van de redactie

Inge Genee

Voor u ligt (of staat, alnaargelang het medium waarop u dit leest) het tweede on-line nummer van *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies / Revue canadienne d'études néerlandaises*; het bevat drie artikelen en een boekbespreking; alle bijdragen werden onafhankelijk door de auteurs aan ons aangeboden.

Lezers met belangstelling voor de geschiedenis van muziekreceptie zullen ongetwijfeld grote waardering hebben voor Gus Dierick's essay *Some thoughts on Simon Vestdijk's Essay 'Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is'*. Dit essay geeft een zeldzaam kijkje op een minder bekend aspect van het werk van een van de belangrijkste Nederlandse literaire figuren van de twintigste eeuw, namelijk zijn gedachten over muziek.

Jac Geurts, in zijn bijdrage *Clash of characters: Theodore Roosevelt's encounter with Queen Wilhelmina (1910)*, beschrijft de uiteenlopende verslagen van de ontmoeting tussen de Nederlandse Koningin Wilhelmina en de voormalige Amerikaanse President Theodore Roosevelt in het voorjaar van 1910. De ontmoeting wordt beschreven tegen de achtergrond van Roosevelt's reis door Europa in het jaar na zijn aftreden, en in de context van de politieke, culturele en persoonlijke verschillen tussen de beide figuren. Zodoende krijgt de lezer een beter begrip van de complexiteit van de gebeurtenis.

Daniel Paul O'Donnell, in zijn artikel "*I certainly have the subjects in my mind*": *The Diary of Anne Frank as Bildungsroman*, doet een poging te ontdekken wat Anne Frank zelf voor ogen stond bij het schrijven en herschrijven van de verschillende versies van haar beroemde dagboek. Het artikel besteedt vooral aandacht aan de ontwikkeling van haar identiteit als schrijfster, en laat zien dat haar doel niet zozeer was het schrijven van een dagboek, alswel van een *literair* dagboek.

Ten slotte hebben we voor u een boekbespreking, geschreven door Brent DeVos, van Stijn Bussels' onlangs verschenen boek *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince Phillip of Spain into Antwerp* (Rodopi 2012). De bespreker geeft een kritische evaluatie van Bussels' beschrijving van de uitgebreide welkomsceremonie die in 1549 voor de Spaanse Prins Philip werd georganiseerd door de stad Antwerpen, tegen de achtergrond van de gecompliceerde socio-politieke omstandigheden in het midden van de zestiende eeuw.

Dit nummer is tot stand gekomen met assistentie van de University of Lethbridge Journal Incubator (<http://www.uleth.ca/lib/incubator/>), een gezamenlijk initiatief van de University of Lethbridge School of Graduate Studies en de University of Lethbridge Library. De redactie-assistenten waren Gillian Ayers en Jessica Ruzek.

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**Some Thoughts on Simon Vestdijk's Essay
'Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is'
in *De Gids*, 1956**

Augustinus P. Dierick

This paper examines the contribution made by Simon Vestdijk to the aesthetics of music in his 1956 article '*Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is*' for the journal *De Gids*. After a short introduction situating Vestdijk's paper within the context of aesthetics in general, and of music aesthetics in particular, four approaches to the definition of music as presented by Vestdijk are examined in detail. A discussion of the 'idealist' approach, which asks whether there is a transcendental dimension to music, and whether we can read a composer's 'mind' or 'mood' in music, is followed by an examination of the 'materialist' approach, which deals with music in terms of physics, acoustics, and listener response, and the associated question of pleasure or bewilderment on the part of the listener. In this context, it is shown that Vestdijk's conservatism seems to indicate his lack of familiarity with the so-called New Music, which causes him to underestimate the problematic relationship between composers and audience. After looking at the 'empiricist' approach, which emphasizes musical analysis to the detriment of other aspects of music and may lead to 'atomism,' and, finally, the 'relativist' approach, which attempts to define music in terms of expression and originality, Vestdijk ends on a note of agnosticism: Music is beautiful because it is beautiful. Music partakes of the ineffable, and like Wittgenstein, Vestdijk seems to suggest that "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent."

Key terms: History of Music; Aesthetics of Music; Reception Theory; the New Music.

Introduction

In 1956 *De Gids*, the Netherlands' pre-eminent literary journal, published an article by Simon Vestdijk, poet, essayist and prolific novelist, with the title *Muziek is mooi omdat zij mooi is* ('Music is beautiful because she is beautiful').¹

Now it may appear that Vestdijk is an unlikely source for writing about music, but it may be remembered that in a previous article in *CJNS* (Dierick 2002) I indicated the close ties Vestdijk maintained with the most important composer of his day, Willem Pijper, notably his collaboration on the opera *Merlijn*.² Vestdijk in fact wrote frequently about music and was well versed in it and its history.³ The article, we are informed by its author, is in fact the eleventh chapter of his book *Het Eerste en het Laatste: Grondslagen eener praktische Muziekaesthetiek* ('The First and the Last: Foundations of a practical Music Aesthetics', 1956), which was about to be published in the fall of that year by D. A. Daanen in the Hague. *De Gids*, on the other hand, is a somewhat unlikely

¹ Simon Vestdijk (1889-1971) was a Dutch poet, novelist, and essayist. After studying medicine he made his literary debut with *Verzen* ('Poems', 1932), but quickly developed into one of the most prolific and versatile novelists of the first half of the twentieth century. His psychological novels – many of them with autobiographical elements, especially those in the series which have Anton Wachter as their hero – focus on the morals and attitudes of the middle classes: *Terug tot Ina Damman* ('Back to Ina Damman', 1934), *Else Böhler, Duits dienstmeisje* ('Else Böhler, German servant girl', 1935), *Pastorale 1943* ('Pastoral 1943', 1948), *De koperen tuin* ('The garden where the brass band played', 1950), *Het glinsterend pantser* ('The shining armour', 1956), *Ivoren wachters* ('Ivory guardians', 1951). His historical novels explore the inner life of complex characters: *Aktaion onder de sterren* ('Aktaion among the stars', 1941), *Het proces van Meester Eckhart* ('The trial of Master Eckhart', 1970), *De nadagen van Pontius Pilatus* ('The declining years of Pontius Pilate', 1938), *Het vijfde zegel* ('The fifth seal', 1937). In all of his novels the influence of psychoanalysis is pervasive.

Vestdijk was also a prolific and influential essayist, with a wide interest: examples are *Albert Verwey en de idee* ('Albert Verwey and the idea', 1940), *Astrologie en wetenschap* ('Astrology and science', 1949), *Het schuldprobleem bij Dostojewski* ('The problem of guilt in Dostoyevsky', 1945). His special interest was music, however, and his output in this domain comprises ten volumes of critical essays and reviews.

All English translations are my own.

² Willem Pijper (1892-1947), a student of Johan Wagenaar, was for many years a feared and independent music critic for the *Utrechts Dagblad* ('Utrecht Daily'), a teacher of harmony at the Amsterdam Conservatory and editor of *De Muziek* (1920-1935). Pijper was a gifted teacher who had among his pupils such eminent Dutch composers as Rudolf Escher, Hans Henkemans, Piet Ketting, Guillaume Landré, and Henk Badings. Pijper composed orchestral music (among which are three symphonies), music for piano, chamber music, and the opera *Merlijn*.

³ Some titles from his later years: *Gustav Mahler* (1960), *De Symphonieën van Jean Sibelius* (1962), *De Symphonieën van Anton Bruckner* (1966). Vestdijk's musical essays were collected in *Verzamelde Muziekessays* ('Collected essays on Music', 1963), and comprise ten volumes.

place for the discussion of music, given that it is primarily a literary journal, but the name Vestdijk surely explains the appearance of the item here.⁴

It is legitimate to ask what relevance an article of 1956 may still have for us, apart from its connection with one of the Netherlands' most prominent literary figures. I hope to show that both its historical situation and the actual content of the article still hold considerable interest. In one crucial respect, to be sure, Vestdijk's title appears not only to be outdated, but in actuality questionable, namely in his use of the term *mooi*. Since it refers to a category pertaining to more traditional aesthetics, it is hardly appropriate for modern or contemporary serious music, and in general beauty is no longer a prime category of aesthetics in modern art in general either.⁵ As we shall see, Vestdijk's categories may be apt enough for the consideration of earlier music, but especially in view of the music already being written in his time, notably the *Neue Musik* (see below), the term is hardly appropriate. Fortunately, Vestdijk's inquiries into beauty broaden on several occasions into a more general calling into question of the very possibility of attaching meaning to music. The problems raised by the attempts to define beauty are, at the same time, questions about the nature and being of music, and for that reason retain their interest.

There is a second preliminary point I would like to make, one which will throw light on my way of proceeding in certain parts of this paper. Vestdijk's theses, I would argue, arise out of a specific historical situation. The years 1950-1960 mark the apogee of the critical reputation of the New Music (*Die neue Musik*), specifically the Second Viennese School (Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, Anton Webern), but also of Stravinsky; at the same time these years mark the beginning of the ascendancy of the next phase in musical history, the breakthrough of what has been called abstract music, *musique concrète* and post-modern music (Edgar Varèse, early Pierre Boulez, Karl-Heinz Stockhausen, and Hans Werner Henze, for example). A situation of general dis-orientation on the part of audiences, with a growing abyss between producers and consumers of serious music, led a number of critics and aesthetic philosophers to rethink the very definition of music. In the year of Vestdijk's article, 1956, Leonard B.

⁴ *De Gids* ('The Guide') was the most prominent literary and cultural journal of the Netherlands for most of the 19th and 20th century. Founded in 1830 by P.A. Beyerinck, *De Gids* featured articles on art, science, political and social issues, but had a special emphasis on literature. Important editors and contributors were E.J. Potgieter, Bakhuizen van den Brink, Cd Busken Huet, Joh. de Meester, Louis Couperus, Lodewijk van Deyssel and Frederik van Eeden in the 19th century and A. Roland-Holst, Aart van der Leeuw and Hendrik Marsman in the early 20th century. After the hiatus of the Second World War, the journal was newly established. Among its contributors were Simon Vestdijk and Harry Mulisch.

⁵ R.G. Collingwood states categorically: "Aesthetic theory is the theory not of beauty but of art" (1958, 41).

Meyer published *Emotion and Meaning in Music*. Two years later it was Theodor W. Adorno's turn to focus on the *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (1958). Susanne K. Langer's thoughts about music (notably in *Philosophy in a New Key* [1942] and *Problems of Art* [1957]) were still predominant, but they were gradually being replaced by the approaches of the contributors of *Aesthetics Today*, and again by writers like Donald Mitchell in his *Language of Modern Music* (1963). Echoes of these debates must have been heard in the Netherlands also: Hendrik Andriessen, a contemporary of Vestdijk, in his critiques later collected by the publishing house *Het Spectrum* as a *Prismaboek, Over muziek* (1950), refers to the new – though not avant-garde – music and pursues, in a casual language, some of the questions raised in the above-mentioned works, and in the process shows a remarkable agreement with Vestdijk's main claims. Vestdijk himself, especially in his contacts with Pijper, more than likely was influenced by the same historical situation.



*Simon Vestdijk plays piano, date unknown, Vestdijkbeeldbank.
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Vestdijk tells us that his book, of which the article in *De Gids* forms part, had in general a practical orientation, but the chapter under discussion is not descriptive, but analytical: it examines the question whether there can be norms and values in music. Since in traditional aesthetics beauty is one of the central concepts for which values and norms are suggested, beauty in music would

appear to occupy a similarly central position. The title of Vestdijk's article, however, expresses the opinion that no matter how hard and long we may labour in the garden of music aesthetics, the fruits of such labour will not yield a greater understanding of what constitutes music's beauty (however beauty is defined). Of course Vestdijk is aware that a simple statement of agnosticism is not sufficient to warrant the approval of his readers. Hence, though he writes, "Personally, I am convinced that musical beauty cannot be explained", he continues, "but I am quite willing to accommodate people who have a different opinion" (309).⁶

This is sound strategy. All revolutionary positions, including those in the sciences and humanities, entail an implicit or explicit dialogue with previous positions. In philosophical terms, Vestdijk's tautological explanation affirms, but also negates something, or at least implies that other explanations are either redundant or wrong. To support the challenge and provocation voiced in the title, he therefore develops but negates these other positions or explanations in the rest of the article. Though he admits that much of what he says about music is valid for all forms of art, music takes the lead in the debate about beauty, once again, "because there is so little else to explain" (310).⁷

To understand along which theoretical lines Vestdijk is arguing, and what he is arguing against, I propose to give a short summary of the main tendencies in the history of music aesthetics. It is understood, of course, that what has been theorized about music applies to some degree to all the arts. But one of the main tendencies of more recent music aesthetics has been precisely to warn against facile analogies with other arts, and to work out their differences rather than the features common to them.

Background

Music aesthetics as a distinct discipline has a relatively short history. To be sure, as part of the philosophy of art it reaches all the way back to the Greeks, notably Plato and Pythagoras. As an autonomous field of study, however, music aesthetics basically came into its own in the 19th century, and primarily in Germany, where it is intimately tied to developments in music itself – starting with its emancipation in the Romantic period from the service of feudalistic institutions, rising to its glorification as a kind of secular religion or a new

⁶ "Zelf ben ik ervan overtuigd, dat de muzikale schoonheid niet te verklaren is ... ; maar ik wil gaarne diegenen gerieven die een andere mening toegedaan zijn."

⁷ "omdat er in en aan de muziek verder zoo weinig te verklaren is."

mythology in the case of Wagner, and then transforming into the so-called New Music of the 20th century.⁸

Music aesthetics is generally considered a sub-field of the philosophy of art, though strictly speaking in the philosophy of art there are no divisions: art is the only appropriate subject for philosophy and all subdivisions are un-philosophical, according to R.G. Collingwood (1958).

The philosophy of art asks such typical questions as: "What is artistic expression? Is there truth in works of art?⁹ What do works of art mean? How do they mean? Is there a universal definition of art, are there values in art, and are there standards by which we can measure art?" In discussing music aesthetics, such more general questions must always be kept in mind, since questions concerning music are only raised to the level of aesthetics if they operate within this larger framework.

In addition to problems of the kind just iterated, music aesthetics specifically also asks questions about the matter or stuff of music, i.e. how it works (analysis, methodology of music, all the way from acoustics to questions of tonality, form and structure). Such problems are raised by philosophers (Hegel, Schopenhauer, R.G. Collingwood, for example), by cultural philosophers, sociologists (Theodor W. Adorno and Fredrick Jameson, lately also Alessandro Baricco), by psychologists who are focused on the effect of music on individual listeners (Carl Stumpf in the 19th century), by music critics, as well as by practitioners of music such as composers and performers themselves.¹⁰

For a definition of music aesthetics in the traditional sense, I have found the one given by Jan Wisse to be helpful:

Its purpose would be an investigation of the musical and extra-musical elements of a composition and the attempt, with the help of such an investigation, to come to the elaboration of objective criteria by which the aesthetic value of a composition can be measured once and for all.

(Wisse 1956, 108)¹¹

Note the key words here: objective criteria and aesthetic value. What the definition suggests is that musical aesthetics go beyond description – though

⁸ For the most recent writing on music and musical history in light of musicology see Katz (2011).

⁹ Claude Debussy's answer: "L'art est le plus beau des mensonges" (Debussy 1971, 60).

¹⁰ Aesthetics in general can be approached by referring to Barrett (1965), Philipson & Gudel (1980) and Roche (1998).

¹¹ "Het doel ervan zou zijn het onderzoeken van de muzikale en buiten-muzikale elementen van een compositie en het trachten met behulp van een dergelijk onderzoek te komen tot het vaststellen van objectieve criteria waaraan de esthetische waarde van een compositie eens en voor al kan worden afgemeten."

description and analysis are the basis of the whole exercise – and attempts to arrive at a judgment.

But can we attain this goal? Clearly there is the problem of the relativity of all judgment on beauty. An examination of musical history in all its complexity and multiplicity of manifestations similarly suggests that objective criteria do not exist. In due course, therefore, in light of what musical aesthetics can be about, we see the emergence of a much different definition of musical aesthetics. Again in the words of Jan Wisse: "Music aesthetics is the study of the relationships that exist between music and the human senses and the intellect" (109).¹²

Music aesthetics as a specific field of study gathers momentum only in the 19th century, and questions about the nature of music are raised especially by German thinkers. But the idea of meaning is already available in the Greeks. A thorough study of the subject would show that music aesthetics is part of the larger framework of aesthetics of art, and ultimately of philosophy itself.

Philosophy

In Eastern cultures, the Philosophy of music is narrowly related to cosmic and religious ideas, and to ethics. In the West, early thinking about music manifests itself in e.g. Plato's remarks in the Republic on the moral value of music and on the moral/amoral character of certain musical modes (Doric vs. Ionic). Pythagoras speculated on the music of the spheres and worked out certain relationships of numbers in music, which provided him with an understanding of acoustics and the proportions giving rise to octaves and fifths. The relationship of music to mathematics has remained strong ever since. In the Middle Ages, by contrast, music was considered strictly in functional terms – music is the handmaiden of liturgy and thinking about it is restricted to notions of skill and technique.

It is in the Baroque period that we see such philosophers as Descartes, Leibniz, Bacon, Locke, and Pascal begin to defend the idea that music is autonomous. But the links with extra-musical ideas remain: Leibniz wrote about music and mathematics while, at a much later date, Schopenhauer considered music to be the expression of the World Will.

Linking music with some transcendental idea remains a possibility even in the 20th century. Efforts have been made to link music to the study of symbolic forms, as in the case of Ernst Cassirer (*The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, 1923-1929), from whom Suzanne Langer takes her cue. The aesthetics of music is here

¹² "Muziekethiek is de studie van de betrekkingen die bestaan tussen de muziek en de zinnen en het intellect van de mens."

practiced as a philosophical discipline – but this is not the main emphasis either for Vestdijk or for me.

Music Aesthetics

When we turn to the aesthetics of music itself, when we move away from the consideration of the function of music to the consideration of its character and meaning, the key questions appear to be:

First: is music primarily a matter of sensuous elements (sounds) or is music primarily a matter of what lies beyond such sonorous elements, in other words intellectual content, or ideas? Formulated slightly differently: is music autonomous (absolute music) or is music to be understood as being in the service of an extra-musical idea or emotion?

Second: what is the relationship between intellect and emotion? This conflict or harmony between the sensuous and intellectual aspects of music is a leitmotiv for most writings about it, but in earlier times emotion seems not to have been a major category. A first indication of the importance of expressiveness in music comes with the late Dutch Schools (in the second half of the 16th century), the so-called *musica reservata*. But even at this stage, the guiding principle is not that music must move the listener. Since the music must follow the text very closely, and since rhythm is dictated by this need and retains the greatest value, we can say that it is an intellectual principle that dominates. A second guiding principle is that music must follow and imitate nature: As Jan Wisse writes: “The task of the composer was the revelation of the inner value of the subject (*soggetto*). This was only possible through the compositional procedure of imitation” (Wisse 1956, 111).¹³

The polar opposition of the senses vs. the intellect, or of musical autonomy vs. extra-musical values, remains a topic throughout the history of Western music. Gluck, for example, wrote that music is a very limited art, especially where the melody is concerned: “In the combination of notes one looks in vain for characteristics which correspond to human passions – they do not exist” (quoted in Wisse 1956, 111).¹⁴ Monteverdi, on the other hand, basing himself on Plato, attributes very strong extra-musical values to music. And whereas Couperin remarks regarding his titles that they have no meaning whatsoever and are only chosen to differentiate between pieces of music (Wisse 1956, 112), a shift in emphasis from purely musical ideas to extra-musical ideas

¹³ “De taak van de componist was de innerlijke waarde van het onderwerp [*soggetto*] te openbaren. Dit was alleen mogelijk door het compositorische procédé der imitatie.”

¹⁴ “...men kan in de combinatie van noten die een melodie vormen, tevergeefs zoeken naar eigenschappen die met de menselijke passies overeenkomen – zij bestaan niet.”

can be discerned in Rousseau. In someone like C.P.E. Bach, finally, in his *Affektenlehre*, we find the aesthetic theory that the most important goal of music is the depiction of typical emotional situations (Wisse 1956, 112). Whether such contrasting opinions in the 18th century can be related to the two movements of Enlightenment and Pre-Romanticism – as is the case in literature (cf. Dierick 1998) – I cannot say.

This side-by-side emphasis on these two aspects of music pertains also to Romanticism, but generally the contention is that musical aesthetics should look for its norms outside the music itself. This is the conviction of people like Schlegel, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, but also of Liszt, and partially also of Wagner.¹⁵ In the 20th century the defenders of extra-musical values in music are Hermann Kretzschmar (1848-1924), Hugo Riemann (1849-1919), and especially Arnold Schering (1877-1941). Here also lie the roots of the tendency to relate the music to the composer's life. It is Schering's belief that a composition is nothing but a means to transmit a composer's *Erlebnis* (experience, especially in an emotional sense) to the listener. Suzanne Langer, in the late 1930s, also defends extra-musical expressivity when she considers music to be a kind of language for that which cannot be said. Similarly, André Cuvelier in *La musique et l'homme, ou relativité de la chose musicale* claims that music is, to be sure, not a language in the strict sense, but that its essence nevertheless lies beyond what is sounded (Wisse 1956, 113).

Defenders of absolute music are, in the 19th century, Joh. Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and especially Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), who, in his *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* ('The Beautiful in Music') of 1854 defined music as "*tönend bewegte Form*" ('form moving in sound'). Followers of Hanslick in the 20th century – those who insist on the separation of life and nature on the one hand and music on the other – include Ferruccio Busoni, René Leibowitz, and Igor Stravinsky.

It must be noted that, different as they are, all these theories accept aesthetics as something relevant to music, as an objective quality. They only differ about whether aesthetic value is inherent in music or added to it. But in the 20th century, psychologists began to inquire whether aesthetics is not in reality located outside music itself. Their efforts led rather to an examination of the effect of music on the listener, to a psychological approach to music. One of the first of such investigators was Carl Stumpf (1848-1936). In his *Tonpsychologie* ('Psychology of Sound') of 1883-90 he located the category of value away from music itself – in other words he denied any objective criteria with which to attribute beauty, and placed it in the domain of the listener, in the reception.

¹⁵ For a discussion of Romantic music, the standard work remains that by Einstein 1947.

Music, whatever it is in itself, becomes something relative. This gives rise to the argument that musical content (if one can talk about it at all) is not exclusively determined by the composer, but is dependent also on the listener. A very simple point is often made in this context: Great differences can exist between the mood of the composer while creating his music, and the resulting music, as well as the mood perceived by the listener during its reception.¹⁶

It was Arnold Schoenberg, Jan Wisse argues, who, although he adhered to the theory that musical beauty is exclusively located in the music itself, was “one of the first composers who defended the point of view that the composer has no other language than that of constructing sounds, and that it then depends on the receptivity of the listener to what extent during a performance a correct construction and an experience of beauty takes place” (1956, 113).¹⁷ Unfortunately, the many experiments to put such listener reactions on a scientific basis, especially in the United States, have shown that no solid data can be obtained. In any case it should be evident that from the mere reactions of listeners no actual values can be derived for the compositions in question.

In summary then, there appears to be, both in theory and practice, one line in musical aesthetics which goes from Pythagoras to electronic music (mathematical, rational, absolute music), and another from Plato to Hindemith (emotional-philosophical music). Neither has found universal acceptance, but Jan Wisse suggests that an old theory might be recalled to help out:

For Aristotle music possesses an intrinsic value, which flows from the immanent laws of musical logic. But because the composer sets to music life – and this term interpreted in its broadest sense – as it presents itself transformed through his personality, music is also connected to its maker. To the extent that the listener is able to experience that transformation by means of his own personality emotionally and through his knowledge of musical laws rationally, music will have a great effect.

(Wisse 1956, 114)¹⁸

¹⁶ It is crucial to note, however, that this way of looking at art already arose in the later stages of the Enlightenment and of Pre-Romanticism (late 18th century), and was partially initiated by the writings of the Dutch philosopher François Hemsterhuis, as noted above.

¹⁷ “een der eerste componisten die het standpunt verdedigde dat de componist geen andere taal heeft dan in klanken te construeren, en dat het dan aan de ontvankelijkheid van de toehoorder ligt of en in welke mate bij de vertolking van een juiste constructie er een (schoonheids)ontroering zal ontstaan.”

¹⁸ “Voor Aristoteles bevat de muziek een eigen intrinsieke waarde, voortvloeiende uit immanente wetten van muzikale logica. Daar de componist echter het leven - en deze term dan in de ruimste zin op te vatten - verklankt zoals het zich, getransformeerd door zijn persoonlijkheid aan hem voor doet, is de muziek ook aan de maker gebonden. Naarmate de luisteraar in staat is door

This effect is threefold: ethical exaltation, purging of emotions, transcendence of the present through ecstasy. But, as Wisse writes, “[f]ortunately, [this definition] does not touch the ultimate secret of music and of art in general either” (1956, 113).¹⁹

This final statement of agnosticism by Jan Wisse seems to coincide admirably with the point made in the title of Vestdijk’s article. But, as the article itself demonstrates, Vestdijk’s judgment is not a priori: it is based on a thorough acquaintance with the traditions in musical aesthetics and takes up many of the points I have referred to up to now.

Vestdijk’s book from which the article is extracted, has, so the author tells us, in general a practical orientation, but the essay that is here reproduced is not descriptive but analytical. What follows, he admits, is to a large extent valid for all forms of art, but music takes the lead in the debate about beauty.

Vestdijk’s theses

Vestdijk supplies us with four main explanations concerning the concept of beauty: idealist, materialist, empiricist, and relativist.

The idealist explanation

Music, art, is beautiful, Vestdijk claims, because it partakes of “the beautiful idea, or the idea of beauty...The individual ‘art object’ partakes in a general concept” (310).²⁰ Vestdijk appears to accept, perhaps for the sake of argument, a Platonist point of view – the idea of beauty is manifested in the work of art. But he sees difficulties in accepting this idea. He cites two possibilities:

If behind the concept of beauty, i.e. behind the abstract, there is nothing transcendental, supra-sensual, then using the concept (abstraction) adds nothing to the individual thing which is or has beauty. Rather than arguing from the abstract to the individual beautiful item, it makes more sense to see beauty as the totality of all beautiful things. But either way, this has little to do with an explanation.

On the other hand, if something is hidden (hovers, rests, creates, exists) behind the concept of beauty (if there is a metaphysical sanction), then this would not help things very much either, since it would only explain that beauty

middel van zijn eigen persoonlijkheid emotioneel en door zijn kennis van de muzikale wetten rationeel die transformatie mee te beleven, zal de muziek een grote werking uitoefenen.”

¹⁹ “Aan het laatste geheim van de muziek en van de kunst in het algemeen ... raakt [deze definitie] gelukkig ook niet.”

²⁰ “de schoone idee of de id e der schoonheid ... Het bijzondere ‘kunst ing’ heeft deel aan een algemeen begrip.”

exists, not how it exists. In Kantian terms (not Vestdijk's), we have no access to "*das Ding an sich*" ('the thing in itself'), not even in music. Vestdijk himself is pretty clear about where he stands in the attempt to attain the transcendental via music: "Don't come to me with this kind of thing", he concludes (311).²¹

Although he does not do so specifically, Vestdijk probably would also be skeptical about reading into music the reflection of a composer's mind or the state of his emotions – a popular notion since Arnold Schering.²² Hendrik Andriessen in any case counsels his listeners to be wary of "profound discourses ... in which the 'movement of the soul' of the composer is explained with shameless arrogance Do not read the descriptions of Beethoven's unearthliness, but listen to the play of the deepest emotions and be happy with that" (Andriessen 1950, 179).²³ Both Andriessen and Vestdijk would probably have agreed with Maurice Ravel's pithy statement: "Music does not need philosophy" (Grunfeld 1973, 124).

The materialist explanation

Sensuous elements, vibration of the air, nerve stimuli, frequencies, decibels etc. are claimed to give a scientific explanation of the beauty of music, undoubtedly a good explanation, Vestdijk admits, but too scientific (311). It would not be amiss in this connection to mention once again some American experimental methods applied to the reception of music. Such experiments concentrate on the measurable effects of certain sounds produced by various types of music on individual listeners – pulse, blood pressure, heartbeat etc. They are frequently associated with behaviorist psychology, but have in the main not yielded significant or even tangible results.²⁴

Vestdijk does accept the idea that beauty can be related to elementary tone combinations. Some chords e.g. are more pleasurable than others, but they are in themselves not artistic creations. Again, there are human preferences for

²¹ "Mij moet men met dergelijke zaken niet aan boord komen."

²² A view probably inspired by Wilhelm Dilthey's theory of literature and one held with conviction by Hendrik Marsman about 'true' poetry. See Marsman 1926.

²³ "diepzinnige vertogen ... waarin u de 'zielegang' van de componist met onbeschaamde eigengereidheid wordt verklaard [...] Lees niet de beschrijvingen van Beethoven's bovenaardsheid, maar luister naar het spel der diepe aandoeningen en wees er gelukkig mee."

²⁴ An early 'materialist' reaction to music is quoted by Grunfeld (1973, 41). Samuel Pepys confessed in 1688 that his ignorance of music probably made his reactions flawed, but "[t]hat which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife." Equally amusing is the flap text accompanying Baricco (1996), which tells of an experiment in Wisconsin, whereby the production of milk by cows exposed to the music of Mozart improved considerably.

mathematical relations that are experienced as agreeable, pleasant, or even significant, and certain harmonies, even considered in isolation, can already move us, but when in music such harmonies (chords) are used in applications that differ according to their function, the character of such individual sounds may change. A scientific explanation at that level has little chance of succeeding. Efforts of this kind will lead, Vestdijk objects (with a variation on Wilhelm Dilthey's [1906, 1910] philosophy) to explanation (*erklären*) rather than understanding (*verstehen*) – the former being the method used by the sciences, the latter the appropriate term for what the *Geisteswissenschaften* ('humanities') strive to achieve.

Nevertheless, the argument from sound leads to – and is related to – the idea that the beauty of music bears some relation to the idea of pleasure. "Pleasure, and pleasure alone is the proper purpose of art", Walter Sicker wrote (quoted in Hill 1949, 7). This is a theme that is common in much thinking about art, and it involves a new set of questions, for is the source of such pleasure to be found in the sensuous alone or in the recognition and understanding of such elements of music as scales and harmonies? Is there a pleasure in the discernment of structures (repetition, imitation, variation, etc.)?²⁵

If we restrict ourselves to the idea of sensuous pleasure, it can be demonstrated that the ear is far more accommodating to certain sounds and sound-combinations than to others. This is probably not only a matter of convention, but might be a more fundamental quality by which musical preferences are created. As early as in the philosophy of Pythagoras, certain proportions in mathematics were brought to bear on music, such that the Greek philosopher postulated a cosmic music, a "music of the spheres".

For the non-initiated, those to whom music appears only as more or less pleasing sound – people for whom in the more specific sense music does not "mean" anything – the harmonious and the melodious, be they defined in terms of mere acoustics or of habit (Western music as opposed to Eastern music, for example) will inevitably hold greater attraction than dissonance, and regularity and predictability will be preferred over surprise. This can most clearly be seen in the preference of most serious music lovers for the Classical period (especially Mozart); in popular music, music with a regular beat and simple harmonies prevails and is mainstream.

At the next level, where a more sophisticated appreciation (not meant here in an elitist but in a cognitive sense) prevails, the ability to recognize structures and patterns of music enters into the criteria for the enjoyment of

²⁵ The separation of sensuous and syntactical elements referred to here is discussed in terms of thought and feeling, of emotion and technique in Meyer (1980, 267-286). For a general discussion on this topic see the same author's *Emotion and Meaning in Music* of 1956.

music. An appreciation of these latter elements in music obviously requires an acquaintance with the technicalities of music. These may be gained by training, by sessions and courses in music appreciation etc., or simply by repeated and frequent exposure. Ralph Hill writes: "... the enjoyment and pleasure of music is not only a matter of lovely tunes, stirring rhythms, and gorgeous orchestral colouring. There are subtleties of harmonic change and of instrumental treatment that are not necessarily apparent even after repeated hearing of a work" (1949, 7).

The result of such frequent exposure, however, is somewhat ambivalent. Hill warns us that the object of musical appreciation is "simply to help people to enjoy music more" (1949, 7). But there are complications here. As with all forms of art, music appreciation depends on a certain horizon of expectation (*Erwartungshorizont*). One cannot appreciate an artistic or musical language without initiation,²⁶ but such initiation creates its own boundaries beyond which it is often difficult to go. Once a certain type of musical language has been absorbed, it becomes a kind of norm, against which the unknown is measured. And since most listeners – and performers – become familiar with the classics, and the established and well-known composers first (in the case of Vestdijk those of serious music, in our days of a variety of musical genres) they will tend to move within a range of languages and styles as within a kind of comfort zone. The result of this can become obvious when one examines typical programmes of music offered by our major orchestras and ensembles. In most cases, the audience's enjoyment of music is defined, and in some cases severely restricted, by a certain conservatism in taste. Frequent concertgoers or collectors of recorded music, rather than demonstrating an expanding range of musical tastes, may come to indulge in a game in which a very limited catalogue of musical compositions is enjoyed in an unlimited number of performances, each pitted against the other with minute variations and subtlety. In almost all cases, however, the catalogue is one that demonstrates criteria not so very different from those for whom music is, as suggested above, more or less pleasant sound. Here, too, we find an overwhelming tendency to demand the euphonious, the uncomplicated harmonics, and to show a preference for the well-defined melodic line. "I like a piece of music with a tune", I overheard someone saying at a recent concert in my home town. In such a context, that which falls outside of this narrow range does not even come into focus, and specifically more avant-garde music poses problems which references to pleasure cannot cope with.

²⁶ This applies not only to the student of music, who, Sem Dresden repeatedly stresses in his *Algemene Muziekleer* (1952), needs a *leermeester* ('teacher'), but even to the listener, for whom the experience of music otherwise can be likened, as the flap text to Ralph Hill's *The Symphony* (1949) puts it, to a hot bath or a pipe of tobacco.

This is a topic that does not figure prominently enough in Vestdijk's treatment, I feel. As already indicated, Vestdijk starts from a rather conventional idea of beauty, and even though he was aware of modern music, all of his examples are drawn from pre-20th century music. In modern serious music (which is after all the music of Vestdijk's time) there is a growing bafflement on the part of the listener, a growing lack of understanding. In the main, there are three sources of this confusion, each of which appears to work precisely against Vestdijk's conventional idea of beauty and harmony:

First, there is the increasing use of dissonance, which is felt by many as absence of beauty, or experienced as ugliness, even a source of pain. Modern music frustrates the listener's expectations – one of the major sources of pleasure being the resolution of conflict, which in contemporary music is either suspended beyond the customary boundaries or unresolved.

Second, there is an increasing loss of melodic lines or of melody altogether, which has as a consequence a disorientation, since it deprives the listener of a crucial and effective structuring principle. In music we do not have a perception of individual notes, but of a sequence, and the total experience of hearing a tune is a progressive and irreversible series of experiences which telescope into one another. Hearing a tune is one experience, not many. The absence of a tune in contemporary music makes this experience difficult if not impossible. What is needed then, is an intellectual, organizing effort.

Finally, the advent of atonality and the transformation of contemporary music into what Donald Mitchell calls 'abstract music' again becomes a source of bewilderment since it circumvents or negates the existence of an aural home.²⁷ Alessandro Baricco has written: "It is not by accident that serious music which should be the expression of modernity, in other words so-called contemporary music, is a music that severely and systematically stifles emotion and pleasure" (1996, 58).²⁸

Contemporary serious music seriously undermines the ability to envisage modernity as pleasure.

The empiricist explanation

Here the explanation of beauty is analytic. Since in music smaller units build into larger units, a reverse process could be adopted to explain how it is done, and how music ends up being beautiful. Music can become the subject of analysis; it

²⁷ Interestingly, Baricco considers that atonality and dissonances, originally intended precisely for the 'shock-effect', have now become irrelevant (1996, 82-83 *and passim*).

²⁸ "Ce n'est pas un hasard si la musique cultivée qui devrait être l'expression de la modernité, autrement dit la musique contemporaine, est une musique qui lésine avec sévérité et systématiquement sur l'émotion et sur le plaisir."

can be deconstructed into smaller components which will yield the reasons why music is (un)pleasant, beautiful, profound, and meaningful. Music is examined in an effort to make the beauty of the composition dependent on the fragments, the measures, the harmonies, the themes, the motifs, the smallest thematic unities, and also of the more synthetic elements, such as repetition, variation, relations etc. (312). Alban Berg, in analyzing Schumann's *Träumerei*, went so far as to claim that there is a limited number of such units in a composition. Vestdijk's objection to this approach is that these smaller units need an explanation in their turn (leading to atomism); moreover, the possibilities of such elements, both individually and in combination, are infinite – and what 'laws' govern these smaller/smallest units? The question of building blocks in music of course poses a major problem for the listener – as opposed to the expert reconstruction of a composition with score in hand. To what extent such elements are recognizable in real time, in the process of being sounded, is a vexing one. A solution must be seen in the context of music appreciation and education, which in turn has its own problems. It is an unquestionable fact that even the enlightened lay person will conclude that an over-emphasis on this approach to musical composition – and to music reception – leads to assessments such as Cor van Berkel's about Schoenberg: "In this way music turns into arithmetic and mathematics, as captivating as a logarithm table, as soulless as a formula" (1950, 226).²⁹ At the same time, it must be granted that any debate about the meaning of music is best demonstrated by the controversies surrounding the New Music: they provide an excellent testing ground for the re-examination of the role of musical language and vocabulary, method and structure, and abstraction and understanding in music aesthetics.

The relativist explanation

This explanation is considered by Vestdijk to be "by far the most interesting [...] because here, after the idea, the nature and the musical structure, Man himself is given a voice" (313).³⁰ Vestdijk is referring to the idea that the value and meaning of music has to be sought in its effect on the listener. Discussion of this view (*Rezeptionsaesthetik*) has in the 20th century acquired a considerably more sophisticated vocabulary of a philosophical and technical nature, rather than a psychological one.³¹

²⁹ "zo wordt de muziek reken- en wiskunde, boeiend als een logarithmetafel, zielloos als een formule."

³⁰ "verreweg de interessantste . . . omdat hier, na de idee, de natuur en de muzikale structuur voor het eerst de mensch zelf aan het woord komt."

³¹ See above, the work of Leonard B. Meyer and Susanne K. Langer.

Vestdijk is correct in that he locates value in a judgment,³² this value being the result of the fulfillment of certain conditions. The criteria of beauty are no longer located in the phenomenon itself (music), but in the effect of the phenomenon on the receiver: "We are no longer concerned with the characteristics of the music itself, but with as accurate as possible a formulation of our judgment, after which of course the music itself is then once again given its due, because the judgment is related to it" (313).³³

To express such judgments of value, it is common to use certain synonyms of *mooi*, of which some are appropriate, others not. We may feel that 'clever', 'characteristic', 'interesting' or even 'touching' or 'dignified' belong to the first category, but in fact Vestdijk finds only 'expressive' and 'original' to be useful. An examination of these terms follows.

i) 'expressive'

This particular notion has a long history. Let me expand a little here, and provide some background. There are a number of theories that interpret art as expression: Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) sees good art as bringing pre-consciousness into consciousness; for Suzanne Langer (1986) art, more specifically music, is a language for the otherwise inexpressible. The debate whether music is in effect a matter of expression of emotions, or rather a matter of the formulation – or at least the suggestion – of intellectual ideas, is a central one in the history of Western aesthetics.

Vestdijk notes that the term has two meanings – in the sense of 'depicting' (*iets afbeelden*) and 'expressing' (*iets uitdrukken*).³⁴

Depiction (*afbeelden*) applies at best to programme music – which in itself is, as Hendrik Andriessen has pointed out, a problematic genre: its dependence on a subject is of negative value: "the positive meaning of a composition lies always in the musical powers themselves [...] Good programme music can do without its programme" (Andriessen 1950, 171-2).³⁵ Vestdijk himself, using the terms 'illustrative music' and 'music of ideas,' contrasts this type of music unfavorably with absolute music, "which denotes nothing" (314).³⁶

³² This is in the tradition of Kantian philosophy; Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (*Critique of the Power of Judgment*, 1790) is concerned with aesthetic judgments.

³³ "Het gaat hier dus niet meer om kenmerken van de muziek zelf, maar om een zoo nauwkeurig mogelijk formuleeren van ons oordeel, waarna dan natuurlijk ook weer de muziek tot haar recht komt, omdat het oordeel daar nu eenmaal op betrokken is."

³⁴ For a more extensive discussion of this aspect of music (and of art in general) see Bouwsma (1980).

³⁵ "de positieve betekenis van een compositie ligt altijd in de muzikale krachten zelf. [...] De goede programma-muziek kan zijn programma missen."

³⁶ "die niets 'bedoelt'."

Schoenberg, praising absolute music, heaps scorn on those who seek a type of music that represents: "One finds few people who can grasp music from a purely musical standpoint. The notion that a composition must create images or concepts, and could not be understood without words, is one of the most banal ideas about a work of art that exist" (quoted in Gräter 1955, 8).³⁷ In a more general way, R.G. Collingwood declares that "art proper is not representative", and "[t]oday, the only tolerable view is that no art is representative" (1958, 43).

As for expression (*uitdrukken*): what is expressed? Vestdijk is correct in warning us against an unexamined acceptance of the term. Though there have been many theoreticians and practitioners of music, especially since the Pre-Romantic era (C.P.E. Bach in his *Affektenlehre*, for example), who have accepted the idea that music can express emotions, many have denied music this capability. Gluck, as we have seen, denied that there is a correspondence between music and human passions; one may also quote Stravinsky: "... expression has never been an immanent property of music" (Wisse 1956, 113).³⁸ Against this contention, however, it is useful to place the claim by Hector Berlioz that the dominant features of his music were "*passionate expression, inner fire, rhythmic drive and the element of surprise*" (Grunfeld 1973, 96; my emphasis).

That music is capable of expressing ideas is an even more dangerous notion, according to Vestdijk.³⁹ Certainly it is extremely hazardous to attribute to music a World View, as Adorno appears to do in his *Versuch über Wagner* (1964 [1952]), and inter alia in his *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (1972). Some enthusiastic Marxist theoreticians like Fredrick Jameson (1980) even claim to generate the whole decline of the bourgeoisie out of the development of music since the beginning of the last century. Such theories, in that they make references to a master narrative which itself has been jettisoned, hardly inspire confidence in the theory of transference of ideas in music.⁴⁰

³⁷ "Man findet nur wenige Menschen, die Musik vom rein musikalischen Standpunkt her erfassen können. Die Einbildung, dass eine Komposition Bilder oder Vorstellungen erwecken müsse, und ohne Worte nicht verstanden werden könne, ist die banalste Auffassung vom Kunstwerk, die es überhaupt gibt."

³⁸ Wisse continues to quote Stravinsky: "The phenomenon of music has been given to us only to create order in the chaos, in particular order between man and time. Once the construction is completed, and order has been established, everything has been said" (1956, 113). One may well ask, however, whether the establishment of a relation between man and time is perhaps an 'idea,' which would make Stravinsky's aesthetic an example of the idealist category.

³⁹ Yet Carl Czerny, after hearing music by Beethoven, told Bettina Brentano, "music is a higher revelation than all wisdom and philosophy" (quoted by Grunfeld 1973, 81).

⁴⁰ Similarly, the skepticism concerning analogies in the arts themselves (music/literature, music/art etc.) is shared by Vestdijk and Andriessen.

In any case Vestdijk suggests that it is difficult to say what musical ideas are, since they may be inherent in music (absolutely musical) or referential (in which case they may deteriorate into such cases as indicated above). Moreover, even if we were to accept such ideas, reference to them would say nothing about their value: ideas, after all, are neutral. Here once again, Vestdijk's conclusion is clear: "music points to itself"⁴¹ – we could in this special case perhaps even go so far as to say that music expresses itself.

While one may agree with Vestdijk that extra-musical elements may safely be discarded, his agnosticism vis-à-vis those ideas that are inherent in music makes Vestdijk miss out on some of the most significant writings about music that were already available to him when he wrote his essay. For one, Susanne K. Langer wrote a profound chapter entitled 'On Significance in Music', in her *Philosophy in a New Key* (1986 [1942]), and she explored this theme further in a chapter entitled 'The Image of Time' in her subsequent *Feeling and Form* (1953). The approach there is a philosophical one, which perhaps explains why Vestdijk does not deem it appropriate to refer to these writings: after all, his book was intended as a practical approach to music, though, as we have argued, the essay under discussion is – despite its casual tone – a theoretical one.

ii) 'original'

Again there are two meanings involved: original in the sense of new, i.e. not having been there before; and original in the sense of pertaining to the personality of the artist. Usually of course these two meanings coincide – it is hard to think of a composer who is new but not original and vice versa.

Is music beautiful because it is modern? Certainly this appears to be the thinking of such theoreticians of modernism as Donald Mitchell (1993 [1963]), who rejects even such composers as Richard Strauss and Paul Hindemith because they have to a large degree retained formal and tonal characteristics from before the Second Viennese School. It is precisely against this tendency and its representatives, the 'modernity maniacs' (*moderniteitsmaniakken*), that Hendrik Andriessen warned. In the field of music, he argues, the times are irrelevant and to speculate or bet on the temper of the times or the future is not a positive (Andriessen 1950, 140). Behind this question, moreover, we must postulate the idea of progress in the arts – a notion generally dismissed by philosophers.

Vestdijk raises the problem by asking a rather crude question: Is popular music (*amusementsmuziek*), which is much more modern and new than the compositions of e.g. Brahms, thereby more beautiful? Clearly, the question of what is more valuable enters into the debate here. The question of newness

⁴¹ "muziek verwijst naar zichzelf."

needs to be supplemented by that of level or quality – newness or originality by themselves cannot be criteria, or at least not exclusive ones.

The idea of originality is modern. It has no currency before Romanticism – Vestdijk points to the frequent practice of borrowing in the Baroque – cf. Bach or Vivaldi. Even if we find cases of borrowing in our own time (Respighi, Casella, Britten, even Mahler), it soon becomes clear that any objections we might have to such procedures are rather more a question of the function or quality of the borrowing than of the activity as such. I believe that Vestdijk would maintain the same opinion also in view of such phenomena as the Neo-Classicism of Stravinsky and the Post-Modern movement, with its frequent resorting to earlier stylistic characteristics in a parodic or playful vein.

Conclusion

In putting the case for an end to all speculations about why there is, or is supposed to be, beauty in music, Vestdijk adopted an extreme position. It is possible, however, to find Vestdijk's conviction in other places, though usually in somewhat more cautious terms. Hendrik Andriessen, to quote but one example, writes in *Over Muziek*: "One speaks of the essence of music, of the soul of music, of her cosmic meaning, of her metaphysical background, of the connection between religion and music. Nevertheless, the riddle of music is not solved, the content of the game remains a mystery" (1950, 178).⁴² Music is perhaps indeed, as Vestdijk suggests, like love: we know (or think we know) what it is, but a definition does not help. At the same time, definitions and descriptions are not without value: "They hit on something that is inherent in the true experience of beauty ... they can render an important service in the description of the beautiful, in the assertion of concrete values that can claim the name 'beauty,' and in the collecting and classifying of concrete value judgments" (317-18).⁴³

Is this a retreat from his original extreme position? Not really: Vestdijk suggests that there is a distinction between explaining and describing, and that the latter is a legitimate activity, while the former is an illusion. In that case, however, the activity of the critic seems to be deprived of its cognitive and evaluative basis. The task of the music critic presupposes that of the aesthetician, for in discussing and evaluating works of music the critic employs

⁴² "Men spreekt van het wezen der muziek, van de ziel der muziek, over haar kosmische betekenis, over de metaphysische achtergrond, over het verband van religie en muziek. Nochtans wordt de muziek niet ontraadseld, de inhoud van het spel blijft een geheim."

⁴³ "Zij treffen iets dat inhaerent is aan het daadwerkelijk ervaren van schoonheid ..., zij kunnen gewichtige diensten bewijzen bij het beschrijven van het schoone, bij het vaststellen van concrete waarden, die op de naam 'schoon' aanspraak maken, bij het vergaren en klassificeeren van feitelijke waardeoordeelen."

the concepts that are analyzed and clarified by the philosopher of music. Thus the critic may say that a work of art is expressive or beautiful; but it is the philosopher of art who asks what one means when one says that a work of art has these characteristics and whether such a statement may be supported. If the critic is deprived of these concepts, his legitimacy is in doubt.

Precisely this appears to be the position of Glenn Gould. In speaking of critics, he states:

The critic as aesthetic arbiter has, I think, no proper social function, no defensible criteria upon which to base his subjective judgments, and, historical precedent to the contrary notwithstanding, no strong case at law with which to defend them... An easier task would be to redefine the critic's role as consumer advocate... Conceivably [...] the critic could be retrained as a data collector, confined to the production of objective statements, and encouraged to redeem himself in a society for which, as Beethoven suggested almost two centuries ago, he has served as a morally disruptive, and aesthetically destructive, influence.

(Gould 1990, 258)

Both Vestdijk and Gould – the latter with a kind of grim irony – seem to want to restrict writings on music to an objective, descriptive, value-free and data-based discourse. What constitutes the beauty of music, what makes music beautiful, how music achieves beauty – this is the beyond, the great unknown, the indescribable, the 'unnamable' – to employ a term from Samuel Beckett – in short, the ineffable. Vestdijk, perhaps Gould also, appear to consider beauty in music, perhaps beauty as a concept, ultimately as one of those domains to which Ludwig Wittgenstein's dictum, first sounded in his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* of 1918, applies: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent."

However, even if it is granted that the concept of beauty is a problematic one, and, as I indicated, probably no longer a fully appropriate term in the discussion of modern art (at least not in its unmodified form), there appear to be no solid reasons to expect that writings about music which include evaluation and judgment about production and performance, will cease altogether. And tacitly or explicitly they will likely continue to claim legitimacy beyond the scope granted so grudgingly by Vestdijk and Gould.

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About the author

Augustinus P. Dierick was born in 1940 in Eindhoven, The Netherlands. He studied music at the Brabants Conservatory in Tilburg. In 1961 he emigrated to Canada, where he studied French and German and received his Ph.D. in 1975. Until his retirement in 1999 he was a Professor of German and Dutch at the University of Toronto. He has published widely on Expressionism, Modernism, Theory of the Novel, 18th Century Aesthetics, Dutch and German cultural and national identities, as well as on individual German and Dutch writers.

Clash of characters: Theodore Roosevelt's encounter with Queen Wilhelmina (1910)

Jac Geurts

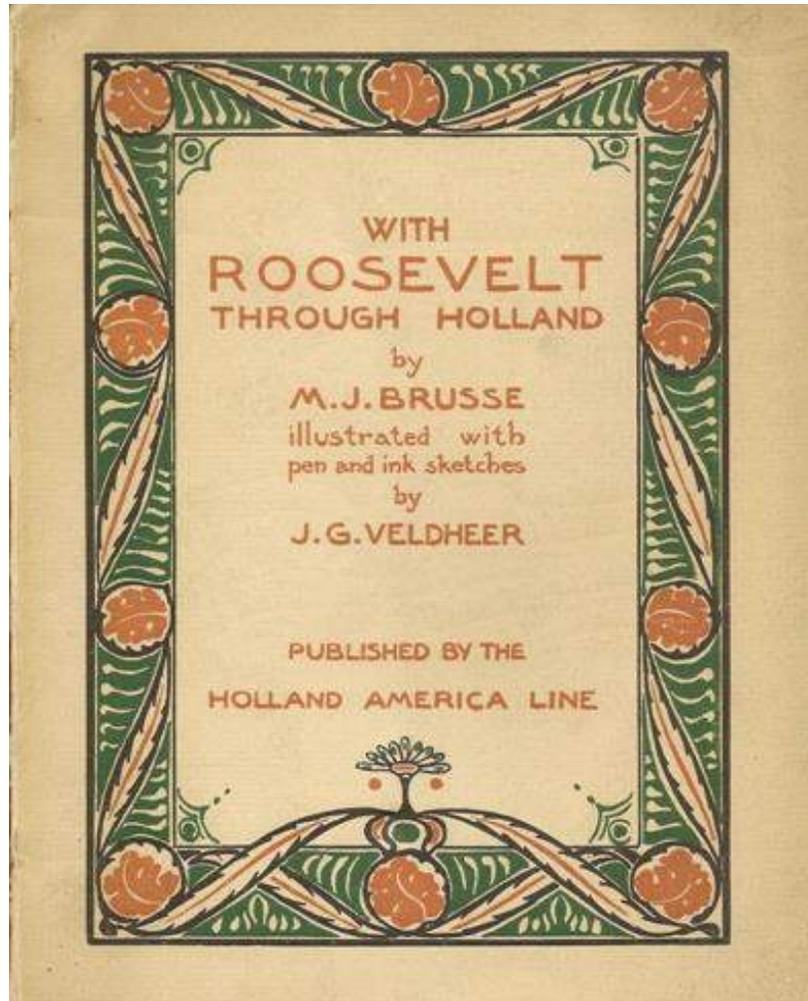
Immediately after leaving office in early 1909, former president Teddy Roosevelt left the United States for a 10-month African safari and a triumphal tour of European cities, where he enjoyed international acclaim. During this tour he also visited his forefather's country Holland, where he had lunch with the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina. According to a commemorative book, *With Roosevelt through Holland*, and two of the most important papers of the moment – the *Algemeen Handelsblad* and the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* – it was a fantastic journey which Roosevelt enjoyed intensely. The highlight of the program would have been his meeting with Queen Wilhelmina. In comparison to these ecstatic descriptions Roosevelt's version of the visit to Wilhelmina was, as expressed in a letter to a friend, very disappointing to say the least. She "wasn't nice, attractive or gentle, [...] but commonplace, arrogant and bad tempered ... a conceited middle-class frau", who he almost detested. The question what aroused his anger is the subject of this article. While the always smiling, easy going and open minded president was consistently in favour of the idea of democratic leadership, the queen's rigid personality was more prone to favour an autocratic government. Due to the differences in personalities between the two a clash of characters was inevitable.

Key terms: President Theodore Roosevelt; Queen Wilhelmina; Roosevelt's tour of Europe (1910); Dutch-American relations.

Introduction

Passengers on the 1911 maiden trip of the *S.S. Rotterdam*, the flagship of the Holland-America Line (De Boer 1923) could find a brochure in the library entitled *With Roosevelt through Holland* (Brusse 1911), written by the then well-known journalist for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (NRC) Rie Brusse (Teychiné

Stakenburg 1974).¹ The interested reader would get a very positive picture of the reception of Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), former president of the United States, in the Netherlands in the spring of the year 1910. The visit was a component of a larger European tour made by Roosevelt shortly after he resigned as president. According to Brusse, the visit to the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina was the highlight of this journey.



M.J. Brusse: With Roosevelt through Holland. Rotterdam: Holland America Line, 1911. Front cover.

One and a half years later, however, on October 1st 1911, the president wrote a long letter with his personal experiences of the trip to an English friend,

¹ This article is an updated and expanded version of an earlier one in an unpublished Festschrift (Geurts 1995, 27-44, 119-125).

statesman and historian Otto Trevelyan (Morison 1954, 348-399; about Trevelyan see *Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930*, 1993). In comparison to the description by Brusse, Roosevelt's version of the visit to Wilhelmina was totally different. It had turned out to be very disappointing. While they were having lunch at the palace the Queen had deeply offended Roosevelt and in his eyes she had lost every royal status. This article will describe what the reception in the Netherlands was really like and why Roosevelt was so negative about Queen Wilhelmina.

With Roosevelt through Holland

Russe's booklet not only describes the enthusiasm the Dutch felt for Roosevelt, but simultaneously gives a more than ecstatic description of the most beautiful cities, regions, and curiosities of the Netherlands, all illuminated with splendid pen drawings. Of each city, even the ones Roosevelt did not visit, Brusse indicates the attractions for American tourists, because, after all, everyone knew about the great impact of the Netherlands on the United States: the Pilgrim Fathers had lived for twelve years in Leiden; the Dutch West Indies Company had founded *Nieuw Amsterdam* (New York); the founding father of Rhode Island, Roger Williams, had been educated in the Netherlands; and William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, had a Dutch mother. It seemed fair to talk about "THE NETHERLANDS, THE MOTHERLAND OF AMERICA" (Brusse 1911, 15-16; capitals in original).

The book emphasizes the beauty of the Netherlands and that it was a country well worth visiting. Potential American tourists should know that the still very popular former president of Dutch descent – "our own distant cousin TEDDY OF DELFT" (Brusse 1911, 4) – had enjoyed his tour through the Netherlands immensely.² Implicitly, every American of Dutch origin was called upon to visit the country of his forefathers some day; the best way to do so was, of course, with the ships of the Holland-America Line, which had maintained a regular service between New York and Rotterdam since 1872 (De Boer 1923). The book opens with a drawing of a Dutch galleon with the image of a half-moon on its stern, a clear reference to Henry Hudson's ship *De Halve Maen*, the English explorer who in 1609 discovered the island of Manhattan while working for the Dutch East-Indian company. A permanent settlement in 1624 meant the beginning of the city of New Amsterdam, later to become New York. The

² The city of Delft as birthplace of Theodore Roosevelt is of course nonsense. Brusse refers here to the Pilgrim Fathers, who fled first to Delft, and hence to Plymouth from where the Mayflower had taken its famous journey. Perhaps the author was trying to connect the former president with Holland's most illustrious founding father, William of Orange, who was buried in Delft.

brochure very appropriately ends with an image of the S.S. Rotterdam, with which the circle is completed.

At the same time the author understood that (Dutch-)Americans would no longer accept the well-known myths of wooden shoes, mills, and tulips. The Netherlands, according to Brusse, was no open air museum and its people did not live in the past anymore.³ It was nonsense to think that all Dutch were immensely rich, or to think that every Dutch emigrant had profited from the American Dream. Existing prejudices should be suppressed. The Netherlands was not an anachronistic country of mills, tulips, lift bridges, wooden shoes, and traditional costumes; "Our country is a modern nation with major industries. We are an example to the whole world, and our culture and civilization are admired everywhere" (*NRC*, April 25, 1911).⁴

Roosevelt's tour was of course front-page news. All large newspapers – *Arnhemsche Courant*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad* – followed his journey meticulously. On the eve of the great day, leading articles of welcome appeared in all papers. People were very anxious to know how it all would turn out. The Dutch recognized Roosevelt's spirit and strength of character because he preached decency, zeal, and a sense of duty, but also ingenuity and honesty. Although he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he was considered a self-made man for his victory over various illnesses in his youth and for choosing a strenuous life notwithstanding his serious heart problems. According to all newspapers the tour through the Netherlands was a fantastic event with no sign of any disharmony.

Theodore Roosevelt

Although nobility is lacking in the United States, Americans are not indifferent to blue blood. Theodore Roosevelt and his distant cousin, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) (1882-1945), were fascinated by royalty. Despite the protocol, which they found very amusing, both had the flair to deal with royalty in an informal way. FDR usually addressed kings and queens by their first names. Only with Queen Wilhelmina was he more formal, although he addressed her as "Minie" in his personal letters (Kersten 1992, 85-96, 226-228; Kersten 1994, 111-125; Hassett 1958, 76-77). Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt were proud of their Dutch descent because it referred to one of the old families who had founded

³ To be on the safe side the author also tells the (American) reader that Brussels is no more situated in Holland than Holland is in Belgium (Brusse 1911, 11).

⁴ Yet it is remarkable that pictures of a landscape with windmills and two girls from the isle of Marken in old costumes are depicted on the same pages. Incidentally, more than one third of the brochure consists of illustrations of windmills, costumes, picturesque churches and buildings, vistas, and rural tourist attractions such as the Alkmaar cheese market.

Nieuw Amsterdam. 'Dutch origin' granted, at least in these decades, prestige and implied not only an understanding of trade and commerce, but also a democratic spirit, tolerance, a sense of public responsibility, diligence, and cleanliness; ideals that, according to John Lothrop Motley's very popular book *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856), had strengthened the Dutch in their struggle for democracy and religious tolerance against Spain. Moreover, the Dutch Stadtholder-king William III, who had recognized the privileges of his British subjects in the Bill of Rights (1689), was a shining example for American democracy.⁵

Theodore Roosevelt, in his youth a weak and sickly boy suffering from severe asthma, had tried all his life to compensate for this psychological humiliation with physical and mental vigor by boxing, horseback riding, and shooting almost every day. Whenever possible, he visited his ranch in the 'Wild West' – the Dakota Badlands – to join the cowboys in their fights with cattle rustlers and to hunt for grizzly bears (Beale 1983; Burton 1968; Harbaugh 1975; Blum 1975; Morris 2001a, b; Chessman 1969; Gould 1991; Cooper, jr. 1983; McCullough 1981). In his spare time he returned to his books, mainly works by major historians and men of letters.⁶

After law school, Roosevelt immediately plunged into politics and quickly played an increasingly important role within the Republican Party. In his eyes a strong government should stand not only for the general interest of the country, but also for the historical mission of the nation. Every country had a special place in the world and the United States was well suited for a major role in world affairs. Like many in his day he believed in a complex racial ideology, but the term 'race' was in these days still so vague that it was interchangeable with 'nation' or 'people'. Despite his apparent racial theory, Roosevelt was a staunch opponent of racial discrimination (Dyer 1980, especially 28-32; Lammersdorf 1994). He believed, however, that the Western white race had such a political, economic, technological, and military advantage over the 'primitive' peoples that

⁵ In reality most of Roosevelt's ancestors were of British descent, and there was a drop of blood from Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Germany present; thus virtually the only thing "Dutch" was probably their family name, but there is no direct link with the alleged founding father of the family, Claes Maartenszn van Rosenvelt from Tholen (Zeeland), who embarked in Manhattan in 1649 (Freidel 1982, 149-167; about Motley, see Edwards 1982, 171-198). Mary Mapes Dodge drew upon Motley's history for her *Hans Brinker, or, The Silver Skates* (1865), which introduced the virtues of the Dutch to generations of American children and made the little Dutch boy legendary in the United States.

⁶ Roosevelt wrote to Trevelyan that during his tour of Europe he at last benefited from his extensive study of history. Everywhere people were deeply impressed by his specific knowledge of the history of their country (Morison 1954, 348-399). His books *The Naval War of 1812* (1882) and *The Winning of the West* (four volumes, 1889-1896) were regarded as classics on those subjects (Harbaugh 1975, 269-274; K. Roosevelt 1963, 270-274).

it had a duty to impart civilization to them. On the basis of this theory the United States had a special destiny. Therefore Roosevelt was a proponent of an active foreign policy. This meant, among other things, that for self-preservation the United States had to stave off the European influence in South and Central America.

But Roosevelt also expected every single man to do his duty for the community and emphasized the obligation of everyone not only to make his own life perfect but also that of the nation: "Character that does and dares as well as endures, character that is active in the performance of virtue, no less than firm in the refusal to do aught that is vicious or degraded" (Roosevelt 1900). Time and again he emphasized his belief in hard work, family life, performance of duty, learning as much as possible, seeking adventure, and living joyously without complaint of self-pity. During the Spanish-American War (1898), which he himself more or less unleashed, he resigned as Secretary of the Navy and fought at the head of a group of cavalry, the Rough Riders, against the Spaniards at Cuba.

After one term as governor of the State of New York, he was elected vice-president, but the assassination of William McKinley in 1901 made him the twenty-sixth President of the United States, the youngest so far. As president he 'busted' trusts, preached a 'Square Deal' for all Americans, reduced the national debt, secured the regulation of the railroads, protected labour, and introduced consumer protection in the *Pure Food and Drug Act*. In foreign affairs he naturally supported a vigorous policy. Among other things, he supported a revolt against the government of Columbia to establish the Panama Canal, the highly desired connection between the Atlantic and the Pacific. In 1904 he announced the Roosevelt Corollary, an addition to the Monroe Doctrine, which gave the United States the right to interfere in all countries in Central and South America. But he realized that he could not always wave the 'Big Stick'. As a practical president he was able to contain his belligerence very well – so well, in fact, that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his negotiations in the Russo-Japanese War (1905) (Collin 1985).

In 1904 Roosevelt was elected president in his own right, but he promised the voters that under no circumstances would he accept a third nomination. Four years later he helped his old friend William Howard Taft to become his successor because he believed him to have the same progressive ideas. Immediately after his presidency he went to Africa for a hunting vacation, which gave him the necessary distance to the policy of his successor. For ten months he hunted big game in the 'Dark Continent' (Roosevelt 1910; K. Roosevelt 1963).

Due to his spectacular actions on both the domestic and foreign front, Roosevelt had become a hero and not just to the Americans. He had stepped in during the European intervention in Venezuela in 1903, the Franco-German struggle for Morocco in 1913, and the segmentation of China. Through his active, sometimes even dramatic, interventions, Roosevelt was for many the symbol of the energetic American. Several years later, a close friend remarked that his name, whether in Beijing or Patagonia, "means America, Americanism, Freedom, the ideals on which the nation has been supported to rest" (Gould 1991, 298). In short, Teddy Roosevelt was arguably a brave man, courageous, charming, and humorous, but also conceited, rude, and convinced of being right. He loved war, and to him the most important thing in life was doing something big for the nation. Yet he did not doubt the American political system, in which president and Congress were elected and checked by the people. The democratic system was sacred to him, although he had little confidence in the political understanding of the masses. He saw the majority of the citizens only as potential troublemakers with the only duty to assess the actions of the national government every four years.⁷

A 'royal' tour through Europe

The tour through Europe following his African safari was not planned. Originally Roosevelt wanted to travel directly to England because the chancellor of the University of Oxford, Lord Curzon, had asked him to deliver the prestigious annual *Romanes* Lecture, which the former president considered to be a recognition of his scientific work.⁸ As soon as word got around that Roosevelt would speak at Oxford, however, the Sorbonne in Paris invited him as well. Thereupon the German ambassador to the U.S., Hermann Speck von Sternberg, a close friend, invited him to give a guest lecture at the University of Berlin. Sternberg hinted implicitly that a refusal would seriously offend His Majesty the Emperor. Now the floodgates had been opened. The king of Italy simply assumed that the president would visit Rome on his way from Africa to England. Next, Roosevelt had to promise the Austrian emperor to go to both Vienna and Budapest, capitals of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thereupon the Norwegians let him know that they would be forever offended if Roosevelt refused to come

⁷ The following statements illustrate his love for war: "No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumph of war", and his comment on the death of his son Quentin in France during World War I: "it's very dreadful that he should have been killed, (but) it would have been worse if he had not gone" (Gable 1987, 142-147).

⁸ George John Romanes (1848-1894), professor at Oxford, founded this series of lectures in 1891, where "a man of eminence" should give a paper on a literary or scientific subject. The first speaker was the then Prime Minister Gladstone (*Dictionary* 1909, 177-182).

and accept the Nobel Peace Prize that had been awarded in 1904. Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands followed, with the latter country claiming a kind of "proprietorship" in the light of Roosevelt's descent.

The only European countries he refused to visit were Switzerland and Russia. In Switzerland he would have had to attend a celebration of the protestant reformer John Calvin, which for political reasons was out of the question. He would undoubtedly offend Catholic countries like France and Italy. The Pope, who had granted him an audience, would be especially insulted. Roosevelt could not foresee that this invitation would lead to an open quarrel with the Vatican. For years, a group of American Protestant Methodists had been trying to convert the inhabitants of Rome, calling the Pope "the whore of Babylon" (Morison 1954, 355). Pope Pius X, however, asked Roosevelt to take action in such a blunt way that the president cancelled his visit to this "worthy, [but] narrowly limited parish priest" (Morison 1954, 354-5). He could not even resist blaming the papacy for the first systematic segregation of Jews and dissenters (Paul IV in 1555) (Morison 1954, 354-358; Gardner 1978, 150-151; Pringle 2010, 363-366). Although the Czar had cordially invited him, he refused to go to Russia because of the occupation of Finland and the brutality of the authorities against Jewish and liberal-minded citizens – in short, the iron despotism of the Russian government.⁹

We know all this from his long letter to Trevelyan which he considered so personal that publishing it was "out of the question" (Morison 1954, 348). In vain, he asked Trevelyan to destroy the letter. His memories give a very clear and amusing picture of Roosevelt's views on the various European nations, their kings and presidents, and ultimately on democracy and authoritarian systems. Ultimately, the letter says a lot about Roosevelt himself. His view on 'the white man's burden' is not surprising. In Egypt he chose the side of the English colonizers as a matter of course. The Egyptian nationalists were described as "noisy, emotional, rather decadent, [and] quite hopeless" (Morison 1954, 351). In his eyes, the inhabitants were still not capable of governing themselves and should therefore cooperate with the white man's civilization attempts. Later, at King Eduard VII's funeral (1910), he pointed the British government to its responsibility for the administration of Egypt and Sudan. In the interest of "civilization" they had to continue to perform their duty (Morison 1954, 365-367; K. Roosevelt, 274-275; Gable 1987).

⁹ The question is to what extent these were opportunistic arguments. As long as Russia supported the U.S. Open Door Policy in China, he considered the country a civilized nation. When some years later the Anglo-American interests in the Far East were threatened by Russia this attitude changed completely. The victory of the Japanese fleet in 1905 was therefore warmly welcomed (Beale 1983, 260-299).

Roosevelt's complacency is reflected in his own view on the success of his lectures. The presentation at the Sorbonne, entitled *Citizenship in a Republic*, however, was considered a trifle, although the French newspapers cheered his remarks that in a republic such as France and the USA, the efforts of each individual citizen were important to the political course of the country, by which any hereditary and autocratic system was rejected. Neither was England impressed by his *Romanes* lecture *Biological Analogies in History*, in which Roosevelt compared the evolution in the animal world to the rise and fall of European countries. The Archbishop of York rated the content as "Beta Minus", but the speaker "Alpha Plus" (Gardner 1978, 151-152; Gable 1987, 50-75). A disappointed Roosevelt answered that it would have been much better if a good friend, Henry Orban, director of the Museum of Natural Science, had not advised him to delete a number of passages. Orban, however, stated later on that "thus a certain war between the United States and some mentioned governments had been avoided" (Pringle 2010, 365-367).

The letter also gives a clear picture of the daily events during this trip. Roosevelt was frequently astonished that he was still received as president of the United States, although he was in reality an ordinary citizen, a private person. When reading between the lines, however, it becomes obvious that he enjoyed his trip and that the 'royal' receptions were, in fact, appropriate. According to his son Kermit, Roosevelt did not take the honours too seriously (K. Roosevelt 1963, 274-275). The letter also shows some personal observations on the heads of state he had met. He held the royal family of Italy, King Victor Emmanuel II and his wife Queen Helen, in high esteem. At least they both had the intellectual level Roosevelt appreciated. The Belgian king was an intelligent figure too. Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary was on the one hand a true gentleman, on the other not really a capable ruler as was the case with the French President Briand.

From his American background it is understandable that Roosevelt seemed oblivious to protocol. For example, he declined an invitation to go hunting with the emperor, much to the dismay of the Austrian court because such an invitation was seen as an order. At the English king's funeral he was very amused at the fuss the French Secretary of State Pinchon made as to who should take the seat of honour in the carriage. He was also greatly amused by the complaint of the Russian ambassador in Denmark that Roosevelt, "not even an Excellency" (Morison 1954, 384), had been allowed to stay overnight in the same room of the royal palace as the czar the summer before. Sometimes he found the behaviour of the aristocracy absurd; for example when during a dinner at the German court the guests used the water in the finger bowls to rinse their mouths, or when the protocol in Berlin required that he as a former president

should spend the night at the royal palace, while his wife had to stay elsewhere. His revenge was sweet, though; it gave him great satisfaction to refuse signing some pictures of him and the Emperor with the rather indiscrete text: "When we shake hands, we shake the world" (Pringle 2010, 518).

He also had strong views on the role of the monarchy. Roosevelt thought it an artificial institution. In his eyes, the kings and queens had only a symbolic role and their lives were boring and useless. Because most had reconciled themselves to the fact that they did not possess any real influence, he looked upon them as losers. They behaved so nicely, because he represented the danger of a republic, something that could happen to their country too. Moreover, they know their position was weak. A constitutional monarch, Roosevelt said, is no more than a sublimated U.S. vice-president. Yet he sometimes felt treated as a barbarian, and he did not think very highly of their intellectual level: "there was no use trying to talk of books" (Morison 1954, 388; Pringle 2010, 326-329). He could not resist pointing out their mutual jealousy. The German emperor especially had frequently shown his disdain for some of his fellow rulers. In general, however, Roosevelt showed some respect for the royalty in Europe, except for Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands.

The trip through the Netherlands

Roosevelt's journey through the Netherlands is described in full in the booklet *With Roosevelt through Holland*. The author Brusse was the only Dutch journalist who was accepted – with some American reporters – on Roosevelt's private train.¹⁰ No doubt he owed this to a recommendation by Arthur M. Beaupre, American ambassador to the Netherlands, who knew that Brusse's journalistic skills and mnemonic technique enabled him to reproduce interviews in all their directness. At the same time he had the literary skills to depict the events in a beautiful atmosphere. The fact that Queen Wilhelmina had responded positively to one of his contributions of her official visits will also have played a role (Teychiné Stakenburg 1985, 81-83).

The successful 'infiltration' of Brusse was a heavy blow to the major competitor of the *NRC*, het *Algemeen Handelsblad (AH)*, printed in Amsterdam.¹¹ Editor Charles Boissevain was, in fact, well known for his descriptions and impressions of the United States, in which he quoted America as an example for Dutch self-confidence. To reduce the negative stories of uncivilized materialist

¹⁰ As one of the first presidents Roosevelt realized that newspapers were an ideal instrument to give his policy all the attention he wanted. He therefore maintained close contacts with numerous journalists and writers (Juergens 1981). Franklin Delano Roosevelt used the radio in the same way in his famous "fire-side chats".

¹¹ On the competition between the various papers, see Schneider & Hemels (1979, 150-163).

Americans with their conformism, hypocrisy, and vulgarity, Boissevain explicitly portrayed them as a people with a youthful vitality and courage sometimes lacking in Europeans. He portrayed the United States as a counterpart to Europe and as a country where a new beginning was possible. Now that Roosevelt “with his energy, determination, and vitality” came to visit Holland, it was necessary for the *AH* to contribute to the visit. But the *NRC*, printed in Rotterdam, had the exclusive rights to the trip. Boissevain was therefore delighted that Roosevelt decided not to go to Rotterdam, but to visit only Amsterdam, “the mother city of New York” (*AH*, 29 April 1910; Lammers 1989; Van Berkel 1990, 9-27).

Brusse himself was of course proud he had made it onto the private train of the president. Extensively and very expressively he describes how an excited crowd of aristocrats penetrated the station hall in Brussels where Roosevelt was having lunch, knocking over exotic plants and an aviary. Upon leaving the Belgian capital he wrote one of those descriptions that had made him so famous. Due to the inability to print pictures all papers regularly had to give descriptions of Roosevelt's posture, looks, clothing, etc.:

a man of medium size, but strongly built; correctly but plainly dressed in his long black coat; a pearl-grey tie with a diamond pin; a low collar showing his sunburnt neck. His ever mobile face with its intelligent, short-sighted eyes puckered up in fine wrinkles, looks cheerfully round.

(Brusse 1911, 14)

Smiling and nodding kindly, Brusse continues, Roosevelt struggled through a large surging crowd of ministers, generals, members of the corps diplomatique, marquises, earls, baronesses, and courtiers. Numerous American ladies blow him kisses with tears in their eyes. Finally they enthusiastically tap on the windows of the coach and some even press their lips against the glass. Then a sunny smile breaks over Roosevelt's face and laughing heartily he shows his dazzling teeth. When the train approaches the Netherlands, Brusse reveals the Dutch origin of the president because his descent had to convince Dutch-Americans to travel to the land of their ancestors. After the American ambassador Beaupre had greeted him on arrival in Roosendaal, the president invited the journalists into his compartment and told them that he was very happy to be at last in “the home of my forefathers!” (Brusse 1911, 15). Then he stepped onto the platform and clearly became very emotional when he heard his name pronounced in Dutch.

The trip from Roosevelt to the Netherlands gave Brusse also in the *NRC* the opportunity to sing the praises of the beauty of the Netherlands: “Yet, it's a shame that the greatest art treasures have been sold abroad in earlier years – even to the United States – but the remaining works are exhibited in museums, so that everyone can admire them” (*NRC*, April 29, 1910). The booklet had to

convince the reader that the natural environment had not changed since the 17th century. It described Romanesque churches and Gothic towers, Dutch polders with healthy livestock and activities on rivers and canals. And, of course, Brusse described "our" struggle against the elements. The fight against the sea had formed the Dutch character, which is perhaps serious and devout, but also persistent and ingenious in solving problems. Simultaneously, he busted up the myth of Hansje Brinker, the very popular story of the little Dutch boy who saved the country by putting his finger in a leaking dike. Brusse wanted to emphasize the technical skills of the Dutch involving dikes, bridges, overpasses, and buildings, and referred to the trading relations, which had brought prosperity, but had also led to many wars.

The reverie was interrupted in 's-Hertogenbosch. A very warm welcome from hundreds of people, who burst forth in "A GENUINE DUTCH HURRAH" (Brusse 1911, 23), surprised Roosevelt and, delighted, he told the crowd that he was proud of the Dutch, the pioneers of the American nation. He ended with "tears in those keen, expressive eyes, while his face wrinkled up alarmingly. Then he called out in quite correct Dutch: "Ik dank u." [Thank you]" (Brusse 1911, 24), after which a long ovation follows. Brusse, then, described the beauty of the landscape through which they traveled: the slow rivers and busy water traffic. At Nijmegen he pointed out the Roman history of the city, which was built in the form of an amphitheater on seven hills (!). On the way to Arnhem, he reiterated that the Netherlands was no vaudeville theater and had become a modern country, only primitive somewhere in the periphery such as in Volendam and Marken. But he immediately used this information for a touristic excursus on the beautiful construction of the fishing boats and the clothing of the people on these islands. Again, his book resembles one of those modern brochures written to attract tourists.

At Arnhem railway station, a chamberlain to the queen, Taets Baron van Amerongen, awaited Roosevelt to take him by car to *Het Loo* palace. Prince Hendrik, Queen Wilhelmina's husband, greeted him on the steps of the palace, while the queen herself received Roosevelt in the great hall. They had lunch together in a very cordial atmosphere, according to all Dutch newspapers. Accompanied by Hendrik, Roosevelt left in a carriage for Apeldoorn railway station, where again many admirers had succeeded in penetrating to the platform.

Brusse used the trip to Amsterdam to sing the praises of the natural landscape of the Veluwe and the city of Utrecht, with its cathedral, its monasteries, and university. Of course the most beautiful spots along the Vecht River were recalled. Finally, he ran out of superlatives to describe Amsterdam: city of Vondel, Rembrandt, and Kuyper, with its world famous museums and

beautiful canals. But he also pointed out the modernity of Amsterdam; behind the facades of the stately seventeenth-century mansions beats the financial heart of the Netherlands with its famous diamonds, tobacco, and shipping industry.

The reception in Amsterdam was also magnificent. Through streets crowded with cheering people, Roosevelt first went to the *Nieuwe Kerk*, where he visited the tomb of Holland's most famous admiral, Michiel de Ruyter. After a brief tour of the famous diamond factory of Asscher, the president visited the *Rijksmuseum*, where he admired, according to its director, Rembrandt's *Night Watch* for ten minutes. Other painters, including Jan Steen, Peter Paul Rubens, and Vermeer were also greatly appreciated. Finally he addressed the citizens of Amsterdam in the building of the *Vrije Gemeente*, now well-known as the iconic rock music venue and cultural center Paradiso.¹² The hall was overcrowded and when Roosevelt arrived the people stood up to cheer and wave their handkerchiefs. Charles Boissevain welcomed the president to the land of his ancestors and praised him as a great man, a man of action, and an example to us all because of his life of struggle and effort for the right cause. Traits that were partly due to his Dutch ancestry. Then Roosevelt took the floor and "all smiles and with twinkling eyes" he said, "I unfortunately do not speak your language anymore and the only Dutch I know is a baby-song I learned from my grandfather" (Brusse 1911, 42).

And with an indescribably comical expression on his face, he tried to phonetically recite a nursery rhyme of which the first line ran "Trippel trippel toontjes" (Brusse 1911, 42). It is doubtful if anyone knew which song he meant, but a thunderous applause followed.¹³ Then Roosevelt became serious again:

¹² The *AH* (logical) and the *AC* made it clear that this speech was due to the mediation of Boissevain. The *NRC* (= Brusse) paid hardly any attention to this speech. According to Brusse this was not necessary, since Roosevelt "squeezes" every word like "a hammer" and knowledge of the English language in Holland was very scanty. This contrasts with the view of Roosevelt, who praises the knowledge of English of the Dutch people one year later (Morison 1954, 383).

¹³ Every newspaper printed a different version of the children's song, and this instantly created a controversy about the correct text. Brusse (1911, 42) was probably the first one who quoted the text exactly: *Trippel trippel toontjes/ kippen in de boontjes/ koetjes in de klaver/ paardjes in de haver/ eendjes in de waterplas/ 'k wou dat het kindje groter was*. The same song was a big success during Roosevelt's visit to the Boers in South Africa during his safari (Morison 1954, 357).

A nice anecdote on the proficiency of the Dutch: "One, who has not succeeded in getting in, asks: "What was it like?" The other answers: "Well, first a whole yarn in English – that I could not understand. Then he assured us that he spoke German (he had taken Dutch for Duitsch) I did not understand that either. He also spoke some Dutch, but that was quite unintelligible, and I did not hear him speak any American at all" (Brusse 1911, 43).

Three hundred years ago my ancestors belonged to the generation, even before De Ruyter and Rembrandt, that made Holland great and I hope that my son has adopted these traits – honesty, common sense and determination. I am pleased to be here. This is the homeland of political and religious freedom. Democracy is necessary, but the right of freedom also means that one must respect the rights of others. This includes the duty of mutual aid, but only insofar as the other person cannot help himself.

(AH, April 30, 1910)

Then he brings up the issue of women's liberation, which had gained momentum in the last years. The focus of the feminists was concentrated on the right to work for the sake of economic independence, as well as to obtain the same civil rights as men. The struggle for the emancipation of women can be seen, among other things, in the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1908 in Amsterdam, where Queen Wilhelmina had shown great interest. Although Roosevelt used to be fairly conservative in these matters he now kept his options open. He thinks it silly to keep women indoors, but the family is paramount to him:

Like a man who neglects his wife and children is despicable, so is the woman, who lets her husband and children down. Healthy families, where parents and children keep together, are necessary for a healthy nation. The man is needed for his courage, strength and bravery, the wife and mother to educate the children to become valiant patriots.

(Grever 1994, 71)

At the end everyone is standing and “gave their kinsman an ovation that shook the walls” (Brusse 1911, 41).

During the following dinner, Roosevelt thrilled the guests with his remark that he still possessed the old *Statenbijbel*, which his ancestors had brought with them from the Low Countries.¹⁴ Finally he found it a pity he could not visit more cities and regions of the Netherlands in addition to which he mentioned Rotterdam first. This gives Brusse, at last, the chance he has been waiting for; page after page he describes the splendor of this city in the most lyrical terms. He rejoices in the industrial activity, the shipping companies, the ports, docks and quays, the many trade possibilities, and the number of ships calling at the harbor every year. In short, Rotterdam was the most active and important city in the Netherlands.

¹⁴ Could this be the same Bible that was later used to swear in F.D. Roosevelt four times? (Freidel 1982, 149-167, especially 154.)

Later that evening the streets in the Hague were so crowded that Roosevelt had some difficulty reaching hotel *Des Indes*, not the palace *Noordeinde* where the Japanese princely couple were spending the night. The masses went home only after he had stepped out on the balcony to receive their stormy applause. The next day, April 30, was a day of festivity, as Juliana, daughter of Hendrik and Wilhelmina, celebrated her first birthday. After a short visit to the Queen-Mother Emma, who was “kind and cheerful and considerate, and not in the least pretentious” (Morison 1954, 383), he made a wonderful tour through the city of the Dutch government. In his gratitude speech after a dinner offered by the Hague city council, the president – with a Juliana Flower (daisy) in his buttonhole – emphasized again that the Netherlands had a great future.

At this passage in the book, Brusse used the opportunity to praise the beauty of the residence with its palaces, parks, and squares, the *Mauritshuis* and the *Binnenhof*, the seat of the Dutch government. Trips to Leiden and Delft, where Roosevelt visited the graves of William of Orange and Hugo Grotius, were a great success too.¹⁵ During a short visit to a flower exhibition in Haarlem in the afternoon it turned out that Roosevelt, accidentally, was the hundred-thousandth visitor. As a gift, he received a silver replica of ‘The Half Moon’, the ship with which Henry Hudson had discovered Manhattan.

Although Roosevelt prior to his trip had never shown much interest in the Netherlands, he starts his autobiography (published in 1913) with his Dutch descent. The very warm reception probably had created a positive image: “I thoroughly enjoyed my stay in Holland”, he wrote to Trevelyan, “[...] The people were charming. [...] I was surprised to find how widely English was understood and even spoken. [...] I had to make a speech in a church, which was crowded, and evidently a very large proportion of the audience followed me carefully and understood practically all that I said, not only applauding but laughing at the points I made” (Morison 1954, 384). Roosevelt was struck by the strength, alertness, and lively spirit of the people. After the misery of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars (1795-1814), the country had completely recovered. The courage of the Dutch should be an example for the USA, he said, because the guidance of his “uninspiring” successor Taft was not very good. The Dutch proved that the temporary maladies in America and even in Britain could be improved. Roosevelt showed his positive attitude towards the Dutch during World War I, when he donated \$1,000 of the money that was attached to the Nobel Prize for assistance to the thousands of Belgian (mostly Flemish) refugees who had fled to the Netherlands because of the atrocities of war (Brusse 1911; Morison 1954, 375-387, Pringle 2010, 366-368).

¹⁵ For the (American) reader Brusse repeated once more that William of Orange was murdered in the struggle for freedom for “Holland”.



De Koninklijke Familie met het Prinsesje ('The Royal Family with the little Princess'), Postcard, Origineel Guy de Coral, Uitgeverij Blanckwaardt & Schoonhoven, 's Hage en W. de Haan, Utrecht

Clash of characters

All this shows that Roosevelt was very pleased with the reception in the Netherlands. Only the lunch with Queen Wilhelmina went very wrong. The president had high hopes when he went to the palace. Alas! Queen Wilhelmina was the only royalty whom he did not like at all:

I had supposed Queen Wilhelmina to be a very nice attractive little woman in a difficult position, and had sympathized with her in her apparent loneliness, and had been glad at the birth of her little daughter. I suppose we had pictured her to ourselves as being very attractive, sweet-tempered and dignified. As a matter of fact she was excessively unattractive and commonplace, and obviously both conceited and bad-

tempered. Moreover she was not only commonplace, but common. She was a real little Dutch middle-class frau, immensely impressed with the dignity of her position, and not only taking herself very seriously from the social standpoint, but also under the solemn impression that she was as important governmentally as socially.

(Morison 1954, 382-3)

She reminded him of the inflated wife of a small-town grocer who, proud of the position of her husband, lorded it over everyone both in church and in daily life. All the other princes of the smaller countries had good manners and were polite without any pretension. "One could have sympathy and respect and liking for the sovereign of a small country honestly endeavoring to do his or her duty without pretense and without being tormented by a swelled head," said Roosevelt (Morison 1954, 383). Her attitude was all the more ridiculous because the Netherlands was an unimportant nation, smaller even than some U.S. states, and her position was therefore less important than that of the governor of such a state. It was laughable how she acted like a person chosen by God. Her mother (Queen-Mother Emma) was very nice, but Wilhelmina made a fool of herself time and again. She controlled her "boring" husband, who had no intellectual interests, with an iron fist.

When we got up from the lunch table the queen said to him: "Take Mr. Roosevelt into your room." He did not catch what she said, turned around with his mouth open and asked what it was; whereupon she promptly lost her temper, grew red in the face, almost stamped her foot, and snapped out at him: "I said, *take Mr. Roosevelt to your own room,*" [italics original] whereupon he gave a little start, and took me into the room, in gloomy silence. Hoping to distract him, I said: "I am glad that your daughter, the little princess, seems so well." However, he declined to be diverted, and responded more gloomily than ever, and with appalling frankness: "Yes; I hope she has a brother; otherwise I pity the man that marries her."¹⁶

(Morison 1954, 383)

Roosevelt's wife, Edith, who accompanied him on the journey, even called Wilhelmina "stupid" in her diary (Morris 1980, 356-357).

The question remains whether Wilhelmina noticed Roosevelt's indignation. Probably not; as a member of a family superior to all others, she found her behaviour very normal (Fasseur, 1998; Manning 1997, 359-379; Udink 1998; de Jong 1969, 1-49, [Koningin] Wilhelmina 1959; Lammers 1998). As an

¹⁶ Roosevelt first imagined that Hendrik had said this out of shame, but he subsequently learned that this was a regular statement of the prince, presumably "to salve his self-respect" (Morison 1954, 384).

only child, she had never experienced the remedial effects of siblings. An air of superiority had arisen from the hard constraint of etiquette and royal setting, a tight straitjacket of conventions. Moreover, she was never submitted to a normal penalty and never punished when she was hot tempered or in one of her moods. The behavior of others in awe of her position confirmed her idea of being superior. Wilhelmina was accustomed to the fact that no one dared to contradict her. First and foremost, she was the queen, the inviolable head of state. This idea was reinforced by her Christian faith, in which God had placed her on the throne. She was convinced of her divine right to serve, but also to be served. As head of state, she made demands on others, and those who failed to comply were soon out of favour. She was constantly at odds with her secretaries of state because the constitutional restriction of royal intervention often led to frustration and aroused irritation. Her husband, Hendrik of Mecklenburg, the type of a friendly country gentleman, had absolutely no chance to intervene in state affairs. The affection they had felt for each other at first quickly disappeared. In the long run they both led their own lives.

Queen Wilhelmina was full of contradictions: impatient, capricious, impulsive, and sharp-tongued. She was ruthless but also full of mercy, ungrateful and loyal at the same time, highly formal but also warm-hearted, bold and shy, sophisticated and unworldly, opportunistic, vain, and ostentatiously simple (Fasseur 1998).

Roosevelt's comments on the queen say much about her, but also about the president himself. The meeting had a very negative impression on him which is illustrated by the fact that his personal dislike of the queen did not disappear. On the contrary, one and a half years later, in his letter to Trevelyan, his rage is still noticeable. So the question naturally arises by what this anger was aroused. First, the different positions of the two at the time must be pointed out: Queen Wilhelmina was a hereditary head of state and Roosevelt 'only' a former president. In addition, both had very different views on the political system: divine right versus a democratically elected parliament. Finally, both were personalities with strong characters. Neither of them, high-handed and certain of their position, was willing to give in or accept a different view. Roosevelt was indignant at the formality of the reception at the palace. The former president had to pay her a visit; while everywhere else, emperors and kings had paid their respects in person at railway stations, the queen sent but a chamberlain to meet him in Apeldoorn. While other heads of state entertained him with dinner parties, military parades, and operas, all he got at the palace was a cold lunch. He, representative of the most powerful country in the world, was treated by a haughty "frau" as an errand boy. Roosevelt probably had not expected that Wilhelmina would pay so little attention to him and America, but the queen was

preoccupied by other matters. The United States were far away and the next day it was her daughter's birthday. Add to this the way she dealt with her husband, which the aristocratic Roosevelt certainly did not appreciate, and the president's anger is understandable. He was insulted to the core.

One may wonder whether Wilhelmina had noticed Roosevelt's anger, but he was probably too much of a gentleman and politician to show his outrage. Two months after his visit, on July the fifth, Roosevelt had even sent the queen a picture of himself, showing in the caption his "respect" for her. Moreover, the queen was so utterly convinced of her position that it seemed normal to act as she did. Whether she heard of Roosevelt's opinion after his letter had appeared in print in 1954 is not known.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Fortunately, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (who was president from 1933-1945) set the matter right. FDR was, like many, inspired by the early exploits of 'cousin Theodore'. Having worked as a lawyer for several years, he decided to go into politics too. Like his namesake, he was proud of his Dutch ancestry, supported the *Holland Society*, was active in the *Netherlands-America Foundation*, and had great interest in the Dutch colonial architecture in New York. Later, when accepting the presidency, he took the oath on his Dutch family Bible.¹⁷

His first political contact with the Netherlands during World War I in March 1918 was, however, strange. As Secretary of the Navy he asked the Dutch government, against the express wishes of President Wilson, if the island of Curaçao was for sale. The Dutch Secretary of State, Loudon, rejected this claim for fear of giving the Germans a reason to attack the neutral Netherlands (Freidel 1982, 153-157; Freidel 1954, 134-136).

Although FDR frequently visited Europe in his youth, he did not meet Wilhelmina personally at that time. Nevertheless, FDR himself felt so connected with the Netherlands that during the rise of Nazi Germany he was increasingly concerned about the safety of Wilhelmina and her family (Kersten 1994, 111-114; Fasseur 275-278; Van den Doel 1992, 275-278; Freidel 1954, 149-167). When the threat of war in 1939 grew larger, he could not give any direct help given the isolationistic policy of the United States. However, during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 and later on during the imminent attack on the Netherlands in the spring of 1940 he offered the queen and her family on a personal basis a safe refuge in the United States. Although Wilhelmina was

¹⁷ The FDR Library in Hyde Park is based on Dutch colonial architecture (Freidel 1982, 157-158; Van den Doel 1992, 275-278).

deeply moved, she refused. Even after the Germans had conquered the Netherlands in May 1940 she did not accept an invitation to come to the US, but preferred to lead the resistance from England.¹⁸

Despite her fear of flying Wilhelmina visited the United States twice during World War II when visiting her daughter Juliana in Canada. She then took the opportunity to also visit FDR. The first meeting gave rise to a cordial relationship. In her memoirs Wilhelmina speaks of "an old friend", although FDR himself was originally a little ambivalent. Rumours had it that she was "stiff and stern and arbitrary". His most important adviser, Henry Hopkins, told him, however, that she was very kind and gracious. However, before the first meeting FDR was "scared to death" of Wilhelmina, but she exceeded his expectations. Hassett, one of Roosevelt's secretaries, wrote in his diary that "the Boss said he liked her" (Hassett 1958, 91; Gardner 1978, 151-152; Fasseur 1998, 393-39; Wilhelmina 1959, 325).

Both had great admiration for each other's abilities. Wilhelmina admired his strong personality and perseverance. She knew he would never give in to evil. Roosevelt praised her style of government and had respect for her performance in these difficult times. The only stain on their relationship, at least for Wilhelmina, was the fact that Roosevelt had different ideas on the significance of the Netherlands as an ally, especially after the loss of the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, both had different notions on colonial policy. For Wilhelmina the Dutch East Indies were inextricably linked to the Netherlands, and she categorically rejected a different opinion. The famous speech to Congress on August 5, 1942, in which she spoke in a very cryptic way of independence of the Dutch East Indies, was primarily intended to reassure the U.S., not as a contradiction of her ideas.¹⁹ Differences were unavoidable because Wilhelmina continued to act as a head of state, even in the U.S. According to the president,

¹⁸ Roosevelt had not only consulted the State Department in advance, he had also asked some members of his cabinet for advice. Wilhelmina, however, regarded the relationship with Roosevelt as personal, and not any of the cabinet's business. Yet to her great anger she had to accept that, during the war, the Dutch Secretary of State Van Kleffens, accompanied her on every visit to Roosevelt (De Jong 19 , 1099 -1101; Van Kleffens 1983: 105-10; Kersten 1992: 114-115; Kersten 1992: 85-96).

¹⁹ Through statements such as "[...] the development of democracy and progress in the Netherlands Indies has been our constant policy"; "Increasing self-government has been enacted ever since the beginning of this country", and "The voluntary cooperation [...] between people of oriental and western stock toward full partnership in government on a basis of equality has been proved possible and successful", Roosevelt himself truly believed that Wilhelmina did refer to the independence of the Dutch East Indies (Rosenman 1952, 524-526). See also F.D.Roosevelt (1943, 563 [12.02.1945]). About the American involvement in the Indonesian question see Wolthuis (1968); Kersten (1983, 91-117). The text of the address of Wilhelmina is published by Van Minnen (1992, 13-20).

she interfered too much with the political post-war plans. The queen therefore found her visits to him often disappointing despite the stimulating meetings in Hyde Park: "He did not have the time to talk about the future. This is a man who always tells stories" (Van Kleffens 1983, 71). When she felt out of place among the loud Americans she could become very moody and even a little pathetic. According to the diary of the Dutch Secretary of State Van Kleffens, "nothing would have been more beneficial for the Queen than enjoying the company of more common people in her life" (Van Kleffens 1983, 107; De Jong 1979, 1099-1103). Yet in her biography, there is no reference to this disappointment. Both the president and his wife are described in the most cordial terms. And Roosevelt was too much of a politician to show his disappointment in any way. He and his wife Eleanor had too much appreciation for "Minie" ([Koningin] Wilhelmina 1959, 325-327; Fasseur 2001, 420-440; E. Roosevelt 1950, 258-259).

Conclusion

Although authoritarian in nature, Theodore Roosevelt was a democrat at heart. The notion of an elected ruler who is accountable to Congress was sacred to him. According to 'Teddy', he owed his opinion on democracy and his notions of tolerance, fairness, and duty to the community to his Dutch ancestry. While Roosevelt was consistently in favour of the idea of democratic leadership, Wilhelmina was more prone to autocratic government, despite the limitations imposed by the Dutch constitution. Due to their personalities a clash of characters was inevitable, and Teddy Roosevelt's visit to Queen Wilhelmina became the biggest disappointment of his tour of Europe. Afterwards, Wilhelmina established a much better personal relationship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The queen's rigid personality was apparently not a problem for this president. Their characters were much more compatible.

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“I certainly have the subjects in my mind”: The Diary of Anne Frank as Bildungsroman

Daniel Paul O'Donnell

This article examines the techniques used by Anne Frank in revising her diaries for what she intended to be a post war publication. The article begins by reviewing the scholarly and political contexts in which the Diaries are normally discussed. It then shows the extent to which Frank's revisions of her diaries (from the “a” to “b” versions) were the result of a conscious rethinking of the work's purpose and audience and begun only after several months' deliberation. Finally, the article looks at the nature of the revisions Frank made to the content of her diaries, focussing primarily on the first few months. In these entries in particular Frank shows a willingness to alter the known facts of her history in order to improve the plot and emotional impact of her experiences. She shortens time-lines, reduces the number of characters, and deletes and adds events and dialogue all with an eye towards emphasizing the extraordinary nature of the events that had overfallen her and the degree to which they allowed for the development of her latent ability as an author. In rewriting the Diary as *Het Achterhuis*, Frank was not simply revising: her second version is an artistic reworking of the raw material in her daily journals, a reworking that reflects clear literary goals.

Key terms: Anne Frank; book history; authorial history; revision practices; authorial intention; diaries; Bildungsroman; children's literature.

Deborah E. Lipstadt begins a section on the Diary of Anne Frank in her book *Denying the Holocaust* by noting that Frank's work “has become one of the ... most popular targets” for neo-Nazis, and other so-called “revisionists” interested in suppressing historical knowledge of the Holocaust. She goes on to add:

It would seem to be a dubious allocation of the deniers' energies that they try to prove that a small book by a young girl full of musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars was not really written by her.

(Lipstadt 1993a, 229)

But Lipstadt is being disingenuous. Anne Frank's diaries have never been understood as being simply "a small book by a young girl" and Holocaust deniers are not the only ones that have been impressed by their historical importance. From the time of their first publication in 1947 in Dutch, and especially since the appearance of their English translation in 1952, Frank's diaries have been a massive international best seller (on the history of the diaries' publication, see Stroom 2004; the Dutch publication history is discussed in Kuitert 2010). By 1993, they had sold more than 20 million copies in over forty countries (Lipstadt 1993a, 230; see also Wikipedia contributors 2012c). They have also rarely dropped out of the popular and scholarly press. American discussion of the diaries began almost immediately after the Dutch text was published (e.g. Levin 1950), and even sub-aspects of their transmission and reception, like their adaptation to the stage, have come to develop their own scholarly traditions and bibliographies (e.g. for the play, see among others, Barnouw 2004a; Melnick 1997; Ozick 1997; Graver 1995; Rosenfeld 1991; Levin 1973; Hackett and Goodrich 1954).

So what is it, then, about the diaries that makes them so controversial? Why do Holocaust deniers consider it worth their while attempting to prove them to be a forgery (for the immense bibliography of attempts to deny the authenticity of the diaries, begin with Barnouw 2004b; Lipstadt 1993a)? And why have legitimate scholars and organizations devoted so much effort to demonstrating their authenticity, significance, and accuracy (some sense of the expense and energy involved in this project can be gained from the introduction to Frank 2004)?

In the case of the neo-Nazis, as Lipstadt has shown, the main cause lies in a *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus* approach to World War II history. By casting doubt on this one source of Holocaust historiography, the deniers hope to cast doubt on our whole knowledge of Nazi atrocities during World War II. Thus, in what is probably the most famous attack on the diaries' authenticity, Robert Faurisson calls attention to the noise the inhabitants of the Annexe make, focussing particularly on the use of a vacuum cleaner described in Frank's entry for 5 August, 1943:

Let us take the example of the noises. Those in hiding, we are told, must not make the least sound. This is so much so that, if they cough, they quickly take codeine. The "enemies" could hear them. The walls are that "thin" (25 March 1943). Those "enemies" are very numerous: Lewin, who "knows the whole building well" (1 October 1942), the men from the store, the customers, the deliverymen, the agent, the cleaning woman, the night watchman Slagter, the plumbers, the "health service", the accountant, the police who conduct their searches of the premises, the

neighbors both near and far, the owner, etc. It is therefore unlikely and inconceivable that Mrs. Van Daan had the habit of using the vacuum cleaner each day at 12:30 pm (5 August 1943). The vacuum cleaners of that era were, moreover, particularly noisy. I ask: "How is that conceivable?" My question is not purely formal. It is not rhetorical. Its purpose is not to show astonishment. My question is a question. It is necessary to respond to it. That question could be followed with forty other questions concerning noises.

[...]

In order to dispute the authenticity of the story, one could call upon arguments of a psychological, literary, or historical nature. I will refrain from that here. I will simply remark that the physical absurdities are so serious and numerous that they must have an effect on the psychological, literary, and historical levels ...

The absurdities of the Diary are those of a poor imagination that develops outside of a lived experience. They are worthy of a poor novel or of a poor lie. Every personality, however poor it may be, contains what it is proper to call psychological, mental, or moral contradictions. I will refrain from demonstrating here that Anne's personality contains nothing like that. Her personality is invented and is as hard to believe as the experience that the Diary is supposed to relate. From a historical point of view, I would not be surprised if a study of the Dutch newspapers, the English radio and Dutch radio from June 1942 to August 1944 would prove fraud on the part of the real author of the diary. On 9 October 1942, Anne speaks already of Jews "being gassed" (Dutch text: "Vergassing")!

(Faurisson 1982)

In fact, as the seemingly casual reference at the end of this passage to the entry for 9 October, 1942 suggests, it is not the Franks' cleaning schedule that is Faurisson's real concern. By "demonstrating" that the vacuum cleaner episode could not have happened on 5 August as the diaries suggest, Faurisson is actually attempting to convince us that the Holocaust could not have happened either (Faurisson's other major project was "demonstrating" that the gas chambers were also a hoax. See Lipstadt 1993a, 224-229; Wikipedia contributors 2012a, b): if the Frank's cleaning schedule has been faked, then there is no reason to trust the authenticity of any of its evidence for more significant historical events, including contemporary knowledge of the gassing of the Jews in occupied Europe. In other words, if the diaries can be shown to be a retrospective falsification, they become additional evidence in the deniers' project of asserting that the Holocaust itself is an anti-Nazi lie.

There is not much one can say in the face of this kind of "scholarship", except, perhaps, to point out the intellectual poverty of its approach and errors that lie behind its evidentiary claims. Or in this case to point out that Frank is

generally careful to explain why unusual noises did not lead to the immediate betrayal of the Annexe's inmates; that when she doesn't, the general tenor is that the actions and noises she is describing were in fact dangerous to their survival (Barnouw 2004b);¹ and, of course, that Faurisson is correct that the inhabitants of the Annexe could not have made that much noise and remain undetected: the Annexe was raided in the end, after all, and its inhabitants sent to concentration camps, where, in 1945, Anne Frank died.²

More sophisticated and better-trained scholars, for their part, do not dispute the over-all accuracy of Frank's diaries. Instead, they tend to focus on their social, historical, and even psychological value (see Barnouw 2004c for a brief overview of scholarship on Anne Frank and her diaries); about whether the Frank's story is typical of Jewish experiences during World War II (e.g. Van Galen Last & Wolfswinkel 1996, esp. 140–145). Or about whether the iconization of Anne Frank as the archetypal Nazi victim has had a positive or negative effect on Holocaust remembrance (see Bernard 2000; Bettelheim 1960). They ask themselves about the reasons why the diaries have proven to be such a big hit with popular audiences (e.g. Rosenfeld 1991), what they tell us about the psychological development of adolescents (Dam 2001; Haviland & Kramer 1991; Evert 1991), or whether there is a hidden antisemitism in our preference for this story of an assimilated and well-educated Western Jew over the equally (or even

¹ In his discussion of the flaws in Faurisson's argument, Barnouw makes one important error. In the entry for November 9, 1942, Frank describes an incident in which a bag of beans Peter is carrying splits and spills over the stairs. The result, Frank suggests, was *een lawaai als een ordeel*, 'noise... enough to waken the dead' (version b [see below for discussion of the Diaries' textual history]. Dutch text: Frank 2004; translation Frank 2003). Barnouw's criticism of Faurisson, who cites this entry as an example of the diaries' implausibility, is that he "omits to quote the next sentence" *Goddank was er geen vreemde in huis* ('Thank God there were no strangers in the house'). This is a valid criticism of Faurisson, who used published versions of the *Diary* in which this sentence appears for his research. The sentence, however, was not in Frank's original text (compare the b and c versions in Frank 2004). It appears to have been added during copy-editing of the first Dutch edition.

² Almost needless to say, Faurisson's suggestion that Frank could not have heard rumours that Jews were being "gassed" by the Nazis by October 9, 1942 is almost as easily answered by the surviving evidence. The first public published notice of the use of gas against Jews appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on June 25, 1942 ("Germans murder 700,000 Jews in Poland"). The story was widely repeated in England and abroad in the following days and followed soon after by additional reports (see Ward 1993; also Lipstadt 1993b, 164). Although the BBC was generally reluctant to broadcast allegations of mass murder (Ward 1993), there is some evidence that they covered these stories and related revelations in their newscasts (Burleigh 2011, 449; Frank 2003, 293 (note)). As Frank notes in the description of their daily life in the very entry cited by Faurisson, moreover, these broadcasts were followed closely and regularly by the inhabitants of the Annexe who were hungry generally for news and rumour of the progress of the war.

more) horrific stories told by the less assimilated, less wealthy, or less well-educated (see especially Doneson 1987; 1992; Dresden 1991, 197–198).

MINISTERIE VAN JUSTITIE AFSCHRIFT No. 107658
 Commissie tot het doen van aangifte van overlijden van vermisten.
 Krachtens art. 2 van de Wet van 2 Juni 1949 (Stbl. No. J 227) doe ik U hierbij aangifte van het overlijden van de hieronder vermelde vermiste: Op een da dertig maart negentienhonderd vijf en veertig is in Bergen-Belsen in Duitsland overleden:
 Frank, Annelies Marie,
 geboren twaalf Juni negentienhonderd negen en twintig in Frankfurt am de Main in Duitsland, wonende in Amsterdam,
 dochter van: Frank, Otto Heinrich van; Hollander, Edith.
 AAN de Heer Ambtenaar van de Burgerlijke Stand van Amsterdam.
 Ik verzoek U met deze aangifte, waarvan een uittreksel wordt gepubliceerd in de Ned. St.crt van heden, te willen handelen overeenkomstig het bepaalde in art. 5 van opgemelde Wet. Ingeschreven in Amsterdam op: 29 Juli 1954
 's-GRAVENHAGE, 29 Juli 1954
 1954 Reg. N. 02 Fol. 9
 Per. Ambes. Burg. Stand:

Extract recording the death of Anne Frank from the Archief van de Commissie tot het doen van Aangifte van Overlijden van Vermisten, 1949-1962, July 29, 1954. © Erfgoed in Beeld, 2010. License: Creative Commons 2.0 BY.

At the same time, however, it is difficult not to feel with Lipstadt some surprise at the depth and breadth of this interest: at the idea that this particular diary has been able to provoke such controversy and attract this amount and kind of scrutiny from pseudo and serious scholars alike. For while Frank's diaries have always been understood as being much more than simply “a small book by a young girl full of musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars”, they also actually are “a small book by a young girl full of musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars”. There are many other war diaries, including diaries that focus more directly on the issues most at stake in most debates about Frank's work (e.g. Hillesum 1996; Koker 2012; Englishman 2007; see more generally Dewulf 2010). In as much as they are neither about the Holocaust nor a witness to much more of the war than can be seen occasionally outside Frank's Amsterdam window, the choice of her diaries as a major locus of scholarly discussion about the Holocaust and Jewish experience of the war in occupied Europe does sometimes seem odd. As we shall see, moreover, the diaries themselves are not necessarily always well-suited to support the burden placed upon them even by legitimate scholars, not because they are a forgery – after the extensive investigations by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in mid 1980s, there can be no doubt about their authenticity – but rather because the

evidence of their compositional history suggests that Frank was not primarily interested in providing documentary evidence of a social, historical, or even psychological kind.

On the one hand, as was recognized during the war itself, the enormity of Nazi crimes requires documentation. We want and need first-person accounts of what happened to keep reminding us that it in fact did happen. On the other hand, however, there is considerable evidence to suggest that Frank herself did not intend her book to fulfill this need. While she was in fact prompted into revising her diaries for publication by a call for precisely such documentation by the Dutch government in exile in March 1944, Frank seems paradoxically to have been inspired by this call to turn her journal into a much more self-consciously contrived and artistic performance. In rewriting her diaries with an eye to post-war publication, Frank appears to have been far less interested in producing a rigidly accurate evidentiary document than she was in using her experiences to create a literary memoir concerning her growth as a writer and human being under an extraordinary set of circumstances. The result is more Bildungsroman than ego-document: a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Girl, whose main character has as much in common with a semi-fictional character like Joyce's alter ego Stephan Dedalus as it does with the diarist/authors in the work of war memoirists like Koker, Hillesum, and Englishman.³

I have been writing thus far rather noncommittally of Frank's "diaries". Before going any further, we need to clarify exactly which diaries we are referring to. Frank wrote more than one account of her life in the Annexe and there are significant differences in scope, episodes, organization, and wording both among these versions and among subsequent transcriptions, editions, and translations.

Just before the Frank family went into hiding, Frank was given a small plaid-covered diary for her thirteenth birthday (unless otherwise noted, details of the textual history in this and the following paragraphs are derived from Stroom 2004; Kuitert 2010). The version of the diary she began in this book is usually referred to as "the notebooks" or "a text". She began writing in it right away (a note on the front endpaper is dated 12 June, 1942), and continued to do so on a relatively regular basis in this and subsequent notebooks right up until

³ In making this argument, I am neither making a specific generic claim that Frank's work matches formal criteria for the Bildungsroman as this is or was at the time understood in English or German literary studies (for example, as discussed in Boes 2006) nor suggesting that other types of diaries present readers with an unmanipulated record of their authors' lives and opinions. Rather, I am arguing that in this case Frank was consciously manipulating facts, events, opinions, and characters to fit a larger literary purpose, even if this leads her to introduce minor distortions in what we know from her other writings and eye-witness accounts to be the historical record. As we shall see, Frank's revised text is a deliberately and self-consciously shaped document.

three days before her arrest on 4 August, 1944. Approximately two months before they were discovered, Frank began to edit and rewrite this daily journal on loose pages of tracing paper given to her from her father's office. She called this revised version of her diary *Het Achterhuis* (roughly, "The Annexe") and mentions several times the possibility of its publication. While it is possible to show that she began work on this revision after considerable thought in late May 1944, its first entry is dated nearly two years earlier to 20 June, 1942; Frank was to maintain the pretence that the entries in this revised version (usually called the "loose papers" or "b text") were being written as they occurred throughout her entire revision. The last entry in this revised text, presumably written about the time of her arrest in August, is 29 March, 1944 – a date which, as we shall see, is quite significant in terms of her development and inspiration. Finally, in addition to these two versions of her diaries, Frank also compiled a third text: a collection of short stories and other sketches known as *Verhaaltjes van het Achterhuis* (Frank 2001; transl. Frank 1994; Frank 2003). Some of these stories are based on incidents recorded in her daily journal or its revision; others have nothing obvious to do with her life in hiding.

Frank's papers were rescued from the Annexe and returned to her father and de facto literary executor Otto Frank when it became clear that Anne Frank had died in the German concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen. Within days, he began to make a typewritten compilation from the surviving manuscripts which he then translated into German and sent to his mother in Switzerland as a memorial to her lost granddaughter. Both this typescript and the German translation appear to have been lost. Otto Frank then began a second typescript, this time intended for circulation within the Netherlands, and, perhaps, eventual commercial publication. Otto based his second typescript primarily on Frank's revised version in the loose papers, but both added material from the notebooks and omitted various entries and elements he considered inessential, egregiously insulting to the memory of his wife, or to contain unfair or unfounded rumours about third persons (see the *Nawoord* in Frank 2004). This second compilation was edited for style by a playwright friend of the Frank family, Albert Cauvren, retyped and ultimately submitted to various publishing houses in the Netherlands for consideration. All printed editions and translations of Frank's diaries stem ultimately from this revised version of Otto Frank's second typescript. Until the publication in 1986 of a critical edition of the surviving manuscripts, no complete text of Frank's own revised version of the diaries was available to the public.⁴

⁴ The most detailed analysis of these changes is found in Lejeune 1998; translated and updated in Lejeune 2009; a weakness of Lejeune's analysis is its attribution of motivation for specific changes in published versions of the diaries to "Otto Frank". In practice the published versions of the diary

A fourth and, for our purposes, final complication in the textual history of the diaries came once they were accepted for publication – first by the Dutch publishing house Contact, and subsequently by publishing houses in France, Germany, and ultimately Doubleday in the United States. As with any work destined for commercial publication, Otto Frank's typescript was edited by the staff at Contact for style and content. Changes were made in language, punctuation, and paragraph division in order to bring the text in line with the publisher's house style, and more importantly, a number of entries (twenty-five in fact) were deleted as either too uninteresting, or, more often, too controversial for a general reading public. These included some discussion of menstruation and a scene in which Anne imagines touching a girlfriend's breasts and expresses a desire to kiss her.

While his version of the diaries was being shopped around the Dutch publishers, Otto Frank also commissioned a new German translation of the complete transcription by his friend Anneliese Schütz. This version contained the scenes omitted by Contact's more prudish editors, but seems to have been relatively free with the Diary's specific wording – particularly its frequent negative references to German culture and people other than the Nazis (in addition to the account in Stroom 2004; see Lefevere 1992; Rosenfeld 2011). Thus Anne Frank's observation in the entry for 17 November, 1942 that "*toegestaan zijn alle cultuurtalen, dus geen Duits*" ('all civilized languages are permitted, therefore no German'), for example, becomes in German "*Alle Kultursprachen... aber leise*" ('all civilised languages ... but softly'; ellipsis as in original); Frank's *heldenmoed in de oorlog of tegenover de Duitsers* ('heroism in the war or against the Germans'; 28 January, 1944), likewise, becomes *Heldenmut im Kriege und im Streit gegen die Unterdrückung* ('heroism in war and in the struggle against the occupation'; for additional examples and discussion, see Stroom 2004; Lefevere 1992; Rosenfeld 2011; Schroth 2006).

The final major translation, into English for Doubleday, was based primarily on the first Dutch edition and the copy-edited typescript used by Contact. Added to this were some, but not all, of the episodes cut by Contact's editors. The English edition is closer to the Dutch edition than the German in most readings, but, like all major translations and editions, contains some sentences and passages of uncertain origin, presumably to be attributed to an editor at some point in the production (see, for example, the entry for 22 May, 1944, in which the English text has a sentence found in no other version: "The Germans have a means of making people talk").

represent an almost textbook example of a "social text". For a discussion of this latter concept, see McGann 1992).

The result of all this is that there are at least eight, and, if we go on and discuss the American stage and screen adaptations, perhaps as many as eleven or twelve significantly divergent revisions, translations, and adaptations of Frank's work, all of which are known in the popular imagination as "The Diary of Anne Frank" (see the figure in Stroom 2004, 77).⁵ I have gone through them here in order both to clarify the distinctions I am about to make between Frank's own revisions and to give us some idea of the motives behind the work of those responsible for preserving, compiling, publishing, and translating her work since the war. Since Otto Frank's first attempt to share his daughter's diaries with the surviving members of his family, editors and publishers have tended to see the work as what Dutch historian Jacques Presser has described as an "ego-document": "*historical sources* in which the researcher is faced with an 'I', or occasionally (Caesar, Henry Adams) a 'he', as the writing and describing subject with a continuous presence in the text" (Presser 1958; translation as in Dekker 2002, emphasis added). It is true that some attempts occasionally have been made to take her own express wishes for the documents into account: the Dutch edition of the Diary bears Frank's preferred title and the list of pseudonyms used in all popular editions (the Van Daans, Dr. van Pels, Elli, Mr. Kugler, etc.) is ultimately based on a longer list proposed by Frank herself (see the facsimile in Frank 2004, 70; no edition of the diaries makes use of her full list, which included pseudonyms for herself and the rest of her family). But these wishes are also invariably subordinated to our own interests whenever they seem to clash with our ideas of the work's real value: as a historical document, legal evidence (for a discussion of the effect legal concerns have had on the text of the diaries, see Lejeune 2009, 233–238; O'Donnell 1998; Frank 2004, *Nawoord*), as an adolescent diary (see Eleanor Roosevelt's preface to the English translation, and, from a more clinical perspective, Dam 2001; Haviland & Kramer 1991; Evert 1991), a memorial to a lost daughter (see Stroom 2004; Frank 2004, *Nawoord*), or even an extremely lucrative commercial property (for excellent examples of this last influence, see Barnouw 1998; Heijmans 1998). Otto Frank combines parts of three distinct original manuscripts in order to give his friends and family a better picture of his dead child. The Dutch government submits Anne Frank's manuscripts to the type of forensic examination otherwise reserved for potentially fraudulent legal documents. Otto Frank's typescripts are edited and translated by commercial publishing houses with one eye firmly kept on what the market will accept (for a pre-publication anticipation of this concern, see Romein 1946). And nearly all readers of the published editions mention how fortunate we are to have such a well-written, but apparently spontaneous

⁵ Needless to say, this count excludes many other derivative and textually less significant translations and adaptations of the diaries.

account of the trials facing a young girl as she matures—in the words of Eleanor Roosevelt's preface to the American edition—during those “crucial years from thirteen to fifteen in which change is so swift and so difficult for every young girl” (Roosevelt 1989, xi).

My goal here is not to criticize these motives (cf. Ozick 1997). With the exception of Revisionist and Neo-Nazi attacks on the diaries' authenticity – which have frequently descended into the grossest of *ad hominem* insults towards Anne Frank, her father, and various other people involved in the diaries' publication – each of these responses can be seen as a legitimate and appropriate approach to Frank's work and our historical needs.

But it is also our need to use Frank's work as a historical and memorial text that has obscured its literary value and purpose. While the diaries might serve the end to which we have put them, it is clear that these are not the goals Frank set herself when she began revising her work. As we shall see, Frank's revisions were focussed less on memorialising her time in hiding than showing how this time in hiding led to her development as a person and a writer (the most significant discussions of Frank's purpose in revising the diaries are Ozick 1997; Lejeune 1998; 2009). Her book is set in the war and its characters are Jews hiding from the Nazis, but it is not about the war, Jews in hiding, or the Nazis: anticipating in a certain sense the approach taken by the New Journalists of the 1960s (for contemporary discussions of “the New Journalism”, see Wolfe 1972; Arlen 1972), *Het Achterhuis* is a self-consciously constructed story of a young woman writer observing herself as she lives through history. By insisting on the documentary veracity of the diaries, we can fail to see the evidence of its careful use of artifice. While there is no evidence that Frank's work is historically inaccurate in any significant way, there is considerable evidence to suggest that accuracy was not her primary goal in revising her journal for publication. What she does appear to have been doing, on the other hand, is crafting a compelling story, one that shapes the evidence of the diary kept in her original notebooks to produce a striking portrait of her development and time in hiding.

Perhaps the first thing to realise about this literary diary is how seriously and self-consciously Frank set about revising and rewriting her text for publication. On the one hand, it is clear from retrospective entries written in the margins and blank spaces of early entries in her notebooks that Frank had made a habit of returning to and commenting on her work throughout the time she was in hiding; the first retrospective discussion, indeed, dates from 28 September, 1942, just over a week after she first had the idea of casting the diary in epistolary form (see below). The idea that she might be able to publish her diaries as a book after the war, however, appears to have come to her as she listened to a broadcast by Gerrit Bolkestein, the Dutch Minister of Education,

Arts and Sciences on 28 March, 1944 calling for the establishment of a national library of diaries, letters, and other first-hand material about life in the Netherlands under Nazi rule:

Geschiedenis kan niet alleen geschreven worden op grond van officieele bescheiden en archiefstukken. Wil het nageslacht ten volle beseffen wat wij als volk in deze jaren hebben doorstaan en zijn te boven gekomen, dan hebben wij juist de eenvoudige stukken noodig – een dagboek, brieven van een arbeider uit Duitschland, een reeks toespraken van een predikant of priester. Eerst als wij er in slagen dit eenvoudige, dagelijksche materiaal in overstelpende hoeveelheid bijeen te brengen, eerst dan zal het tafereel van dezen vrijheidsstrijd geschilderd kunnen worden in volle diepte en glans.

(Van der Stroom 2004, 69)

'History cannot be written on the basis of official decisions and documents alone. If our descendants are to understand fully what we as a nation have had to endure and overcome during these years, then what we really need are ordinary documents—a diary, letters from a worker in Germany, a collection of sermons given by a parson or a priest. Not until we succeed in bringing together vast quantities of this simple, everyday material will the picture of our struggle for freedom be painted in its full depth and glory'.

(Van der Stroom 2003, 59)

As Frank notes in her journal for the following day, the inhabitants of the Annexe immediately saw the relevance of her journal to this proposal, and "*natuurlijk stormden ze allemaal direct op mijn dagboek af*" ('of course they all made a rush at my diary immediately'; 29 March 1944, version b).

Frank's own response to this broadcast is more interesting. In his call for the preservation of a large number and wide range of personal documents, and his emphasis on their simplicity and ordinariness, Bolkestein was in fact asking for precisely the type of ego-documents Presser later described (and indeed, Presser's thinking on this subject was influenced by his work with documents collected in response to Bolkestein's call as part of his commission to write the official government history of the war). Instead of as a call to preserve her daily journal as an historical witness to the occupation, however, Frank seems to have seen Bolkestein's announcement as an indication that there might be an audience for her writing after the war. While she clearly recognises the value of her diary as an historical document, she begins almost immediately to think of it in publishing terms. She describes how *interessant* 'interesting', and *grappig* 'funny', it might be to publish her work after the war. She gives the diary a

possible title (*Het Achterhuis* 'The Annexe') and describes it as a *roman* 'novel' (in English versions of the text, *roman* is incorrectly translated as 'a romance'), or even a *detective-roman* 'detective novel'. Her description of its historical value, moreover, rapidly moves to the broader context of the general suffering of the Dutch people – most of which lay outside her immediate observation from the Annexe:

Stel je eens voor hoe interessant het zou zijn als ik een roman van het Achterhuis uit zou geven; aan de titel alleen zouden de mensen denken, dat het een detective-roman was. Maar nu in ernst het moet ongeveer 10 jaar na de oorlog al grappig aandoen als wij vertellen hoe we als Joden, hier geleefd, gegeten en gesproken hebben. Al vertel ik je veel van ons toch weet je nog maar een heel klein beetje van ons leven af.

Hoeveel angst de dames hebben als ze bombarderen, b.v. Zondag toen 350 Engelse machines ½ miljoen kilo bommen op IJmuiden gegooid hebben, hoe dan de huizen trillen als een grassprietje in de wind, hoeveel epidemieën hier heersen, van al deze dingen weet jij niets af en ik zou de hele dag aan het schrijven moeten blijven als ik alles tot in de finesses na zou moeten vertellen. De mensen staan in de rij voor groente en alle mogelijke andere dingen, de dokters kunnen niet bij de zieken komen omdat om de haverklap hun voertuig wordt gestolen, inbraken en diefstallen zijn er plenty, zo zelfs dat je je af gaat vragen of de Nederlanders wat bezielde dat ze opeens zo stelerig geworden zijn. Kleine kinderen van 8 en 11 jaar slaan de ruiten van woningen in en stelen wat los en vast zit. Niemand durft voor vijf minuten zijn woning te verlaten, want als je weg bent is je boel ook weg. Iedere (Elke) dag staan er advertentie's met beloningen voor het terugbezorgen van gestolen schrijfmachine's, perzische kleden, elektrische klokken, stoffen enz. in de krant. Elektrische straatklokken worden afgemonteerd, de telefoons in de cellen tot op de laatste draad uit elkaar gehaald.

De stemming onder de bevolking kan niet goed zijn, iedereen heeft honger, met een weekrantsoen kun je nog geen twee dagen uit komen, behalve dan het koffiesurrogat. De invasie laat lang op zich wachten, de mannen moeten naar Duitsland, de kinderen worden ziek of zijn ondervoed, alles heeft slechte kleren en slechte schoenen.

Een zool kost clandestien f7.50 daarbij nemen de meeste schoenmakers geen klanten aan of je moet 4 maanden op de schoenen wachten, die dikwijls intussen verdwenen zijn.

(29 March, 1944; version b)⁶

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, all quotations and translations of Frank's work are from the Dutch critical edition and its English translation (Frank 2004; 2003). The English translation often diverges in minor ways from Frank's original syntax and idiom. These divergences are noted when

'Just imagine how interesting it would be if I were to publish a romance [sic: the correct translation should be "novel"] of the "Secret Annexe". The title alone would be enough to make people think it was a detective story. But, seriously, it would be quite funny 10 years after the war if we Jews were to tell how we lived and what we ate and talked about here. Although I tell you a lot, still, even so, you only know very little of our lives.

How scared the ladies are during the air raids. For instance on Sunday when 350 British planes dropped 1/2 million kilos of bombs on IJmuiden, how the houses trembled like a wisp of grass in the wind, and who knows how many epidemics now rage. You don't know anything about all these things, and I would need to keep on writing the whole day if I were to tell you everything in detail. People have to line up for vegetables and all kinds of other things; doctors are unable to visit the sick, because if they turn their backs on their cars for a moment they are stolen; burglaries and thefts abound, so much so that you wonder what has taken over the Dutch for them suddenly to have become such thieves. Little children of 8 and 11 years break the windows of people's homes and steal whatever they can lay their hands on. No one dares to leave his home unoccupied for five minutes, because if you go, your things go too. Every (Each) day there are announcements in the newspapers offering rewards for the return of lost property, typewriters, Persian rugs, electric clocks, cloth, etc. Electric clocks in the street are removed, public telephones are pulled to pieces, down to the last thread.

Morale among the population can't be good, everyone is hungry, the weekly rations are not enough to last for two days except for coffee substitute. The invasion is a long time coming, and the men have to go to Germany, the children are ill or undernourished, all are wearing old clothes and old shoes.

A new sole costs 7.50 florins in the black market, moreover, hardly any of the shoemakers will accept shoe repairs or, if they do, you have to wait 4 months, during which time the shoes often disappear.'

The idea that her 'book' might be more than a simple eyewitness account takes hold and grows in the course of the next few months. Consoling herself on April 5 after a fit of depression about the slow progress of the war, Frank mentally sums up her abilities as a writer, concentrating on her style and effectiveness, and her hope that writing will give her the opportunity to have a career "*naast man en kinderen*" ('besides husband and children') unlike the women she sees around her in the Annexe:

they might otherwise obscure the argument being made. Translations of individual words and phrases quoted in isolation in my argument are my own.

Een hele tijd wist ik helemaal niet meer waarvoor ik nu werk, het einde van de oorlog is zo ontzettend ver, zo onwerkelijk, sprookjesachtig en mooi. Als de oorlog in September nog niet afgelopen is dan ga ik niet meer naar school, want twee jaar wil ik niet achter komen. De dagen bestonden uit Peter, niets dan Peter, dromen en gedachten, totdat ik Zaterdagavond zo ontzettend lamleidend werd, nee vreselijk[...]

En nu is het helemaal over, ik moet werken om niet dom te blijven, om vooruit te komen, om journaliste te worden, want dat wil ik! Ik weet dat ik kan schrijven, een paar verhaaltjes zijn goed, m'n Achterhuisbeschrijvingen humoristisch, veel uit m'n dagboek spreekt, maar.... of ik werkelijk talent heb dat is nog te bezien.

Eva's droom was m'n beste sprookje en het gekke daarbij is, dat ik heus niet weet waar het vandaan komt. Veel uit Cady's leven is ook goed, maar het geheel is niets!

Ik zelf ben m'n scherpste en beste beoordelaar hier, ik weet zelf wat goed en niet goed geschreven is. Niemand die niet schrijft weet hoe fijn schrijven is; vroeger betreurde ik het altijd dat ik in 't geheel niet tekenen kon, maar nu ben ik overgelukkig dat ik tenminste schrijven kan.

En als ik geen talent heb om voor kranten of boeken te schrijven, wel dan kan ik nog altijd voor mezelf schrijven. Maar ik wil verder komen, ik kan me niet voorstellen dat ik moet leven zoals moeder, mevrouw v. P. en al die vrouwen, die hun werk doen en later vergeten zijn, ik moet iets hebben naast man en kinderen waar ik me aan wijden kan!

(5 April, 1944; version a)⁷

'For a long time I haven't had any idea of what I was working for any more, the end of the war is so terribly far away, so unreal, like a beautiful fairy tale. If the war isn't over by September I shan't go to school any more, because I don't want to be two years behind. Peter filled my days—nothing but Peter, dreams and thoughts until Saturday night, when I felt so utterly miserable; oh, it was terrible [...]

And now it's all over, I must work, so as not to be a fool, to get on to become a journalist, because that's what I want! I know that I can write, a couple of my stories are good, my descriptions of the "Secret Annex" are humorous, there's a lot in my diary that speaks, but—whether I have real talent remains to be seen.

"Eva's Dream" is my best fairy tale, and the queer thing about it is that I don't know where it comes from. Quite a lot of "Cady's life" is good too, but, on the whole, it's nothing!

I am the best and sharpest critic of my own work, I know myself what is and what is not well written. Anyone who doesn't write doesn't know

⁷ As noted above, the b version of the diaries stops with the entry for 29 March, 1944.

how wonderful it is; I used to bemoan the fact that I couldn't draw at all, but now I am more than happy that I can at least write.

And if I haven't any talent for writing books or newspaper articles, well, then I can always write for myself. But I want to get on; I can't imagine that I would have to lead the same sort of life as Mummy and Mrs. v.P. and all the women who do their work and are then forgotten, I must have something besides a husband and children, something that I can devote myself to!

By 11 May, 1944, her planned book, now definitely to be called *Het Achterhuis*, is beginning to be understood as a distinct work, something that has to be finished alongside *Cady's Life* (a novel she also worked on in the Annexe), and for which her daily journal can serve as a model and source:

Nu over iets anders: Je weet allang dat m'n liefste wens is dat ik eenmaal journaliste en later een beroemde schrijfster zal worden. Of ik deze grootheids—(waanzin!) neigingen ooit tot uitvoering zal kunnen brengen dat zal nog moeten blijken, maar onderwerpen heb ik tot nu toe nog wel. Na de oorlog wil ik in ieder geval een boek getiteld «het Achterhuis» uitgeven, of dat lukt blijft ook nog de vraag, maar m'n dagboek zal daarvoor kunnen dienen. Cady's leven moet ook af [...]

(11 May, 1944; version a)

'Now about something else: you've known for a long time that my greatest wish is to become a journalist someday and later on a famous writer. Whether these leanings towards greatness (insanity!) will ever materialize remains to be seen, but I certainly have the subjects in my mind. In any case, I want to publish a book entitled het Achterhuis after the war, whether I shall succeed or not, I cannot say, but my diary will be a great help. Cady's life must also be finished [...]

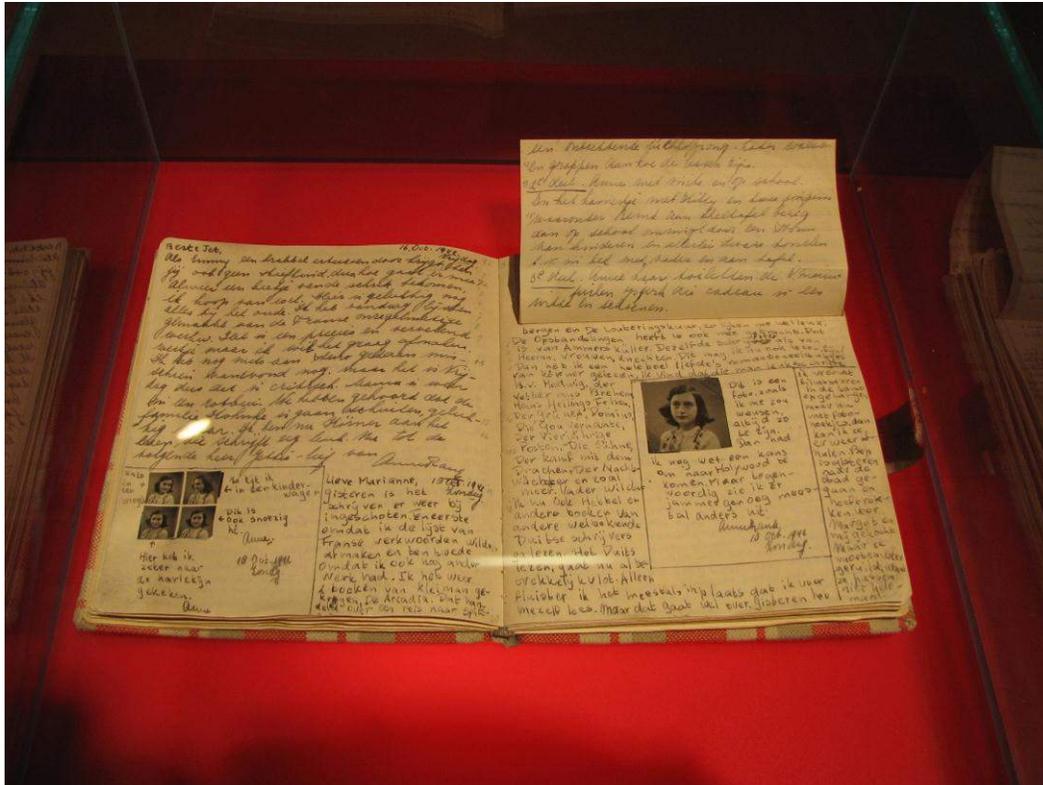
Finally, on 20 May, 1944, she announces that she has "started" work on *Het Achterhuis*:

Eindelijk na heel veel overpeinzingen ben ik dan met m'n «Achterhuis» begonnen, in m'n hoofd is het al zover af als het af kan, maar in werkelijkheid zal het wel heel wat minder gauw gaan, als het wel ooit afkomt.

(20 May, 1944; version a)

'At long last after a great deal of reflection I have started my "Achterhuis", in my head it is as good as finished, although it won't go as quickly as that really, if it ever comes off at all.'

As this reference to the work being “as good as finished” in her head suggests, Frank’s book version of her journal (i.e. *Het Achterhuis*) was conceived of as a coherent whole – and hence not simply a selection of interesting entries from the nearly two years of notebooks she had collected by the middle of 1944. While the two works are of course extremely closely connected, the relationship is one of raw materials to finished product rather than first to second draft.



Anne Frank’s notebook on exhibition at the Anne Frank Museum in Berlin, April 5, 2009. © Heather Cowper, 2009. License: Creative Commons 2.0 BY.

When she turned from conception to execution, Frank drew on her experience with the notebooks. Most of the material in her revised text is drawn from the notebook diary and its formal features have been largely adopted and extended from techniques developed in the course of the a-text’s composition. As others have pointed out, these changes are particularly noticeable in the sections based on Frank’s earliest entries, where the work of the more mature fifteen- and sixteen-year-old writer of 1944 represents a great improvement in structure, style, and formal coherence over that of the just-turned-thirteen writer of 1942 (see particularly Lejeune 2009). That this refashioning is not simply an attempt to revise the earlier entries to reflect the greater maturity of her last year, however,

is suggested by the fact that the two works do not simply merge together by the beginning of 1944 when Frank reaches the height of her talent. Although the style and structure of the entries in her diary notebooks from the Spring and Summer of 1944 are very similar to those used throughout *Het Achterhuis*, Frank continues even at this late date to differentiate between the two works, both formally (as we have seen above in her statements about the genesis and development of *Het Achterhuis* and her other work intended for publication) and, as we shall see below, in terms of the type of content she includes in both works right through the last entries written before her arrest.

The most obvious example of the way Frank uses her experience with her diary in writing *Het Achterhuis* involves the decision to address all the entries in the book to “Kitty”. As Berteke Waaldijk has pointed out, “Kitty” is presumably modelled at least in part on the character “Kit Franken” (sometimes addressed as “Kitty”) in Cissy van Marxveldt’s Joop ter Heul series, and particularly in the first book, *De H.B.S.-tijd van Joop ter Heul* (see Waaldijk 1993, 332; the connection was first identified by Mirjam Pressler in the German translation of the Critical Edition, Frank 1988). “Kitty” is first addressed in Frank’s notebook diaries in the entry for 22 September, 1942 – an entry that is also notable because Frank also both mentions Joop ter Heul for the first time and reports that she has finished Van Marxveldt’s book so quickly that she has to wait until the following Saturday before she can get another (see Waaldijk 1993, 332).

At this early stage in her notebooks, Frank is still experimenting with form. Before 22 September, her entries were (for the most part implicitly) addressed to the diary itself, using the informal second person singular pronoun (*jij*) that Dutch speakers would use to address a friend. The entries are almost always dated and signed “Anne” or “Anne Frank”; a few times, this is prefaced by an informal and friendly *dáág*, roughly ‘see you’ or ‘cheerio’ (e.g. 1 August, 1942; 14 August, 1942). None of the entries in this section begin unambiguously with a salutation, though one fragment begins *Lief dagboek* (‘Dear diary’; see notebook page 51 [version a] in Frank 2004, 271: the intended date of this entry is ambiguous).

With the entry for 22 September 1942, Frank switches to the epistolary style that will characterise the rest of her notebook diaries and be adopted in her revisions for *Het Achterhuis*. Entries characteristically begin with an opening salutation and date and close with a signature. In the original notebooks, this is only occasionally preceded by a closing salutation: e.g. *dáág Anne* (‘see you, Anne’), *je Anne* (‘your Anne’), or *je beste vriendin Anne* (‘your best friend, Anne’). At this point, in keeping with van Marxveldt’s practice in *De H.B.S.-tijd van Joop ter Heul*, entries are addressed to different individuals, all but one of whom are characters in the Joop ter Heul books (Waaldijk 1993, 332). The decision to

address entries in the original notebook diaries exclusively to “Kitty” was made sometime between December 1942 and November 1943 (the notebooks for this period are missing); when the notebooks resume in December 1943, all entries are addressed to “Kitty” (see Waaldijk 1993, 332).

The impulse to begin addressing entries in the original notebooks to characters from *De H.B.S.-tijd van Joop ter Heul* appears to have come from a combination of *homage*, boredom, and loneliness. The letters in this early section of the notebooks are a mix of fiction and fact, as Frank pretends that she too belongs to a club of friends much like the sociable Joop, and salts her letters with references to the events and characters in her fictional friends’ lives. She asks about her correspondents’ families and friends, instructs them to pass on greetings to others, writes similar letters to different correspondents, and shares gossip about her correspondents’ lives. Although most of the entries at this point seem to respect the real-world constraints of her life in hiding (see particularly her never-to-be-sent farewell letter to her real-world friend Jacqueline on 25 September, 1942) and of course are largely about the demands of life in the Annexe, Frank does at times seem to suggest that she is able to interact with some of her correspondents: she discusses the possibility of a sleepover with “Conny” on 27 September, having just spent *een hele ochtend bij je moeder* (‘the whole morning with your mother’). And in a letter to Kitty the previous day, Frank begins with what seems to be a response to Kitty’s news about her breakup with “Henk”:

Ik zal jouw er maar één keer tussenin schrijven, omdat ik me zo goed kan indenken hoe jij je nu moet voelen. Het is natuurlijk naar, maar Kit ik denk dat je wel iemand anders zult vinden; je vindt dit natuurlijk harteloos, want ik weet hoe oprecht lief je Henk had en ik had dit ook nooit van Henk verwacht, maar een groot voordeel Kitty heb jij, n.l. je kunt alles nog met moes bespreken, ik kan dit niet en met Pim sta ik wel zeer vertrouwelijk maar een vrouw is toch nog iets anders.

(26 September, 1942; version a)

‘For once I shall write to you out of turn, because I can well imagine how you must be feeling. It is disagreeable of course, but Kit I think you’ll have to find someone else; of course you’ll think me heartless, for I know how sincerely you love Henk and I had never expected that of Henk either, but you have a great advantage Kitty, that is that you can discuss everything with your mum, I can’t and though I am very close to Pim still a woman is different.’

As Waaldijk has suggested, these letters in the notebooks are extremely touching. They portray a young girl who is desperately lonely, bored, and scared

(many of the entries in this part are focussed on when and how they need to remain quiet). At this point in the development of Frank's work, the focus of her diary is not so much to represent her world to outsiders as it is to bring a version of the outside world into the Annexe: to provide her with something to do to pass the time and give her an opportunity to escape to a more normal, if imaginary, social world. As Frank indicates when she first introduces the switch to the epistolary format to her original diaries (21 September, 1942), the change is in part born of desperation to communicate with somebody. The model letter that she uses to show what she intends to do is remarkable, and quite dissimilar even from the other letters in this section of the diary, in its emphasis on details that, with the exception of the comment about why she can't work too long on her knitting, could as easily have come from her life before she went into hiding... or from the pen of Joop ter Heul:

Ik heb zo'n zin om met iemand te corresponderen, en dat zal ik dan in het vervolg maar met mijn dagboek doen. Ik schrijf dus nu in briefvorm wat feitelijk op hetzelfde neerkomt.

Lieve Jettje, (zal ik maar zeggen,)

Mijn lieve vriendin, ik zal je in het vervolg en ook nu nog veel te vertellen hebben. Ik ben met breiwerk begonnen een trui uit van die witte wol. Maar ik mag er niet te veel aan breien anders is hij te gauw af. Ik heb nu ook een lichtje boven mijn bed gekregen. Dáág ik moet aardappels schillen voor het rottigste mens van de wereld, een beetje overdreven, maar ook maar een beetje. Groeten allemaal en zoenen van

Anne Frank

(21 September, 1942; version a)

'I would just love to correspond with somebody, so that is what I intend to do in future with my diary. I shall write it from now on in letter form, which actually comes to the same thing.

Dear Jettje, (I shall simply say,)

My dear friend, both in the future as well as now I shall have a lot to tell you. I have started knitting a sweater out of white wool. But I mustn't knit too much otherwise it'll be finished too soon. I now have a little light above my bed. 'Bye I've got to go and peel potatoes for the most rotten person in the world, that's a bit exaggerated, but only a little bit. Regards to everyone and kisses from

Anne Frank'

The decision to turn the Diary into a letter-writing game seems to have had a profound effect on Frank's early enjoyment and commitment to her diary. The frequency of entries picks up and a prefatory note added on 28 September to the front endpaper of her first notebook (seven days and twenty-eight "letters"

after she first had the idea) describes how much more fun the new format is making it to keep writing:

Ik heb tot nu een grote steun aan je gehad, en ook aan onze lieve club die ik nu geregeld schrijf, deze manier om in mijn dagboek te schrijven vind ik veel fijner en nu kan ik het uur haast niet afwachten als ik tijd heb om in je te schrijven [...]

Ik ben, O, zo blij dat ik je meegenomen heb.

(Voorblad, 28 September, 1942; version a)

'I have had a lot of support from you so far, and also from our beloved club to whom I now write regularly, I think this way of keeping my diary is much nicer and now I can hardly wait until when I have time to write in you [...]

I am, Oh, so glad that I took you along.'

(Front endpaper, 28 September, 1942; version a)

When Frank comes to revise this raw material for publication in *Het Achterhuis*, however, she makes a number of telling changes. In keeping with the practice of her later notebooks, she simplifies the circle of correspondents to a single person, "Kitty", who is now explicitly described as an imaginary character. She also rewrites all entries to conform to the epistolary style she began soon after reading Van Marxveldt's work. Although boredom and loneliness are still mentioned as major motivations for keeping the diary, there is far less emphasis on the fun and sense of escape it provides. And perhaps most significantly, Frank rewrites the actual history of her notebooks to place herself at the centre of the decision to acquire and maintain a journal.

The strongest statement of this emphasis on Frank's agency appears in the prefaces she wrote for her revised text. Two apparent drafts of this preface are now known to survive: an undated version, which was removed from Frank's papers before publication and was largely unknown before its existence was revealed by Cor Suijk in 1998 (O'Donnell 1998), and a second version, dated to 20 June, 1942, which has appeared in modified form in all published editions and translations of the diaries and was first published in its original form in the first edition of the critical edition (Frank et al. 1986). Although there are significant differences between the two versions, the drafts agree in both presenting Kitty as a creation of Frank's own imagination and suppressing the actual history of the notebook diaries as a gift from Frank's parents.

The undated preface, which for a variety of textual and paleographic reasons appears to represent the earliest draft (see Hardy 2004, 210), has the most muscular presentation of Frank's role in deciding to acquire and maintain her diary:

Het is een heel nieuwe en eigenaardige gewaarwording voor me om in een dagboek te schrijven. Ik heb het tot nu toe nog nooit gedaan en als ik een goeie vriendin zou hebben, die ik alles wat er op m'n hart ligt zou kunnen vertellen, zou ik er niet aan gedacht hebben me een dik, gecartonneerd schrift aan te schaffen en dat vol met onzin te krabbelen, die later niemand meer interesseert.

Maar, daar ik het schrift nu eenmaal gekocht heb, zal ik doorzetten en er voor zorgen dat het niet na een maand in een vergeten hoekje komt te liggen en ook zal ik er zorg voor dragen dat niemand het in zijn handen krijgt. Vader, moeder en Margot mogen wel heel lief zijn en ik kan hen ook wel veel vertellen maar met m'n dagboek en vriendinnen-geheimen hebben ze toch niets te maken.

Om me nu nog meer te verbeelden dat ik een vriendin heb, een echte vriendin die m'n liefhebberijen met me deelt en m'n zorgen begrijpt, zal ik m'n dagboek niet gewoon bijhouden, maar m'n brieven richten aan de vriendin-in-de-verbeelding Kitty.

(undated text, Frank 2004, 226-7; version b')

'Writing in a diary is a very new and strange experience for me. I've never done it before, and if I had a close friend I could pour my heart out to, I would never have thought of purchasing a thick, stiff-backed notebook and jotting down all kinds of nonsense that no one will be interested in later on.

But now that I've bought the notebook, I'm going to keep at it and make sure it doesn't get tossed into a forgotten corner a month from now or fall into anyone else's hands. Father, Mother, and Margot may be very kind and I can tell them quite a lot, but my diary and my girlfriend-only secrets are none of their business.

To help me imagine that I have a girlfriend, a real friend who shares my interests and understands my concerns, I won't just write in my diary, but I'll address my letters to this friend-of-my-own-imagination Kitty.'

(undated text, Frank 2003, 200-1; version b')

In this version, both the diary and Kitty are presented as, in essence, emergency measures taken by Frank to address her lack of confidants and need to maintain personal emotional space and secrecy in the context of her new life in hiding. Frank tells us in this version that she bought the cardboard-covered notebook in which she will begin her diaries because she has no close friend to whom she can pour out her heart and that she intends to be diligent in its maintenance; in actual fact, of course, we know from the original diaries and eye-witness accounts that Frank was given the first notebook as a present from her parents on her birthday and was relatively diffident about its maintenance until several months after she went into hiding. In both this version and the probably

subsequent dated draft, she explicitly identifies Kitty as a *vriendin-in-de-verbeelding* or “imaginary friend” (the published English translation, “friend-of-my-own-imagination”, makes a slightly stronger claim of originality than does the original Dutch) despite the fairly obvious connection to van Marxveldt’s work suggested by the original notebooks. Although she does not explicitly say that the diary is being kept in hiding, there is a sense of claustrophobia in this version of the preface that suggests she is thinking of her situation in the Annex: Frank suggests she is the type of person who wouldn’t have thought of beginning a diary if she’d had a close friend to talk to; and in discussing who is available to her, she only mentions the members of her immediate family.

In the apparently later dated draft of this preface, Frank sharpens and deepens this portrait of herself as being the agent of her diaries’ creation. She removes the implication that she would never have turned to keeping a diary unless forced to by circumstance, arguing instead that she has a desire to write and that the impulse is only unusual in that she has never written much before and future audiences might not be interested in her content. As this suggests, this version of the preface also focusses much more explicitly and substantially on what others might think of her writing. She softens her determination to keep the diary secret from everyone to a suggestion that she might share it later with a particularly special friend; and in the last part of this preface, she goes even further, providing a historical sketch of her family background and current situation, “*daar niemand iets van m’n verhalen aan Kitty zou snappen*” (‘because nobody would understand anything about my letters to Kitty’), otherwise:

Het is voor iemand als ik, een heel eigenaardige gewaarwording om in een dagboek te schrijven. Niet alleen dat ik nog nooit geschreven heb, maar het komt me zo voor dat later noch ik, noch iemand anders in de ontboezemingen van een dertienjarig schoolmeisje belang zal stellen. Maar ja, eigenlijk komt dat er niet op aan, ik heb zin om te schrijven en nog veel meer om m’n hart over allerlei dingen eens grondig en helemaal te luchten. Papier is geduldiger dan mensen», dit gezegde schoot me te bin[nen t]oen ik op een van m’n licht-melancholieke dagen, verveeld met m’n hoofd op m’n handen zat en van lamlendigheid niet wist of ik uit moest gaan, dan wel thuis blijven, en zo uiteindelijk op dezelfde plek bleef zitten piekeren. Ja inderdaad, papier is geduldig, en daar ik niet van plan ben, dat gecartonneede schrift, wat de weidse naam «dagboek» draagt, ooit aan iemand te laten lezen, tenzij ik nog eens ooit in m’n leven een vriend of vriendin krijg, die dan «de» vriend of vriendin is, kan het waarschijnlijk niemand a schelen.

Nu ben ik bij het punt aangeland waarvandaan het hele dagboek-idée begonnen is; ik heb geen vriendin.

Om nog duidelijker te zijn, moet hierop een verklaring volgen, want niemand kan begrijpen dat een meisje van 13 geheel alleen op de wereld staat [...] Daarom dit dagboek. Om nu het idee van de langverbeide vriendin nog te verhogen in m'n fantasie wil ik niet de feiten zo maar gewoon als ieder ander in dit dagboek plaatsen, maar wil ik dit dagboek, de vriendin-zelf laten zijn en die vriendin heet Kitty.

(20 June, 1942; version b)⁸

It's an odd idea for someone like me, to keep a diary; not only because I have never done so before, but because it seems to me that neither I – nor for that matter anyone else – will be interested in the unbosomings of a thirteen-year-old schoolgirl. Still what does that matter? I want to write but more than that, I want to bring out all kinds of things that lie buried deep in my heart. There is a saying that paper is more patient than man"; it came back to me on one of my slightly melancholy days while I sat chin in hand, feeling too bored and limp even to make up my mind whether to go out, or stay at home. Yes there is no doubt that paper is patient and as I don't intend to show this cardboard-covered notebook, bearing the proud name of diary to anyone, unless I find a real friend, boy or girl, probably nobody cares.

And now I touch the root of the matter the reason why I started a diary; it is that I have no such real friend.

Let me put it more clearly, since no one will believe that a girl of 13 feels herself quite alone in the world [...] Hence this diary. In order to enhance in my mind's eye the picture of the friend for whom I have waited so long I don't want to set down a series of bald facts in a diary like most people do, but I want this diary, itself to be my friend, and I shall call my friend Kitty.

Although Frank does not claim here that she bought the notebook herself, this version of the preface nevertheless also misrepresents the actual history of the diaries' origins. The most important way it does this, of course, involves the choice of date: 20 June, 1942. This date is not "true" in the sense that it accurately reflects the date of original composition of this passage (there is no precise parallel to the preface in the original notebooks, which was presumably drafted some time after Frank describes her revised work as being finished "in her head" in May 1944). And it is equally not "true" in the sense that it does not represent the historical date on which Frank actually began to write in her diary: her birthday, 12 June, 1942.

⁸ The published translation for this passage uses a syntax that does not precisely match the cited excerpt from the Dutch, although this does not affect my argument.

Moreover, by dating its preface to 20 June, Frank avoids the implication that the decision came about as the result of anything but her own initiative. While she doesn't say that she purchased the notebooks in the revised preface, she also avoids the implication that she was channelled into keeping a diary by her parents' gift: 20 June falls eight days after the day on which she was actually given the first notebook. But because it falls two weeks before she and her family were forced into hiding, Frank also manages to avoid the implication, found in the presumably earlier first draft of the preface, that she was forced into writing by the extraordinary events that overcame her on 4 July, 1942. The "Anne" of this preface is the kind of person who keeps a diary because she wants to write, not because her parents happened to give her a diary for her birthday or because she has nothing else to do while whiling away her time in hiding.

This is interesting because it allows Frank to change the meaning we attach to her loneliness. In the original notebook diaries and in the first draft of the preface, Frank's loneliness is largely circumstantial. In the notebooks in particular, the pre-Annexe Frank is a gregarious girl who participates with great glee in the social rounds and gossip of her class, has a number of closer and more-distant friends, and appears to be able to discuss relatively intimate secrets with at least a few boy- and girlfriends. This "Anne" is relatively uninterested in writing: in the original notebook, her initial diary-keeping is relatively spotty with large gaps between entries and greatly varying types and amounts of detail; and as we have seen, Frank suggested in the undated preface that she would not have taken up the diary at all if she'd had access to a close friend. Indeed, Frank's adoption of the conceit of the circle of correspondents in her original notebooks is presented in part as a way of recreating her busy pre-Annexe social life: her initial letters create a pretend world in which a busy and extroverted "Anne" is able to continue the life of gossip, visits, and heart-to-heart discussions about boyfriends she enjoyed before her family was forced into hiding.

The dated version of the preface takes this situational loneliness and turns it into an existential condition. In this version, Frank is lonely and introspective because she is a lonely and introspective kind of person, one who feels emotionally and intellectually (rather than physically) distant from her friends and whose inability to communicate with them is the result of her own unease rather than the circumstances under which she finds herself. The "Anne" of the dated preface stays indoors and writes, not because she has been forced into hiding by the Nazis, but because she is prone to *licht-melancholieke dagen* ('slightly melancholy days'), that leave her feeling too bored and languid to engage in the hustle of daily life with her friends. This Anne is not the kind of person who turns to a diary only as a last resort when deprived of her friends;

she is the type of person who keeps a diary because “*papier is geduldiger dan mensen*” (‘paper is more patient than people’), and because she finds writing in her diary to be more comfortable than sharing these same secrets with the boy- and girlfriends who she suggests she sees on a daily basis:

...niemand kan begrijpen dat een meisje van 13 geheel alleen op de wereld staat dat is ook niet waar: ik heb lieve ouders en een zuster van 16, ik heb alles bij elkaar geteld zeker wel 30 kennisjes en wat je dan vriendinnen noemt, ik heb een stoet aanbidders, die mij naar de ogen zien en als 't niet anders kan, met een gebroken zakspiegeltje in de klas nog een glimp van me op trachten te vangen, ik heb familie, lieve tante's, een goed thuis, nee zo ogenschijnlijk ontbreekt het me aan niets, behalve «de» vriendin. Ik kan met geen van m'n kennisjes iets anders doen dan pret maken, ik kan er nooit toe komen eens over iets anders dan over de alledaagse dingen te spreken, of wat intiemer te worden, en daar zit 'm de knoop. Misschien ligt dat gebrek van vertrouwelijkheid bij mij, in ieder geval het feit is er en het is jammer genoeg ook niet weg te werken. Daarom dit dagboek.

(20 June, 1942; version b)

‘...no one will believe that a girl of 13 feels herself quite alone in the world, nor is it so. I have darling parents and a sister of sixteen. I know about thirty people whom one might call friends, I have strings of boy friends, anxious to catch a glimpse of me and who, failing that, peep at me through mirrors in class. I have relations, darling aunts and a good home, no I don't seem to lack anything, save “the” friend. But it is the same with all my friends, just fun and joking, nothing more. I can never bring myself to talk of anything outside the common round or we don't seem to be able to get any closer, that is the root of the trouble. Perhaps I lack confidence, but anyway, there it is, a stubborn fact and I don't seem to be able to do anything about it. Hence this diary.’

The book this preface is intended for is not going to be a story of how a young girl became introspective and discovered a love of writing under exceptional circumstances; it is going to be a story of how unusual circumstances turned a young girl who already had a love of writing and an introspective personality into an exceptional writer. In order to emphasize this aspect of her personality and history, Frank shows herself willing to distort the known history of her diaries' origins in order to make a larger, literary point.

A similar willingness to shape the known history of her life for literary ends can be seen in her “revision” of the pre-Annexe entries in her notebooks. In fact, calling these changes a “revision” misrepresents what is really going on. In contrast to her practice elsewhere in the diaries, Frank barely revises her original

version at all: instead, she for the most part replaces these entries with almost entirely new material. With the exception of the notebook entry for 8 July (8 and 9 July in the revised text), which Frank rewrites and restructures considerably, almost nothing from this period in the original notebooks makes it into the revised text. Counting comments on the front papers, the original diary has six entries for the period 12 June-8 July, 1942: a brief comment on 12 June on the front papers, a burst of activity in the first week she owned the diary (entries for 14, 15, 16, and 19 June), and one final entry (for 30 June) before her account of the move to the Annexe (8 July).

In the revised text intended for publication as *Het Achterhuis*, on the other hand, Frank includes six substantial entries dated between 20 June (the date assigned to the revised preface) and the entries for 8 and 9 July which describe the move to the Annexe.⁹

Date	Original Notebook Diary	Revised Text
12 June	Title page comment	No entry
14 June	Recounts birthday party and gifts; brief mention of the "Little Bear -2" club; first mention of relationship with Hello Silberberg)	No entry
15 June	Classmate portraits	No entry
16 June	Classmate portraits, continued; Family history	No entry
20 June	No entry	Preface
20 June	No entry	"Little Bear -2" club; Frank's comparative success with boys
21 June	No entry	Concern about exams; discussion of teachers
24 June	No entry	Restrictions faced by Jews;

⁹ Lejeune suggests that Frank was in fact much more prolific in her original notebooks than in the revised text for this period (Lejeune 2009). This conclusion appears to be based upon a simple count of lines appearing in these parts of the notebooks and fails to exclude a large amount of retrospective material added by Frank at later dates (particularly late September, 1942).

		first contact with Hello Silberberg
30 June	Recap of week's events; long account of various meetings and a date with Hello	No entry
1 July	No entry	Hello's background; Hello visits the Franks' house; Hello and Frank go out on date; Otto Frank hints to Anne about a hiding place
5 July	No entry	Examination results; waiting for Hello when the doorbell rings
8 July	Flight to Annexe and description	Flight to Annexe
9 July	No entry	Description of Annexe

As the above table shows, moreover, there is very little overlap among the entries in the original and revised texts. Most of the material in the revised text is not found in the original notebook. What little is carried over is considerably reorganised and often drawn from other parts of the diary. The entry in the revised text for 20 June, for example, has no direct equivalent in the original notebooks, but draws on material from 16 June, 12 July, and a second, otherwise undated, entry for *donderdag, juli 1942*, ('Thursday, July 1942'). In most cases, however, the revised version of Frank's pre-Annexe life introduces new material.

The fact that Frank rewrote this section of her diary almost completely and, in contrast to her practice elsewhere in the revision, based the revised entries on what for the most part appears to be previously unrecorded material, suggests that she had something in mind for her portrait of pre-Annexe life that could not be accomplished with the existing notebook entries. In some cases, the changes are the result of an intrinsic incompatibility between the entries found in the original notebooks and the context sketched in her dated preface. By severing the connection between her birthday and the beginning of her diary, for example, Frank eliminates the need for almost everything from her entry for 14 June – from which, indeed, only the story of the “Little Bear minus two” club is retained – in her revised text. Likewise, the portrait in the dated preface of “Anne” as an intrinsically introverted and sensitive author-to-be is difficult to

reconcile with the very gossipy and at times quite sharp set of classmate portraits found in her notebook entries for 15 and 16 June. Here too, only a small amount of material is carried over into the revised text, a modified version of her family history.

In other cases, the changes involve adding new material not found in this section of the original notebooks. Of these the two most significant are a discussion of the restrictions faced by Jews in Amsterdam (24 June, 1942) and a passage in which her father suggests he is the process of preparing a hiding place for the family (1 July, 1942), neither of which are directly reported elsewhere in the original notebooks. As Lejeune has suggested, both are probably best understood as examples of foreshadowing and establishing context for what is about to occur. From the moment Frank first responded to Bolkestein's speech by thinking how *grappig* it would be to publish her work after the war, it is clear that she had an external audience in mind. This helps explain, for example, the considerable improvement in detail and organization of her description of the Annexe and the rest of her father's building in the entry for 9 July, 1942 and her relatively consistent omission of intimate details of her emerging sexuality or developing feelings for Peter. Moreover, as we shall see, allowing her father to tell her in the revised text about his preparations in advance of Margot's call-up allows Frank to simplify the narrative of 8-9 July by reducing the amount of new information she has to present.

A third type of change involves reshaping the material she does retain from the original notebooks. Thus, in keeping with her self-portrait in the dated preface as a reserved person with largely superficial contact with her friends, the pre-Annexe entries in the loose papers greatly reduce the number of friends Frank discusses by name and eliminates most of their most intimate and detailed conversations. This is particularly true of her relationship with Helmuth Silberberg (Hello). In revising this material for inclusion in the loose papers, she eliminates almost all the relatively obsessive discussions with her girlfriends about the status of her relationship with him and his connection to his previous girlfriend Ursula as well as a lovingly recorded, five-notebook-page-long transcription of her conversations with him during one of their early dates (see the notebook [version a] entry for 30 June).

Her relationship with Hello is also significant because, as with the history of the notebooks in her prefaces to the loose papers, Frank's revisions alter what we can infer to be the actual history of their affair. In the original notebooks, Hello is first mentioned in the entry describing her birthday party (14 June). In this entry, we learn that Hello bought Frank six carnations for her birthday, that she is his real girlfriend even though he has been dating Ursula, and, a bit confusingly, that she is not in love with him even though everybody thinks she is.

Hello next appears in the notebooks in the entry for 30 June, where we learn that he and Frank met after Synagogue on 27 June and went out for ice cream at the Oase snack bar, and that she and Hello had a long walkabout together on the evening of 29 June. Finally, Hello makes a confusing appearance in the notebook entry for 8 July, when the account of the call-up is interrupted to explain that Hello and Freddie Weiss had been out with Frank at various times that Saturday and Sunday.

In the revised version, the history and presentation of this relationship is completely recast. In contrast to what we know from the original notebooks, in the revised version Frank first meets Hello on 22 June, when she saw him watching her at Wilma's house. In this version, Hello introduces himself on 23 June, when he approaches her at the bicycle racks. Far from being his girlfriend, Frank at this point claims not to know about his intentions and coolly allows him to walk with her if they are going in the same direction anyway.

In the revised version, this relationship flourishes rapidly. Hello walks her to school on 23 and 24 June and by the end of the week they know a lot about each other. Hello visits Frank's family on 29 June, and they go for a long walk after (which in fact gets her into trouble for staying out too late). Frank is supposed to visit Hello's parents on 4 July, although the visit is not mentioned in her last pre-Annexe entry in the revised text (5 July), which closes with the note that the door bell has just rung and she is expecting him back at her house: "*Net belt het, Hello komt, ik sluit.*" ('There goes the doorbell, Hello's here, I'll stop'). The next thing we read is how much her life has changed as a result of that ringing at the door.

Although it misrepresents what we can infer to be the actual history of her relationship with Hello, this reshaping allows Frank to improve her presentation of the key event in this section of the diary, Margot's call-up and the family's flight into hiding. In the original notebook entry, the dominant impression is one of confused activity:

Ik moet nu nog een heleboel in mijn dagboek schrijven, Zondag was Hello bij mij, Zaterdag waren we met Freddie Weiss uit, natuurlijk o.a. ook bij oase. Zondagmorgen lagen Hello en ik in de zon op ons balkon, Zondagmiddag zou hij terugkomen, maar om ongeveer 3 uur kwam een politieagent bij moeder die riep beneden in de deur, mej. Margot Frank, moeder ging naar beneden en kreeg van de agent een kaart, waar opstond dat Margot Frank zich moest melden bij de S.S.

Moeder was helemaal overstuur en ging direct naar men. van Pels hij kwam direct mee naar ons toe en aan mij werd verteld dat Papa opgeroepen was. De deur werd afgesloten en niemand mocht meer in ons huis. Papa en mama hadden al lang maatregelen genomen, en moeder

verzekerde mij dat Margot niet zou gaan en dat we de volgende dag allemaal weg zouden gaan. Ik begon natuurlijk erg te huilen en er was een ontzettende drukte bij ons in huis.

(8 July, 1942; version a)

'I still have a whole lot to write in my diary, on Sunday Hello came over to our place, on Saturday we went out with Freddie Weiss, and over to oasis of course. On Sunday morning Hello and I lay on our balcony in the sun, on Sunday afternoon he was going to come back, but at about 3 o'clock a policeman arrived and called from the door downstairs, Miss Margot Frank, Mummy went down and the policeman gave her a card which said that Margot Frank has to report to the S.S.

Mummy was terribly upset and went straight to Mr. van Pels he came straight back to us and I was told that Daddy had been called up. The door was locked and no one was allowed to come into our house any more. Daddy and Mummy had long ago taken measures, and Mummy assured me that Margot would not have to go and that all of us would be leaving next day. Of course I started to cry terribly and there was an awful to-do in our house.'

Apart from the seriousness of the events recorded, this version of call-up and flight is rhetorically more-or-less identical to the style and organisation used in the preceding entries: Frank records events primarily in the order in which they occur, jumps from one topic to the other, and makes no real attempt to distinguish rhetorically between significant and insignificant matters: the details of her Saturday with Hello and Freddie Weiss appear just as prominently as the ultimately more important information about the knock at the door from the S.S. on the Sunday afternoon.

The revised version, in contrast, emphasizes the extent to which the events of 5-6 July, 1942 represent a break with her former life:

Lieve Kitty,

Vanaf Zondagmorgen tot nu lijkt een afstand van jaren, er is zoveel gebeurd dat het is of de hele wereld zich plotseling omgedraaid heeft, maar Kitty, je merkt, dat ik nog leef, en dat is de hoofdzaak, zegt vader.

Ja, inderdaad ik leef nog, maar vraag niet waar en hoe. Ik denk dat je vandaag helemaal niets van me begrijpt, daarom zal ik maar beginnen met je te vertellen wat er Zondagmiddag gebeurd is.

Om 3 uur, (Hello was even weggegaan, om later terug te komen) belde er iemand aan de deur, ik hoorde het niet daar ik lui in een ligstoel op de veranda in de zon lag te lezen. Even later verscheen Margot in een opgewonden toestand aan de keukendeur. «Er is een oproep van de S.S.

voor vader gekomen,» fluisterde ze «moeder is al naar mijnheer van Pels gegaan».

Ik schrok ontzettend, een oproep, iedereen weet wat dat betekent, concentratiekampen en eenzame cellen zag ik al in m'n geest opdoemen en daarnaartoe zouden wij vader moeten laten vertrekken. «Hij gaat natuurlijk niet», verklaarde Margot mij toen wij in de kamer op moeder zaten te wachten «moeder is naar v.P. om te vragen of we morgen naar onze schuilplaats kunnen vertrekken. V.P. gaan met ons mee schuilen. We zijn daar dan met ons 7». Stille [...]

Plotseling belde het weer. «Dat is Hello», zei ik. «Niet open doen», hield Margot, me tegen, maar dat was overbodig, we hoorden moeder en mijnheer v.P. beneden met Hello praten, dan kwamen ze binnen en sloten de deur achter zich dicht. Bij elke bel, moesten Margot of ik nu zachtjes naar beneden om te zien of het vader was, andere mensen lieten wij niet toe.

Margot en ik werden uit de kamer gestuurd, v.P. wou met moeder alleen spreken. (V.P. is een kennis en medecompagnon in vaders zaak) Toen Margot en ik in onze slaapkamer zaten, vertelde zij dat niet vader maar haar de oproep trof. Ik schrok opnieuw en begon dan te huilen. Margot is 16, zulke jonge meisjes willen ze dus alleen weg laten gaan, maar gelukkig ze zou niet gaan, moeder had het zelf gezegd, en daarop zouden ook vaders woorden dan wel gedoeld hebben, toen hij het met mij over schuilen had.

(8 July, 1942; version b)

'Dear Kitty,

Years seem to have passed between Sunday and now, so much has happened, it is as if the whole world had turned upside down, but I am still alive, Kitty, and that is the main thing, Daddy says.

Yes, I'm still alive indeed, but don't ask where or how. You wouldn't understand a word, so I will begin by telling you what happened on Sunday afternoon.

At three o'clock (Hello had just gone, but was coming back later) someone rang the front doorbell, I was lying lazily reading a book on the veranda in the sunshine, so I didn't hear it. A bit later, Margot appeared at the kitchen door looking very excited. "The S.S. have sent a call-up notice for Daddy", she whispered "Mummy has gone to see Mr. van Pels already".

It was a great shock to me, a call-up; everyone knows what that means, I picture concentration camps and lonely cells—should we let him be doomed to this? "Of course he won't go", declared Margot while we waited together "Mummy has gone to the v.P.s to ask whether we should move into our hiding place tomorrow. The v.P.s are going with us, there will be 7 of us in all". Silence [...]

Suddenly the bell rang again. "That is Hello", I said. "Don't open the door". Margot held me back, but it was not necessary as we heard Mummy and Mr. v.P. downstairs talking to Hello, then they came in and closed the door behind them. Each time the bell went Margot or I had to creep softly down to see if it was Daddy, not opening the door to anyone else.

Margot and I were sent out of the room, v.P. wanted to talk to Mummy alone (v.P. is an acquaintance and a partner in Daddy's business). When we were alone together in our bedroom, Margot told me that the call-up did not concern Daddy but her. I was more frightened than ever and began to cry. Margot is 16, would they really take girls of that age away alone? But thank goodness she won't go, Mummy said so herself, that must be what Daddy meant when he talked about us going into hiding.'

In this case, Frank has no difficulty emphasising what is important and capturing the drama of the moment. In addition to being longer and split over two days (in the revised version Frank divides the material between entries for 8 and 9 July, 1942), there is more dialogue and far more suspense: whereas in the first version we learn immediately who has been called up by the Germans (Frank of course knew by the time she sat down to write the entry), the revised version builds suspense by withholding the information until later, when Frank herself had in fact originally learned it in real life.

The treatment of Hello's visit in this revision is particularly striking, however. In rewriting the entry for 8 July, Frank takes what was a distraction in the original account and turns it into a powerful device for emphasising the break the call-up has established between her old and new lives. In the pre-Annexe entries in the revised text, Frank uses her relationship with Hello to create a sense of beginning and provide a rhythm to her last days of freedom. In contrast to the original notebooks, where the relationship is apparently already in place by her birthday and stumbles along inconclusively, in her revised entries, there is a clear beginning and narrative arc: first contact, first date, deepening friendship, introduction to parents, and the first evidence that the couple are comfortable enough with each other to come and go as they please at each other's house.

In the entry for 8 July, however, Hello is transformed from comfort to (potentially deadly) threat: in the suddenly upside down world she now inhabits, "Anne" is suddenly forced to fear Hello's previously warmly anticipated return to the house. The girl who, exactly a week earlier in this revised text, first introduced Hello to her parents and got in trouble for staying out with him too

late is now the one who tells her family to keep Hello out and is relieved when her mother sends him away.

The changes Frank introduces in the section leading up to her family's move to the Annexe are striking because they are so bold and because they show that Frank was willing to alter the details of her life as recorded in her original notebooks in order to improve the rhetorical effectiveness of the version she intended to publish. Although, as far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, in later sections she generally stays closer to the details of the events recorded in her original notebooks, Frank nevertheless continues to edit this material, supplementing or removing particular details from her revised text.

Among the later entries of the diaries, this deliberation can be seen perhaps most strongly in her discussion of the affair with Peter van Pels and reminiscences about previous loves. Like any person experiencing the ups and downs of a new relationship, Frank spends a lot of time in her original notebooks gushing about her hopes and fears for her connection with Peter. She reports dreams about old boyfriends, wonders about the future with her new boyfriend, and spends a remarkable amount of time describing how she looked in Peter's eyes or placed her cheek beside his. A good writer by the beginning of 1944 – the time at which her affair reaches its height – these passages are almost invariably commented upon by readers and critics as being most characteristic of Frank's work.

The trouble is, however, as Lejeune (2009) has pointed out, that Frank in fact cut most of these passages from her revised text. While she acknowledges the beginning of the affair and subsequent rise in intensity in *Het Achterhuis*, she nevertheless also removes most examples of her most purple prose. The fact that we know them so well is due to Otto Frank who put them back in by copying the entries directly out of the original journal when he came to make his typescript compilation. The difference this makes in Frank's diary as a whole can only be appreciated in the critical edition, where one finds page after page of gushy descriptions of her love affair and dreams in the original notebooks and the first printed edition, with Frank's own revised manuscript represented by ellipsis. Here, for example, is the end of the original entry for 6 January, 1944 alongside Frank's revised version (dated to 7 January, 1944), in which she discusses her love for a former boyfriend, Peter Schiff:

Het gezegde zegt: Tijd geneest alle wonden, zo ging het ook met mij, ik verbeeldde me dat ik Peter vergeten was en hem helemaal niet meer aardig vond, maar toch leefde in mijn onderbewustzijn de herinnering zo sterk voort dat ik in mezelf toegaf, dat ik jaloers was op die andere meisjes en daarom hem niet meer aardig vond. Vanochtend heb ik begrepen dat

niets in mij veranderd is, integendeel, terwijl ik groter en rijper werd, groeide m'n liefde in me mee.

Ik kan nu goed begrijpen, dat Peter me kinderachtig vond en toch trof het me steeds weer pijnlijk dat hij me zo vergeten was. (had).

Zijn gelaat kwam zo duidelijk voor m'n geest, dat ik nu weet, dat niemand anders zo in me kan blijven zitten. Ik houd van Peter met alles wat in me is. Vandaag ben ik dan ook helemaal in de war. Toen vader me vanochtend een zoen gaf, wilde ik wel schreeuwen: «O, was je Peter maar!» Bij alles denk ik aan hem en de hele dag, herhaal ik niets anders bij mezelf dan: «O Petel, lieve lieve Petel....

Wat kan me nu helpen? Ik moet verder leven en God bidden, dat hij als ik hier uit kom Peter op m'n weg zal brengen en dat die, terwijl hij in m'n ogen m'n gevoelens leest, zal zeggen «O Anne, als ik dat had begrepen, had ik je allang gevraagd!»

Vader zei eens tegen me, toen we over seksualiteit spraken, dat ik die begeerte toch nog niet kon begrijpen, ik wist altijd dat ik het wel begreep en nu begrijp ik het helemaal. Niets is me nu nog zo dierbaar als hij, mijn Petel!

—

Ik heb in de spiegel m'n gezicht gezien en dat ziet er zo anders uit, dan anders. M'n ogen zien zo helder en zo diep, m'n wangen zijn, wat in weken niet gebeurd is, rose gekleurd, m'n mond is veel weker, ik zie er uit of ik gelukkig ben en toch is er zo iets droevigs in m'n uitdrukking, m'n glimlach glijdt meteen van m'n lippen af. Ik ben niet gelukkig want ik zou kunnen weten, dat Petels' gedachten niet bij mij zijn en toch, toch voel ik steeds weer z'n mooie ogen op me gericht, en zijn koele, zachte wang tegen de mijne.....

O Petel, Petel, hoe kom ik ooit weer van je beeld los? Is ieder ander in je plaats, niet een armzalig surrogaat? Ik houd van je, o met zoveel liefde, dat die niet langer in m'n hart kon groeien, maar te voorschijn springen moest en zich plotseling, in zo'n geweldige grote aan mij openbaarde.

Een week geleden, een dag geleden, zou ik als je me gevraagd had: «Wie van je kennissen, zou je het meest geschikt vinden, om mee te trouwen? geantwoord hebben: «Sally, want bij hem is het goed, rustig en veilig!»

En nu zou ik schreeuwen, «Petel, want van hem houd ik met geheel mijn hart, met geheel mijn ziel in volledige overgave!» Behalve dat éne, hij mag me niet verder aanraken, dan in m'n gezicht.

Ik zat in m'n gedachten vanochtend met Petel op de voorzolder, op het hout voor de ramen en na een kort gesprek, begonnen wij alle-twee te huilen en later voelde ik zijn monde en zijn heerlijke wang! O Petel, kom bij mij, denk aan mij, mijn eigen lieve Petel!

(6 January, 1944; version a)

'The saying says: Time heals all wounds, and so it was with me, I imagined that I had forgotten Peter and that I didn't like him a bit any more, but his memory lived on so strongly in my subconscious mind that I had to admit to myself that I was jealous of the other girls, and that was why I didn't like him any more. This morning I knew that nothing has changed in me; on the contrary, as I grew bigger and more mature my love grew with me.

I can quite understand now that Peter thought me childish, and yet it still hurt that he had so completely forgotten me.

His face comes so clearly to mind that now I know that no one else can stay with me like he does. I love Peter with all my heart. I am still completely upset today too. When Daddy kissed me this morning, I could have cried out: "Oh, if only you were Peter!" I think of him all the time and I keep repeating to myself the whole day, "Oh, Petel, darling darling Petel....."

What can help me now? I must live on and pray to God that He will let Peter cross my path when I come out of here, and that when he reads the love in my eyes he will say, "Oh Anne, if I had only realized, I would have asked you long ago!"

Once when we spoke about sex, Daddy told me that I couldn't possibly understand the longing yet, I always knew that I did understand it and now I understand it fully. Nothing is so beloved to me now as he, my Petel.

I saw my face in the mirror and it looks quite different than at other times. My eyes look so clear and deep, my cheeks are pink – which they haven't been for weeks – my mouth is much softer; I look as if I am happy, and yet there is something so sad in my expression and my smile slips away from my lips as soon as it has come. I'm not happy because I should know that Petel's thoughts are not with me, and yet I still feel his wonderful eyes upon me and his cool, soft cheek against mine...

Oh Petel, Petel, how will I ever free myself of your image? Wouldn't any other in your place be a miserable substitute? I love you, and with such a great love that it can't grow in my heart any more but has to leap out into the open and suddenly manifest itself in such a tremendous way!

A week ago, even yesterday, if you had asked me, "Which of your friends do you consider would be the most suitable to marry? I would have answered: "Sally, for he makes me feel good, peaceful and safe!"

But now I would cry, "Petel, because I love him with all my heart and soul, I give myself completely!" But one thing, he may touch my face, but no more.

This morning I imagined I was in the front attic with Petel, sitting on the wooden window sill and after a short conversation, the two of us started to cry and then I felt his mouth and his wonderful cheek! Oh Petel, come to me, think of me, my own dear Petel!

In the revised version, Frank cuts out the direct reporting of the dream as well as much of her internal conversation, focussing instead on the implications for her post-war future (text: version b):

Er bestaat een gezegde: Tijd geneest alle wonden, zo ging het ook met mij; ik verbeeldde me dat ik Peter vergeten was en hem totaal niet aardig meer vond. De herinnering aan hem leefde echter zo sterk voort, dat ik mezelf wel eens bekende dat ik jaloers was op die andere meisjes en daarom hem niet meer aardig vond. Vanochtend heb ik gemerkt dat niets veranderd is, integendeel, terwijl ik ouder en rijper werd, groeide m'n liefde in me mee. Zijn gelaat vertoonde zich zo duidelijk aan me, en ik weet, dat niemand anders zo in me kan blijven vastzitten.

Na de droom ben ik geheel in de war. Wat kan me helpen? Ik moet gewoon verder leven en God bidden dat hij als ik hier uitkom, Peter op m'n weg zal brengen en dat die, terwijl hij in m'n ogen m'n gevoelens leest zal zeggen: «O Anne, als ik dat geweten had, was ik allang bij je gekomen»

je Anne

(7 January, 1944; version b)

'There is a saying: Time heals all wounds and so it was with me; I imagined that I had forgotten Peter and that I didn't like him at all any more. The memory of him, however, lived on so strongly that I admitted to myself sometimes I was jealous of the other girls, and that was why I didn't like him any more. This morning I realised that nothing has changed; on the contrary, as I grew older and more mature my love grew with me. His face was shown so clearly to me, and I know that no one else can remain with me like he does.

I am completely upset by the dream. What can help me now? I must live on and pray to God that He will let Peter cross my path when I come out of here, and that when he reads the love in my eyes he will say: "Oh Anne, if I had only known, I would have come to you long before".

yours, Anne'

No matter how attractive and innocent we may find Frank's adolescent musings on love and boys, it is clear that she herself did not want us to give it nearly as much prominence as we do.

There is one other significant fact about the above passages, however: namely that they date from January 1944, not July 1942. In less than four months, Frank will hear Bolkestein's call for the collection of diaries and other eyewitness accounts on the radio and begin mapping out her plans for her own

publication of *Het Achterhuis*. Where the changes to the earliest entries from 1942 might be explained away as a natural reflection of Frank's greater maturity at the time of her revision and the experience she has acquired in the course of two years of near continuous writing, the changes she makes here are to material written almost coincidentally with her decision to revise her work for publication. The fact that she continues to write entries in a similar vein in her daily journal right up until her arrest, but to omit or drastically edit such entries when they occur in the material she is revising suggests that the problems she saw with these entries was primarily editorial: the presence of "musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars" in her daily journals does not mean she intended to include them in her final book.

Frank's revision of the diaries stops with the entry for 29 March, 1944—the day she mentions Bolkestein's speech and first discusses "*hoe interessant het zou zijn als ik een roman van het Achterhuis uit zou geven*" ("how interesting it would be if I were to publish a novel of the 'Secret Annexe'"). Given the effort she put into shaping the account of her pre-Annexe life for rhetorical effect, it is tempting to imagine that she intended for her self-portrait to end with the entry in which she first thought of revising her work for publication. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing in the entry to suggest that the fact this is the last entry is anything other than a horrible coincidence – the last entry she happened to be working on before the Annexe was raided by the authorities. In contrast to the control she shows in her creating and revising the entries describing the day in which her family was forced into hiding, there is no sense of a conclusion in the revised version of 29 March and many of her most interesting entries on her development as a writer come in the months after she first sees the possibility in her material.

The important thing, however, is that we would expect Frank to build her work to a conclusion rather than simply end it. As we have seen, *Het Achterhuis* is in fact a text that has been very carefully constructed along the lines Frank originally suggested in her entry describing Bolkestein's speech and in subsequent notebook entries describing her progress. Although it is a book "by a young girl full of musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars", it is, in the end, not just a book "by a young girl full of musings about her life, relationship with her parents, emerging sexuality, and movie stars" – or an unproblematic source of Holocaust historiography. In preparing her work for publication, Frank was clearly trying to do more than report with documentary accuracy about her development and life within the Annexe. Rather, like many artists, she was in fact attempting to create an artistic vision of the experience that turned her into a writer. There is no evidence whatsoever to support the revisionists' calumny that Frank's diary is a hoax. But

the proof against these claims does not necessarily lie in the accuracy of her family's cleaning schedule. The real proof lies in the proficiency with which Frank reworks her material to create an artistic legacy.

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Daniel Paul O'Donnell is a textual critic and digital humanist in the English department at the University of Lethbridge. He has written and lectured on the Diary of Anne Frank for popular and scholarly audiences. Apart from his work with the Diary of Anne Frank, he has edited the Old English poem Caedmon's Hymn, and is currently leading projects focussed on the scholarly use of 3D scanning, the sustainability of scholarly publishing, and the global practice of Digital Humanities.

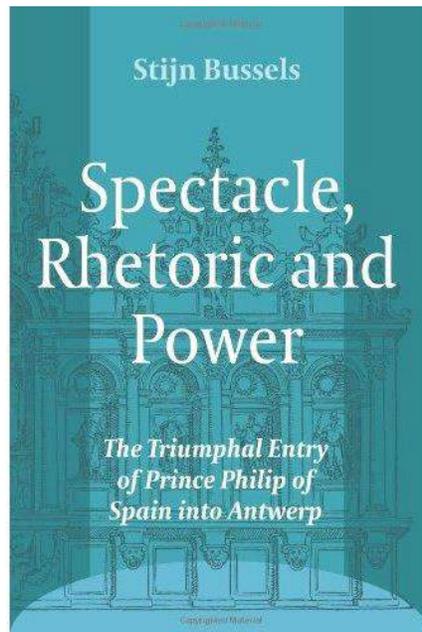
Review
Stijn Bussels:
**Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince
Phillip of Spain into Antwerp**

Amsterdam; New York: Editions Rodopi, 2012. 258p.

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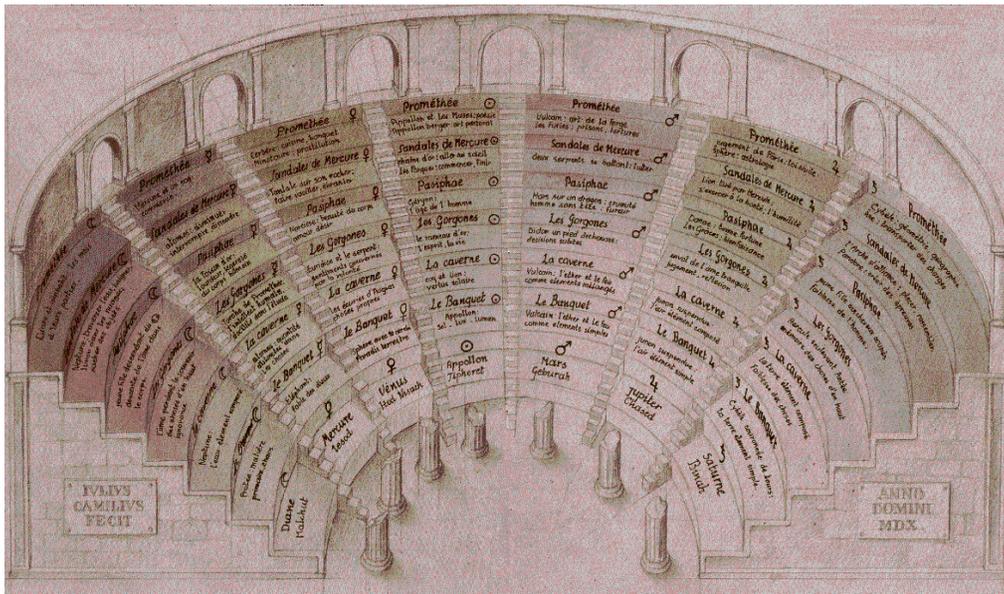
Reviewed by Brent W. deVos



On a rainy September 10th in 1549, something spectacular happened in Antwerp, something literally and very deliberately spectacular. The most prosperous trading city in the Low Countries at the time and its international trading partners staged an elaborate and astronomically costly welcoming ceremony for Prince Phillip of Spain, who was to be presented by his father Charles I of Spain, V of Austria, and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, as successor to the vast Hapsburg dominions.

The celebration began at the edge of town where the citizens of Antwerp had drawn themselves up in colourful battle array. City officials approached the Emperor and the Prince and presented the future Phillip II with the keys of the city. The Hapsburgs were then led through the city in a procession that passed by a series of

gigantic triumphal arches that had been erected for the occasion. Incorporated into these elaborately decorated structures were stages on which actors presented lavish *tableaux vivants* or static dramatic scenes. The following day, in the *Grote Markt* at the center of the city, in front of a massive temporary city hall that had been constructed for the entry, the city fathers pledged their allegiance to their future ruler, who, in turn, vowed to ratify the rights of the city's citizens. This was followed a day later by a medieval-style tournament in the *Grote Markt*, in which the Prince, of course, dominated, showing his knightly prowess. Finally, the events were topped off by an impressive and daring display of fireworks.



L'idea del teatro. Giulio Camillo Delminio. Florence, 1550. (Source: <http://www.spamula.net/blog/i05/>). (p. 202 in book under review)

Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power, the eleventh volume in Rodopi's "Ludus - Medieval and Early Renaissance Theatre and Drama" collection, is about this event. But it is not a mere description of or an aesthetic commentary on the festivities. Such studies exist, but Stijn Bussels sets out to do much more. Bussels proposes to demonstrate that this lavish celebration was not mere pomp and circumstance; that the city of Antwerp was transformed through this event into a giant theatrical venue, a concrete example of the classical notion of *theatrum mundi*, in which the actors (the city government, the nobility, the trading nations, the Hapsburgs) acted out their existing and desired social, economic and political roles. Bussels' goal is to explore "the question of how the organizers, the city fathers of Antwerp, drew on various theatrical genres in an effort to bring about renewal in the existing relations between Hapsburg rulers and themselves" (12). He also seeks to "examine what power relations were at stake and

what strategies were employed by the city fathers to make the desired power relations open for discussion” (12).

Bussels rightly begins his study with a discussion of the 16th century sources concerning the entry, principle among these being the eyewitness reports published by Cornelius Grapheus, a humanist scholar and principal organizer of the event, Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, a Spanish courtier who accompanied the Hapsburgs on their tour, and Lodovico Guicciardini, an Italian trader. Also crucial to Bussels’ analysis are the illustrations by Pieter Coecke Van Aelst that were included in Grapheus’ account. Bussels also draws attention to numerous administrative documents from the Antwerp archives.

Having discussed his sources, Bussels initiates his analysis proper of Prince Phillip’s entry by discussing the relationship between the festivities and the mutual oaths of allegiance sworn by the future King and the city authorities. He notes that although the majority of the charter reflected a conservative desire to retain the century-old balance of power in the dukedom of Brabant, there was also a notable departure from tradition in that the states of Brabant now reserved the right to withhold military support from the future Hapsburg monarch if he violated the terms of allegiance. Bussels then shows how the triumphal arches and *tableaux vivants* symbolically reflected this balance between the affirmation of total submission to the Hapsburgs and the explicit right of the subjects to resist the monarch should he engage in tyrannical behaviour. Bussels also demonstrates how the festive structures on the parade route manifested the ideas concerning qualities of the ideal monarch and nature of tyranny expressed by Erasmus, the humanist scholar and tutor to Charles V, in *Institutio principis christiani* (‘Education of a Christian Prince’).

In his third chapter, Bussels compares the program of the entry into Antwerp with similar entries at which Phillip was introduced as the future monarch of Hapsburg dominions, as well as the entry of Henry II into Paris, that same year. The author observes in these comparisons that what distinguished the Antwerp entry was its notable avoidance of the issue of Charles’s war on Lutheranism, and its careful negotiation of a balance between demonstrating both submission and self-assertion. He notes as well that the organizers of Antwerp entry placed great emphasis on the need to maintain a peaceful climate conducive to trade, which would, in turn, be of great benefit the Empire.

In his fourth and final chapter, Bussels shows how the production of Prince Phillip’s entry into Antwerp reflected the prevailing ideologies of Renaissance Humanism concerning rhetoric, or the art of persuasion. Classical authors such as Cicero and Quintilian are considered along with Renaissance authors such as Petrarch, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Rudolf Agricola and Juan Luis Vives. Bussels demonstrates that the triumphal arches and *tableaux vivants* responded to a series of rhetorical questions designed to guide the most important viewer, Prince Phillip, to a set of conclusions about his future role as a monarch.



*Triumph of Death. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1562. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
(inv. P1393) (p. 230 in book under review)*

Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power is convincingly argued. Throughout, the author demonstrates an exhaustive knowledge of primary sources, and interacts thoughtfully with the work of other scholars on the subject of Phillip's entry into Antwerp. Bussels also does an excellent job contextualizing the events of 1549, showing how they were the result of what came before and set the stage for the rebellion of the States General three decades later. Bussels includes 38 illustrations, most of them by Coecke Van Aelst, which provide useful and attractive visual references. Most interesting to this reader, however, is the fact that Bussels' entire work, not just the final chapter, is an eloquent guided tour of Renaissance thought concerning power and the art of persuasion, and how this thought translated into concrete architectural, theatrical and pictorial form for Prince Phillip's entry. This is the author's great success.

The book is a translation of an adaptation of the author's doctoral thesis, originally in Dutch. Unfortunately, this process appears to have left its mark. The English prose is often stilted and awkward, and occasionally obscure, as for example in this sentence: "Within aristocratic circles acknowledgement of the monarch was markedly less inclined to attempt to explain the economic logic of supply and demand" (172). From time to time, text fails to make clear when Bussels is paraphrasing a source or expressing his own opinion. There are also occasions when the text does not clearly distinguish between historiography and history, that is, between what was reported by a given source and what actually occurred; an account of an event is simply presented as though it were fact. These moments are few, however, and may have resulted from the process of adaptation and translation. For their part, quotes in Spanish from Calvete

de Estrella's *El felicissimo viaje* unnecessarily maintain the peculiar word divisions and antiquated orthography of the 16th century original, an unhelpful practice that has long been abandoned by Hispanists. The English translations of Calvete de Estrella's work are overly liberal and in some cases problematic.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of Bussels' study is solidly, albeit somewhat stiffly, written. This work represents a significant contribution to the study of public processions as theatre, to the understanding of power dynamics in the Low Countries in the mid-16th century, and to our knowledge of the mechanisms by which the then prevailing Humanist thought took concrete form.