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How Anne Frank Became a Writer: Revelations from the "Tales and Events" Notebook

David Fleming

Department of English, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, Massachusetts, USA

ABSTRACT

When he returned to Amsterdam in spring 1945, Otto Frank discovered that not one but two versions of his daughter's diary had survived the Holocaust: the three notebooks of so-called version A and the revision of that diary on loose sheets of paper, called version B. Other texts also survived, including a notebook Anne titled "Tales and Events from the Secret Annex," where she collected more than three dozen short pieces of prose. Best known for its "tales," the book is, in fact, mostly nonfiction, including numerous sketches of annex life. More self-contained and literary than her diary entries, they show Anne experimenting as a writer. They also show her writing vigorously in the summer of 1943, a period unrepresented in version A since none of that year's diary notebooks survived. Yet, as Anne later wrote, it was "the second half of 1943" when her life changed: when she began "to think, to write." My goal here is to better fit the "Tales" notebook into the story of Anne's life and work, a project made easier by the recent publication of *Anne Frank: The Collected Works*, which includes, for the first time in English, all of the author's writing, in one volume, in separate, continuous texts. To read those texts in the order in which she wrote them is to see Anne Frank not just *growing* as a writer but *becoming* a writer. The results are of interest not only to scholars of Anne's life and work but to teachers of young readers and writers, for whom Anne Frank has long been a model, if an imperfectly understood one.

Among the texts that survived Anne Frank's murder by the Nazis was not one but two sets of diaries, alike incomplete but very different from one another. What is now known as version A includes three notebooks: the cloth-covered diary Anne received for her 13th birthday, which she used from mid-June 1942 until mid-November 1942, and two exercise books, which she used one after the other from late December 1943 until her family's arrest in early August 1944, no other diary notebook(s) from 1943 having survived. Version B is a separate project, written on loose sheets of paper in the spring and summer of 1944, when, after hearing a radio appeal for artifacts of the war, Anne set out to revise her diary into a text she called *Het Achterhuis* ("The House Behind" or "Secret Annex"). For this work, left unfinished, Anne rewrote many of her earlier diary entries, abridged or eliminated others, and invented new ones from scratch. Two other notebooks from Anne's time in hiding also survived, a collection of her "Tales and Events" and a collection of "favorite quotes" from her reading.[1]

It was this "'highly unstable' set of texts" (Lejeune, 2009, p. 245)—five notebooks and hundreds of loose pages—that Otto Frank organized for publication after the war. The nature of his work was hidden from early readers of Anne Frank's *Diary*. For the first Dutch edition of 1947, Otto wrote that "except for a few passages of little interest to the audience, the original text is published in full" (as cited in Lejeune, 2009, p. 238),

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implying that there was a single original text, largely unaltered for publication. In fact, the book we know as the *Diary* is another version altogether. Usually labeled "C," it is a "ghostly collaboration" (Prose, 2009, p. 133) between Anne and Otto, a combination of her texts, edited, abridged, and re-arranged after her death.[2] The opacity of the editorial history of this *Diary*, its subsequent translation into multiple languages, the saga of its American stage and screen adaptations, and the persistent claims that the *Diary* has been "censored" have, over the years, fueled confusion and even mistrust.

But if Otto Frank was not fully transparent about the editing of the manuscripts, his work on the *Diary* is now generally lauded. Critics like Francine Prose and Phillippe Lejeune have praised the editorial decisions that Otto made. For example, in version B, Anne downplayed one of the most touching parts of version A, her winter 1944 romance with fellow annex resident Peter van Pels, since the romance had cooled by the time she was working on B. According to Prose (2009), Otto's "wise" (p. 133) restoration of what Anne expunged "created a more compelling drama" (p. 139). In Lejeune's (2009) words, Otto "gave his daughter back the only experience of love she would ever know" (p. 252), an especially moving act given that he had counseled against it.

That said, the death of Otto Frank in August 1980 began the slow but welcome process of freeing Anne's writing from the editorial chains of her heirs and publishers. In November of that year, manuscripts formerly in Otto's possession were turned over to the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, which commissioned the State Forensic Science Laboratory to settle, once and for all, doubts about the *Diary's* authenticity. After extensive testing of the paper, ink, and handwriting across the manuscripts, all the A and B texts were declared genuine; and C, a faithful combination of them. Summarized in the landmark *Critical Edition* of the *Diary* (Barnouw & van der Stroom, 1989), the investigation prompted something else: for the first time, all three diary manuscripts were published together, in one volume, the different texts printed in parallel bands on the same page so that scholars could see exactly how Anne got from version A to version B and Otto to version C.

Soon after came a new "definitive" edition of the *Diary*, version D superceding C since 1991 (1995 in English). It includes 30% more source material than its predecessor, although it continues the fiction that Anne's "diary" is a single text, running uninterrupted from June 12, 1942, to August 1, 1944.[3] When five pages from B, never before seen by the public, were discovered in 1998, doubts were revived about whether readers would ever have a complete "diary" of Anne Frank. Those pages are now included in new printings of D, as well as in the *Revised Critical Edition* of the *Diary* (Barnouw & van der Stroom, 2003), which also added, for the first time in the same volume as the A, B, and C texts, Anne's "Tales and Events" notebook. When, in 2004, the fifth surviving notebook, Anne's "Favorite Quotes," appeared in Dutch, readers of Anne Frank finally had, in one way or another, all the texts associated with her.[4]

But that raises the question, what today *is* the "diary" of Anne Frank? According to the Anne Frank Fonds, version D is now "*the* reader's edition around the world," the "globally binding" text of the *Diary* (Frank, 2019, pp. 6, 498). But Francine Prose, for one, thinks version C is still the best text as literature, edited in a way that respects Anne's choices *and* appeals to the largest possible audience (2009, p. 15; 2019, p. 491). Of course, both those texts were, at least in part, the projects of others, with their own motives, working after Anne's death. More crucially, they are inseparable from the postwar production of the "myth" of Anne Frank, a myth that, in many respects, we are well rid of (see, e.g., Ozick, 1997). Shouldn't we now do everything we can to return the story to Anne herself, her actual life and death, and the actual texts she left behind?

Thus, Laureen Nussbaum, childhood friend of Anne and Margot Frank, has long advocated for the stand-alone publication of version B, the text Anne herself was preparing for publication when she was arrested (2004, para. 20), the product of her "insight, skill and hard work" (1999, p. 6). Indeed, that text has recently appeared in German as *Liebe Kitty*, though it has yet to be published in English. All that said, version B is problematic. It's hard to think of it even as a "diary" since it's Anne's mid-1944 *revision* of her diary entries from the preceding two years, parts of it composed fresh for the purpose but presented as if written earlier.[5] It gives her experiences in a single voice and style and thus has obvious literary advantages over version A, but it obscures the development evident in Anne and her writing across those years.

There's another problem with B: it's missing the last four months of Anne's time in hiding, ending on the very day, March 29, 1944, when she heard the radio appeal for accounts of the war.[6] Although we have Anne's original notebooks (i.e., version A) from those last four months, they are unusually thin for June and July, 1944, no doubt because Anne was working so hard on version B, (re)writing on average 11 pages a day in the final two weeks of July alone (Hardy, 1989, p. 159).

As for version A, it has its own problems, aside from the thinness at the end. The first notebook, from 1942, is famous and symbolic (Shandler, 2012), but it is essentially a child's scrapbook, containing lists of clothes Anne wanted to buy and unkind comments about her classmates. With its pasted-in photographs and mix of print and cursive, it makes "a most spontaneous impression" (Hardy, 1989, p. 123). The other two notebooks of A—lined exercise books, all in cursive, with few "'spontaneous' manifestations" (p. 158)—make "a quieter and more regular impression" (p. 144). Of course, one reason A2 and A3

seem so different from A1 is that more than a year of diary entries, including nearly all of 1943, are missing between them—an eternity in the life of an adolescent.

For a complete "diary" of Anne Frank, in other words, you need both A and B, but their union is far from ideal. To clarify their relationship, Lejeune (2009) divided Anne's two years in hiding into four periods, corresponding to the two texts:

- For period 1, June 12, 1942, to Nov. 13, 1942, we have versions A and B;
- for period 2, Nov. 13, 1942, to Dec. 22, 1943, we have B alone;
- for period 3, Dec. 22, 1943, to Mar. 29, 1944, we again have A and B; and
- for period 4, Mar. 31, 1944, to Aug. 4, 1944, we have A alone. (p. 245)

One version, that is, fills in where the other is lacking. The problem is, they can't really "fill in" for one another. Version A is a chronological record of Anne's thoughts and experiences, written concurrently with the time it tracks; B is a text (re)written in one burst of activity but meant to represent a long, earlier span of time. As we saw above, scholars have recently made a case for B; is there a similar case to be made for A?

In the three notebooks of version A, Anne recorded, from 1942 to 1944, her "original" thoughts and observations, unedited and unabridged by anyone, including herself. Version A is also the one "diary" of Anne Frank that has not been published in any language as a stand-alone text. In fact, in 1990, before version D was released, and using the periodization summarized above, Lejeune (2009) made the case for publishing version A on its own, supplemented modestly by B:

> Version C, insofar as it is in line with Anne's plan and represents a remarkable piece of work carried out by Otto Frank with talent and sensitivity, could legitimately remain the standard paperback version. But we might hope to have an updated version of the original diary made accessible to the public. Text A could be given for periods 1, 3 and 4, and version B could be inserted, perhaps in italics, for period No. 2. […] Not only would this be an uncensored version, but the most exciting part would be to see the development of Anne's writing from the rather childish pages of the beginning to the extraordinary maturity of the last few months. […] [I]f we really want to read her Diary, we should stick close to the text itself, and restore this adolescent writing in all its freshness. (p. 257)[7]

If this version has yet to appear, the recent *Collected Works* (Frank, 2019) prints, for the first time, A and B together, in separate, continuous texts.[8] It also includes a text that Lejeune does not mention above, though it clearly meets his goal of helping us see the development of Anne's writing over time. That text is the "Tales and Events" notebook.

Sometime in the summer of 1943, Anne Frank began writing in a new notebook, separate from her diary, where she experimented with topics, genres, and styles of writing. By mid-August, she had completed 20 pieces for the collection, some as long as a thousand words. On September 2, she "inaugurated" the notebook with a title page, calling it "*Verhaaltjes, en gebeurtenissen uit het Achterhuis*" ("Tales and Events from the Secret Annex"), appended the words "*beschreven door*" ("described by") to her name, and recorded the date. She even drew up a table of contents, as if it were a "real" book.[9]

After that burst of activity in the summer, Anne returned to the "Tales and Events" notebook only sporadically in the fall of 1943. But in the winter of 1944, it was again an important space for her writing, and she was adding pieces to it as late as May 1944. As we've seen, the notebook was among the texts that Otto received after the war, though it was not published in full until 1982 (in English, 1983) and not published in the same volume as the diary manuscripts until 2001 (in English, 2003).[10] Even then, the collection has rarely been more than an afterthought to the *Diary*. One reason is the notebook's title, usually given in English as "Tales from the Secret Annex," or just "Tales."[11] The latter word may be a good translation of Anne's "*verhaaltjes*," but it doesn't fit the majority of the notebook, which is nonfiction—24 of its 40 pieces. ("Events" is the usual translation of the other key word in Anne's title, "*gebeurtenissen*," though "sketches" may be better.[12]) In fact, 16 of the 24 nonfiction pieces in *Tales* are about life in the secret annex. Which raises the question: why did Anne collect these pieces in a separate notebook? They fit easily in the *Diary*, something both Anne and Otto realized when they came, at different times, to prepare that work for publication.[13]

In addition to wanting a place to experiment with non-diary genres (memoir, essay, short fiction), Anne must have wanted a place *besides* her diary to write about life in the secret annex: to write about it in a different way for a different purpose and audience. And the writing of the "Tales" notebook *is* different. It has a lighter touch, is more literary; it lacks the self-absorption and despair that, up to the summer of 1943, often characterized Anne's diary. Indeed, it is arguably with "T"—its range, its artistry, even its table of contents—that Anne Frank for the first time began to think of herself as a writer: not a young girl keeping a diary, but a *writer*, someone who could make a living with words.[14] Looking at the "tales and events" she produced that summer, a light bulb must have gone off in her head—long before the day in March 1944 when, it has usually been thought, she began to think seriously about publishing her diary.

Which leads to the second reason the collection should be better known than it is: its timing. The prose that Anne produced—and meticulously dated—for the "Tales" notebook is remarkable not only for its content and quality but

for its abundance. In one six-day spurt, August 2–7, 1943, she completed 11 pieces for the book, later prefacing one of them with the comment: "my pen-children are now piling up" (B: August 7, 1943).[15] Although T includes six entries with earlier dates, more than a third of the notebook (14 of 40 pieces)—and more than half of its nonfiction (14 of 24)—is from the first half of August 1943. In the second half of that month, Anne was busy with *another* notebook she started that summer, a book of "Favorite Quotes," called here "Q."

All this literate activity during the summer of 1943, in the T and Q notebooks, stands in stark contrast to what we have from Anne otherwise during this time. As we saw above, the A notebooks from 1943 did not survive; and the B text for that year is sparse.[16] The T notebook, in other words, fills in a conspicuous gap in Anne's diary. And it's a crucial gap. Looking back from A: March 7, 1944, Anne wrote that it was "the second half" of 1943 when her life underwent "a great, a very great change": when she got her period, "came to know God," and started "to think, to write." That last phrase must refer to T. It's the most important writing Anne did in the second half of 1943; without it, we can't fully understand the "great change" she experienced in hiding.

That change has long interested Anne's readers. In the 1960s, the poet John Berryman described the *Diary* as "the most remarkable account of *normal* human adolescent maturation" he had ever read, the story of "the conversion of a child into a person."[17] Lejeune (2009) uses similar language to claim that a stand-alone A text would allow us to see "the development of Anne's writing from the rather childish pages of the beginning to the extraordinary maturity of the last few months" (p. 257). Others (e.g., Prose, 2009) trace that development by comparing the B and A texts, the writing of the older Anne with that of the younger. Unfortunately, these testaments to Anne's growth as a writer rarely *account* for that growth, except maybe to tie it to her reading (e.g., Nussbaum, 1999, pp. 6–7). The changes in Anne's writing, and her sense of herself as a writer, are thus subsumed under "normal" adolescent development—in Anne's case, intensified, of course, by the circumstances of *her* adolescence.

The T notebook complicates that narrative. In the summer of 1943, Anne turned away, at least momentarily, from the diary project and its conventional mode of recording and responding to life events; she initiated a *new* space for her writing, where she could experiment with genres, voices, and styles, and pursued there multiple, self-contained writing projects that had nothing to do with the diary. For several weeks, she worked assiduously on T, half-filling the notebook and even composing a title page and table of contents as if it were a "real" book. To read T, in other words, is to see Anne in the midst of what Prose (2009) has called "coming to take one's self seriously as a writer" (p. 214), a process that has too often been denied her.

Fortunately, recent publications not only give us ready access to the "Tales" collection but helpfully embed it in the context of Anne's other works. If the *Revised Critical Edition* of 2001/2003 was the first to include T along with Anne's A and B diary manuscripts, the *Collected Works* of 2013/2019 was the first to provide *all* of Anne's texts, A, B, T, *and* Q, in one volume, in separate, easy-to-read format.

Following Lejeune and using his periodization, I propose here a new reading of Anne Frank's "original" texts, centered on the A notebooks, inserting B as needed, *but adding in T as well*. I propose this plan not to be original or perverse but simply to organize a reading of *all* of Anne's surviving texts, in the order in which she wrote them. I therefore locate B where it belongs, at the *end* of her time in hiding.[18] And, focused on what *preceded* B in Anne's development, I highlight a neglected moment in her story, the summer of 1943, when she began and half-filled the T notebook.

The reading thus participates in the latest stage of Anne Frank studies. If the 40 years after the *Diary's* first publication in 1947 were mainly about the *circulation* of Anne's story, including its mythologization and the backlash against that, the 30 years after the *Critical Edition* of 1986 were, in a sense, about returning to the *Diary's* sources, efforts only partially successful given both the power of the Anne Frank myth and the continued restrictions on what sources were made available and in what form. The latest stage, beginning with the *Collected Works*, promises, finally, to open up Anne's *entire* body of work—everything, in full, unexpurgated form.

Privileging Anne's own writing—all of it, including her *non*-diary writing—is of potential interest not only to editors and scholars but to teachers of the *Diary* and the young readers and writers it has long inspired. As Britzman (1998), Juzwik (2013), and others have shown, teaching Anne Frank is a fraught enterprise, in part because of the way she has so often been reduced, idealized, and appropriated. Until now, the best approaches we've had for "demythologizing" Anne's story were, one, situating it more firmly in history, e.g., insisting on including Anne's detention, deportation, and death in that story (van der Stroom, 2002, pp. 309–310), and two, critically examining the "use and misuse" of Anne *since* that death, e.g., in the adaptation and marketing of the *Diary* (Bos, 2004, p. 351; Spector & Jones, 2007). A third approach is now possible: taking advantage of *all* of Anne's surviving texts to give a fuller account of her life and work.

This expansive editorial impulse is of a piece with recent pedagogical approaches to Anne Frank that aim for "nuance and complexity," which is "always a project of 'and, and, and'" (Spector & Murray, 2023, p. 73). The present essay isn't about adding just for the sake of adding, though. The T notebook, I believe, tells us something

about Anne's development *as a writer* that we couldn't know without it, and this has potential implications that go beyond both editorial and pedagogical matters.

Anne Frank's Writing in Period 1

In many ways, the early entries of the diary that Anne Frank began using in mid-June 1942 are what one would expect from a lively, smart, somewhat spoiled, 13-year-old girl. They're about birthday parties and presents, which classmates she likes and which she doesn't, her many admirers. But before a month is out comes a shock: the Nazis have begun rounding up the Jewish residents of Amsterdam for deportation, and the family goes into hiding. The diary is the first thing Anne grabs; yet her entry about the move (A: July 8, 1942) is awkward. "I still have a whole lot to write in my diary," she begins; "on Sunday Hello [Helmuth] came over to our place, on Saturday we went out with Fredie Weiss." The opening paragraph ends with her sister Margot having "to report to the S.S." Entries from the rest of July and August are often equally jarring.

Two years later, Anne rewrote the July 8 entry, producing something more like what one would expect from a diarist in that situation: "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" (B: July 8, 1942). In gaining this better "read," we lose the actuality of Anne's younger self, trying not just to grasp what's happening around her but to represent it in a genre she had only been using for a month. Neither adjustment was easy. Anne later described the moment this way: "I couldn't understand it, I was taken completely by surprise" (A: March 7, 1944); the original diary entry, in its clumsiness, captures that "setback."

That's not to say Anne doesn't sometimes, in the early entries of A1, rise to the occasion—or at least make an effort. A few weeks after the original July 8 entry, for example, she tries to reset the whole diary project: "[L]et me start from the beginning. On May 9, 1940 war broke out here in the Netherlands, the Germans marched their army in and within 5 days they had conquered the Netherlands":

> [D]uring the two years they have been here, there have been all sorts of Jewish laws. Jews must wear a yellow star; Jews must hand in their bicycles; Jews are banned from trams and are forbidden to use any car, even a private one; Jews are only allowed to do their shopping between three and five o'clock, and then only in shops which bear the placard Jewish Shop; Jews may only use Jewish barbers; Jews must be indoors from eight o'clock in the evening until 6 o'clock in the morning; Jews are forbidden to visit Theaters, cinemas and other places of entertainment […]. (A: July 23, 1942)[19]

A week later, at A: August 1, 1942, Anne is again trying to do more than just record her feelings. "So far I have put almost nothing in my diary other than thoughts and have never got round to nice stories I might read out aloud one day." Trying to "keep closer to reality," she writes about a typical day in the annex: "Here we are then, it all starts early in the morning…" But she soon gets bogged down in an account of ill treatment by Mr. van Pels and abandons the project. The entry ends like many in the first year of Anne's diary: "[S]omething happens every day, but I am too lazy and too tired to write everything down" (A: August 1, 1942). At times she seems uncommitted to the diary project itself: see, e.g., the long gap between August 22 and September 21, 1942.

Then there's a breakthrough. Two months into hiding, Anne recasts the diary as a series of letters among a group of girlfriends. She announces the innovation in A: September 21, 1942: "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." The move transforms the diary from a place to put her thoughts and photos into a medium of communication between herself and the other members of a club, their names—Kitty, Pop, Phien, Conny, Lou, Marjan, Jettje, and Emmy—taken from a series of young adult novels centered on the character Joop ter Heul.[20] The device energizes Anne's writing. According to Lejeune (2009), "[T]he diary did not really take off, did not become a systematic, conscious practice" until Anne hit on the Joop ter Heul scheme (p. 247).

Sometime in 1943, Anne refined the epistolary scheme to a single addressee, "Kitty," more an abstract reader than a particular friend, but she omits from version B this whole writerly struggle over voice and audience: from the initial awkwardness (the diary addressed as "you"), to the brainstorm of a peer group ("Dear Conny," "Dear Emmy," etc.), to the change to one addressee. The revised diary is addressed to "Kitty" from the beginning; in reality, in version A, Anne stumbled through all this.

If the club gave Anne a purpose and audience for her diary, it didn't change its fundamentally *private* nature (see, e.g., A: July 23, 1942: "I hope no one will *ever* read you"). Indeed, it may have heightened it (see, e.g., A: September 22, 1942: Mrs. van Pels walking in while Anne is writing about her; A: September 26, 1942: her mother turning up at the most inopportune moments; A: September 28, 1942: Margot asking to read the diary; A: October 4, 1942: Otto threatening to take it away; A: December 5, 1942: Anne acquiring a lock for the diary). By contrast, in spring 1944, Anne is all about *sharing* her writing with others.

In any case, the epistolary scheme works. There's a flurry of activity in the diary in late September, early October, 1942, with longer, more frequent entries (for a chart tabulating Anne's writing by month, see Appendix A). There's also more enjoyment in the task.[21] Anne recreates scenes from the breakfast table (A: September 27, 1942) and relays gossip (A: October 5, 1942). She shares news

about the office downstairs (A: October 20, 1942) and retells the adults' jokes (A: October 22, 1942). The climax of it all may be the entry on A: October 7, 1942, in which Anne imagines a trip to Switzerland. There's vitality here, though it's all expended outward, away from the annex.

In just a few weeks, Anne fills up the first diary and makes multiple attempts to get a new one: from Bep on A: October 20, 1942; Otto on A: October 26, 1942; Mr. Kleiman on A: November 2, 1942. Meanwhile, in the last entry of A1, November 13, 1942, the group eagerly awaits the arrival of new resident Fritz Pfeffer.

Anne Frank's Writing in Period 2

The first notebook of period 2, later lost or destroyed, must have started well, perhaps with a copy of the comical "Guide to the 'Secret Annex'" that the group created to welcome Pfeffer (B: November 17, 1942). In that same spirit, around December 8–10, 1942, Anne wrote two humorous sketches that she later included in T, titled there "The Dentist" and "Sausage Day." She seemed to be working towards the A: August 1, 1942, goal of crafting stories she "might read aloud one day," with vivid personalities and memorable situations. At B: December 12, 1942, there's even a hint of the observational stance Anne will later adopt as a writer, peering at the world through a slit in the curtains, writing less about imaginary friends and skating on a Swiss lake and more about the life around her, captured as with a camera, her own subjectivity decentered.[22]

And yet for all these signs of a promising start, Lejeune's period 2—from November 13, 1942 (the end of the A1 diary) to December 22, 1943 (the start of the A2 notebook)—is, from the evidence of B, the low point of Anne's time in hiding. Inserting the T and Q notebooks, around July 1943, brightens the narrative, especially for the second half of that year. But they can't change the impression we get of the first half of the year. It's possible that the lost diary notebook(s) would have given us a different picture, but Anne herself described the period with these words: "Then the first half of '43. My inexpressible sadness, my fits of crying and my loneliness" (A: March 7, 1944). We also have evidence from others that the period was, indeed, bleak for Anne.[23]

The "sadness" and "loneliness" show up as early as late November 1942. Since October had been so vivacious for Anne, this is a quick come-down. What accounts for it? There are at least three culprits, I believe. First is the coming winter. If there was any hope in the summer of 1942 that the group's stay in the annex would be short, by late fall it's clear that they're stuck there for a while. What's ahead just looks grim. Second, as bad as their situation is, other Jews had it worse, and this becomes a theme in Anne's diary. Pfeffer, a fellow Jew who had seen first hand what was going on in Amsterdam during the summer and fall of 1942, brings bad tidings when he arrives, sharing stories of horror about people they all knew. In fact, evidence of mass deportations was right outside on the street (see, e.g., B: November 19, 1942). Anne's reports on all this reach a climax at B: March 27, 1943, with the news that the country will soon be "Jew-free." The annex residents must have felt very alone.

The third reason for Anne's bad mood in the winter of 1943 can be summed up in one word: Pfeffer, the 53-year-old dentist who arrived in November 1942 and would share a bedroom with Anne for the next 20 months. There had been conflict in the annex before, especially between the Franks downstairs and the van Pels upstairs; but during the early months, Anne had the refuge of the downstairs group, her parents in one room, she and Margot next door. Now, Margot was moving in with her parents, and Anne would be stuck with the unbearable Pfeffer. No doubt Pfeffer's reputation has suffered from Anne's one-sided portrayal, but the fact is he made her life miserable. Tensions between the two will reach a climax on T: July 13, 1943, when they have it out about their shared desk, Anne's small victory in that exchange one of the precipitating events, I believe, for the inauguration of the T and Q notebooks.

If the cramped quarters—eight people living in a space of about 450 ft^2—caused difficulties for everybody, Anne may have had it worst.[24] The "Benjamin" of the group (B: June 13, 1943), "deserted" by her friends (B: November 20, 1942), she took fire from every direction (B: January 30, 1943). Anne no doubt contributed to her problems.[25] But whatever the cause, the first half of 1943 is full of trouble: she's "boiling with rage" (B: January 30, 1943) and faced with constant "discord," "misfortunes," and "quarrels" (B: February 5, April 1, and April 27, 1943). It doesn't help that the war is not going well (B: March 19, 1943) and that there's a break-in in the annex (B: March 25, 1943).

Some of the despair we associate with period 2 may be a function of the sparse diary record. As mentioned above, at some point, the original notebooks for 1943 were lost or destroyed. Version B covers the year from beginning to end, but the coverage, in Lejeune's (2009) words, is "very irregular" (p. 249). There are long gaps: from December 22 to January 13, January 13 to 30, February 5 to 27, April 2 to 27, May 1 to 18, May 18 to June 13, June 15 to July 11, August 10 to September 10, September 29 to October 17, and December 6 to 22. On nine occasions in 1943 (10 if you include the February gap), Anne apparently goes at least 2 weeks without using her diary (Lejeune, 2009, p. 250).

Lejeune calls this inactivity "highly unlikely," and, using the example of period 1, suggests that as much as half of the original writing of period 2 must have been lost in revision (p. 250).[26] But the analogy with period 1 doesn't work, in my opinion. As we saw above, Anne's first diary

was in need of pruning; and, as for the long period 2 gaps in B, there is at least one equally long one in A1.[27] My guess is that the original notebooks for 1943 were thin, compared to 1942 and '44, and that the paltry record in B is an accurate reflection, at least for the first half of 1943, of an Anne who often just didn't feel like writing. Indeed, it's only by including T and Q in the year's record that we realize that the *summer* of 1943, if not the whole second half of the year, was more vibrant for Anne.

Anne's Writing in the Summer of 1943: Enter T

In the conventional reading of her life and work, things pick up for Anne Frank only at the *end* of 1943 when something happens that jolts her out of her doldrums. It's the vision of her friend Hanneli Goslar in trouble. According to Anne's B: November 27, 1943 entry, just before falling to sleep one night, Hanneli appears: "I saw her in front of me, clothed in rags, her face thin and worn," her eyes reproaching, "Oh, Anne, why have you deserted me? Help, oh, help me, rescue me from this hell!" For the first time in the diary, Anne prays, asking God to forgive her past mistreatment of Hanneli and help her friend survive the war. "Good Lord defend her, so that at least she is not alone."

The vision of Hanneli is no doubt the explanation for Anne's later comment that it was in the second half of 1943 that she "came to know God" (A: March 7, 1944). It was also when she "became a young woman" and started "to think, to write." Lejeune (2009) speculates that there are lost 1943 diary entries recounting Anne's first period (p. 249). Are there also 1943 entries that show her beginning "to write"? The answer is, yes, in the "Tales and Events" notebook. But the first sign of Anne's release from the "inexpressib[ly] sad" first half of 1943, I believe, can be found in, of all places, her first diary. That's because on May 2, 1943, Anne returned to the A1 notebook and, finding blank pages near the end, wrote in it for the first time in months. The two entries are different from anything else in A1. Both are about a page long and lack salutation and signature. The first entry, in fact, has an underlined title, "Attitudes to the war in the 'Secret Annex.'" In its self-contained, essay-like quality, the piece is less like a diary entry and more like what's to come in T. Anne adopts a voice we will increasingly hear from her, one with a kind of reportorial distance. Unfortunately, she loses interest in the piece halfway through.[28] The other entry from May 2, 1943, is harder to categorize—it's a brief musing on the group's degraded habits over the past year. Written in the first person plural ("our manners have declined"), the piece has a surprisingly mature tone.[29]

The next sign of Anne turning the page on the unhappy first half of 1943 comes a couple months later. In her B: July 11, 1943 entry, she comments on a new attitude she's trying out: what she calls "shamming," keeping her opinions to herself instead of "telling everyone exactly what I think." It's a way to deflect attention and keep peace in the annex, but it may also have had benefits for Anne as a writer, showing her how to be more spectatorial, less participatory, in her "public" life.[30] The strategy is tested in the B: July 29, 1943 piece that appears in T as "Anne in Theory." Anne is washing up one evening with Mr. Pfeffer and Mrs. van Pels and, aware that her silence can be as dangerous as her outspokenness, tries to find a neutral topic for all to discuss. It backfires. A week later, in "Freedom in the Annex" (T: August 6, 1943), she's again trying to observe more, participate less, as she watches Peter and his cat, Mouschi, through a crack in the door. Similarly, in B: August 10, 1943, Anne refers to her new rule of talking more to herself than out loud as an example of her mother's "Art of Living," the way you make your bed after you get up in the morning so you won't be tempted to fall back into it.[31]

Something else is going on with Anne in mid-1943 that has not been much remarked on: a growing *managerial* impulse regarding her reading and writing. The best example of this is the July 13, 1943, piece "The Best Little Table," from T.[32] More than a thousand words long, it's about a conflict between Anne and Pfeffer regarding their room. Up to this point, the main time for Anne to read and write has been afternoons from 2:30 to 4:00 pm, when Pfeffer naps.[33] By mid-July 1943, Anne wants more time for her "work," so she secures permission from "Pim" (her father) to ask Pfeffer to let her use their table for an additional 90 minutes two afternoons a week. But when she makes the request ("see how polite I am?"), Pfeffer responds by simply saying, "No." When Anne presses, he claims that *he* needs the table for his own work and that her studies—"mythology" and "knitting"—aren't serious. "The insulted Anne" turns away, seething.

In the story, Anne goes back to her father, who suggests that she wait a day and try again. Instead, she approaches Pfeffer that night and asks him to reconsider his refusal, stressing how reasonable her request is. This time, Pfeffer is livid: Anne has no right to ask this of him, he has nowhere else to work, he might have agreed for Margot but not for her, etc. It's Pfeffer who now storms out. Later, Pim fixes things, and Anne is allowed to use the table for an additional hour two afternoons a week, a partial victory. Anne concludes the piece with a dig at Pfeffer, "so petty and pedantic."

"The Best Little Table" is a sly tale about Anne maneuvering the adults in her life, but it also gives us a peek into her reading and writing practices circa mid-1943. Anne had clearly become more serious about her studies during the previous winter and spring. Confinement in the annex, the need for quiet during the day, and some pushing from Otto probably left her little choice but to devote more time to reading and writing. Whatever the cause, by mid-1943,

Anne is devoted to her work: note, e.g., Pim's birthday poem at B: June 13, 1943: "You read and study nearly all the day/Who might have lived in such a different way." The Q notebook will soon confirm that Anne's reading has indeed become more sophisticated over the past year, giving her new models for her writing.[34] In all this, "The Best Little Table" marks a turning point.

Another piece of the 1943 puzzle arrives in late July with new notebooks from Bep (B: July 23, 1943), "account" books with a different format than both the unlined autograph book of A1 and the lined exercise books of A2 and A3.[35] Did the *form* of the T notebook prompt Anne to "account" for her life in a new way, more "professionally"?

Multiple things are thus going on in the summer of 1943 that help explain Anne's burst of literate activity. First, she's trying to be more agile with the adults in the annex, decentering herself in a way that may have influenced her writing. Second, as we saw on May 2, she's experimenting with new writing techniques, more literary ways of representing her world. Third, she's claiming the conditions she needs for such work: time, space, privacy, paper, etc. It's also possible that, a year of hiding behind her, Anne felt an impulse to reflect on her experiences so far (e.g., B: August 4, 1943), especially as her 14th birthday came and went. She may also have perked up with the arrival of nice weather—June in Amsterdam!—and with good news on the war front. However, we account for it, the summer of 1943 is a moment of energy and creativity for Anne.

Thus we come to the "Tales and Events" notebook. There's much we don't know about T. Its pieces carry dates in Anne's hand, but the overall timeline is unclear. According to the title page, it was "inaugurated" on September 2, 1943, yet half its pieces have dates before that; the other half, after. The pages are unusually clean (van der Stroom, 2003, p. 728), indicating that its "tales and events" were drafted elsewhere and then copied into it—perhaps, for half of them, on or around September 2. That said, August 1943 was clearly an important month in the book's composition, especially the nonfiction pieces that dominate its first half. Indeed, 14 pieces in T carry dates from the first 2 weeks of August.[36] Six are from before then, 20 after.[37]

The first three pieces in T are diary entries from the previous spring and fall—"Was There a Break-in?" (B: March 24, 1943), "The Dentist," and "Sausage Day" (both B: December 10, 1942)—which Anne must have transferred to the new notebook in the summer of 1943. Then come three pieces from July: "The Flea" (T: July 7, 1943), "Do You Remember?" (T: undated), and "The Best Little Table" (T: July 13, 1943). The pace picks up in August, perhaps with the new notebooks (B: July 23, 1943); into T goes "Anne in Theory" (T: August 2, 1943) and "The Battle of the Potatoes" (T: August 4, 1943). Then, with "Evenings and Nights in the Annex" (T: August 4, 1943), Anne seems to find a groove, and in just a few days she starts three new multi-part writing projects.

The first project, about daily life in the annex, comprises multiple pieces about different moments in the residents' typical day: mornings, lunches, afternoons, etc., each piece divided (in the margin) by the advancing clock.[38] Anne decenters herself, but the writing is still vivid and humorous, the pieces less personal than her diary entries but more lively than, say, newspaper articles. In the B version of "Evenings and Nights in the Annex" (B: August 4, 1943), Anne writes, ostensibly to "Kitty," that after a year of normal diary entries she wants to provide a "closer look into our lives."[39] She follows that inaugural piece with "Lunch Break" (T: August 5, 1943), "The Annex Eight at the Dinner Table" (T: August 5, 1943), "When the Clock Strikes Half Past Eight" (T: August 6, 1943), and "Freedom" (T: August 6, 1943).[40] It's an impressive spurt of writing.

Consider "The Annex Eight at the Dinner Table" (T: August 5, 1943): about 850 words long, this third chapter in the daily life series is the only one organized by personality rather than time of day. Mrs. van Pels and Mr. Pfeffer get the most biting portraits, though the effect is more entertaining than vindictive. When Anne gets too carried away with commentary, e.g., regarding Mrs. van Pels' attempts to drive a wedge between Mrs. Frank and her daughters, she re-centers the project: "But let's return to the table." Pim of course is a saint; and Anne, "the canvas, which will hopefully turn out to be a good reproduction of the original." She wisely decides not to end with a description of Pfeffer in the bathroom but with a loving portrait of Bep.[41]

The next day, Anne writes a 600-word sketch about "A Daily Chore in Our Little Community: Peeling Potatoes!" (T: August 6, 1943).[42] In it, the annex residents are sitting around the table peeling potatoes. We spend time with Mr. Pfeffer, trying to teach Anne the correct way to hold the peeler; with Mrs. van Pels, shamelessly flirting with Pfeffer and then picking mercilessly on her husband; with Anne's father, focused and methodical in everything he does, including peeling potatoes. Each character is drawn with economy and humor. There's a cinematic quality to the scene, as if a film camera were panning the table, lingering on each character before moving to the next. At the end of the piece, Anne runs up to the attic to fetch more potatoes. Peter van Pels is there, picking fleas off his cat, which sees Anne "and whoosh … he's gone." Peter swears, Anne laughs, and she "slip[s] out of the room."

The skill, rapidity, and range with which Anne worked on T in early August is breathtaking. On August 6, 1943, she completes not only "When the Clock Strikes Half Past Eight" and "Peeling Potatoes!" but "Villains" and "Freedom in the Annex," about late afternoons when the group is freed from silence. Then, the next day, on August 7, Anne completes her first two pieces of fiction: "Kaatje" and

"The Caretaker's Family." In "Kaatje," a little girl with six siblings, no father, and a washerwoman mother, daydreams about her future: will she be a teacher, a maid, a factory worker? She is awoken from her reverie when her mother calls her to her chores. Anne's "tales" clearly pleased her; indeed, they get first billing in the notebook's September 2 title. I think they helped her see herself as a budding writer, skilled at all kinds of genres.[43]

Anne wraps up her summer outburst in T with a series of reminiscences about life *before* the secret annex: her year at Amsterdam's Jewish Lyceum, 1941–42: "My First Day" (August 11, 1943), "A Biology Lesson" (same date), and "A Math Lesson" (August 12), all preceded by the undated "Do You Remember?" (early July?). It's striking how confidently Anne begins these pieces—she drops us into her schoolgirl past with no hesitation or apology, the writing itself (its focus, detail, humor) seeming to justify their existence. "My First Day" is about the awkwardness of starting school, the character Anne struggling to find her way, then arranging things with the adults (as she always does) to solve her problem—in this case, getting her friend Hanneli transferred in to her class. Anne does the same thing in "A Math Lesson": charming a teacher to her side.[44]

By August 12, 1943, Anne has written 20 pieces for the T notebook, including both fiction ("Kaatje" and "The Caretaker") and memoir ("Do You Remember?" "My First Day," "A Biology Lesson," and "A Math Lesson"). The collection is so far, though, mostly annex-related nonfiction, including both stand-alone sketches ("Was There a Break-in?," "The Dentist," "Sausage Day," "The Flea," "The Best Little Table," "Anne in Theory," "The Battle of the Potatoes," "Villains," and "Peeling Potatoes!") and installments in her series about daily life in the annex ("Evenings and Nights," "Lunch Break," "The Annex Eight at Dinner," "When the Clock Strikes Half Past Eight," and "Freedom"). In fact, several of the annex-related pieces will end up in Anne's B diary.[45] How then do we distinguish the writing of T from the diary?

First, rather than beginning with a date and salutation and closing with a signature—addressed to "Dear Kitty" and ending "Yours, Anne"—the T pieces, like the earlier "Attitudes to the War in the 'Secret Annex'" (A: May 2, 1943), are almost all *titled*: self-contained stories and sketches to be read as such. Anne clearly thought of them as autonomous literary objects, for readers, each piece its own named experience.

Second, rather than organized chronologically, as in a diary, each entry written not just *on* a particular day but *about* that day, T is different. Each piece is formally unrelated to its neighbors, its meaning signaled by its title but fully revealed only in its unfolding. The date on "A Math Lesson," for example, a memoir about Anne's school days, adds no meaning to the piece, the moment of composition unrelated to its content.

Third, Anne adopts a different voice in T, especially the nonfiction, from the diary: one of distance, irony, and detachment. When she writes in T about "Madame" (Mrs. van Pels), it's more to entertain, to craft an appealing object, than it is to vent—though it was probably that, too. She realized that the pieces had to have enough personality to be vivid (and funny), but not so much that only she could appreciate them.[46] In short, there's a *literary* purpose to T that one rarely finds in the A diary; Anne is composing not as a friend addressing friends or a subject talking to herself but as a *writer* crafting texts for *readers*. She later expressed the distance and artifice this requires when she described Margot as lacking the "nonchalance" needed to carry on a discussion (B: March 12, 1944).[47] The curious statement gets at something I think Anne was reaching for in T: a detached point of view that still retained her voice.

Fourth, despite the unifying impulses behind T, the notebook was a chance for Anne to write *variously*, pieces radically different from one another in topic, genre, and style: here are essays, tales, reminiscences, and sketches, unlinked as in a diary by the calendar. Indeed, the *Collected Works*' decision to divide T's pieces into nonfiction and fiction distorts, in my opinion, the more random organization Anne herself used, the pieces appearing (roughly) in the order she wrote them, regardless of genre or topic. Part of what Anne wanted from the T notebook, I believe, was precisely its variety, a sign that she was a *writer*, not just a diarist, skilled at a range of projects.

Finally, for all that miscellany, T is very much a *book* with covers, possessing a finitude that a diary, inherently incomplete, lacks. True, T randomly collects highly diverse pieces of writing, but it is nonetheless a whole, bound together and signaled by its title page and table of contents. I think the progress Anne made on T during the summer of 1943, her half-completion of an "actual" book, pleased and encouraged her.

For unknown reasons, the burst of writing in T comes to an end with "A Math Lesson" (August 12, 1943), and Anne doesn't add another piece to the collection until October 6. But if Anne's work on T slowed, that wasn't the end of her heightened literate activity that summer. In fact, in the second half of August 1943, Anne was busy working in *another* new writing space, her "Favorite Quotes" notebook (*Het Mooie-zinnenboek*). The writing there is not original, but it is writing nonetheless, and it suggests that, in the summer of 1943, Anne was as busy and thoughtful as a *reader* as she was as a *writer*.[48]

The Q notebook, Anne writes on the title page, dated August 14, 1943, was the brainchild of "Pim," her father. We know from B: February 27, 1943, that Otto had given Anne and Margot a card file for keeping track of their reading; he must have later suggested that Anne copy down memorable passages. She does so with vigor. Begun in mid-August 1943, Q includes 32 entries across 21 dates up to July 1944, with 11 entries, across six dates, in August

1943 alone, the most of any month. (The next highest month for Q is February 1944, with eight entries across five dates, the same month when, as we'll see, Anne wrote six pieces for T, the second highest monthly number in that notebook[49]).

Thus, by the end of summer 1943, Anne Frank has organized her literate life in a quite remarkable (and professional) way. She now has *three* notebooks to write in, each for a different kind of prose: (1) a notebook for her diary entries; (2) one for her reading; and (3) one for her tales and sketches—a veritable studio.[50] Is it at this time that Otto's briefcase, where Anne has been keeping her diary, becomes not just a place to *secure* her writing but a sign of its very collectivity, her increasingly numerous, diverse texts also, in their way, unified and singular, the "collected work" of Anne Frank?[51]

This expanded studio will give Anne in 1944 the writing space she will need to record and reflect on the momentous events of that winter and spring, including a series of visions that will make her think about God and nature in new ways, a growing awareness of her body and its longings, and a mature new attitude towards the others in the annex. But before we turn to 1944, we need to finish up 1943, the rest of Lejeune's period 2. As we've seen, after Anne's burst of activity in the summer, the pace of work in T and Q falls off dramatically. In T, she writes a story, "Eva's Dream," on October 6, followed a week later by the essay "Roomers or Renters." Two other stories, "Paula's Flight" and "Delusions of Stardom," come in late December. Similarly, Q will only get three entries between late August 1943 and early January 1944. The diary as well, at least in terms of B, will be used irregularly in the second half of 1943. Indeed, if the summer of 1943 was a high point for Anne, the frustrations of annex life soon return. By B: September 16, 1943, relations among the residents "are getting worse all the time." Anne is often left wandering from room to room, "a songbird who has had his wings clipped" (B: October 29, 1943). Her only refuge is studying; "and I do a lot of that" (B: October 17, 1943).

Things perk up in November, though the increased activity is accompanied by a sense of foreboding. On B: November 8, 1943, Anne describes "the 8 of us" as "a little piece of blue heaven, surrounded by black, black rain clouds." There's an equally elegiac "ode" to her fountain pen at B: November 11, 1943, after it is accidentally "cremated." But it's the haunting vision of her friend Hanneli at B: November 27, 1943, that most clearly foretells the intensity of Anne's diary in the winter of 1944.

Anne Frank's Writing in Period 3

On December 22, 1943, Anne began writing in the A2 notebook ("Daddy has tracked down another new diary for me"), which lasted until April 17, 1944. The next day, she started the A3 notebook (a gift from that "real darling," Margot), which she was still using, along with the T and Q notebooks, at the time of her arrest in early August. By late spring she was also busy with the loose pages of B. The last 7 months of Anne's life in hiding, in other words, are richly represented in her writing, striking not just for its abundance but for its seriousness and breadth.

A key moment for readers of the A2 notebook is January 6, 1944, a long, intense entry, full of confessions—about her mother, her body, her longing for intimacy—that was prompted by the third in the series of visions that Anne had at the end of 1943 and beginning of 1944. The first, as we saw above, occurred on B: November 27, 1943, and centered on Anne's friend Hanneli, appearing to her in rags. Then, on A: December 29, 1943, Anne has a vision of her Granny and Hanneli together, the two condemning her for her selfishness. Finally, on A: January 6, 1944: Anne dreams about an old boyfriend, Peter Schiff, and realizes how much she longs for touch from another person. The three visions are milestones. They shake Anne's soul and lead to a new devotion to God, an awakening to the beauty of nature, and intense physical desire.

The January 6, 1944, entry also opens the door to a period of deep self-reflection, in which the diary plays a crucial role.[52] At one point, Anne looks at herself in a mirror and sees a person both happy and sad at the same time, an internal complexity she will return to repeatedly that winter and spring. Similarly, in A: January 12, 1944, Anne comments on the way she can look at herself as if "through someone else's eyes." A depth of feeling and insight is evident in nearly every entry from now on. When on A: January 19, 1944, Otto asks if Anne has told her diary about a cake the office workers have made for Edith Frank, she responds brusquely (to herself): "I have so little room in my thoughts for things like that." Later, she writes, "I have changed" (A: January 22, 1944), a theme that will be common in period 3: "Something has happened to me" (A: January 24, 1944); "I have changed and radically so, wholly and in every way" (A: March 25, 1944).[53]

But it's Anne's longing for physical intimacy that is the most striking feature of her diary in the winter of 1944. It's introduced in the January 6 entry when she relates her dream about Peter Schiff.[54] A few days later is the incident in which Peter van Pels, on Anne's urging, shows her Mouschi's sex organs, handily turning the cat over and then flipping him upright again (A: January 24, 1944). It's a surprisingly captivating scene, expertly told by Anne, for whom an element of desire courses beneath. It's in this same period that Anne writes, paradoxically, of "desperately" wanting to be alone (A: January 30, 1944).[55] Is this not also the *writer's* lament: to be so interested in the world, and the people in it, but need at the same time to be alone in order to process it all?

In a sense, Anne's spiritual and romantic awakenings in period 3 are one. Her new devotion to God and nature,

brought on by her visions of Hanneli and Granny, are linked in the diary to her longing for physical touch. Take the scene in late February, when Anne is in the attic, sitting in her favorite spot, and Peter van Pels joins her:

> Both of us looked at the glorious blue of the sky, the bare chestnut tree on whose branches little raindrops shone, at the seagulls and other birds that looked like silver in the sun and all these things moved and thrilled the two of us so much that we could not speak. (A: February 23, 1944)[56]

The entry ends, notably, with one of the rare passages in A or B that is not addressed to herself, Kitty, or some other imaginary correspondent; it's a "P.S.," headed, "A thought for Peter," in which Anne writes, "Like you, I long for freedom and fresh air …."

There is also in periods 3 and 4 remarkable *moral* growth. In A: January 22, 1944, Anne sees "all the arguments" of the past year in a new light, wondering how her family could have been so critical of Mr. and Mrs. van Pels. Indeed, the A2 and A3 notebooks are suffused with love and forgiveness. And yet the adults in the annex are as "idiotic and stupid" as ever—for example, on A: March 2, 1944, when Mrs. Frank and Mrs. van Pels try to talk Bep out of a depression by having her think of people less fortunate than her. For Anne, the solution to misery is to seek its opposites, beauty and love! This search, as we saw above, can be undertaken alone or with others. Indeed, in period 3, Anne is often seeking a confidante among her fellow residents. Unfortunately, her standards are high: Peter turns out to have "a tinge of dishonesty about him" (A: February 16, 1944); Margot "lacks something I need" (A: March 12, 1944); Mummy is not a "precise and adroit" arguer (A: March 17, 1944). Anne doesn't exempt herself from criticism: the disagreement she has with her father in May (see below) leaves her abashed. "I know my own faults […] better than anyone" (A: June 13, 1944).

Above all, in period 3, Anne is committed to *honesty* (cf. Larson, 2000). Her bold decision at A: March 8, 1944, to talk openly with Mrs. van Pels about the latter's hurtful comments to Bep contrasts with her own parents' "greatest fault" in their dealings with the van Pels, "that they never speak to them frankly and in friendship" (A: March 25, 1944). Anne's new commitment to openness applies especially to sexual topics, about which the adults are so unhelpful (see, e.g., A: March 18, 1944). Her desire to talk to Peter about intimate sexual matters stems in part from Anne's awareness that a "girl's" sexual organs are more hidden than a "boy's": "He probably hasn't seen a girl from so close to, to be honest I haven't either" (A: March 24, 1944), an admission which is followed by a detailed description of her own genitalia.[57]

At the same time, Anne recoils from the vulgarity of the adults with their ceaseless bathroom jokes (e.g., A: January 6, 1944). Looking back at her first diary, she inserts a note, "I really blush with shame when I read the pages dealing with subjects that I'd much better have left to the imagination" (A: January 22, 1944). In sum, Anne is becoming a new person before our eyes: more candid and principled than the adults, more disciplined and ambitious than Peter and Margot. The downside of this growing seriousness, of course, is that, at some point, everyone in the annex will disappoint her.

Accompanying all this physical, intellectual, and moral growth in the winter and spring of 1944 is Anne's increasing skill in and devotion to *writing*. When, after November 1943, the content of her interior life (the visions of imperiled loved ones, the new attitude towards God and nature, the budding romance with Peter) becomes so rich and deep, Anne's writing keeps pace, becoming itself richer: longer, more frequent, more sophisticated. Take a remarkable sequence of days in late February 1944, when Anne's life, her thoughts, and her writing all energize one another. The spark occurs on A: February 14, 1944, when Anne is longing, "still longing," for some kind of physical intimacy. Finally, something happens: Peter looks at her. A few days later on A: February 17, 1944, Anne finds herself reading to Peter and his mother from "The Secret Annex."[58] A few days after that, she's writing in the T notebook, which she had used only sporadically since the previous summer. She quickly completes a string of new pieces for the collection: a final chapter for her daily life series ("Sundays"), the tale "The Flower Girl" (both dated February 20, 1944), then, two days later, another tale "The Guardian Angel," and the journalistic essay, "My First Interview," the longest piece of nonfiction Anne wrote for T. In fact, it's not an interview at all but a detailed description of Peter's room, with touches of humor and a blushing description of Peter himself. It's a charming piece that does not appear in any version of Anne's diary, A, B, C, or D. And it's composed just as the romance with Peter is heating up.

A sketch, "The Den of Iniquity," from February 22, 1944, closes out this outburst in T, a short but prolific stretch matched only by the writing done there the previous summer.[59] Anne must have felt renewed pride in T because the next day she makes a telling comment in her diary, showing how the new hopefulness in her life is tied not only to external "events" (her romance with Peter) but to her growing confidence as a writer: "It's lovely weather again and I've quite perked up since yesterday. My writing, the finest thing I have, is making good progress" (A: February 23, 1944).[60]

Indeed, for all the intensity of the transformations laid out above—spiritual, romantic, moral—it's Anne's heightened ambition *as a writer* that emerges in the spring and summer of 1944 as the most important development in her life. The ambition is made explicit for the first time on A: February 3, 1944: "[S]hould I be saved, and spared from destruction, then it would be terrible if my diaries and my tales were lost." A couple of weeks later, on February 17, 1944, as we saw above, she's sharing her writing with

others for the first time. A few days after that, she produces a burst of new pieces for the T notebook, all culminating in that exuberant February 23, 1944, diary entry.

Yet it all pales compared with what's to come. In fact, March 1944 is the most prolific month for writing in Anne's entire time in hiding, with diary entries on 25 of 31 days (see the Appendix). And it's not just that she's writing a lot, she's often writing *about writing*: on A: March 7, 1944, she's looking back to 1943 to locate when she began "to think, to write"; the next day, she reports on Margot's desire to read her diary; on A: March 16, 1944, she writes how grateful she is for her diary; on A: March 18, 1944: she tells "Kitty" that "[t]here's no one in the world" to whom she's told more; on A: March 19, 1944, she shares with Peter her feeling that she has "nothing for myself alone, except my diary"; and on A: March 25, 1944, Anne confides to Peter that she wants "to write later on." Importantly, all of this occurs *before* the A: March 29, 1944, radio broadcast from London, when, it is usually thought, Anne began to think seriously, for the first time, about publishing her diary after the war.

In April, 1944, Anne's determination to write takes on the intensity of a mission, the great topics of that winter—God, nature, Peter—fading as her writing takes center stage. On A: April 5, 1944: she writes, "For a long time I haven't had any idea of what I was working for." The end of the war is still so far away, returning to school so distant, her feelings about Peter now uncertain. Anne comes to the realization that the only future she can depend on is the one that she *works* towards: it is to become a journalist. "I know that I can write," and "I want to write!" The only thing to do now is to work at it. "I must work" ("*Ik moet werken*"), Anne concludes.[61] Indeed, the word "*werk*" begins to resonate in the diary, perhaps holding the multiple meanings for Anne that it does in English: (i) the labor, effort, "work" of writing, the sitting at one's desk and getting words on paper; (ii) the accumulated texts themselves, the collected "work" rising before one's eyes; and, finally, (iii) the life or career all this evokes, one's "work."

For Anne, this last, vocational sense of writing portends not just effort and skill but a profession, a future of independence and meaning different from the life of her mother and Mrs. van Pels (A: April 5, 1944), different from that of other girls (A: May 3, 1944). Anne's vision here is moving: "If God lets me live, […] I shall work in the world for mankind!" (A: April 11, 1944). She is not just ambitious but *grateful*: after all, it's writing, "*mijn werk*," that has helped her survive this far (A: April 14, 1944).[62]

Anne Frank's Writing in Period 4

About a month into Lejeune's period 4, which begins on April 18, 1944, with a new diary notebook (A3), Anne busies herself with the *revision* of her diary (i.e., version B) on loose sheets of paper, the text that she calls *Het Achterhuis*. Everything else—the A, T, and Q notebooks, Peter, her family, God, nature—recedes into the background. Conventional wisdom traces the origin of B to the A: March 29, 1944, radio broadcast from London and Anne's realization that her diary might have literary appeal. But, as I hope to have shown here, Anne knew well before March 29, 1944, that her writing was "the finest thing" she had (A: February 23, 1944) and that it would be her life's work, revelations she shared with both her diary and Peter van Pels during the winter of 1944, but which had been percolating, I believe, since the previous summer.

However we date the onset of Anne's literary ambitions, she was now increasingly sharing her writing with others: On A: April 21, 1944, she's wondering if she might publish one of her stories ("Blurry the Explorer," T: April 23, 1944); on A: April 25, 1944, she's reading that story to her parents and Margot; and on A: May 6, 1944, she gives Otto a story for his birthday ("The Fairy," A: May 9, 1944). Meanwhile, A: April 27, 1944 is all about Anne's studies, suggesting some diminution in her interest in Peter; indeed, on A: April 28, 1944, she's writing critically of him. Around this time, on A: May 5, 1944, Otto expresses displeasure with the relationship. In response, Anne writes a bold letter declaring her independence (A: May 6, 1944); but immediately, there's remorse: it's the worst thing she's ever done. On A: May 8, 1944, perhaps not coincidentally, she writes the story of her family; and on A: May 11, 1944, she is focused on her novel-in-progress, *Cady's Life*. By A: May 19, 1944, the affair with Peter has clearly cooled. And on A: May 20, 1944, she embarks in earnest on *Het Achterhuis*.

In the final 2 months in hiding, June and July, 1944, Anne is consumed with B (Hardy, 1989, p. 159). Work in A correspondingly drops off. She's driven to finish the project, even at the cost of her relations with others. Indeed, there's continued disappointment with Peter (cf. A: June 13, 1944): how can he and Margot be so weak? (A: July 6, 1944). Even Pim disappoints (A: July 15, 1944).

It's at this point that we get the line so often quoted: "[I]n spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart" (A: July 15, 1944); yet right after this, Anne writes, "I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness, I hear the ever approaching thunder, which will destroy us too, I can feel the sufferings of millions," hardly the words of an eternal optimist. Still, regarding the war, Anne declares around this time that "everything is going wonderfully" (A: June 27, 1944); "things are going well at last" (A: July 21, 1944). There's anticipation of returning to school in the fall. Anne is also in good spirits, no doubt, because of her progress on B. All that said, her final diary entry, on A: August 1, 1944, has as much shadow as light. Writing about her "dual personality," one half spry, the other half thoughtful, Anne reflects on the contradictions between her inner and outer lives.[63] Surely, what she is describing here is common among the young (cf. A: March

19, 1944). It is also no doubt a function of her Jewishness in that time and place: to feel so fully human yet be treated as less-than-human, to be so devotedly Dutch yet denied citizenship, to be living in the middle of Amsterdam yet invisible to all. The feeling of doubleness may, finally, be an effect of the increasing role of *writing* in Anne's life: to always be experiencing things twice, first as participant, then later, at one's desk, as spectator.

The A3 notebook ends with the August 1, 1944, entry, Anne Frank's last piece of writing.

I have had little to say here about the B text, other than occasionally to quote it and to note Anne's intense work on it in period 4. B has had its champions, of course. Laureen Nussbaum fought for years to have it published as a book; and, since the *Critical Edition*, there's been considerable interest in how Anne *rewrote* A to create B, the skill she marshaled in that ambitious revision project (see, e.g., Caplan, 2004; Kaplan, 2017; Lejeune, 2009; Nussbaum, 1999; Prose, 2009). My goal here has been different: to understand how Anne *got* to B, how she arrived at the point, in the spring of 1944, when she could conceive of herself as a writer, of her diary as literature. Especially important in this story, I believe, has been the role of Anne's own efforts in her development: claiming the conditions she needed to write, expanding her practice to include new genres and styles, collecting her work every night in her father's briefcase, sharing it with others, etc.

Anne Frank's growth as a writer wasn't, in this sense, "natural"; she wasn't "born to be a writer" (Ozick, 1997, p. 76), needing only the right invitation to prove it.[64] Nor was the literary skill she showed at the end simply a byproduct of the general maturation she underwent during her time in hiding or a function of her particular circumstances: a Jewish girl, hiding from the Nazis in central Amsterdam, possessed of a diary. There is of course some truth in all those explanations. Anne Frank had in fact long been interested and taken pleasure in writing—she testifies to that in "A Math Lesson." And she did mature during her 2 years in hiding in ways that no doubt made her writing in 1944 more sophisticated than it was in 1942. Her circumstances also explain a lot: the isolation imposed on her, which facilitated serious intellectual work; the historical events that unfolded around her, which she incorporated in her writing; her Jewishness in that time and place, which may have contributed to the double vision, described above, that made her both participant and spectator of her own life.

Still, what must be foregrounded in any account of Anne Frank's development as a writer, I believe, is the role of her own *work* in it: her regular practice, especially towards the end; the diverse body of texts she produced; her dawning realization that writing could be her life's work. Anne herself tried to hide this work from her readers; in B, she was so consumed by "her idea—an idea we all share—of 'the book'" (Lejeune, 2009, p. 257), that she edited out of that text nearly all references to the work that went into it. Indeed, she and Otto both expunged from their diaries (i.e., versions B and C) much of the work that went into them and would have betrayed their "constructed nature" (Caplan, 2004, p. 79). Otto, working on C, cut three lines from A: May 20, 1944 where Anne announces that she's begun work on B "since that would reveal to the reader that there had been a rewrite" (Lejeune, 2009, p. 256). Anne did the same thing, leaving out of B the A: February 23, 1944 comment about her writing "making good progress." She didn't want readers to see her *working* that way.[65] The tendency is understandable, but the result is that, in the revision of her diary, Anne turned her back on some of the most unique, vital, and inspiring parts of her own story.[66]

She also turned her back on the A, T, and Q notebooks, all of which show dramatically decreased involvement in June and July 1944.[67] She even turned away from the world around her: Peter, the tree in the backyard, her father. She became so focused on her writing that everything else took a back seat. Nussbaum (1999) describes a "withdrawn" Anne in those final months, preoccupied by the demands of writing *Het Achterhuis* (p. 9). In this sense, B took a toll on her.[68]

It's hard not to think here of a haunting scene in Miep Gies' 1987 memoir, the only eyewitness account we have of Anne Frank *writing* in the secret annex—an account notable for Miep's dating it to July 1944, precisely when Anne was working so hard on B. It's a slow day in the office, and Miep decides to pay a visit to the annex. As she enters, she sees Anne alone in the Franks' bedroom, writing: "I saw a look on her face at this moment that I'd never seen before. It was a look of dark concentration, as if she had a throbbing headache. This look pierced me, and I was speechless" (p. 186). At this point Edith Frank enters the room and quietly sums up the situation: "Yes, Miep, as you know, we have a daughter who writes." Both Thurman (1989) and Prose (2009) cite this passage, but neither includes what comes next in Miep's account.

> At this, Anne stood up. She shut the book she was writing in and, with that look still on her face, she said, in a dark voice that I'd also never heard before. "Yes, and I write about you, too."
>
> She continued to look at me, and I thought, I must say something; but all I could say, in as dry a tone as I could muster, was "That will be very nice."
>
> I turned and went away. I was upset by Anne's dark mood. I knew that more and more her diary had become her life. It was as if I had interrupted an intimate moment in a very, very private friendship. I went back downstairs to the office, feeling distressed and thinking all the rest of the day, it wasn't Anne up there. She was so upset by my interruption, it was another person. (pp. 186–7)

Like so much discussed in this paper, none of this appears in Anne Frank's *Diary*.

Conclusion

I proposed above a new reading of Anne Frank's "original" texts, centered on the diary notebooks of version A, inserting version B as needed, but adding in the "Tales and Events" notebook as well. How has this reading helped us, in the words of Lejeune (2009), "see the development of Anne's writing" (p. 257) over time?

First, it has shed light on a moment in her life that has heretofore been largely lost to us: the summer of 1943. Because the original diary notebooks for 1943 did not survive, the best we had for that year was the 1944 revision of those notebooks in version B. The T notebook, initiated by Anne in the summer of 1943, did survive, but until the *Revised Critical Edition* and *Collected Works*, readers could not easily integrate it with the diary texts. Now, we can fill in the gap of 1943, at least for the second half of that year, when, as Anne herself tells us, her life underwent a "great change" (A: March 7, 1944). In T's summer 1943 entries, we see Anne Frank in a moment of heightened effort, creativity, and accomplishment as a writer, when she was working at a high level—and *knew* it. It is a moment in her story that has not received the attention it deserves.

Second, the T notebook gives us an expanded sense of *what* Anne Frank wrote in hiding and *how*. In T, she experimented with genres, styles, and voices, producing short "tales," informal essays, and memoirs of her past life. She also wrote numerous sketches of annex life very different from what she was doing in the diary. In those pieces, Anne put more distance between herself and the world she was describing, lending the writing a detached, ironic, literary quality. With T, in other words, we can finally decenter the "diary," relatively speaking, in Anne Frank's "collected work," getting a fuller sense of her art. For teachers interested in a more *expansive* approach to Anne Frank, one informed by Spector and Murray's (2023) "project of 'and, and, and'" (p. 73), knowing about T can help them resist some of the reductive tendencies common in the teaching of Anne Frank's *Diary*. More specifically, it can help them realize that Anne Frank wrote more, in more genres, with greater freedom, effort, and self-awareness, with support from those around her but also in very isolating, trying circumstances, all in a way that changed her—that was, by the end, enormously important to her.

Which leads to the final "lesson" of this reading of Anne Frank's writing. By shining a light on the summer of 1943 and her work in the T notebook, we can see a new Anne emerging, one with the ambition and routine of a budding professional writer. The size and breadth of what she accomplished in T in just a few weeks helped her see not just what writing a book might feel like but what becoming a writer could mean for her. T expanded Anne's notion of what she was capable of as a writer; and that aided her in the first half of 1944, gave her the intellectual space, skill, and ambition needed to reflect on and grow from the dramas of that winter and spring.

And when those dramas receded, what remained for Anne was *writing*: the daily effort, the time alone with her thoughts, her emerging skill, the accumulating pages—above all, the future she saw for herself.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Anne Frank's manuscripts, since Otto's death the property of the Dutch State, are held today by the Anne Frank Stichting in Amsterdam, which oversees the Anne Frank House and Museum; it is a separate organization from the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, which holds the copyrights to published versions of the *Diary*. The manuscripts in Amsterdam include the three diary notebooks known as version A, Anne's revision of that diary on loose sheets of paper, which she titled *Het Achterhuis* (version B), the "Tales and Events" notebook (here called T), and the "Favorite Quotes" notebook (here, Q). All these manuscripts are printed in full, in English, in *Anne Frank: The Collected Works*, along with the "definitive" edition of the *Diary* (version D), which, like its predecessor (version C), was produced after Anne's death, combining material from all three of her "source" texts: A, B, and T. *The Critical* and *Revised Critical Editions* of Anne Frank's *Diary* (Barnouw & van der Stroom, 1989 and 2003, respectively) refer to the different versions of Anne's diary with lower case letters a, b, and c. I refer to them here with upper case letters A, B, and C (as does Lejeune, 2009 and, in some places, the *Collected Works* [Frank, 2019], e.g., p. 498). I sometimes also refer to the three diary notebooks as A1, A2, and A3. The *Critical* and *Revised Critical Editions* use "a" for all three, distinguishing them only by the dates of their entries, though in prefatory material, they are "diaries 1, 2, and 3" (e.g., van der Stroom, 1989b, p. 168). According to the web site of the Anne Frank Stichting, accessed April 14, 2024, "[s]ince the scholarly edition of the diaries (1986), it has been customary to refer to these manuscripts successively as diaries 1, 2 and 3 (or A-version) and *the loose sheets* (or B-version)" (emphasis in original) (https://research.annefrank.org/en/onderwerpen/58b5fe11-0b39-46e0-809e-1e1a5eccb1e7/).

[2] See chart in van der Stroom (1989a), p. 61, for how A1-3, B, and C relate.

[3] Van der Stroom (2002, pp. 310–311) argues that another motivation for publishing version D, besides adding more source material from

versions A and B once the *Critical Edition* had appeared, was to allow the Anne Frank Fonds to extend its rights to the *Diary*, claiming that the 1991 edition (D) is a different text from the 1947 one (C) and thus eligible for its own copyright (and income stream). In 2015, the Fonds asked owners of a French website to "cease and desist" online publication of the 1947 Dutch version of the diary, arguing that their copyright still applied—see https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jan/18/anne-franks-diary-caught-in-fierce-european-copyright-battle (accessed June 10, 2024) and https://isabelleattard.fr/vive-anne-frank-vive-le-domaine-public/ (accessed June 10, 2024). For a critique of D on editorial grounds, see Nussbaum (1999).

[4] An "official" scholarly version of all of Anne Frank's manuscripts, with English translation, is apparently now available online, sponsored by the Brussels-based Association for Research and Access to Historical Texts, but the site is blocked in the U.S. for copyright reasons (see http://www.annefrankmanuscripten.org). For more on this project, see https://www.annefrank.org/en/about-us/news-and-press/news/2021/9/28/digitised-manuscripts-available-entirely/.

[5] Of course, Anne didn't call B a "diary"; her title was *Het Achterhuis*, and on A: March 29, 1944, she described it as a "romance," meaning something like "novel," though clearly the text was based on her diary notebooks and took the form of a diary. As for *revising* one's "diary," Kaplan's (2017) students provide an especially candid response to this "trick" of Anne's (the word is from Caplan, 2004, p. 82).

[6] Lejeune (2009) argues that this is just a coincidence (p. 255). Caplan (2004) claims that the B text ends on March 27, 1944, 2 days before the March 29 radio broadcast (p. 79); but all versions of the B text that I have consulted (*Critical Edition*, *Revised Critical Edition*, and *Collected Works*) date the final entry of B on March 29, 1944. Caplan also suggests that the reason B ends around the date of the radio broadcast is not because Anne ran out of time in her work on it but because the A text after March 29, 1944, was written with publication in mind and therefore didn't need revising (p. 79). I'm unconvinced.

[7] Dating Lejeune involves its own complexities. The essay I use here, from a 2009 collection of his work in English, was originally published in 1998 in French but revised in 2005, though it's unclear if that refers to the present English essay or some other publication. Lejeune writes on p. 238 that he first tackled the subject of Anne Frank in 1990, soon after the 1989 French translation of the *Critical Edition* appeared. One section of this paper, including the paragraph quoted here, is subtitled "1990" (p. 257). Following that is a "postscript" titled "1992" (p. 258), written after the release of the D version of the *Diary* (1991). There are later postscripts from "1997," "1998," "2001," and "2005" each tied to a milestone in Anne Frank studies. Lejeune has little to say about T; see pp. 239–40 for his brief summary of "the account book," which he divides into "contemporary" and "retrospective" autobiographical scenes, on the one hand, and "stories," on the other, only the latter "merit[ing] separate study" (p. 240). Lejeune seems to confuse the contemporary autobiographical scenes of T with diary version B, perhaps because Anne used the same word, "*achterhuis*" ("secret annex"), to title both. Part of Lejeune's silence on T is no doubt because the *Revised Critical Edition* (Barnouw & van der Stroom, 2003), the first to include T in the same volume as the diary manuscripts, had not yet been published in French when he revised this paper (2005).

[8] Some readers, appreciative of the formatting of the *Critical* and *Revised Critical Editions* of Anne Frank's *Diary* (Barnouw & van der Stroom, 1989, 2003), in which the A, B, and C versions appear in parallel bands on the same page and thus can be compared with ease and precision, have nonetheless found it difficult to read any single version on its own this way. Nussbaum (1999), for example, writes that anyone wishing to read Anne's B text on its own in the *Critical Edition* "will find it difficult not to be distracted" by the parallel versions of the other texts on the same page (p. 6); and Prose (2009) calls the formatting "confusing" (p. 154). By contrast, in *The Collected Works* (Frank, 2019), A and B appear in the Appendix as separate, continuous texts, in the same volume as T and Q, which also appear as separate, continuous texts, allowing for easy reading of all of Anne's texts, each on its own, in the order in which she wrote them (using her own dates—except for version B, the dates of which are problematic). For the present scholar, the formatting of *The Collected Works* turned out to be revelatory, which is not to take away from the groundbreaking work of the *Critical* and *Revised Critical Editions*.

[9] My main source for the "Tales and Events" notebook is the *Collected Works* (Frank, 2019), which uses the 2003 edition of *Tales from the Secret Annex* (Frank, 2003), reprinted in Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003), based on the 2001 Dutch edition (G. van der Stroom, Ed.). Photographs of T's title page and table of contents, in Anne's handwriting, appear in Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003, pp. 805–07). For T as a "real" book, see van der Stroom (2003, p. 728). The website of the Anne Frank Stichting (Anne Frank House) also has an informative page about the notebook: https://www.annefrank.org/en/anne-frank/diary/annes-pen-and-inklings/.

[10] Eight stories from "Tales and Events," in the original Dutch, were published in 1949 in Amsterdam by Contact Publishing under the title *Weet je nog? Verhalen en sprookjes* (*Do You Remember? Stories and Fairy Tales*): "Kaatje," "Eva," "Katrien," "The Flower Girl," "The Guardian Angel," "The Wise Old Gnome," "Blurry the Explorer," and "Riek." A fuller collection of the notebook's fiction was published in Dutch in 1960 as *Verhalen rondom het Achterhuis* (*Stories from the Secret Annex*). The first complete edition of the notebook, using Anne's title, appeared in Dutch in 1982, edited by Joke Kniesmeyer of the Anne Frank House (the volume also included the novel fragment *Cady's Life*). An English version of this text appeared in 1983, translated by Ralph Manheim and Michel Mok (Doubleday). The most recent edition of the notebook was published in Dutch 2001 as part of the *Revised Critical Edition* (G. van der Stroom, Ed.) and in English in 2003 (S. Massotty, Trans.). For more on all this, see the helpful table in Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003, pp. 830–1).

[11] For use of the letter T for the "Tales and Events" notebook, see van der Stroom (1989a), p. 66, where it is lower case, and p. 169, where it is upper case. For use of the letter Q for the "Favorite Quotes" notebook, I know of no precedent.

[12] I use "events" for *gebeurtenissen* following van der Stroom (1989a, p. 59), though most English translations leave out the word, referring to the notebook as *Tales from the Secret Annex* (e.g., Frank, 2003; van der Stroom, 1989b, pp. 59, 168). van der Stroom (2003) also translates *gebeurtenissen* as "sketches" (pp. 728–9) and on one occasion as "vignettes" (p. 728; cf. Nussbaum, 1999, p. 8) but sometimes uses the shorter English title *Tales*. The more recent *Collected Works* (Frank, 2019) reverts to *Tales and Events* (p. 209) but also uses the English "Book of Tales" (p. 211). Anne herself left out "*gebeurtenissen*" when referring to the notebook on A: February 3, 1944, where she wrote, "it would be terrible if my diaries and my tales were lost." Still, it is important for my argument here that most references to the notebook misleadingly represent its contents as predominantly or even wholly fictional, i.e., as mainly or only "tales."

[13] Anne later included eight pieces from T in her B text: "Was There a Break-in?" "The Dentist," "Sausage Day," "Anne in Theory," "Evenings & Nights," "Lunch Break," "The Annex 8 at Dinner," and "Kaatje" (van der Stroom, 2003, p. 732, fn16). Otto included those eight, minus "Kaatje," plus four more pieces—"The Best Little Table," "When the Clock Strikes 8:30," "Peeling Potatoes," and "Freedom"—in his 1947 Dutch edition of Anne's diary (the C version) (van der Stroom, 2003, p. 732, fn18). "Sundays" was also included in the German paperback edition of the *Diary* (1955); it apparently had been in Otto's C manuscript from the beginning but did not appear in the 1947 Dutch version of the diary (van der Stroom, 2003, p. 729). For the later publication history of the "Tales and Events," see my fn10 above.

[14] By the spring of 1944, Anne will have a name for the *kind* of writer she wants to be, a "journalist" (see, e.g., A: April 5, 1944), but by then she's writing in multiple genres, including fiction, and seems to have some ambition for all of them. My goal in this paper is to show how the T notebook, inaugurated in the summer of 1943, contributed to Anne's development as a writer in this quasi-professional sense.

[15] All references to Anne Frank's diary manuscripts, A and B, are from the *Collected Works* (Frank, 2019), ultimately derived from Barnouw and van der Stroom (1989). On the English translations of A and B, see Pomerans (1989, pp. 173–4), reprinted in Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003, pp. 193–4). They are based on the original English translation of version C by B. Mooyaart-Doubleday (1952). Where A or B differs from C, new translations were made by Pomerans: "[T]he present translator's brief has been to make a new translation of only those parts of the original diary (versions a and b) that have not been published before" (Pomerans, 1989, p. 173). It is these translations that carry forward into Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003) and Frank (2019), though the latter uses the D version of the *Diary*, along with A and B, rather than C (Frank, 1995, S. Massotty, Trans.).

[16] There are only six entries from August 1943 in Anne's diary (B version), all dated before August 10. Then there's silence until September 10, just as there had been nearly a month of silence between the entries of B: June 15 and July 11, 1943.

[17] Berryman (1976, pp. 91, 93, emphasis in original). Caplan (2004) reminds us that, in the late 1960s, when this essay was written, Berryman was reading the C version of the *Diary*, decades before A and B would be made available to the public. Thus, his appreciation of Anne's development in the *Diary* is complicated by the fact that the text he's using is an amalgam of her writing from different times. As Caplan puts it, "Anne has always tricked readers into believing that she was a precociously talented 13-year-old writer rather than a 15-year-old rewriter" (p. 82).

[18] Nor am I endorsing the view of Kaplan's (2017) students who see Anne's original diary entries (version A) as "authentic" expressions of her self—private, spontaneous, and "true"—while the revisions of B are a kind of "self-alienation," written for public consumption, not exactly deceptive or fictitious but less authentic. Kaplan blames this attitude on her students' novice status as writers, for whom revision is almost always a requirement of teachers, not something they initiate themselves; she also blames the influence of such cultural phenomena as *The Freedom Writers Diary* and its movie version *Freedom Writers* which celebrate private journaling (including Anne Frank's *Diary*) as the true way to express oneself freely, openly, and confidentially, with therapeutic and liberatory benefits. I share Kaplan's unease with this view of writing and rewriting, and I too find Anne's revisions impressive and important, as well as a sign of her "professional" status as a writer. I also share Kaplan's view that the "original" diary notebooks are themselves "self-alienated," no more "authentic" than any other text—note, e.g., Anne's struggle in the A notebooks to find a suitable addressee for her diary, an example of her revising even *within* her "first" draft.

[19] Anne writes here "Thursday July 1942" without a specific date. Given the options, I think the likely date is July 23, 1942. The text from which the block quotation comes is written by Anne in print rather than cursive. See van der Stroom (1989b, p. 171).

[20] The author was Cissy van Marxveldt. See the website of the Anne Frank House (accessed April 22, 2024): https://www.annefrank.org/en/anne-frank/diary/so-who-is-dear-kitty/.

[21] On Anne's renewed enthusiasm for her diary, see, for example, A: September 28, 1942: "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 for when I have time to write in you."

[22] Cf. B: November 28, 1942, spying on the houses behind. I was already thinking of Anne's attitude here as "spectatorial" when I read Caplan (2004), who makes much of Anne's B revisions as adding distance between herself and the world she's writing about, creating a "narrator" distinct from the "author." Caplan gets this notion of "spectatorial" and "participatory" writing from the literacy researcher James Britton (cited p. 86). He goes so far as to call the Anne of diary A a "participant" and the Anne of diary B a "spectator" (p. 86). My claim here is that even in A, and in much of T—i.e., as early as 1942 and '43, long before she began working on B—Anne was working towards a kind of detached (or "spectatorial") perspective that would make her work more vivid and pleasurable, and thus more public and useful, to use Caplan's terms (p. 82).

[23] See Gies & Gold (1987, pp. 137, 169); and Nussbaum (2004, para. 19).

[24] The total size of the secret annex, preserved today behind 263 Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, is usually given as c. 500 sq ft. (cf. Wikipedia, accessed September 8, 2023: 450 sq ft) across the four rooms and one bathroom that the eight residents inhabited, not including the staircases and attic, or the downstairs offices and warehouses to which they had access outside of working hours. The bedroom Anne shared first with Margot and then for more than 20 months with Pfeffer measures 13 × 6 ft (78 sq ft). Of course, the hiding places of many Holocaust victims were much worse—see, e.g., D. Mendelsohn, *The Lost*. Still, these were *cramped* quarters for anyone needing privacy of any kind.

[25] Anne admits that she's often "impertinent" (A: March 7, 1944) and provides examples of her own cruel behavior, e.g., towards her mother (B: April 2, 1943).

[26] Lejeune (2009, p. 249) mentions two events that Anne must have written about in a now lost notebook but which didn't make it into B: a December 1942 discussion with her father about "secrets" from his youth and the onset of her period in fall 1943, matters she must have thought unfit for publication.

[27] Between August 22 and September 21, 1942. On the latter date, Anne writes (version A), "I haven't written anything for ages."

[28] As usual, Mr and Mrs van Pels and Mr Pfeffer are all obnoxious in their different ways, Otto is a saint, and Edith, Anne, Margot, and Peter are ciphers, irrelevant compared to the four "who count."

[29] Why does Anne insert these odd pieces into the A1 text a half year after her last entry? Was she re-reading her old diary and had a thought she wanted to jot down before she forgot? Or, had she finished a now lost notebook, the successor to A1 (indeed, her notebooks seemed to last about 5–6 months), and had nowhere else to write? In any case, we get an intriguing glimpse here of Anne in spring 1943.

[30] In the same entry, Anne reports her decision to give up shorthand lessons, one of the correspondence courses the group is taking. Indeed, as we'll see below, during that July, 1943, Anne is assertively claiming the projects she's committed to and supplying herself with what she needs to pursue them.

[31] Cf. Berryman (1976).

[32] Anne left this sketch out of B; Otto put it in C.

[33] "Can anyone tell me why the adults around here need so much sleep?" ("Sundays," T: February 20, 1944). See also Miep's memoir (Gies & Gold, 1987): "[Anne] wrote in her diary in two places, her own room or her parents' room. Although everyone knew that she was writing, she never wrote when other people were present" (p. 122).

[34] Iskander (1988) traced all references to Anne's reading in the diary (using version C but also consulting the Dutch version of the *Critical Edition* of the *Diary*, not yet translated into English) and found 26 books, 2 plays, 1 article, and 1 magazine (p. 140). Broos (2000) does something similar but with more feeling for the literary context of the time and place. Neither scholar mentions Anne's "Favorite Quotes" notebook (Q), the best record we have of her reading in the last year in hiding but only made available, in Dutch, in 2004, and in English in

2019, also its first appearance in the same volume as the diary manuscripts and T (Frank, 2019). See van der Stroom (2006) for the only study we have so far, at least in English, of Anne's reading using Q.

[35] See photographs of the first page of "Sundays" and T's table of contents in Frank (2019, pp. 208, 267–68); and the first page of "Do You Remember?" and the title page and table of contents of T in van der Stroom (2003, pp. 740, 805–07). Regarding the account books, note that Miep also claimed to have supplied Anne with "account books" (Gies & Gold, 1987: "I'd begun putting aside blank accounting books for Anne, for lessons and for her own writing" [p. 144; cf. p. 123]).

[36] Note Anne's categories for T in the notebook's table of contents (Frank, 2019, pp. 267–8): *A-huis* for *Achterhuis*, "events" or sketches from the secret annex; *Joodse Lyceum*, her memories of her year at the Jewish Lyceum in 1941–42; *Bedenksel* for fable or fairytale; etc.

[37] Anne's vigorous engagement with T in the summer of 1943 contrasts with the record of the B diary, silent between August 10 and September 10, 1943 (and containing only three entries in the rest of September, another three in October). Note also the break in her handwriting in T's table of contents between the summer 1943 entries, mostly sketches from the secret annex, and those from later, more fictional (though "Eva's Dream" in the table of contents from October 6 seems to belong with the former group). (Photographs of T's table of contents appear in both van der Stroom, 2003, pp. 805–07, and Frank, 2019, pp. 267–8.)

[38] The scheme may have been suggested to Anne by the layout of the "account" books, which lent themselves to new kinds of writing. See photograph of "Sundays" in Frank, 2019, p. 208.

[39] Brenner (1996), who doesn't discuss T, has a different interpretation of these pieces as they appear in the C version of the diary, claiming that Anne's desire to emphasize the *normalcy* of the Jewish residents' daily lives, even in hiding, is a subconscious response to the dehumanization of Jews by the Nazis.

[40] Written much later, "Sundays" (T: February 20, 1944) completes the "daily life" series. The categorization is mine; pieces like "Peeling Potatoes" (T: August 6, 1943) also fit in their way.

[41] Anne was never able to completely separate her personal feelings from her prose; but, over time, she showed increased empathy towards her fellow residents: e.g., at B: November 8, 1943: "I see the 8 of us … as if we were a little piece of blue heaven, surrounded by black, black rain clouds."

[42] I use the real names of annex residents here, following Barnouw and van der Stroom (2003). The *Collected Works* (Frank, 2019) confusingly, in my opinion, uses the pseudonyms Anne later devised for publication but never actually used in either A, B, or T, though Otto did use them in C, and all subsequent versions of the *Diary* followed suit. Anne often abbreviates the names: e.g., Pf. for Mr. Pfeffer (in the *Diary*, Mr. Dussel), Mrs. v.P. for Mrs. van Pels (in the *Diary*, Mrs. van Daan).

[43] As we've seen in regards to the title of the T notebook, often referred to as "Tales" alone, the fiction in the collection has always garnered more attention than the nonfiction even though the critical consensus on Anne's stories is mixed: Broos (2000), for example, says they are "better forgotten" (p. 187). Less interested in evaluation, van der Stroom (2006) revealingly links Anne's experiments in fiction, as found in T, with her contemporaneous reading, as revealed in Q (see below fn59). In contrast, the nonfiction of T has been largely ignored, curious given that it is not only the majority of the collection but, arguably, of higher quality. (Anne's most sustained experiment in fiction, the novel fragment *Cady's Life*, is sometimes included with T, although it actually appears at the end of the A2 diary notebook.)

[44] Sadly, none of the "Lyceum" pieces made it into diary versions B, C, or D. They fall through the cracks between the annex-related pieces like those in the daily life series, which fit easily into the diary, and the tales, which Otto and others sought to publish and celebrate separately.

[45] Of these 20 pieces from T, "Eight stories of the '*A-huis*' type can also be found" in version B of the diary, though sometimes dated earlier or later (van der Stroom, 2003, p. 729); the fictional "Kaatje" is included in this count though it's not really a story "of the 'A-huis' type."

[46] On her humor, note Anne's comment on A: April 5, 1944: "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."

[47] Philip Roth made much of this comment (see Prose, 2009, p. 136).

[48] The Q notebook has received even less attention than the T notebook. Lejeune (2009) complains about this (pp. 239, 265). It's only published for the first time in Dutch in 2004 and included in the same volume with the rest of Anne's writings only in 2013 with the Dutch edition of *The Collected Works*. See fn34 above.

[49] I include Q below in my count of Anne's writing by date (see Appendix A).

[50] Lejeune (2009) also notes this (p. 253). I use "studio" here intentionally, thinking of Emily Dickinson's poetry "workshop" in her bedroom in Amherst (see R. W. Franklin's "Introduction" to *The Poems of Emily Dickinson: Reading Edition*, Belknap Press, 1998). Van der Stroom (2003) similarly cites H. Warren's (1987) description of Anne's diary as a "writer's workplace" (p. 733, fn 37).

[51] On the briefcase, see Otto Frank's (1967) television interview in the references below: "I knew that Anne wrote a diary. She spoke about her diary. She left her diary with me at night in a briefcase next to my bed. I had promised her never to look in. I never did." Miep (Gies & Gold, 1987) confirmed the importance of the briefcase: "Anne continued to be very secretive about her writing and always put her papers into her father's worn-out leather briefcase, which was kept in the privacy of his room" (p. 144: cf. p. 123).

[52] "I seem to be in a period of reflection at the moment" (A: February 8, 1944).

[53] The culmination of all this self-reflection is surely the statement on A: July 15, 1944: "I have one outstanding trait in my character, which must strike anyone who knows me for any length of time, and that is my self-knowledge."

[54] She was interested in female bodies too (e.g., A: January 6, 1944).

[55] Cf. the entry of A: March 16, 1944, where Anne complains about her "double" room, lacking the privacy Peter has with his single.

[56] Cf. the entry of A:June 13, 1944, when Anne writes that "[I]'ve grown so crazy about everything to do with nature."

[57] Contrast her mother's unwillingness to talk openly about sex with her. "When I asked Mummy once what that stub of a thing was for, she said that she didn't know, she still pretends to be ignorant even now!" (A: March 24, 1944). On A: April 18, 1944, when Anne explains female anatomy to Peter, she draws directly from the entry of A: March 24, 1944, which she says she plans to show him.

[58] Is this the first time in the diary Anne shares her writing with others? And what exactly does she mean by "The Secret Annex"? It must be T, though that is also the title she will give to B. And what is she reading to Mrs. van Pels and Peter? "Eva's Dream" for sure, perhaps "The Dentist," which would have entertained Mrs. van Pels.

[59] Interestingly, there's also a burst of activity in the Q notebook in February 1944—see van der Stroom's (2006) analysis of links between Anne's February 1944 fiction experiments in T and her contemporaneous reading in Q (pp. 192–193).

[60] The line was omitted by both Anne and Otto in their versions of the diary (B and C), but it has been restored in version D. The line in Dutch is "*Mijn schrijfwerk, het fijnste wat ik bezit, schiet goed op*." I'm

grateful to Annemarie Bekker of the Anne Frank House for the original Dutch here (email August 22, 2023).

[61] The Dutch here comes from the April 4, 1944, entry in the 1947 published version of the diary, *Het Achterhuis*, available for free online—see fn3 above.

[62] We see here what Prose (2009) has celebrated as "the value that Anne placed on her work" (p. 214).

[63] Cf. A: January 6, 1944, in the mirror, she seems both happy and sad at the same time; see also A: April 28, 1944, about two Annes.

[64] Cf. Philip Roth, 1979, *The Ghost Writer*, p. 109, as cited in Prose (2009, p. 4): "She was something for thirteen. It's like watching an accelerated film of a fetus sprouting a face, watching her mastering things … Suddenly she's discovering reflection, suddenly there's portraiture, character sketches … She just *is*."

[65] Other examples of Anne and Otto editing out evidence of the *work* of writing from their versions of the diary include A: December 22, 1943: "Daddy has tracked down another new diary for me" (left out of B, C); A: January 22, 1944: "When I look over my diary today, 1½ years on, I cannot believe that I was ever such an innocent young thing …" (left out of B, C); A: February 3, 1944: "should I be saved, and spared from destruction, then it would be terrible if my diaries and my tales were lost" (left out of B, C); A: February 17, 1944: "This morning I was upstairs since I had promised Mrs. v.P. to read her some of my tales sometimes" (left out of B, C); A: March 8, 1944, quoting a note to Margot: "You know why I think you'd be interested [in my diary]? Because although I can't express myself properly anywhere else even in my tales, in my diary I can completely" (left out of B, C); A: April 18, 1944: "Someone's been a real darling again and has torn up a chemistry exercise book for me to make a new diary, this time the someone was Margot" (left out of C); A: May 11, 1944: "Cady's life must also be finished …" [left out of C].

[66] Lejeune (2009) hints at this "tragic" aspect of B when he discusses (p. 245) Otto's restoration in C of the parts of A regarding Anne's romance with Peter, which she expunged from B. Otto knew something, Lejeune writes, that Anne didn't know when she was working on B, that she would not survive the war. And he knew that that changed what readers would be interested in about Anne's story.

[67] Indeed, I wonder if, in making progress on B, Anne herself destroyed the 1943 diary notebooks, no longer needing them, perhaps even embarrassed by them? The usual explanation for the lost notebooks is that they were casualties of the "chaos" of the arrest (Caplan, 2004, p. 78; Lejeune, 2009, p. 242). But there's a problem with that theory. The reason so many of Anne's texts—the five notebooks, the hundreds of loose sheets of paper—survived the August 4, 1944, raid on the secret annex, besides Miep's bravery in gathering them up, is that they were no doubt all together that morning *inside Otto's briefcase*. When *SS-Oberscharführer* Silberbauer emptied the briefcase so he'd have somewhere to put the jewelry and money confiscated from the annex residents, he emptied all of Anne's texts onto the floor (see Paape, 1989, p. 22). Why then weren't the 1943 notebooks with the rest of the papers when Miep gathered them up? In the "chaos" of that terrible day, were they somehow separated from the other texts, or in her haste was Miep unable to gather everything? Perhaps. But isn't it also possible that they simply no longer existed? That Anne destroyed them herself when she had covered those periods in her B revision? Anne wouldn't have destroyed A1: it was a gift from her parents, with a cloth cover, full of irreplaceable photographs. Nor would she have destroyed A2 and A3—she wasn't finished revising them, the B version only having got to late March, 1944, by this point. But the exercise books from 1943? having taken what she needed for B, and perhaps embarrassed by some of their entries, they could be discarded—or, most likely, burned.

[68] Anne never finished the project (*contra* Caplan, 2004; see fn6 above). It's impossible, of course, to know how she imagined *Het Achterhuis* ending, but one has to assume with her freedom. That of course never happened, though the A text at least got to D-Day and its renewal of hope: "I have the feeling that friends are approaching," Anne wrote that afternoon (A: June 6, 1944); "I may yet be able to go back to school in September or October." B never got to that moment.

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David Fleming (corresponding author) is a professor of English at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, MA, USA; email: dfleming@umass.edu. His research and teaching focus on writing, rhetoric, and literacy studies. He has published on the history of rhetoric and rhetorical education, argumentation theory and pedagogy, and teaching the English language arts.

APPENDIX A

Dated Entries in Anne Frank, *The Collected Works*, using B for Lejeune's Period 2. (Raw data and full method for this analysis available upon request.)