

THE DIARY KEEPERS

WORLD WAR II IN THE NETHERLANDS,
AS WRITTEN BY THE PEOPLE
WHO LIVED THROUGH IT

NINA SIEGAL

ecco

An Imprint of HarperCollinsPublishers

THE DIARY KEEPERS. Copyright © 2023 by Nina Siegal. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at SPsales@harpercollins.com.

Ecco® and HarperCollins® are trademarks of HarperCollins Publishers.

FIRST EDITION

Designed by Angie Boutin

Title page background © LiliGraphie/shutterstock.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-307065-3

ScoutAutomatedPrintCode

NOTES

Prologue: Searching for Emerich

1. Estimate is based on the landmark Steven M. Cohen, Ph.D., Jacob B. Ukeles, Ph.D., and Ron Miller, Ph.D., UJA-Federation of New York, “Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 Comprehensive Report,” *Jewish Policy & Action Research* (June 2012) and “American Jewish Population Estimates, 2020,” published 2021 by Brandeis University’s Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, 2021.
2. Pim Griffioen and Ron Zeller, “Comparing the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands, France and Belgium, 1940–1945: similarities, differences, and causes,” in *The Persecution of the Jews in The Netherlands, 1940–1945* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2012), 55.
3. (Witness No. 733, interviewed in Bibrka, on January 9, 2009) Yahad in Unum, In Evidence: “The Map of the Holocaust by Bullets, Execution of Jews in Bibrka,” <https://www.yahadmap.org/#village/bibrka-bobrka-boyberke-boiberik-lviv-ukraine.20>; Yahad in Unum, In Evidence: “Execution of the Bibrka Jews in Volove,” videotaped testimony of witness, Evstafi I. <https://www.yahadmap.org/#village/volove-lviv-ukraine.333>.
4. Mauthausen Memorial website, “The Subcamps, Gunskirchen,” <https://www.mauthausen-memorial.org/en/History/The-Subcamps#map116>.
5. Nina Siegal, “Witnessing the Holocaust,” *The New York Times*, May 22, 2019.
6. Frank van Vree, *Als de muren konden spreken. De onwaarschijnlijke geschiedenis van Herengracht 380–382* (NIOD).
7. Siegal, “Witnessing the Holocaust.”
8. René Kok and Erik Somers, *De Jodenvervolging in foto's, Nederland 1940–1945* (Zwolle: W Books, NIOD, 2019).

NOTES

Introduction: “Vast quantities of this simple, everyday material”

1. Translation of Bolkestein speech from Patricia Hampl, “The Whole Anne Frank,” *The New York Times*, March 5, 1995.
2. *The Diary of Anne Frank, The Critical Edition* (Amsterdam: NIOD, 1986), 59.
3. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, The Definitive Edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 244.
4. Boudewijn Smits, *Loe de Jong 1914–2005, Historicus met een missie* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2005), 128–129.
5. P.J. van Winter, “*Herdenking van Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus (26 februari 1880–18 april 1960)*, (Overdruk uit het Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1960–1961), 6.
6. “A detailed History of the IISH,” International Institute of Social History website.
7. Boudewijn Smits, *Loe de Jong*, 129–130.
8. René Kok, “De eerste jaren van het Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie,” *Documentaire Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog. De oorlog na de oorlog* (Zwolle, 1991).
9. Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History: Rediscovering a Hidden Archive from the Warsaw Ghetto* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 210–212.
10. Kassow, *Who Will Write*, 210.
11. Henry Rousso and Jane Marie Todd, *The Latest Catastrophe: History, the Present, the Contemporary* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 83–84.
12. Peter Fritzsche, *An Iron Wind: Europe Under Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), xi–xiii.
13. Rousso and Todd, *The Latest Catastrophe*, 70.
14. He used Louis de Jong for English publications.
15. Annemieke van Bockxmeer, *De oorlog verzameld: Het ontstaan van de collectie van het NIOD* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2014).
16. Rousso and Todd, *The Latest Catastrophe*, 85.
17. Bram Mertens, “An Explosion of Vitality and Creativity? Memory and Historiography of the Second World War in Belgium and the Netherlands,” *Dutch Crossing*, 37: 1, 42–43.
18. Duncan S.A. Bell, “Mythscapes: memory, mythology, and national identity,” *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 54, no. 1 (March 2003), 63–81.
19. Bockxmeer, “*De oorlog verzameld*,” 316.
20. Bockxmeer, “*De oorlog verzameld*,” 317.
21. René Kok interview.
22. Philippe Lejeune, *On Diary*, edited by Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, trans. by Katherine Durnin (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 208–209.

The Diarists (in alphabetical order)

1. *Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands: 1880–2000*, Huygens ING.

NOTES

Chapter 2: “One should make the best of it”

1. Lucas Lichtenberg, *Mij krijgen ze niet levend: De zelfmoorden van mei 1940* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2017), 17.
2. L. Ph. Polak, *Documents of the Persecution of Dutch Jewry, 1940–1945* (Atheneum, Polak & Van Gennep, Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, 1969), document 138, 37 (trans. 36).
3. Bob Moore, *Victims & Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940–1945* (London: Arnold, 1997), 63.
4. Dick van Galen Last, “Chapter 7: The Netherlands,” in *Resistance in Western Europe*, edited by Bob Moore (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000), 193.
5. Jennifer L. Foray, *Visions of Empire in the Nazi-Occupied Netherlands* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 28–29.
6. Katje Happe, *Veel valse hoop, De Jodenvervolging in Nederland 1940–1945* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Atlas Contact, 2017), 46.
7. Foray, *Visions of Empire*, 23, 31.
8. Van Galen Last, *Resistance*, 192.
9. Hein Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939–1945* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2012), 303–304.
10. Jan Herman Brinks, “The Dutch, the Germans, & the Jews,” *History Today* 49, no. 6 (1999): 17–23.
11. Joggli Meihuizen, *Noodzakelijk kwaad: de bestraffing van economische collaboratie in Nederland na de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2003), 753.
12. Meihuizen, *Noodzakelijk kwaad*, 323.
13. Foray, *Visions of Empire*, 24.
14. Geert Mak, *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*, trans. Philipp Blom (London: The Harvill Press), 235–237.
15. Hanneke de Wit, “De nazi’s paten mij mijn jeugd af,” *Het Parool*, 25 Feb. 1995, reprinted in Ina Steur en Anneke Dijkman, *Als het weer eens vrede was* (Bussum: Gooibergpers, 2015), 58–59.
16. Ina Steur en Anneke Dijkman, *Als het weer eens vrede was* (Bussum: Gooibergpers, 2015), 79.
17. Steur and Dijkman, *Als het weer*, 85.
18. Jacques Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1969), 19.
19. Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos During the Holocaust* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 96.
20. Guus Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag. De Amsterdamse politie tijdens de bezetting* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1999), 131–137.
21. Kok and Somers, *De Jodenvervolging*, 141.
22. Ben Braber, *This Cannot Happen Here: Integration and Jewish Resistance in The Netherlands, 1940–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 103–104.

NOTES

Chapter 4: “No graves, no gravestones”

1. Wally de Lang, *De razzia's van 22 en 23 february 1941 in Amsterdam: Het lot van 389 Joodse mannen* (Amsterdam/Antwerp: Atlas Contact, 2021), 25–26.
2. Mirjam Bolle, *Letters Never Sent: Amsterdam, Westerbork, Bergen-Belsen* trans. by Laura Vroomen (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Publications: 2014), 32.
3. De Vries dagboek, *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945* ed. T.M. Sjenitzer-van Leening (Amsterdam: NIOD/Veen Uitgevers, 1954), 69.
4. Annet Mooij, *De strijd om de Februaristaking* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2006), 18.
5. De Lang, *De razzia's*, 142–143.
6. Levie, *Letters*, 33 (written in retrospect, on January 31, 1943).
7. De Lang, *De razzia's*, 214.
8. De Lang, *De razzia's*, newspaper clippings (illustration), 274.
9. Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag*, 134–135.
10. BeeldbankWO2.nl-NIOD.
11. Presser, *Destruction*, 49.
12. From the Minutes of the Feb. 13, 1941, meeting at Asscher's factory; NIOD archive, 182.3 (Commissies van de Joodsche Raad), Jewish Council for Amsterdam.
13. Mirjam Bolle interview August 12, 1999, NIOD archive.
14. Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933–1940* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), 79–80.
15. Speech before Tweede Kamer, November 15, 1938, in Corrie K. Berghuis, *Joods vluchtelingen in Nederland 1938–1940* (Kampen: J.H. Kok), 25–27. Translation from Jan Herman Brinks, *The Dutch, The Germans, and the Jews*, 21.
16. Erik Somers, *Voorzitter van de Joodse Raad, De herinnering van David Cohen (1941–1943)* (Zutphen: Uitgeversmaatschappij Walburg Pers, 2010), 11.
17. Somers, *Voorzitter*, 12–14.
18. Henry L. Mason, “Testing Human Bonds Within Nations: Jews in the Occupied Netherlands,” *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 99., Number 2 (Summer 1984): 334.
19. Mason, “Testing Human Bonds,” 332.
20. Interviews with Somers and Vastenhout.
21. Bolle, *Letters*, 33.
22. Nina Siegal, “She Discovered What Happened to 400 Dutch Jews Who Disappeared,” *The New York Times*, March 16, 2022.
23. De Lang interview.
24. De Lang, *De razzia's*, 110–111.
25. De Lang, *De razzia's*, 175–204.
26. Geert Mak, *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*, trans. Philipp Blom (London: The Harvill Press), 258.
27. Dan Michman, “Explaining the Formation of Ghettos under Nazi Rule

NOTES

- and Its Bearings on Amsterdam. Segregating ‘the Jews’ or Containing the Perilous ‘Ostjuden?’” in *Borders and Boundaries in and around Dutch Jewish History*, edited by Judith Frishman, David J. Wertheim, Ido de Haan and Joël Cahen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 35.
28. Louis de Jong, *The Netherlands and Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Erasmus Lectures, Harvard University Press, 1990), 9.

Chapter 5: “Now the games can begin”

1. Johannes Boot diary, as cited by Peter Romijn in *Persecution of the Dutch Jews* (originally from Boot, J.J.G. *Burgemeester in bezettingstijd*, Apeldoorn, 1968), 84.
2. Peter Romijn et al., *The Persecution of the Dutch Jews* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers, UvA), 13.
3. Meihuizen, *Noodzakelijk kwaad*, 323.
4. Report of the Procureur-Fiscaal bij het Bijzonder Gerechtshof in Amsterdam concerning Werkspoor, May 14, 1949, in Nationaal Archief in Den Hague, Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging (CABR), copy in archive J.P. Meihuizen, Amsterdam.
5. Typist, 25 years old, Amsterdam, from *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945*, (NIOD) 74.
6. Piet de Rooy, ed. *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: Tweestrijd om de Hoofdstad 1900–2000* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2007) (chapter by Guus Meershoek), 257–259.
7. Guus Meershoek, “Policing Amsterdam during the German Occupation: How Radical Was the Break?” (Chapter 16), in Clive Emsley et al., *Social Control in Europe: Volume 2, 1800–2000* (Ohio State University Press, 2004), 331–333.
8. Willy Lages Proces-verbaal, Bakker CABR file NIOD Amsterdam Doc. I-53, 30 october 1945.
9. Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag*, 109.
10. Nina Siegal, “Echoes of Nazi Propaganda in a Collaborator Diary: The Case of Dutch Police Investigator Douwe Bakker,” in *Witnessing, Memory and Crisis: AHM Annual Conference 2022*, ed. Ihab Saloul et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022), 34.
11. Willy Lages testimonies; Getuigenverhoor van Willy Lages 30 october 1945 naar G. Th. C. Clement and F.N. Baderhuizen, CABR file NIOD; also Proces-verbaal, Willy Lages, 26 September 1946, CABR file in Den Haag, Nationaal Archief.
12. Na-oorlogssche Rechtspraak 1946, No. 510; Bijzonder Gerechtshof Amsterdam, 16 August 1946, CABR file, NIOD, Amsterdam.
13. The series of images of the raid were taken by German photographer Bart de Kok, and are part of the Stadsarchief’s collection.
14. Bart de Kok, photo series of April 27, 1942, Amsterdam Stadsarchief, Collectie Bart de Kok en Jozef van Poppel.
15. Nicolaas Cornelis Jonker, Proces-verbaal, CABR file in the Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 51–56.

NOTES

16. Douwe Bakker, commendation letter dated February 20, 1942, from Nationaal Archief, CABR file, Den Haag, 8.
17. Bakker, Politie Amsterdam Bureau Inlichtingendienst, No. 901D/1941 Dossier 60–203, CABR file NIOD D1–53, 5.
18. Johan Ros Proces-verbaal, CABR file, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 44–45.
19. Elisabeth Roeland Proces-verbaal, CABR File, National Archief, Den Haag (testimony of van Hamme's wife).
20. Getuigenverhoor van Kurt Döring, 8 november 1945, naar G. Th. C. Clement and F.N. Baderhuizen, CABR file NIOD; geneven naar G.Th.C. Clement and F. N. Badenhuizen, detectives in the police department.
21. Willy Lages, Proces-verbaal, CABR file National Archief, Den Haag.
22. Bob Moore, *Victims & Survivors*, 203.

Chapter 7: “Like a good gardener”

1. J.C.H. Blom, R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, I. Schöffer, *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* trans. Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans (Oxford, Portland, Oregon: The Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 318.
2. “Kam. dr. REDACTED over zijn taak,” *Het Nationale Dagblad*, DATE REDACTED.
3. Katharina von Kellenbach, “God’s love and women’s love: prison chaplains counsel the wives of Nazi perpetrators,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* (Vol. 20, Issue 2), Indiana University Press, 2004.
4. Gudrun Schwarz, *Eine Frau an seiner Seite: Ehefrauen in der SS-“Sippengemeinschaft”* trans. Kári Driscoll (Berlin: Aufbau-Taschenbuch-Verl., 2001).
5. Schwarz, *Eine Frau*, 102.
6. Von Kellenbach, “God’s love.”
7. Von Kellenbach, “God’s love.”
8. Jan Meyers, *Mussert, Een politiek leven* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1984), 122–123.
9. Hans Olink, “Oorwarming voor het oostfront,” *Elsevier*, 4 August 1990 (NIOD Knipselcollectie KB1–11765).
10. Zonneke Matthée, *Voor Volk en Vaderland, Vrouwen in de NSB 1931–1948* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2007), 12.
11. Matthée, *Voor Volk*, 88.
12. Kees van der Linden, “Oud en fout in huize Wilhoef,” *Haarlems Dagblad*, 15 november 1997.
13. Matthée, *Voor Volk*, 14–16.
14. Hans Olink, “Oorwarming.”
15. Wendy Lower, *Hitler’s Furies: German Women in the Nazi Killing Fields* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), 3–4.
16. Von Kellenbach, “God’s love.”
17. Susanne C. Knittel, “Stand by Your Man: (Self-) Representations of SS Wives after 1945,” in *Probing the Limits of Categorization*, eds. Christina Morina and Krijn Thijs (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2020), 297.

NOTES

Chapter 8: “Was this forced labor or slaughter?”

1. De Lang, *De razzia’s*, 355.
2. Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, Abraham Emmerik bio, <https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/themasites/razzia/abraham-emmerik/>.
3. De Lang, *De razzia’s*, 355.
4. Bianca Stigter, *De bezette stad: Plattegrond van Amsterdam 1940–1945* (Amsterdam: Atheneum—Polak & Van Gennep), 208.
5. Bolle, *Letters*, 36.
6. Presser, *Destruction*, 95.
7. Erik Somers, *Voorzitter van de Joodse Raad, De herinneringen van David Cohen (1941–1943)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2010), 133–134.
8. Somers, *Voorzitter*, 134.
9. Presser, *Destruction*, 137.
10. Bolle interview, NIOD archive.
11. Moore, *Victims & Survivors*, 120.
12. Edwin and Thea Sluzker, *Herinneringskamp Westerbork* (<https://bevrijdingsportretten.nl/portret/edwin-sluzker/>).
13. Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag*, 234.
14. L. Ph. Polak, *Documents of the persecution of the Dutch Jewry 1940–1945* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum—Polak & Van Gennep, Jewish Historical Museum, 1969), sample call-up notice from, document 213, 85 (trans. 98).

Chapter 9: “A kind of gathering place”

1. Kok and Somers, *De Jodenvervolging in foto’s*, 235–249.
2. Koert Broersma and Gerard Rossing, *Kamp Westerbork Gefilmd: Het verbal over een unieke film uit 1944* (Assen: Uitgeverij Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2021), 9, 26.
3. Nina Siegal, “Children of the Holocaust Who Are Anonymous No More,” *The New York Times*, May 18, 2021.
4. Broersma and Rossing, *Kamp Westerbork Gefilmd*, 134–141.
5. Siegal, “Children of the Holocaust.”

Chapter 11: “If only there were more places for these poor people”

1. Els Hendriks, unpublished memoir, (trans. J. Vomberg, courtesy of Willem Veldkamp) 42.
2. Hendriks memoir, 45.
3. “Na geslaagde acties nam hij bloemen mee,” *Het Parool*, Amsterdam, 4 Mei 1979 (Delpher archive).
4. Willem Veldkamp interview.
5. Braber, *This Cannot Happen Here*, 146–147; also Willem Veldkamp, *Zoo Menschoneerend: Het lot van de Joods Epenaren tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (In eigen beheer, 2020).
6. Veldkamp, *Zoo Menschoneerend*, 20.
7. Willem Veldkamp, “Voor de oorlog gingen we dansen . . .” (*Ampt Epe*, September 2014), 21–22.

NOTES

8. Veldkamp, “Voor de oorlog,” 22.
9. Ter Braak and his wife, Martha Helena ter Braak-DerkSEN, were honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in April 2022.
10. Veldkamp, *Zoo Menschoneerend*, 14.
11. Veldkamp interview.
12. Hendriks memoir, 28.
13. Hendriks memoir, 29.
14. Willem Veldkamp, *Verzet in Epe* (In eigen beheer, 1995), 14.
15. Veldkamp interview.
16. Veldkamp, *Zoo Menschoneerend*, 191.

Chapter 12: “The time had come to go into hiding”

1. Presser, *Destruction*, 391–392.
2. Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry During the Second World War*, trans. by Arnold Pomerans and Erica Pomerans (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2004), 211–213.
3. Dawn Skorczewski and Bettine Siertsema, “The kind of spirit that people still kept”: VHA testimonies of Amsterdam’s Diamond Jews, *Holocaust Studies*, 2020, vol. 26, no. 1, 62–84.
4. Skorczewski and Siertsema, “The kind of spirit,” 62–84.
5. Josephina Lewijt, “Shoah Foundation Video Testimony. Amsterdam June 3, 1996 Interview Code #16037,” Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation Institute at the University of Southern California, 1996. Dutch as quoted in Skorczewski and Siertsema.
6. Aalders, *Nazi Looting*, 212.
7. Skorczewski and Siertsema, “Spirit,” 66–67.
8. Albertina Maria van de Bilt was recognized by Yad Vashem as one of the Righteous Among the Nations in 1980.
9. Guus Meershoek interview.
10. Abel J. Herzberg, *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging, 1940–1945*, 5th edition, (Amsterdam: Em. Querido’s Uitgeverij B.V., 1985) 142–143.
11. October 22, 1942.
12. Emsley et al., *Social Control*, 333.
13. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993).
14. Ad van Liempt, *Kopgeld: Nederlandse premiejagers op zoek naar joden, 1943* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2002), 113–116.
15. Ad van Liempt, *Hitler’s Bounty Hunters: The Betrayal of the Jews*, trans. S.J. Leinbach (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 25–34.
16. Van Liempt interview.
17. Van Liempt, *Hitler’s Bounty Hunters*, 58–59.
18. Van Liempt, *Hitler’s Bounty Hunters*, 63.
19. Marnix Croes, “The Holocaust in the Netherlands and the Rate of Jewish Survival,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20.3 (2006): 490–491.
20. Moore, *Victims & Survivors*, 210, 199–200.
21. Van Liempt, *Hitler’s Bounty Hunters*, 47.

NOTES

22. Pinchas Bar-Efrat, *Denunciation and Rescue, Dutch Society and the Holocaust*, trans. from Hebrew by Naftali Greenwood (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2017), 21.
23. Bar-Efrat, *Denunciation*, 125.
24. Bar-Efrat, *Denunciation*, 159–160.
25. Van Liempt, *Hitler's Bounty Hunters*, 47–55.
26. Bar-Efrat, *Denunciation*, 183, 149.

Chapter 14: “The man who goes about with his notebook”

1. Koert Broersma, *Buigen onder de storm: Philip Mechanicus Verslagger tot in de dood 1889–1994* (Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2019), 117.
2. Broersma, *Buigen*, 130–131.
3. Broersma, *Buigen*, 117.
4. Broersma, *Buigen*, 132–133.
5. Jacques Presser introduction, *Waiting for Death, a diary by Philip Mechanicus* trans. Irene R. Gibbons (London: Calder and Boyars, 1968), 11.
6. Bettine Siertsema, *Uit de Diepten: Nederlandse egodocumenten over de nazi concentratiekampen* (Vught: Uitgeverij Skandalon, 2007), 173.
7. Broersma interview.
8. Koert Broersma, *Buigen onder de storm: Levensschat van Philip Mechanicus 1889–1944* (Van Gennep, 1993), 21.
9. Philip Mechanicus, “*Ik woon, zoals je weet, drie hoog*,” *Brieven uit Westerbork* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1999), 5.
10. Interviews with Koert Broersma and Elisabeth Oets.
11. Johanna Heinsius was honored by Yad Vashem as one of the Righteous Among the Nations in 1995.
12. Oets interview.
13. Mechanicus, *Waiting for Death*, 12.
14. Broersma, *Buigen*, 110–111.
15. Oets interview.
16. Mechanicus, diary entry, September 14, 1943.
17. “April-Meistaking,” Kennisbank, Verzets Resistance Museum website verzetsmuseum.org.
18. *Gids van den Joodsche Raad voor Amsterdam*, 15 Maart 1943 (NIOD, Ned 9.61Gid).
19. Notes of the Central Meeting of the Joodse Raad, no. 94 (May 21, 1943); also Bolle, *Letters*, 138.
20. Bolle, *Letters*, 140–141.
21. Bianca Stigter, *Atlas van een Bezette Stad: Amsterdam 1940–1945* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Atlas Contact, 2019), 412.
22. Nina Siegal, “Photos That Helped to Document the Holocaust Were Taken by a Nazi,” *The New York Times*, July 29, 2022.
23. “Netherlands Jews Ousted by Nazis” (no byline), *The New York Times*, June 23, 1943, 8.

NOTES

Chapter 16: “She just had a very large heart”

1. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1961), 365.
2. J.C.H. Blom, R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, I. Schöffer, *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* trans. Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans (Oxford, Portland, Oregon: The Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 323–324.
3. Moore, *Victims & Survivors*, 190.
4. Marnix Croes and Peter Tammes, *Gif laten wij niet voortbestaan? Een onderzoek naar de overlevingskansen van joden in de Nederlandse gemeenten, 1940–1945* (Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen, 2004).
5. Marnix Croes, “The Holocaust in the Netherlands and the Rate of Jewish Survival,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20.3 (2006): 486.
6. Croes, “Holocaust,” 494.
7. Aart Visser, *Onderduikers op de Veluwe: Overleven in oorlogstijd* (Wezep: Bredewold, 1990), 4.
8. Jozef Vomberg, Interview 25346, Tape 2, 0:50–1:18, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1997). Accessed August–September 2021.
9. Jozef Vomberg, Interview 25346, Tape 2, 2:20–3:00, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
10. Jozef Vomberg, Interview 25346, Tape 2, 1:24–2:13, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
11. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 2, 4:05–6:15, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
12. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 2, 9:50–11:58, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
13. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 2, 16:44–20:50, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
14. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 3, 5:30–6:14, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
15. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 3, 6:40–7:25, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
16. Vomberg, unpublished memoir.
17. Vomberg, unpublished memoir.
18. Vomberg, unpublished memoir.
19. Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 3, 15:30–16:00, interview by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
20. Jozef Vomberg, Shoah Interview 25346, Tape 3, 13:45–13:47, interview

NOTES

- by Judy Schwartz, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1999). Accessed August–September 2021.
21. Shapiro interview.
 22. Vomberg unpublished memoir.

Chapter 18: “The diary becomes a world”

1. Siegal, “Echoes of Nazi Propaganda,” 37.
2. René Vos, *Niet voor publicatie: De legale Nederlandse pers tijdens de Duitse bezetting* (Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1998).
3. Heidi Tworek, *News from Germany: The Competition to Control World Communications, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 189.
4. Gerrit Bakker, Investigation report, Politieke Recherche Afdeling Amsterdam, CABR file, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 62.
5. Proces-verbaal, Henri Trend van Hiltien, Politieke Recherche Afdeling Amsterdam, September 24, 1946, from CABR File, Douwe Bakker, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 63.
6. Arrest record by police agent A. Den Hartog, CABR file, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag.
7. *De Nieuwe Dag*, August 10, 1946, “Berucht politie-inspecteur staat terecht” (Knipselcollectie personnel KB1–282, NIOD DI–53).
8. Proces-verbaal Kurt Döring, Bakker CABR file, NIOD Amsterdam, 8 november 1945.
9. “Douwe Bakker, de domme handlanger van de S.D.,” *De Volkskrant*, 13 August 1946 (Knipselcollectie personnel KB1–282, NIOD).
10. “Douwe Bakker krijgt 7 jaar R.W.I.,” *De Volkskrant*, 27 August 1946 (Knipselcollectie KB1–282, NIOD).
11. “Douwe Bakker, ‘moffenknecht’ van wie men walgt,” *De Volkskrant*, 30 Mei 1947 (Knipselcollectie KB1–282-NIOD).
12. Proces-verbaal Emanuël Antonius Stellingwerff, CABR NIOD Amsterdam, Doc. I-53, 51–52.
13. Proces-verbaal Evert Philip Frederiking, Bakker CABR file, NIOD Amsterdam Doc. I-53, 53–54.
14. “Douwe Bakker noteerde zijn misdaden in een dagboek,” *Het Parool*, 31 Mei 1947 (Knipselcollectie, KB1–282 NIOD).
15. Proces-verbaal Douwe Bakker, Vrijdag 16 Mei 1947, CABR file NIOD Doc. I-53, 76–77.
16. Proces-verbaal Douwe Bakker, Vrijdag 16 Mei 1947, CABR file NIOD Doc. I-53, 76–77.
17. Garbarini interview.
18. Garbarini interview.
19. Sibylle Schmidt, “Perpetrators’ Knowledge: What and How Can We Learn from Perpetrator Testimony?” *Journal of Perpetrator Research* 1.1 (2017), 87–88.
20. Schmidt, “Perpetrators’ Knowledge,” 89.
21. Ann Tusa and John Tusa, *The Nuremberg Trials* (Skyhorse, 2010).
22. Thijs B. Bouwknegt and Adina-Loredana Nistor, “Studying

NOTES

- ‘Perpetrators’ through the Lens of the Criminal Trial,” in *Perpetrators of International Crimes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 104.
23. *De Volkskrant*, “Douwe Bakker, ‘moffenknecht van wie men walgt,’” 31 Mei 1947 (Knipselcollectie personnel KB1–282, NIOD).
 24. *De Volkskrant*, “Moffenknecht” (NIOD Bakker Knipselcollectie).
 25. “Acht jaar R.W.I. voor Douwe Bakker” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 Juni 1947 (Knipselcollectie personnel KB1–282, NIOD).
 26. Voordewind Rapport, 23 September 1946, Bakker CABR file NIOD Amsterdam, 57–59.
 27. <https://meitotmei.nl/nsber-douwe-bakker-bijna-zaandamse-korpschef/>.
 28. No. 1204 Bijzondere Raad van Cassatie, 5 Januari 1948, van Naorlogse Rechtspraak (NOR).
 29. Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–1945* (New York: Aaron Ascher Books/HarperCollins, 1992), ix.
 30. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, Revised Edition (New York: Harper-Collins, 2017), 162.
 31. Christopher R. Browning, “Perpetrator Testimony: Another Look at Adolf Eichmann,” in *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 5, 11.
 32. Browning, “Perpetrator Testimony,” 36.
 33. Katharina von Kellenbach, *The Mark of Cain: Guilt and Denial in the Post-War Lives of Nazi Perpetrators* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 206.
 34. Mary Fulbrook, *Reckonings: Legacies of Nazi Persecution and the Quest for Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 411–412, quoted from DTA Emmendingen, 463, Marianne B., “Bericht über die Dienstzeit als Gymnasiallehrerin in Auschwitz” (1.9.43–21.1–1945).
 35. Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, 417.
 36. Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, 423.
 37. Stadsarchief, Douwe Bakker registration card.
 38. Nationaal Archief, Douwe Bakker CABR file.

Chapter 20: “A journalist in heart and soul”

1. Philip Mechanicus, “*Ik woon, zoals je weet, drie hoog*,” brieven uit Westerbork (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1987), 71.
2. Mechanicus, “*Ik woon . . .*,” 72–73.
3. Broersma, *Buigen*, 206–207.
4. Renata Laqueur, *Dagboek uit Bergen-Belsen, Maart 1944–April 1945* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 2021), 24.
5. Broersma, *Buigen*, 206.
6. Laqueur, *Dagboek*, 25.
7. Lodden Vogel, *Dagboek uit een kamp* (Amsterdam: Prometheus Publishers, 2000), 11.
8. Broersma, *Buigen*, 218–219.
9. Vogel, *Dagboek*, April 25, 1944, 12.

NOTES

10. Mechanicus, “*Ik woon . . .*,” 74.
11. Broersma, *Buigen*, 221–222.
12. “Ph. Mechanicus Gefussilleerd,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 november 1945 (NIOD knipselmap, KB1-8438).
13. NIOD archief 703/14–15 Analyses.
14. Dirk Mulder en Ben Pinsen, *Bronnen van herinnering* (Herinneringcentrum Kamp Westerbork, Van Gorcum and Comp. B.V., 1993), 77.
15. S. Lillian Kremer, *Holocaust Literature: An Encyclopedia of Writers and Their Work; Volume 2, Lerner to Zychlinsky* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 817.

Chapter 22: “All the trivial things”

1. Helmut Mainz, “A report on the arrival of 222 transport to Palestine, written on arrival in 1944,” in Oppenheim, *The Chosen People*, Appendix 2, 183.
2. Mirjam Bolle interview, August 12, 1999, NIOD archive.
3. Oppenheim, *The Chosen*, 183.
4. Ya'acov Yannay (Jacob de Jong) was one of the 222 Dutch people on the transport, interviewed by Suzanne Glas in 1994.
5. Oppenheim, *The Chosen*, 184.
6. Email exchange with Mirjam Bolle.
7. Oppenheim, *The Chosen*, 165.
8. Michman, Introduction to *Letters Never Sent*, 11.
9. Katja Happe, “The Role of the Jewish Council During the Occupation of the Netherlands,” in *The Holocaust and European Studies: Social Processes and Social Dynamics*, edited by Andrea Low and Frank Bajohr (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 215.
10. Laurien Vastenhout, “The ‘Jewish Councils’ of Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis” (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, dissertation, September 2019), 4.
11. Laurien Vastenhout interviews.
12. Happe, “The Role,” 216.
13. Henry L. Mason, “Jews in the Occupied Netherlands,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer 1984, 333–334.
14. Happe, “The Role,” 215.
15. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe Under Nazi Occupation* (Macmillan, 1972).
16. Vastenhout, “Jewish Councils,” 1.
17. Vastenhout, “Jewish Councils,” 282.
18. Trunk, *Judenrat*, 394.
19. Trunk, *Judenrat*, 399.
20. Trunk, *Judenrat*, 400.
21. Trunk, *Judenrat*, 420.
22. Trunk, *Judenrat*, 421.
23. Trunk, *Judenrat*, xxxv.
24. Piotr Wróbel, “The ‘Judenräte’ Controversy: Some Polish Aspects,” *The Polish Review*, vol. 42, no. 2 (University of Illinois Press, 1997), 229.

NOTES

25. Vastenhout, “Jewish Councils,” 19.
26. Wróbel, “Judenräte,” 226.
27. *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945; Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem April 4–7, 1977*, published by Yad Vashem, 1979; opening remarks.
28. Wróbel, “Judenräte,” 232.
29. Laura Jockusch and Gabriel N. Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts: Revenge, Retribution, and Reconciliation in Europe and Israel after the Holocaust*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2015), 130.
30. Evelien Gans, *De kleine verschillen die het leven uitmaken. Een historische studie naar joodse sociaal-democraten en socialistisch-zionisten in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Vassallucci, 1999), 618.
31. Piet H. Schrijvers, “Truth Is the Daughter of Time: Prof. David Cohen as Seen by Himself and Others,” in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands Series: Brill’s Series in Jewish Studies, Vol. 24 (Jan. 1, 2000), 356.
32. *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945, Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference—April 1977* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), 13–15.

Chapter 24: “What do you have to know?”

1. Ed van Thijn, “Omstanders, een bruin vermoeden,” in *Machteloos? Ooggetuigen van de Jodenvervolging* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum/Polak & Van Gennep, 2007), Anna Timmerman, 7–8.
2. Vuijsje, *Tegen beter* (my translation; the word *vertekend* can mean “distorted” or “biased”), 14.
3. Van der Boom, “*Wij weten . . . ,*” 385.
4. Hella Rottenberg, “Voor de gemoedsrust van de natie,” *Trouw*, 24 Juni 2006.
5. Bart van der Boom, “*Wij weten niets van hun lot*”: *Gewone Nederlanders en de Holocaust* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012), 9.
6. Van der Boom, “*Wij weten . . . ,*” 9–14.
7. Dan Michman, *Egodocuments in Dutch Jewish History*, 37.
8. Jürgen Matthäus, *Predicting the Holocaust: Jewish Organizations Report from Geneva on the Emergence of the “Final Solution,” 1939–1942* (Washington D.C.: Rowman & Littlefield in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2019), 2.
9. Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, 1.
10. Matthäus, *Predicting the Holocaust*, 1.
11. Matthäus, *Predicting*, 177–178.
12. “Declaration Regarding German Atrocities Against Jews in German Occupied Countries,” issued December 17, 1942, *The United Nations Review* III, no. 1 (1943): 1.
13. Anne Freadman, *Holding On and Holding Out: Jewish Diaries From Wartime France* (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2020), 5.

NOTES

14. Queen Wilhelmina radio address, November 28, 1941, public domain.
15. Jord Schaap, *Het recht om te waarschuwen over de Radio Oranje-toespraken van koningin Wilhelmina* (Amsterdam: Anthos, 2007), 136–138.
16. Nanda van der Zee, *Om erger te voorkomen* (Soesterberg: Aspekt, 1997).
17. Jeroen Dewulf, *Spirit of Resistance: Dutch Clandestine Literature During the Nazi Occupation* (Rochester: Camden House, 2010), 102.
18. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl, The Definitive Edition*, edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler, trans. by Susan Massotty (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 54.
19. Dick van Galen Last and Rolf Wolfswinkel, *Anne Frank and After* (Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 111.
20. Ies Vuijsje, *Tegen beter weten in: Zelfbedrog en ontkenning in de Nederlandse geschiedsbeschrijving over de Jodenvervolging* (Amsterdam/Antwerp: Augustus Publishers, 2006).
21. Ies Vuijsje, *Tegen beter*, 79–80.
22. Van der Boom, “Wij weten . . . ,” 263.
23. Bart van der Boom, “The Auschwitz Reservation: Dutch Victims and Bystanders and Their Knowledge of the Holocaust,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2017): 393.
24. Van der Boom, “Wij weten . . . ,” 386.
25. Van der Boom, “Auschwitz Reservation,” 385.
26. Bart van der Boom interview.
27. Remco Ensel, “Holocaust Commemorations in Postcolonial Dutch Society,” in *The Holocaust, Israel and ‘The Jew’: Histories of Antisemitism in Postwar Dutch Society*, edited by Evelien Gans and Remco Ensel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 492.
28. Remco Ensel and Evelien Gans, “Over ‘Wij weten iets van hun lot,’” *De Groene Amsterdammer*, December 12, 2012, and February 6, 2013.
29. Christina Morina and Krijn Thijss, *Probing the Limits of Categorization: The Bystander in Holocaust History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019). (From Chapter 6, “The Dutch Bystander as Non-Jew and Implicated Subject,” by Ensel and Gans).
30. Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, “Egodocumenten als bron,” *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 24 Januari 2013.
31. Dekker interview.
32. Nanda van der Zee, “The Recurrent Myth of ‘Dutch Heroism’ in the Second World War and Anne Frank as a Symbol,” in *The Netherlands and the Nazi Genocide: Papers of the 21st Annual Scholars’ Conference*; edited by G. Jan Colijn and Marcia S. Littell., 7.
33. Dekker interview.
34. Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, 406.

Chapter 26: “An archaeology of silence”

1. P.A. van der Kamp, Belastambtenaar dagboek, *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945* (NIOD, 1954), 617.
2. Nina Siegal, “The Lost Diaries of War,” *The New York Times*, April 15, 2020; translation of diary text by Susan Ridder.

NOTES

3. Nederlander bij SS-eenheid, ca. 30 jaar dagboek, *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945* (NIOD, 1954), 616.
4. Jozef Vomberg, Interview 25346, Tape 5, USC (Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation, 1997). Accessed August–September 2021.
5. Evelien Gans, “They Have Forgotten to Gas You’: Post-1945 Antisemitism in the Netherlands,” in *Dutch Racism* 27 (2014), 71, 77–81.
6. Gans, “They Have Forgotten,” 79; De Wagt, *Vijf honderd*, 53.
7. Evelien Gans (co-author and co-editor with Remco Ensel), *The Holocaust, Israel and “the Jew”: Histories of Antisemitism in Postwar Dutch Society* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017).
8. Dick van Galen Last and Rolf Wolfswinkel, *Anne Frank and After: Dutch Holocaust Literature in Historical Perspective* (Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 127.
9. Van Galen Last and Wolfswinkel, *Anne Frank and After*, 124.
10. Robert Krell, “On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Recounting and Life History” (Book Review), *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (2000) 457.
11. Saul Friedländer, “History, Memory and the Historian: Dilemmas and Responsibilities,” *New German Critique*, Spring-Summer 2000, No. 80, Special Issue on the Holocaust (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 5.
12. Wiewiorka, ix–x, citing Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *From That Place and Time: A Memoir: 1938–1947* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), 304ff.
13. “Mr. Boder Vanishes,” This American Life podcast, episode 197: Before It Had a Name, October 26, 2001.
14. Alan Rosen, *The Wonder of Their Voices: The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
15. Accessible online as “Voices of the Holocaust” at the University of Illinois, Boder’s alma mater, <https://voices.library.iit.edu/>.
16. Voices of the Holocaust (https://voices.library.iit.edu/david_boder).
17. Kassow, *Who Will Write*, 1–2.
18. Frank van Vree, “Writing as Resistance. Emanuel Ringelblum and the Ghetto Archive,” speech delivered February 25, 2022, at the Mauthausen Commemoration.
19. The Oneg Shabbat Archive, “Let the world read and know,” Yad Vashem website (<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/ringelblum/index.asp>).
20. Kassow, *Who Will Write*, 210.
21. Annette Wiewiorka, *The Era of the Witness*, translated from the French by Jared Stark (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), x–xi.
22. Elie Wiesel, video interview 1996, Academy of Achievement, “Keys to Success, In Their Own Words,” part 9 (achievement.org/video/elie-wiesel-9/).
23. Wiesel, Academy of Achievement interview 1996, part 9.
24. Wiesel, Academy of Achievement interview 1996, part 7 (<https://achievement.org/video/elie-wiesel-7/>).
25. Wiesel, Academy of Achievement interview 1996, Academy of Achievement, part 9.

NOTES

26. Greenspan interview.
27. Viktor E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning*, trans. Ilse Lasch (London: Rider, 2011), 32.
28. Frankl, *Man's Search*, 62.
29. Frankl, *Man's Search*, 117.
30. Marga Minco, *Bitter Herbs: A Short Chronicle*, trans. Jeannette K. Rингold (London: Penguin Random House UK, 2020), 142.
31. Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem*, 292–296, as quoted in Wiewiorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 69.
32. Henry Greenspan et al., “Engaging Survivors: Assessing ‘Testimony’ and ‘Trauma’ as Foundational Concepts,” September 2014, *Dapim Studies on the Holocaust* 28(3):190–226.
33. Israel Shenker, “Israeli Historian Denies Jews Yielded to the Nazis ‘Like Sheep,’” *The New York Times*, May 6, 1970.

Chapter 27: “Suffering and struggle, loyalty and betrayal, humanity and barbarism, good and evil”

1. Jaap Cohen, “In de spiegel van de geschiedenis,” *De Groene Amsterdammer*, no. 20, 13 mei 2020.
2. A.H. Paape, “Inleiding,” *Dagboekfragmenten 1940–1945*, v–xiii.
3. Frank van Vree, *In de schaduw van Auschwitz: Herrinneringen, beelden, geschiedenis* (Groningen: Historisch Uitgeverij Groningen, 1995).
4. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 60.
5. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 63–65, 69.
6. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 68–69.
7. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 69.
8. Presser, *Destruction*, xiii.
9. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 83.
10. “Goedkope uitgave verschenen van Pressers Ondergang,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 november 1965 (Delpher archive).
11. “Goedkope uitgave verschenen van Pressers Ondergang,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 november 1965 (Delpher archive).
12. Van Vree, *Schaduw*, 102.
13. Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, “Jacques Presser, Egodocuments and Jewish History,” in *Egodocuments in Dutch Jewish History: Emotions, Imaginations, Perceptions, Egos, Characteristics*, ed. Dan Michman (Amsterdam: Amphora Books, 2021), 18.
14. Hansen and Zarankin, “Founding Myth.”
15. Frank van Vree, “Absent Memories,” *Cultural Analysis* 12 (2013): 6.
16. Boudewijn Smits, “Opgejaagd door de furiën der historie: Het vluchtverhaal van Loe de Jong,” *De Groene Amsterdammer*, May 4, 2010; nr. 18.
17. Hanneloës Pen, “De ‘geheime’ tweelingbroer van chroniqueur Loe de Jong,” *Het Parool*, 20 november 2019.
18. Chris van der Heijden, “Het verhaal van een zoon: Een ander portret van Loe de Jong,” *De Groene Amsterdamer*, no. 10, March 9, 2011.

NOTES

19. Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen, “Learning Lessons from History—or Not?” *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 13 (2019), 139.
20. X. Chen, “That Noble Dream: Analysis of the ‘Objectivity’ Question of the Historiography of Ranke,” *Advances in Historical Studies* 9 (2020), 92–97.
21. Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, “Repetition and Rupture,” *Aeon*, September 2020, (<https://aeon.co/essays/reinhart-kosellecks-theory-of-history-for-a-world-in-crisis>).
22. Aleida Assmann, “Re-framing memory. Between individual and collective forms of constructing the past,” in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 38.
23. Presser, *Destruction*, xiv.
24. Michman, *Egodocuments*, 30.

Chapter 28: “A gradual lifting of the collective repression”

1. Saul Friedländer, “History, Memory, and the Historian: Dilemmas and Responsibilities,” *New German Critique*, no. 80 (2000): 7.
2. Van Vree, “Absent,” 6–7.
3. Nancy Cooey interview.
4. Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness* trans. Jared Stark (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), xi.
5. Michael E. Ruane, “Pandemic forces Holocaust survivor interviews onto Zoom,” *Washington Post*, December 20, 2020.
6. Wieviorka, *The Era*, 142–143.
7. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York/London: Routledge, 1992), 80–81.
8. Wieviorka, *The Era*, 143–149.
9. Aleida Assmann, “Re-framing Memory. Between individual and collective forms or constructing the past,” in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 39.
10. Assmann, “Re-framing,” 40.
11. Wieviorka, *The Era*, xii.

Conclusion: “There Were More”

1. Nina Siegal, “Beyond Anne Frank: The Dutch Tell Their Full Holocaust Story,” *The New York Times*, July 17, 2016.
2. Nina Siegal, “Holocaust Memorial Is Closer to Reality in Amsterdam,” *The New York Times*, December 16, 2016.
3. Hartogh, as quoted by Emile Schrijver in “Opinie: ‘Voorzie waar mogelijk omstreden erfgoed van de juiste context,’ ” *Het Parool*, 2 maart 2022 (text of speech at the relocation ceremony).
4. Wim de Wagt, *Vijf honderd meter namen: De Holocaust en de pijn van de herinnering* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2021), 53.

NOTES

5. Schrijver speech.
6. Dienke Hondius, *Terugkeer: Antisemitisme in Nederland rond de bevrijding* ('s-Gravenhage: SDU-uitgeverij, 1990), 96.
7. De Wagt, *Vijf honderd*, 72.
8. Lotte Rigter, "Monument van Joods erkentelijkheid na 50 jaar weer op het Weesperplein," *NH Nieuws*, 2 maart 2022.
9. Manfred Gerstenfeld, *The Abuse of Holocaust Memory Distortions and Responses* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2009), 60–61.
10. Frank van Vree, Hetty Berg, and David Duindam, *Site of Deportation; Site of Memory: The Amsterdam Hollandsche Schouwburg and the Holocaust* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 155–156, 174.
11. Van Vree, Berg, and Duindam, *Site of Deportation*, 176.
12. Van Vree, Berg, and Duindam, *Site of Deportation*, 172–178.
13. Mike Corder, "Dutch king unveils Holocaust name monument in Amsterdam," *Associated Press*, September 19, 2021.
14. Gerstenfeld, *Abuse*, 136–143.
15. CIDI, "Monitor antisemitsche incidenten 2020," Stichting Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israel; quote from English summary.
16. Schrijver interview.
17. "FvD slammed for saying Covid lockdown is akin to WWII occupation," *NL Times*, May 3, 2021.
18. Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry During the Second World War*, trans. by Arnold Pomerans and Erica Pomerans (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2004), 225.
19. Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 85.