

ICPR H116
PEAC H116
RELG H116

**Ethical Struggles in Catastrophic Times:
Quakers' Responses to the Holocaust**

Haverford College Fall 2019

Lutnick 211

Thursdays 1:30-4pm

David Harrington Watt

About the Course. In the 1930s and 1940s, Quakers engaged in a number of remarkable—and controversial—activities that were intended to provide assistance to people who were being persecuted by the Nazis. Those actions were criticized by some US citizens (who thought that Quakers were giving unwitting aid to the Nazis) and also derided by Nazis such as Joseph Goebbels (who thought that Quakers were demonstrating a complete lack of awareness about how the world really works.) Nevertheless, Quakers' actions did end up saving some lives. **Students in this course will examine what Quakers accomplished—and failed to accomplish—in the 1930s and 1940s.** The course is *not* designed as a venue in which to decide, once and for all, which of the Quakers' actions were wise and which were foolish. The course is meant, rather, to offer students an opportunity to reflect on the ethical questions with which Quakers wrestled and an invitation to compare those questions with the ones they face themselves. Special attention will be paid the connections between Quakers' responses to the Holocaust and Quakers' religious beliefs and practices.

Librarian. The librarian for this course is Mary Crauderueff. Mary is the Curator of Haverford College's Quaker Collections

TLI Student Consultant. Paul Wynkoop is the TLI Student Consultant for this course. Paul studies Psychology at Haverford College.

Instructor. The instructor for this class is David Harrington Watt. David is the Douglas and Dorothy Steere Professor of Quaker Studies.

Talking to the Instructor Outside of Class. **The easiest way to see me is to simply come by 211 Lutnick on a Wednesday between 11:15 and 12:45.** My office is in 315 Founders Hall and I work there almost every day. If you have a quick question, feel free to come by 315 Founders Hall and knock on my door. There's a fair chance that I'll be free. It might make more sense, however, for you to e-mail me ahead of time and set up an appointment. My email address is dhwatt@haverford.edu. I don't spend all day online, but I am almost always able to respond to e-mail messages within twenty-four hours of receiving them. Please note that I will not be available to meet from December 14 to 18. If you would like to discuss your final paper, it would be best to arrange to see me the week of December 8.

Assignments. Students will write two papers, complete a take-home exam, and give one oral presentation. The first paper will be about five pages (1,250 words excluding front matter, notes, and bibliography) and will focus on the Quaker delegation to Germany in 1938. The second will be slightly longer (1,750 words excluding front matter, notes, and bibliography) and will pay particular attention to American responses to the Holocaust. Your presentation will share the argument of your second paper with the class. The exam will be more narrowly focused on Quakers' response to the Holocaust. **For all four assignments, you are not expected to cover material beyond the assigned course readings. You will be expected to exhibit a thoughtful and thorough understanding of the assigned readings.** However, if you would like to follow a topic beyond the course readings, I will gladly provide some suggestions.

Evaluation. The final grade will be based on: participation in seminar discussions (10% of the total grade), one presentation (10%), an exam (20%), and two papers (60%). Students may revise one paper for a higher grade. Your grade will only reflect the second grade. That paper is due on Friday, December 13.

Deadlines. Meeting deadlines is part of being a good writer. Please make sure you hand your papers in on time. Should you need an extension, please contact me. Please try to get those requests to me earlier rather than later.

Names, Pronouns, and Forms of Address. If you have a chance, please send me a brief note before our first class meeting that gives me a hint as to how to pronounce your name. The note could also tell me which pronouns you use when referring to yourself and what you would like me to call you during class meetings. The note need not be long. Something like the following would be more than sufficient. "My last name doesn't have an 's' at the end of it. It rhymes with 'cot.' The pronouns I use are 'he,' 'him,' and 'his.' Please call me 'David' rather than 'Dave,' 'Professor,' or 'Doctor.'"

How Class Meetings Will Work. During most of our meetings, a few minutes will be set aside for students to do some writing. As a general rule, we are going to make an effort to keep me from doing much lecturing, and we are going to try to arrange things so that no student speaks twice until all students have had a chance to speak once. Having read the assigned texts for the day will be viewed as the (metaphorical) price of admission to the meeting.

Phones, Tablets, and Laptops. With a few important exceptions (each of which will be discussed early in the semester), you and I won't be using our phones, tablets, or laptops during our class meetings.

Collegial Support for Your Work. Haverford College is committed to supporting the learning process for all students. Please contact me as soon as possible if you are

having difficulties in the course. There are also many resources on campus available to you as a student, including the Office of Academic Resources (<https://www.haverford.edu/oar/>) and the Office of Access and Disabilities Services (<https://www.haverford.edu/ads/>). If you think you may need accommodations because of a disability, please contact Sherrie Borowsky, Coordinator of Accommodations, Office of Access and Disability Services at hc-ads@haverford.edu. If you have already been approved to receive academic accommodations and would like to request accommodations in this course because of a disability, please meet with me privately at the beginning of the semester (*within the first two weeks if possible*) with your verification letter.

Mistakes. If this course proceeds as it should, you and I are both going to make some mistakes. When I blunder, please feel free to come by my office and talk over what happened.

Plagiarism. During my thirty years of teaching, I've encountered *very* few examples of deliberate plagiarism. But, it is entirely possible to plagiarize without meaning to and alas, from time to time that does happen. We'll discuss this issue during some of our class meetings. If you have any doubt whatsoever about what does and does not constitute plagiarism in this course, please see me during my office hours.

Religious Holidays. If attending one of the meetings of this class would prevent you from observing a religious holiday that is important to you, please let me know. I'll do my very best to keep this course from interfering with your religious practices.

Obtaining the required texts. Nearly all of the required readings for the course have been posted on Moodle and/or placed on reserve at the Lutnick Library. Please bring printed versions of the assigned readings to class. Two recommended writing manuals are listed in the syllabus, *The Craft of Research* (4th Edition) and *Style: Lessons in Clarity and Grace*. *The Craft of Research* is available online through the library. I recommend purchasing *Style* (any edition) or accessing it on reserve in Lutnick Library.

Recommended Readings. Throughout the syllabus, you will note a series of recommended readings concerning academic writing. I know many of you are experienced writers, so all of these readings—denoted in square brackets—are entirely optional. However, I *highly encourage* you to utilize these resources to assess and improve your writing. Please also bear in mind that I will *evaluate your papers* based on guidelines drawn from the recommended readings.

Background Information. In general, I do my best to anticipate students' understanding of the Holocaust. However, at times throughout the course, you may encounter events in the readings that are unfamiliar to you. If that happens, I recommend navigating the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's website for additional information (<https://www.ushmm.org/>). Among the free resources

they provide are a basic timeline of events and the searchable *Holocaust Encyclopedia*.

Revisions of the Syllabus. This version of the syllabus was drafted on September 12, 2019. From time to time, new versions of the syllabus will be posted on Moodle.

CLASS SCHEDULE

UNIT I: The Past, History, and Historiography

September 5: Mosse, *Confronting History*, 113-128; entries on “Introduction to the Holocaust” and “Quakers” in *Holocaust Encyclopedia* (Online).

September 12: Dwork and Van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946*, xi-xv; Culler, *Literary Theory*, 83-94; Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem and Mine,” 524-542.

UNIT II: Berlin, 1938

September 19: Jones, “Our Day in the German Gestapo,” 265-267; George Walton to Frank Aydelotte, Dec. 31, 1938; Jones and Walton, “Germany through Quaker Eyes;” Rufus Jones to Clarence Pickett, Dec. 13, 1938.

September 26: Vining, *Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones*, 280-293; Regan, *Rufus Jones and the Gestapo: A Play*, entire.

October 3: Aiken, “The American Friends Service Committee’s Mission to the Gestapo,” 209-231; Zimmer, *She Has Her Mother’s Laugh*, 67-106.

October 10: AFSC Primary Sources through 1938 (1933, 1934, and Direct Leadup to the 1938 Delegation), entire. [Booth and others, *The Craft of Research*, 107-154.]

October 17: NO CLASS (FALL BREAK)

October 24: See unit IV.

October 25: First paper due.

UNIT III: Quakers’ Response to the Holocaust

October 24: Genizi, *American Apathy*, 172-214; McDaniel and Juyle, *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship*, 361-386; Cadbury, “Quakers and Peace” (Nobel Lecture in Peace 1947), entire. [Williams and Bizup, *Style*, “Lessons 1 and 2”; University of Chicago Press, *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 741-890 (Chapter 14)].

October 31: Nawyn, *American Protestantism’s Response to Germany’s Jews and Refugees, 1933-1941*, 107-136; Schmitt, *Quakers and Nazis*, 103-141; *New York Times*, “Urges Good Will by Jews,” entire; Bacon, *Let This Life Speak*, 103-105.

November 7: *Archives of the Holocaust* (selections), 1940-1945, entire; Friends Relief Service, "Report on Belsen Camp," in *Archives of the Holocaust*; Pickett, *For More than Bread*, 185-210 [Booth and others, *The Craft of Research*, 189-213].

November 14; Carter, "The Quaker International Center in Berlin, 1920-1942, entire; Kenworthy, *An American Quaker Inside Nazi Germany*, 20-55; Schmitt, *Quakers and Nazis*, 165-204. [Williams and Bizup, *Style*, Lessons 3 and 4].

November 20: Take home exam due by 11:00 pm.

UNIT IV: Americans' Response to the Holocaust

November 21: "Americans and the Holocaust," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum online exhibit; Wyman, *Paper Walls*, 209-213; Breitman and Lichtman, *FDR and the Jews*, 1-7 and 142-160.

November 28: SO-CALLED THANKSGIVING DAY (NO CLASS)

December 5: Burns and Joukowsky, *Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War*, entire; Pressman, *50 Children: The Rescue Mission of Mr. and Mrs. Kraus*, entire.

December 12: Student presentations. Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower*, 103-132; Marrus, *Lessons of the Holocaust*, 137-160.

December 13: Revised Papers Due. [Booth and others, *The Craft of Research*, 248-267].

December 13: Extra Credit Papers Due.

December 20: Final Paper Due by 12:00 pm (noon).

Bibliography

I have divided the bibliography into two sections: required readings and suggested readings. First, I have listed citations for the required readings. Afterwards, I have listed suggestions for further reading. By no means is the latter list exhaustive.

Required and Recommended Readings

- Aiken, Guy. "The American Friends Service Committee's Mission to the Gestapo." *Peace and Change* 42 no. 2 (April 2017): 209-231.
- Bacon, Margaret Hope. *Let This Life Speak: The Legacy of Henry Joel Cadbury*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Booth, Wayne, Gregory Colomb, Joseph M. Williams, Joseph Bizup, and William T. Fitzgerald. *The Craft of Research*. 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Breitman, Richard, and Allan J. Lichtman. *FDR and the Jews*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Burns, Ken and Artemis Joukowsky, directors. *Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War*. Arlington, VA: PBS Distribution, 2016.
- Cadbury, Henry J. "Quakers and Peace." Speech, Oslo, Norway, December 12, 1947. The Nobel Prize. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1947/friends-committee/lecture/>.
- Carter, J. Roger. "The Quaker International Centre in Berlin, 1920-1942." *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 56, no. 1 (1990): 15-31, <http://journals.sas.ac.uk/index.php/fhs/issue/view/503>.
- Culler, Jonathan. *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Dwork, Deborah, and Robert Jan van Pelt. *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2012.
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- Jones, Rufus. "Our Day in the German Gestapo." *American Friend*, July 10, 1947.
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- Kenworthy, Leonard S. *An American Quaker inside Nazi Germany: Another Dimension of the Holocaust*. Kennett Square, PA: Quaker Publications, 1982.
- Marrus, Michael R. *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- McDaniel, Donna and Vanessa Juyle. *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship: Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia: Quaker Press, 2009.
- Mosse, George L. *Confronting History: A Memoir*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. Project MUSE.
- Nawyn, William E. "The Quakers and the American Friends Service Committee" in *American Protestantism's Response to Germany's Jews and Refugees, 1933-1941*, 107-136. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- New York Times*. "Urges Good Will by Jews for Nazis: Prof. Cadbury of Society of Friends Says It Will Gain More Than Will Hate; Decries Boycott as War; Dr. Goldenson Tells Session of Rabbis a Minority Must not Use Tactics of Foes." June 15, 1934. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Norwood, Stephen H. *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Pressman, Steven, writer and director. *50 Children: The Rescue Mission of Mr. & Mrs. Kraus*. Los Angeles: Seventh Art Releasing, 2013.
- Pickett, Clarence. *For More Than Bread: An Autobiographical Account of Twenty-two Years' Work with the American Friends Service Committee*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953.

- Regan, Rosaline. *Rufus Jones and the Gestapo: A Play*. N.p: 1953. Reprint from *American Friend*.
- Schmitt, Hans A. *Quakers and Nazis: Inner Light in Outer Darkness*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997.
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- Walton, George A. Papers. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.
- Walton, George A. To Frank Aydelotte, December 31, 1938. George A. Walton Papers. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.
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- Young, James E. "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem□and Mine." In *Lessons and Legacies IV: New Currents in Holocaust Research*, edited by Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, 524-542. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004.
- Zimmer, Carl. *She Has Her Mother's Laugh: The Powers, Perversions, and Potential of Heredity*. New York: Dutton, 2018.

Suggestions for Further Reading

- Aiken, Guy. "Social Christianity and the American Friends Service Committee's Pacifist Humanitarianism in Germany and Appalachia, 1919-1941." PhD diss. University of Virginia, 2017.
https://libra2.lib.virginia.edu/downloads/f1881m0ob?filename=1_Aiken_Guy_2017_PHD.pdf.
- Appelbaum, Patricia Faith. *Kingdom to Commune: Protestant Pacifist Culture between World War I and the Vietnam Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
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- American Friends Service Committee. *Creative Experience in International Relations*. Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1936.
- Austin, Allan W. *Quaker Brotherhood: Interracial Activism and the American Friends Service Committee, 1917-1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Baker, Nicholson. *The Way the World Works: Essays*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
- Baker, Nicholson. *Human Smoke: The Beginnings of World War II, the End of Civilization*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008.
- Barnett, Victoria J. *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Barnett, Victoria J. *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Bergen, Doris L. *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. "After Ten Years: An Account at the Turn of the Year 1942-1943." In *After Ten Years: Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Our Times*, 17-34. Edited by Victoria J. Barnett. Translated by Barbara and Martin Rumscheidt. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2017.
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“Declaration from the Harmless & Innocent People of God Called Quakers.” November 21, 1660.

Edelheit, Abraham J. “Historiography of the Holocaust.” In *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, edited by Israel Gutman. New York: Macmillan, 1994.

Fell, Margaret. *A Declaration and an Information from Us the People of God Called Quakers, to the Present Governors, the Kings, and Both Houses of Parliament, and All whom It May Concern*. London: Thomas Simmons and Robert Wilson, 1660.

Fogu, Claudio, Wulf Kansteiner, and Todd Samuel Presner, eds. *Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Fox, George. *A Declaration from the Harmless & Innocent People of God, called Quakers Against All Seditious Plotters & Fighters in the World: For the removing of the Ground of Jealousie and Suspicion from both Magistrates and People in the Kingdome, concerning Wars and Fightings*. N.p: [1680?].

Friedlander, Henry, Sybil Milton, eds. *Archives of the Holocaust: An International Collection of Selected Documents*. 22 vols. New York: Garland, 1990–1995.

“Friends’ Society Sends Mission to Intercede for German Jews.” *Philadelphia Record*. December 5, 1938.

Fuchs, Emil. *Christ in Catastrophe*. Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1949.

Gushee, David, P. *Righteous Gentiles of the Holocaust: Genocide and Moral Obligation*. New York: Paragon House, 2003.

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Hayes, Peter. *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2017.

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McCullough, David G., Martin Ostrow, and Hal Linden. *America and the Holocaust*. Shanachie, N.J : Shanachie Entertainment Corp, 2002.

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