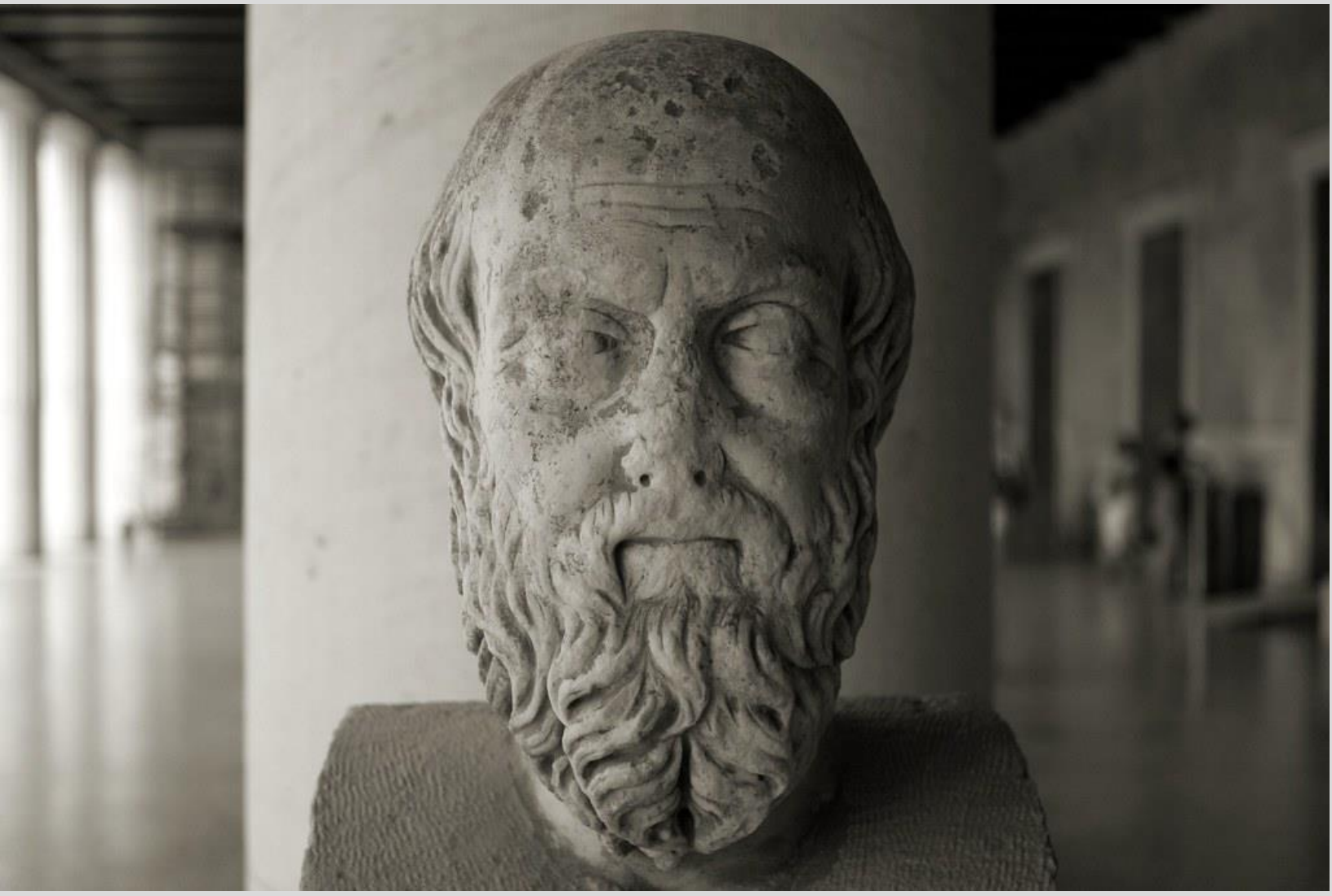
Doing History: A Guide to Writing in the History Discipline



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INTRODUCTION

What is a historian? If you do not know, you are hardly alone. Often people treat historians like walking Wikipedia pages. A question one once asked me, "What does the 'D' in D-Day stand for?" Another, "You are a military historian? Really? Who pays you for that?" Good point. If historians are walking encyclopedias and these are now only a google search away, why do we need historians?

The short answer: Historians do not simply chronicle the past. They engage it. They seek new sources. They test old interpretations. They devise fresh ones, based on all available evidence, that resonate today. They look for meaning that helps us better understand then and now.

West Chester University history majors are passionate about the past. They engage with it in books, movies, video games and museums. They anticipate their history classes. They enjoy their teachers' narratives. They easily recall the details they study. They prove themselves to be outstanding consumers of history. The history department applauds this. Professors appreciate the enthusiasm students display for their life's work. It will help them make the transition from consumers of the past to producers of history.

Think about sports or music. Many participate in these, but on different levels. One level of engagement is possible by being a fan. Fans are passionate consumers. Consider the game of baseball. Many in our area love the Philadelphia Phillies. They pay to watch the team play. They are knowledgeable about the team and enjoy going to the ballpark. They find it all rewarding.

So too do the players. They participate, however, on a different level. While players might enjoy consuming the game from the dugout, they leave their seats and step out on the field. They are paid to produce the game of baseball. Their passion and dedication to mastering the necessary skill set renders them professionals. The enjoyment of baseball might be equally shared by fans and players, but the expectations for the contributions of each differ markedly. Players produce. Fans need only cheer, or boo. A chief goal of a formal education in History is to move students from fan to player, from consumers of history to producers of history.

Writing is essential to the production of history. Yet it is difficult. It requires historians to make choices. Think about it. One of the most pivotal days in recent history transpired on 11 September 2001. Where does one start the story of that day? Where does one end it? Whose point of view should drive the narrative? A comprehensive account would constitute an objective one. Is this possible? Could one write a comprehensible history, a truly objective one, by utilizing, unedited, every participant's version of what happened that day? And 11 September 2001 represents only one day. How might one write an objective history of World War II, for example? Is it possible, or even valuable, to produce a history of the Second World War that omits nothing? **The historian's inevitable selection of experiences and information involved in the historical process results is subjective decision making**. For example, in citing the causes of September 11th, one might trace the origins to the end of the Cold War while another might go back to the end of World War I. Which is it? And whose voices should one privilege in an analysis of the day itself? First Responders (from Washington, DC, New York City or western Pennsylvania?), United States officials, al Qaeda, the American public?

Writing history means making choices. That does not equate it to fictional writing. Historians need to base their accounts on evidence. This is more difficult then it appears. **The evidence historians access is always limited and often contradictory**. One more time, think about September 11th. The event is relatively recent, many alive today remember how it impacted them.

To what extent do memories change over time? How does one's self identity, political, religious or national, shape recollections? What about proximity? One who directly escaped the attacks or who lost a loved one will likely possess a different perspective than one who witnessed the events on television. They all must be weighed against one another while considering official sources, newspapers, government reports and statements made by their belligerents and supporters.

The resulting narrative is informed by all possible sources. Based on the author's analysis, however, it does not utilize them all equally. If it did, there would be no interpretation, just a chronicle from multiple points of view. This offers no lesson. Simply listing all the possible causes of the attacks on September 11th, without weighing the credibility of sources to identify the most plausible cause, leads to a history that is both lazy and meaningless. If history aims to enable us to learn from the past, **historians are responsible for identifying the appropriate lessons. They work to analyze, not simply describe**.

Students often do well in high school history classes largely by memorizing and chronicling "the facts." Questioning these facts, these inherited stories, these chronicled accounts of what happened is what leads to producing history. One that

is **analytical, plausible, defensible and useable**. The past is elusive. Its connection to the present even more so. Doing history is active, not passive. This means rolling up one's sleeves and getting to work. Little will ever prove more gratifying (except perhaps hitting a walk off home run!).

PROCESS OF PRODUCTION: READING AND WRITING AS A HISTORIAN

Producers of history are first and foremost critical readers and critical writers. Yet reading and writing in history is different than reading and writing in other disciplines and domains. In particular, great historians develop some core dispositions:

- Historians are selective of the evidence that informs their assertions and arguments
- Historians develop thesis arguments that are the result of historical research, not the starting point for that research
- Historians read primary and secondary source material critically
- Historians are aware of their subjective biases and try to counter these biases through peer review
- Historians engage in thorough citation practices

Historical production involves selection and subjectivity. It constitutes an argument. This resembles the work of an attorney. In courtrooms lawyers make an opening argument (guilty or innocent), they utilize evidence to support their assertions (smoking gun helps!) and they cross examine witnesses. They conclude by addressing the significance of their case – the so what of it all (go to jail or be free!).

Attorneys essentially act as historians of the recent past. They confront many of the same issues – missing evidence, conflicting eye witness accounts, a skeptical audience (jury). They cannot invent evidence. Nor can they operate according to their own rules (I object!). They must render persuasive versions of the past in an engaging way even as their opponents, utilizing the same evidence and operating under the same rules, argue for opposite interpretations.

A thesis statement serves as the opening argument for historians. A thesis is a carefully considered assertion that authors state clearly and concisely early in their works (first paragraph or first section, depending on length). This enables readers to follow the argument from the onset. The thesis must be original. Taking another's argument as one's own is dishonest and intellectually lazy. To devise an opening argument, then, one must be familiar with what other historians say about the topic. Historians, therefore, develop thesis arguments that are the result of historical research, not the starting point for that research. This is referred to as historiography.

Think about it this way. If one encountered a group of people, midway through a discussion, one would wait to interject, listening to understand the conversation's context. This would allow them to contribute to the conversation by saying something new. Historiography is similar. Why write something readers can find elsewhere?

Take America's use of the atomic bomb to end its war against Imperial Japan in 1945. Prior to taking a position on the reason or the wisdom, as examples, for the

United States dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, one needs to consult the arguments already existent from other historians. After surveying these, one would then turn to the primary sources, materials from the time period, to consider the validity of the various positions historians assume.
A new thesis might contest existing interpretations by citing new evidence. Perhaps documents became available recently that offer new insights into U.S. President Harry S. Truman's decision. These might include private correspondence between Truman and a friend or a newly declassified communication between the president and his advisors. A new thesis might also derive from reviewing long available evidence that suggests the need for a new interpretation.

Historians read primary and secondary source material critically, and historical research requires two levels of reading. The first occurs at the secondary level. What do historians say about Truman's decision to drop the bomb? Students must examine this literature, paying close attention to the arguments on both sides. Who is the author? What qualifies an author to write about the subject? What sources does the author use? Does the author support key assertions with evidence? Does the author interrogate the sources – check them against one another, look for any inconsistencies in the stories they tell?

The next level of reading requires ones writing history to seek out the primary sources available. These include oral history interviews, memoirs, documents, film, even artifacts. They all require careful examination that involves checking one source against all possible others to ensure collaboration. Of course, this is all time consuming.

Yet it is vital. How might a historian render a credible interpretation of the past by simply taking one source's word for it? How might one be sure about the veracity of any view point without testing the validity of the ones that oppose it? After all, in real life, most people would likely not buy an automobile based solely on the opinion provided by a single sales person. Why then would a historian offer an interpretation of the past, one that suggests important lessons, by drawing on a singular point of view?

Historians cannot escape the constraints placed on them by the context of their time (How did September 11th 2001 impact the way military historians view topics such as terrorism and counterinsurgency?). Moreover, historians are people. They are products of their identities and construct history accordingly. They **act as checks on one another by engaging in a peer review process.** This includes checking one another's citations. They want to know their peers are abiding by the rules. Especially in an era of "fake news," maintaining the profession's credibility is imperative.

All professions maintain standards. They endorse certain techniques and tools as representing "best practices." Automobile mechanics, for example, utilize specialized tools for the jobs they perform. They are trained to employ their tools in ways that enable them to meet industry standards. Cutting corners risks losing credentials, careers and customers.

It is little different for historians. Remember, they practice a craft that is selective, subjective and contested. When they make an assertion, they better manage to support it. This requires **historians to engage in thorough citation practices**. It

involves both notes (end or foot) and a bibliography. Historians use notes to reference their text directly, typically in Turabian Style. If they make an assertion about their topic (President Truman's rationale for dropping the bomb derived from his desire to end the war.), they need to support it with cited evidence (such as Truman's memoir).

Of course, not all sources are equal and they all require cross checking. The more evidence one might cite to support a position the better. Citing only Truman's memoirs means the historian is accepting the president's rationale at face value. It ignores possible motives Truman possessed for framing his decision and assumes the validity of both his memory and point of view. The credibility of Truman's memoir as evidence, however, might be enhanced by the historian's use of other sources (government documents, private diary, correspondence, etc.) that corroborate Truman's story.

Great historians also carefully scrutinize the citations and references of others as they read source material. As critical readers and writers, historians seldom accept cited information at face-value. Instead, historians follow-up on cited material to determine the reliability and limitations of the citation being provided. Here's an example of why this is so important:

Shaken and Stirred: Dr. Kodosky's top secret past?
Dr. Kodosky (WCU history) once presented his work on counterinsurgency during the Vietnam War to a gathering of policy makers which included former CIA and KGB officers. Following his talk, Dr. Kodosky spoke with a number of attendees about the conference agenda, which was the history of intelligence analysis in Vietnam. These

attendees included former KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin and Historian Xiaobing Li. Dr. Kodosky learned later that in his book, Voices from the Vietnam War (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 2010), Professor Li lists Dr. Kodosky in his first endnote to chapter 10 as a former KGB operative in the Vietnam War. This seemingly honest mistake reveals how historians who take on un-careful citation practices begin to spread misinformation among communities of historians. This is especially problematic once new authors begin to cite erroneous citations from other historians.The confusion over Dr. Kodosky and Kalugin continues in Beyond the Quagmire: New Interpretations of the Vietnam War (University of North Texas, 2019) by Geoffrey W. Jensen and Matthew M. Stith, which also includes a citation of Kodosky as former KGB. The professor is beginning to believe it all now himself, adopting the title of Agent 000, "Licensed to Chill." Don't believe anything you read!

As the example above illustrates, a good historian must be both a critical reader and writer that carefully cites accurate written information, and perhaps even more importantly—doesn't take the cited claims of others at face-value. The historian is always checking and re-checking cited claims with tenacious scrutiny.

If notes support assertions in the text, why is a bibliography necessary? Simply put: bibliographies reveal that the author did one's homework. While notes connect directly to the text, the bibliography lists all the sources the author consulted while doing the work, primary and secondary. It conveys to readers the comprehensiveness of the author's research. Again, history is evidence-focused writing. Claims and assertions historians make must derive from evidence and, according to the professional standard, this must be cited as guided by the latest edition of Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses and*

Dissertations. Auto mechanics use their manuals, historians do as well. Regardless of the profession, the standard is the standard. This constitutes more than just an academic exercise.

THE PRODUCTS:
COMMON GENRES OF WRITING IN HISTORY

There are three types of essays historians use most frequently to produce history: book reviews, historiographical essays, and original research essays. Understanding the workings of each helps students move from consumers to producers of history.

Book reviews:

Historians review one another's work to suggest if and how it contributes to the existing body of literature. This genre in itself is one of the chief ways that historians practice peer review and scrutiny of historic accounts. What's essential to understand about book reviews is that they are not simply summaries of a work, rather, they offer commentary on the historical account. Book reviews cannot do this by considering a book within a vacuum. They must situate it within the historiography, works by other historians that examine the same topic.

If you're asked to review a book or other work in a history class, some important questions great reviewers ask include:

- "What does this book add to understanding the topic?"
- "Is it worth the read?" "For who?"
- "What are the merits of the book's analysis?"
- "What is missing?"
- "What appears misguided?"

- "Who is the author?"
- "What types of evidence does the writer use to support one's arguments?"
- "What biases doe the author exhibit?"

As you may be able to surmise from the above questions, book reviews in history require more effort and research than simply reading the book under review. As you develop reviews yourself, take the time to do relevant secondary research that will support you in answering the above questions before you take to drafting a review.

In professional journals, whatever the length of the book, book reviews run from 800 to 1000 words. This means reviewers must be concise. The reviewer's judgement of the book serves as the thesis and gains support from judicious citation. It is imperative that the reviewer place the book in its historiographical context by citing other works that are similar. Equally essential, in conclusion, the reviewer should address the question of so what? – what is this book's significance?

Let's take a look at an actual book review published in the journal *Pennsylvania History* to observe how this genre works:

NOTES

1. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 19.
2. Flight 93 Memorial Blog website: https://www.911memorial.org/blog/flight-93-memorial-finalizing-oral-histories.
3. See the virtual tour at https://www.nps.gov/flni/learn/photosmultimedia/virtualtour.htm.

Mark Bowden. *Huế 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017. 610 pp. Paper, $30.00.

War is hell. And "hell sucks." Vietnam War correspondent Michael Herr observed this in 1968. Mark Bowden, author of *Black Hawk Down*, confirms it in *Huế 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam*. He also does something else. He reveals the hell that Huế became resulted largely from decisions made by American and Vietnamese officials.

Delusion drove policies. This made them lethal. The Battle of Huế extinguished thousands of lives. From the perspective of "nearly half a century," however, this appears as a "tragic and meaningless waste," one that Bowden contends should elicit "permanent caution" about war for any but "the most immediate, direct, and vital national interest" (526). The case is compelling. *Huế 1968* offers a riveting read. It possesses the urgency of a novel even as it shatters the "conspiracy of denial" around the battle (520). It does this by drawing on a variety of American and Vietnamese perspectives that Bowden sought out by interviewing numerous participants on all sides, both in the United States and in Vietnam. He puts these, along with reports from the time, to good use. He ably chronicles the battle's details while demonstrating how Americans and others perceived them in real time. "Modern war," he suggests, "is as much about perception as about reality" (543).

The insight informs Bowden's approach and renders the horrors of Huế as incomprehensible. Certainly, they resonate as more macabre then any fiction might yield. This includes the exploits of US Marine Corps Lieutenant Allen Courtney, one who Bowden identifies as "the kind of man for whom war seemed invented" (362). Following a firefight where marines under Courtney's command fought off an attack, a search began for a particular casualty suffered by the enemy, likely a Chinese advisor. The marines found the corpse where Courtney placed it, on a bridge, on a chair, legs crossed with a cigar in its mouth, and a copy of *Playboy* magazine draped across its

Note that many book reviews begin with a full citation of the work being reviewed rather than a title or the reviewer's name.

It is helpful to include additional details about the author, in this case that Bowden also wrote *Black Hawk Down*.

Notice here how the reviewer makes a short claim about the quality of the work—that it "offers a riveting read" with "the urgency of a novel" but this short assertion is then supported with specific details about the work and how it does this. In this case, "by drawing on a variety of American and Vietnamese perspectives…sought out by interviewing numerous participants" and "ably chronicles the battle's details while demonstrating how Americans and others perceived them in real time." These details help the reviewer focus on the quality of the history rather than summarizing it.

A great review finds a way to quickly engaged readers in the conversation of concern in the work and also summarizes the overarching assertion of the work being reviewed—the author's purpose/thesis

Note here how quotations are used sparingly—only to point to specific uses of language that are particularly revealing. Such specifics also cite applicable page numbers parenthetically, in this case Bowden's quote appears on page 362.

lap. Courtney's superiors decided that bringing out visiting journalist Walter Cronkite for a look around stood as "ill-advised" and called for a court martial (363). Courtney's men? They "loved him" (363).

Bowden is not one-sided in chronicling the battle's many atrocities. There exists "blame enough for both sides" (455). Viet Cong soldiers, for example, targeted the city's Vietnamese American toddlers, identifying them as future imperialists. They terminated these young lives by swinging their tiny bodies by the heels and crushing their heads against walls. Terror dictated perversity as an acceptable response. Bowden describes American soldiers who shot at a dog that had fallen in the river. They strove not to kill it, but to prolong its suffering by "keeping it from reaching the bank" (456). All this exacted an enormous toll. Nguyen Dac Xuan, a communist poet who joined the fighting in Huế "overjoyed," grew increasingly "sore and spent" from digging graves (457). Meanwhile, it became "not uncommon" for American soldiers to "reach their hands up during a mortar barrage" (380). They sought an escape from hell.

Some struggled long to find it. Bowden follows two who returned to Pennsylvania where they hardly found heaven. Richard Leflar, a young Philadelphia who ended up in Vietnam as an alternative to juvenile detention, saw the worst of what the war offered. He witnessed a gang rape and murder by his own squad. He morphed from a terrified teenager into an enthusiastic killer. He spoke to Bowden about all of this with great "remorse," working to "reconcile himself to the things he did in Vietnam, and the kind of man he became" (530). Fellow Pennsylvania Bill Erhart, wounded in Huế, returned home changed. In high school he supported the war and enlisted when he turned seventeen. After his service ended, he became a prominent antiwar activist and teacher, displaying blown up photos in his classroom he took from a Vietnamese adversary he killed.

Bowden's aim is not sensationalism. Instead, it is to utilize the Battle for Huế as an entry point to the "entire Vietnam War" (541). This stands as unprecedented. Works previously published in the United States consider the Battle for Huế in isolation. They cite it as a victory, extolling the valor of American combatants.[1] These are studies in tactics. Their celebration of American heroism is not unwarranted. There existed much of that in Huế and Bowden does not neglect it. That, though, is only part of the story.

So too on the Vietnamese side. Views contrary to communist propaganda that situates Huế as a great victory are only newly emerging.[2] As Bowden recalls from his trips to Vietnam in 2015 and 2016 to conduct interviews, it all

Topic sentences (the first sentence of body paragraphs) help reviewers control the aspects of the history they want to highlight. A good topic sentence in a review is a claim about the quality of the history, which is the focus of a good review. In this case the claim about the quality of the history is that Bowden is not one-sided" in his historicizing of the battle.

Because the topic sentence argues that Bowden's account is "not one-sided" the remainder of the paragraph now has the responsibility to show evidence of both Viet Cong and American perspectives on the battle.

Notice that as the review begins to transition toward a conclusion the reviewer begins to focus on claims about where the work stands in relation to other histories. Ultimately a review is not just a review of the work's details, but an estimation of whether the review should be regarded as new or exemplary in the wider historical discourse on the topic at hand.

proved "tricky." His Vietnamese hosts saw him as "revisiting a heroic chapter in the national struggle" while also "reopening old wounds." Many remained reluctant "to speak candidly" (528). Yet Bowden persisted. He found ones willing to talk on all sides. The resulting insights are invaluable. Not only regarding Vietnam. There, Bowden makes clear United States policy stood as "misguided and doomed" (526). He also shows that in taking Huế, a similar hubris consumed Hanoi; it "hugely overreached" (524).

None of this alleviates the hell experienced by those who participated in the Battle of Huế. It might provide a lesson, though. One that enables a similar descent. Bowden instructs, "Beware" of ones "with theories that explain everything" and trust "those who approach the world with humility and cautious insight" (526). A worthy lesson indeed.

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NOTES

1. Examples include Eric Hammel, *Fire in the Streets: The Battle for Hue, Tet 1968* (New York: Random House, 1992); Keith William Nolan, *Battle for Hue, Tet 1968* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1983); George W. Smith, *The Siege at Hue* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
2. See Nha Ca, *Morning Headband for Hue: An Account of the Battle for Hue, 1968*, trans. Olga Dror (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

Marcus Rediker. *The Fearless Benjamin Lay: The Quaker Dwarf Who Became the First Revolutionary Abolitionist*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017. 224 pp. Hardcover, $26.95.

In this impressively researched biography of Benjamin Lay, Marcus Rediker has brought to light one of the most compelling yet underrecognized abolitionists of the eighteenth century. Born in Essex, England, in 1682, Benjamin Lay was deeply influenced by the legacy of radicalism that stemmed from the English Civil War. In his youth he challenged England's economic and social hierarchy; he refused to doff his hat to social superiors and aggressively challenged those whom he felt delivered "false ministry." After initially working

A great conclusion in reviews makes a final assessment of the work under review, but also places the assessment in the context of a wider historical conversation. In this case, the reviewer suggests we can learn a "worthy lesson" about totalizing theories that "explain everything" from Bowden.

The reviewer's name and affiliation often appear at the end of a review.

To keep a review concise, a reviewer may decide to provide additional information in the form of endnotes. This helps the reviewer be thorough without weighing down the body of the review.

As we can see in the example above, reviews are an important genre for doing history—a mode of writing that helps historians review one another and gauge the affordances and limitations of an historical account. As you work on your own review, consider developing a draft that makes the moves annotated in the example above as well as some of these other writing moves:

1. Identifies early the author's credentials: "John Smith, journalist for the *New York Times…*"
2. Identifies the author's purpose/thesis: "John Smith contends that America's decision to use the atomic bomb in 1945 constituted a rational decision."
3. Places the book in context: "While others make this argument, it remains controversial." (Cite other books dealing with bomb decision in footnotes."
4. Suggests what makes, or does not make, this book different from other similar works: "This book draws on recently declassified material…"
5. Addresses evidence: "Smith often uses oral histories, but he fails to check these against the documents available."
6. Comments on strengths and weaknesses using specific examples: While Smith is often superficial in his interpretation, his style is provocative. For example…(here, quote judiciously from book, use author's words to show what you describe).
7. Identifies value for today: "This book, while dealing with a decision leaders made long ago, reminds readers of the importance that personalities play within the bureaucracy."

Historiographical Essays:

Many academic disciplines utilize a genre of writing that is sometimes referred to as a "literature review" or "strategic review" or a "meta-analysis." Because the academic discipline of History is interested in how historical assertions, narratives, facts, and accounts of developed or changed over time, many historians write a particular kind of literature review known as a Historiography essay.

While historiography refers to the wider field of history [historio-] writing [-graphy] (essentially a written historic account is considered an historiography), historiographical essays look at how these histories were developed. Such essays constitute an analysis of the existent scholarship of a topic. Historians examine the works of their peers, often as it exists across time. So, for example, a historiographical essay focused on books devoted to the origins of the Cold War would cite how interpretations have changed over time. It would also suggest why this transpired. In this case, the secondary works under scrutiny, histories of the Cold War, become primary sources that reflect how historians in the 1980s compare to their peers at other times and places in their interpretations.

A good historiographical essay strikes a complicated balance: it should not be descriptive, nor should it constitute a laundry list, simply listing book by book and summarizing what each has contributed. Instead, historiographical essays should:

- Strive to identify themes in the literature: when all of the historical source material is taken into account on the subject at hand, what themes, theories, perspectives, or camps emerge? A historiographical essay often organizes the body of the essay by such themes.

- Identify points of contention and agreement: of great value to the history reader is an identification of where there is wide agreement on a subject, and where there is debate or contention.
- Suggest where there remains work for historians to complete and make a case for its importance. Sometimes points of contention helps readers see where new historical research may be needed, other times there may simply be no concise history, records, or source material provided on a particular aspect of history and a great historiography essay identifies this material.
- Include notes and a bibliography and run the length of a journal article, typically approximately 8,000 words, though this may vary depending upon instructor assignment details.

Let's take a look at some examples of historiographical essays. First, you can read WCU History professor Dr. Éric Fournier's published historiographical essay "The Vandal Conquest of North Africa: The Origins of a Historiographical Persona" published in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Fournier reviews history concerning a Germanic tribe referred to as the Vandals and their 5th Century settlement of North Africa and subsequent threat to the Roman empire. Fournier's historiographical essay traces historic research on this Vandal conquest to reveal how contemporary narratives describe the Vandal conquest as "brutality" and "savagery" and later as a matter of Christian "persecution." Yet, Fournier, citing Courtois (1954) reveals other historic accounts of the Vandal conquest that show the event to be "the usual woes of war" and not a uniquely brutal prosecution of Catholics. the details of the event itself Below are some excerpts from WCU student Jeff Markland's 2018 essay "Historiography Essay on the Philippine-American War." You can read the full essay in Appendix A.

Jeff Markland
HIS 500
12/11/2018

Historiography Essay on the Philippine-American War

The Philippine-American war of 1899-1902 has remained a largely unspoken-of conflict in American society. Many people, even those with a decent grasp of American history, are completely unaware of the conflict and the subsequent colonial control of the Islands. In the scholarly community, the works published in the initial decades following the conflict were largely patriotic and supportive of American Colonialism, emphasizing the "civilizing mission" in the establishment of schools, roads, hospitals, and other social services while downplaying or ignoring American atrocities.[1]

Subsequent debates within the scholarly community have addressed questions regarding the outbreak of hostilities, the practice of "Benevolent Assimilation" or the "policy of attraction," the extent of American brutality and racism within the military, the American domestic attitudes on the war, and the long-term ramifications of the conflict. Starting in the 1960s, a "Critical School" began to emerge, providing negative evaluations of these questions. In response to such criticism, a "Reactionary School" emerged in the 1970s, attempting to provide more "balanced" or "mixed" evaluations of American conduct and drawing attention to the complexity of the conflict as well as American efforts at social development in the Islands.

The War

Before the Americans arrived in the Philippines, Filipino freedom fighters were waging an almost-successful revolution against their Spanish overlords. Their erstwhile leader, Emilio

[1]Charles Eliot Burke, *The Philippines to the end of the Commission Government: A Study in Tropical Democracy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917). In the preface, Eliot claimed that American involvement in the Philippines was "righteous, and we trust that it shall endure'."

Notice how the introduction paragraph in a historiography essay immediately establishes the historic event of concern and provides a justification for discussing this event, in this case because it "has remained a largely unspoken-of-conflict" and scholarly works on the event "were largely patriotic and supportive of American Colonialism"

Since a historiographical essay focuses on reviewing relevant history scholarship on a given event, an introduction paragraph or introduction section also provides a summative overview of the themes or camps of scholarship on the subject. In this essay will learn of three schools of scholarship relating to the Philippine-American War

The use of section headings with succinct titles helps writers control the themes of their historiographical review. In this case, the author is beginning with a section that summarizes the event.

Aguinaldo, had been forced to accept a deal with Spain in which he left the country. After the Americans arrived in Manila and destroyed the Spanish fleet, they sent for him and brought him back to the Philippines, where he declared Filipino independence and commissioned a constitution for his Republic at the city of Malolos. His revolutionary troops gradually extended control over the archipelago while American forces held the city of Manila. President McKinley, however, eventually decided to annex the Philippines and issued his "Benevolent Assimilation"[2] proclamation following the Treaty of Paris in December of 1898. This dramatically soured relations with the Filipinos, who at one point were grateful for American assistance. Meetings to diffuse tension were fruitless, and the war began in Manila on the night of February 4th, 1899, after an American soldier fired upon Filipino Revolutionaries when they refused to stand down.

The Americans began a conventional war against Aguinaldo's revolutionary forces and gradually extended their control throughout the islands. The Filipino Revolutionaries could not resist the superior American military and eventually changed tactics to conduct a guerilla campaign. This greatly complicated American efforts, which were based in part on social welfare policies, and spurned more aggressive pacification approaches that were punctuated by war crimes including torture, property destruction, and murder. Despite going into hiding, Aguinaldo was captured by American forces in March of 1901 and subsequently appealed to his troops to stand down and accept American authority. However, resistance persisted, and culminated in the so-called Balangiga Massacre of September 28 in which 50 American soldiers were killed on the island of Samar as they ate their breakfast. General Jacob H. Smith ordered Major Littleton

[2] "McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation," Philippine Culture, accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/benevolent.html. The proclamation promised the "mild sway of justice" and protection of the rights and freedoms of the Filipino people in so far as they submitted to American rule. This document would partially underline the basis for American pacification efforts in which social welfare efforts such as education, sanitation services, health care, municipal government, and local policing were implemented.

Historiography essays often begin with a section that summarizes the event. Just as an analysis of a poem would begin by discussing what the poem is about, an analysis of history often begins by summarizing the event itself. To write a concise summary consider answering the questions: Who? What? Where? When? Why? and How? about the event for your readers.

Note that historic writing maintains past tense: "Emilio Aguinaldo, had been forced," "the Americans arrived," "President McKinley…event ually decided."

Writers of history have to also be very careful about the verbs and adjectives they use to describe an event. In this case to call the American approach a "conventional war" that the Filipino Revolutionaries "could not resist" are very particular ways of narrating the invasion.

Waller to pacify the island without mercy, even ordering the deaths of all males over 10 years old. In the Batangas province on the island of Luzon, General J. Franklin Bell began the "reconcentration" policy in which civilians were forced into camps in order to implement a scorched earth campaign, killing and destroying everything and everyone outside the permitted area. The reconcentration policy caused a cholera epidemic that killed tens of thousands at a minimum. Filipino resistance gradually crumbled, and President Roosevelt officially declared the war's end on July 4, 1902. The United States would retain colonial authority over the islands until their independence in 1946. As a result of the conflict, approximately 250,000 Filipinos were killed.

The Critical School: Filipino Nationalism, the "New Left," and Vietnam

Criticism of the American endeavor in the islands began to emerge in the 1960s. Filipino scholars addressed the topic from a nationalist perspective, presenting critical evaluations of American policy and its detrimental effects on Filipino culture. Meanwhile, in the United States, critical perspectives began emerge during the advent of the "New Left" in American political and social thought. The start of the Vietnam War in 1965 and the ensuing controversy over American war crimes also became a lens through which interpretations were filtered.

In the 1960s, Filipino scholars Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero wrote from a nationalist perspective, addressing American duplicity and arguing that the war's outbreak could have been avoided if the Americans did not refuse Aguinaldo's pleas for détente. They also implied that naval deployments in the preceding days indicate that the Americans were planning an attack. In addressing "benevolent assimilation" and the long term effects of colonialism they acknowledged improvements to Filipino society but concluded that it result in the degradation of Filipino culture. The Filipino historian Renato Constantino also emphasized

A new section heading marks the end of the author's summary of the historic event and the beginning of a review of literature pertaining to the war. In this case, the author has themed the paper around schools of thought about the war, starting with what he has dubbed "The Critical School."

Notice how the author begins this review of literature pertaining to "The Critical School" by first summarizing what this perspective on the Philippine-American War entails. This paragraph asserts that such a school of thought exists.

To support the assertion that a critical school of thought about this war exists, the author cites key historians that are representative of this view and summaries the claims of those historians. This pattern continues for several pages until the theme has be thoroughly reviewed.

religious paternalism and condescending racism of the "white man's burden," but even their opponents in the Anti-Imperialist league were often supportive of the "informal" imperialism of economic domination and were frequently themselves "race-haters."[8] In the Philippines, the military officials were incompetent diplomats who intentionally started the war and conducted a brutal pacification campaign in a "lawless spirit" reminiscent of the Indian Wars. The war concluded shortly after the atrocities committed on Samar and in the Batangas province, and the American public briefly reacted in horror before quickly suppressing its memory and pretending that the war never happened. Miller refers to this as the "triumph" of American innocence. In a final condemnation, he stated the Philippine War had been akin to the infamous Mylai massacre in 1968, in which American forces slaughtered an entire Vietnamese village and buried them in a mass grave.[9] *Benevolent Assimilation* has remained the touchstone work in this school, drawing strong praise and sharp criticism.

The Response from the Reactionary School

In response to the growing body of criticism, the "Reactionary School" emerged in the early 1970s. Largely presented by military historians, this school did not attempt to deny American atrocities but instead placed them within the war's wider context, presenting a

Note how the next theme is marked by a new section heading, and the leading paragraph of this new section makes clear its relation to the previous section or theme. In this case the "Reactionary School" tries to re-contextualize the historiographies made by the "Critical School."

[8]Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-12, 15-24, 119, 123. Miller's work blends social, political, and military history, effectively synthesizing works akin to Wolff's *Little Brown Brother*, Roth's *Muddy Glory*, and Welch's *Response to Imperialism*.

[9] Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation,* 55-56, 58-62, 188, 253, 267. Citing the U.S. Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain,* vol. 2, 846-48, Miller opposed the claim that the war started due to an unfortunate, accidental exchange of fire, claiming that "a much better case can be made for indicting General Otis and the U.S. army for starting the war. It is easy enough to gather evidence that these soldiers, from privates to generals, were 'just itching to get at the niggers.'" He outlined American reconnaissance, troop positioning, and hardheaded demands made against the Filipinos to bolster this point (58-62). Miller also claimed that correspondence from American troops indicates that "clearly these soldiers had been ordered to take no prisoners and to kill the wounded (188)." He also wrote that "when the [imperialist] dream soured, the American people neither reacted with very much indignation, nor did they seem to retreat to their cherished political principles. If anything, they seemed to take their cues from their leader in the White House by first putting out of mind all the sordid episodes in the conquest, and then forgetting the entire war itself (253)."

conflicting blend of American "benevolence" and misrule. Like the Critical School, these perspectives in scholarship have also persisted until the present day due to the increasing ubiquity of critical views on American foreign policy.

A common criticism stemming from the Reactionary School is that Critical scholarship focuses exclusively on American crimes in the Philippines while ignoring the effectiveness of the "policy of attraction," which stemmed from McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation. John Morgan Gates detailed the social development efforts undertaken by American soldiers in Manila, claiming that their work in instituting sanitation systems, health services, education, a judicial system, and commerce greatly improved the city and mirrored the work of progressive reformers in the United States. Peter W. Stanley focused on American civil governance in the islands and its relationship with the Filipino elites, or *ilustrados*, and demonstrated how many of them tentatively welcomed American rule since they believed that "an independent sovereign Philippine state was at the present time neither possible nor desirable" due to the diverse and disjointed nature of the islands. He also claimed that the policy of attraction produced a "happy confluence of American and Filipino ideals." Both Gates and Stanley concluded that the policy of attraction was effective in part because it overlapped with the goals of the Filipino Revolutionaries in their earlier resistance to Spain.[10]

Brian McAllister Linn claimed that the policy of attraction was meant to win the hearts of the Filipinos and detailed how benevolent policies such as education and municipal development were effective in separating civilians from guerrilla bands, earning the allegiance of the former

[10] John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973), 54-67, 276. This work is included in the series "Contributions to Military History." Gates served in the United States Army from 1961-1963, and his academic career included a visiting professorship at the Military Academy at West Point from 1995-1996. It is worth noting that Gates highlighted the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and upper-middle class nature of the troops (67); Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 59, 75-76, 268-269. His treatment of events during the war is primarily a political history.

Because readers of this essay now have knowledge of the "Critical School" from the prior section, the author can begin to place the two themes or schools in conversation with one another. Note here how the author is not just explaining the "Reactionary School" but explaining it in relation to the "Critical School." This mode of writing is sometimes referred to as "juxtaposition."

Historiographical essays strive to make clear where there are areas of agreement or disagreement within a theme. This can be done by juxtaposing sources and showing where they overlap as the author does with Gates and Stanley here.

consumerism, thus civilizing the natives and aiding the acceptance of American imperial control.[17]

Conclusion

In the early days of Philippine-American War historiography, scholars were largely supportive of the American colonial project in the Philippines. This position became untenable with the advent of the Critical School in the 1960s, which condemned the affair from the perspective of Filipino nationalism and the New Left. The war in Vietnam became an interpretive lens that was embraced by some and critiqued by others, but in either case the occurrence of the Vietnam War and its relationship to the Philippine conflict became an object of scholarly discussion. More recent work has also viewed the war through the prism of a contemporary conflict, in this case the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a diverse but loosely united school, these scholars addressed the problems of American brutality, racism, and misrule in the Philippines while highlighting the supportive, apathetic, or willfully ignorant responses to the conflict in the United States. In their view, America's first foray as a global and imperial power was a disaster for both the Philippines and for America's image and integrity, and the enduring ignorance of the lessons it offers is a serious liability that must be addressed.

The Reactionary School in the early 1970s did not attempt to revive the fawning and unquestionably supportive perspectives in pre-critical scholarship but instead challenged the growing dominance of the Critical school by addressing the complexity of American

[17] Paul A. Kramer, "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War," *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 2 (April 2006): 171, 185, accessed October 12, 2018, EBSCOhost; James Grant Crawford, ""Civilize 'Em With a Krag!': Punitive Violence and the American Mission of Uplift, 1900," *Journal of the North Carolina Association of Historians* 17, (April 2009): 167, accessed October 14, 2018, EBSCOhost; Rod Paschall, "Folly in the Philippines," *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 23, no. 1 (2010): 80, 87; Allan E.S. Lumba, "Imperial Standards: Colonial Currencies, Racial Capacities, and Economic Knowledge During the Philippine-American War," *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 4 (September 2015): 604, 615-616, 622, accessed October 21, 2018, EBSCOhost.

As a historiographical essay comes to a close, the author has to re-assemble the themes into a coherent summary of the scholarship on the event in question. As we see here, the conclusion is a summary of the schools of thought that shape our understanding of the event, rather than a summary of the event itself.

These essay also pay close attention to how time and the emergence of other events changed or informed the scholarship on the event in question and helps readers see how the historiography of an event has been shaped over time.

involvement in the islands, highlighting the effectiveness of the policy of attraction and Filipino cooperation while arguing that American military behavior was not uniform and varied from benevolent to criminally brutal and abusive. While acknowledging American misbehavior, they sought to contextualize it by highlighting the nature of the conflict without immediately resorting to racism as an explanation. The ferocious pacification efforts on Samar and in the Batangas province were monstrous and deserve condemnation, but they do not fully represent American military behavior in the islands.[18]

In the final analyses, it would appear that the Critical School is winning the day. The Reactionary position is largely informed by military historians who do not have the same intellectual influence as the left-wing academics who have been continuously bolstered in their perspectives by the increasing importance of race as a category of historical analyses and the continuing fallout of America's unnecessary and highly detrimental military voyeurism abroad. Americans on both left and right have continuously grown weary of imperialism in light of global instability and a massive national debt. Thus the Critical School has remained relevant beyond the Philippine-American War, even if the general public is unaware of the conflict. On the other hand, the Reactionary School has virtually nothing to say on the debate over the wider issue American imperialism, and instead attempts to exculpate American personnel of what they see as unduly harsh charges of atrocities during the war itself. Given its emphasis, its defensive posture, and its relative insularity, it is hard to imagine that it could exceed the Critical School's influence.

Notice how the final paragraph of the conclusion looks to weigh in on which theme or school of scholarship dominates in the current moment.

Here the conclusion works to make clear why this research remains relevant and vital. The subject of a historiography, though in the past, should always be made clear to matter in the present.

[18] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 328: "After a century of portrayal largely in the context of current sensibilities, a re-evaluation of military operations during the Philippine War is long overdue. The imperialist myth of selfless Americans saving their 'little brown brothers' from the violent tyranny of Aguinaldo and the Tagalogs has long been discredited. The current view of a brutal and racist soldiery slaughtering defenseless natives has been unchallenged for far too long. The actual war was a far more complex and challenging phenomenon than either of these superficial interpretations acknowledge."

As we can see in Fornier's work on the Vandal conquest and in the expert's from Markland's work on the Phillipine-American Ward, an historiographical essay surveys what's known about a particular event and also makes clear how the themes or histories relating to that event contradict one another and change over time. As you develop your own historiographical essay, consider developing a work that:

1. Provides context regarding the historical event: "The Civil Rights movement transpired in the United States…"
2. Demonstrates how historians approached the topic over time: "Historians first grappled with the Civil Rights movement in the following works…"
3. Identifies emergent themes: "While historians first interpreted the Civil Rights movement as unique to the postwar era, over time they identified its deep roots."
4. Cites points of consensus and discord: "Historians agree that the Cold War played a role in the government supporting Civil Rights, but they disagree on the origins of this policy and also remain divided on intent."
5. Discerns where there remains required work: "The historiography pays great attention to the movement's leaders, but few works study grassroots mobilization."
6. Offers reasons why this research remains vital: "Understanding the interaction between national and local leaders instructs current efforts to mobilize."

Original Research Essay:

Perhaps the finest indication that a student has transformed from consumer of history to producer of history that student's production of original research. WCU history students are required to produce original research essays in HIS 400, the major's capstone. Doing this well demonstrates one's competencies as a historian and as a writer. This leads to admission to graduate school, law school and/or employment as a historian and educator. It represents the opportunity to showcase one's skill set, and to demonstrate one's ability to work to professional standards.

Original research essays should engage readers while making a compelling argument that is well grounded in both the existing historiography and available primary sources. Additionally, implicitly or explicitly, successful essays should render clear the value of the work. They should address the question, so what? As with historiographical essays, these pieces should include both notes and a bibliography and run the length of a journal article, approximately 8,000 words.

Generally, original research essays make some of the following moves:

- An introductory essay or introduction section is important, and includes some of these features:
    - establishes the historical event or episode that the writer will examine by providing a summative overview.
    - engages readers and makes clear why closer examination of this history is warranted or important.
    - makes a new claim or reasserts a standing claim about this history that the essay is poised to establish or defend

- The body of the original research essay, which covers the heart of the essay and space between introduction and conclusion is where the historian presents evidence that establishes or defends the historical claim being made. This includes:
    - Making sub-claims that support the primary assertion of the essay
    - Presenting new primary research findings as evidence to support sub-claims
    - Summarizing and explaining secondary research findings to support sub-claims
    - Summarizing limitations of other claims and assertions being made about the historical event or episode
    - Carefully cites and notates evidence being presented
- A concluding paragraph or conclusion section makes clear what new view readers and fellow historians ought to adopt about the historical event or episode as a result of the research that one presents in the essay.

Other important moves made in such essays:

1. Provides historical context: "America entered the Second World War following the attacks on Pearl Harbor…" (often beginning with an anecdote, a personal story of event, serves to draw reader in).
2. Offers historiographical overview: "The Second World War is well covered by historians. Works comment on diplomatic, military, social history…" (Cite representative ones in notes).
3. Argues why this research is new: "Missing remains the point of view of children whose parents fought in the war."

4. States thesis: “The experience of children varied by nation. The evidence suggests, however, that all governments worked tirelessly to educate children about the war’s aims. While some proved successful, others became counterproductive.”
5. Uses evidence to support thesis: “Despite America’s intentions, a government sponsored poll in 1944 reveals that only 25% of American children understood United States goals.” Cite evidence, utilize as many sources as possible. Do not ignore contradictory evidence (say another poll that identifies 80% of American children that understand war aims. Instead, go deeper: Why the discrepancy? Perhaps the government initiated one poll and an antiwar group initiated the other. Are there any others? How do you reconcile these different points of view?).
6. Suggests why this history matters: “Government efforts to help children understand the Second World War proved successful. The techniques officials employed offer a lesson for today as America remains engaged in a War Against Terror.”

You can review an example of an original research essay written by WCU History student Michael Weiss on the “Katyn Massacre and Polish Genocide.” You can read Weiss’s full essay in Appendix B. As you read Weiss’s essay, consider how the essay provides and original thesis and supports that thesis with original research.

WRITING HISTORY RIGHT:
COMMON MISTAKES TO AVOID IN HISTORICAL WRITING

1. Historical events occurred in the past. Avoid present tense.
    a. Bad: "At the end of World War II President Harry S. Truman decides to use the atomic bomb."
    b. Good: "President Harry S. Truman decided to use the bomb."
2. Specificity matters. Avoid generalizations. Use full names and titles at first reference.
    a. Bad: "Historians argue that America dropped the bomb to end World War II."
    b. Good: "Orthodox historians led by President Harry S. Truman biographer Robert Hugh Ferrell contend America dropped the bomb solely for the sake of ending World War II."
3. The past is the past, not the present. Analyze it on its own terms.
    a. Bad: "The Gulf of Tonkin incident proved to be the same as weapons of mass destruction in Iraq."
    b. Good: "Policy makers failed to consider all of the evidence available in the aftermath of the alleged Gulf of Tonkin incident."
4. Quote sparingly. Consider what is necessary for moving the argument forward.
    a. Bad: President Johnson remarked, "that if the situation in Viet-Nam was now so serious he wondered why the recruitment of troops and the training of police, who could become effective only a year or two hence, would be of any use."

    b. Good: President Johnson noted the situation in Vietnam as "serious" and questioned the value of further troop recruitment and police training. He wondered if this would be of "any use."
5. Use academic, not personal, voice. Otherwise it comes across as one's opinion, a belief, not an argument made from evidence. Besides, a phrase such as "I think" is redundant in expository writing.
    a. Bad: "I feel as though that America made a mistake in going to war in Vietnam."
    b. Good: "American leaders erred in escalating the nation's involvement in Vietnam."
6. Put things in context. Readers need to understand the scene or the actors make no sense.
    a. Bad: "Bush proved an outstanding commander in chief."
    b. Good: "American president George H. W. Bush, a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (1976-1977), proved to serve as an effective commander in chief."
7. Utilize active voice. Passive voice lacks the specificity history requires.
    a. Bad: "President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated." (by who? Zombies?)
    b. Good: "John Wilkes Booth, a well known American actor, assassinated President Abraham Lincoln."
8. Ensure pronouns agree with one another.
    a. Bad: "America went to war in Vietnam. They fought against communism."
    b. Good: "America went to war in Vietnam in its effort to contain communism."
9. Move prepositions to the front.

a. Bad: “President Lyndon Baines Johnson spoke in 1965 at Johns Hopkins University.”
b. Good: “In 1965 at Johns Hopkins University President Lyndon Baines Johnson addressed Vietnamese economic development.”

10. Write out the entire name of all organizations at first mention.
    a. Bad: “NATO served to defend western Europe during the Cold War.
    b. Good: “The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) served to defend western Europe during the Cold War.”

JUST DO IT: EMBRACING THE WRITING PROCESS

Then embrace re-doing it! Nobody is born a writer. Everybody benefits from proof reading. History is truly a collaborative effort. Ones who write it solicit constructive feedback. The goal is to produce the strongest version of the work possible. Students should carefully consider comments they receive from their peers and their professors. These are opportunities to develop one’s skillset. Embrace the process. Like an athlete reviewing video of one’s last game, reviewing carefully one’s previous performances renders students ready to enter the profession and pursue their passion.

Appendix A

Jeff Markland
HIS 500
12/11/2018

Historiography Essay on the Philippine-American War

The Philippine-American war of 1899-1902 has remained a largely unspoken-of conflict in American society. Many people, even those with a decent grasp of American history, are completely unaware of the conflict and the subsequent colonial control of the Islands. In the scholarly community, the works published in the initial decades following the conflict were largely patriotic and supportive of American Colonialism, emphasizing the "civilizing mission" in the establishment of schools, roads, hospitals, and other social services while downplaying or ignoring American atrocities.[1]

Subsequent debates within the scholarly community have addressed questions regarding the outbreak of hostilities, the practice of "Benevolent Assimilation" or the "policy of attraction," the extent of American brutality and racism within the military, the American domestic attitudes on the war, and the long-term ramifications of the conflict. Starting in the 1960s, a "Critical School" began to emerge, providing negative evaluations of these questions. In response to such criticism, a "Reactionary School" emerged in the 1970s, attempting to provide more "balanced" or "mixed" evaluations of American conduct and drawing attention to the complexity of the conflict as well as American efforts at social development in the Islands.

[1]Charles Eliot Burke, *The Philippines to the end of the Commission Government: A Study in Tropical Democracy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917). In the preface, Eliot claimed that American involvement in the Philippines was "righteous, and we trust that it shall endure'."

The War

Before the Americans arrived in the Philippines, Filipino freedom fighters were waging an almost-successful revolution against their Spanish overlords. Their erstwhile leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, had been forced to accept a deal with Spain in which he left the country. After the Americans arrived in Manila and destroyed the Spanish fleet, they sent for him and brought him back to the Philippines, where he declared Filipino independence and commissioned a constitution for his Republic at the city of Malolos. His revolutionary troops gradually extended control over the archipelago while American forces held the city of Manila. President McKinley, however, eventually decided to annex the Philippines and issued his "Benevolent Assimilation"[2] proclamation following the Treaty of Paris in December of 1898. This dramatically soured relations with the Filipinos, who at one point were grateful for American assistance. Meetings to diffuse tension were fruitless, and the war began in Manila on the night of February 4th, 1899, after an American soldier fired upon Filipino Revolutionaries when they refused to stand down.

The Americans began a conventional war against Aguinaldo's revolutionary forces and gradually extended their control throughout the islands. The Filipino Revolutionaries could not resist the superior American military and eventually changed tactics to conduct a guerilla campaign. This greatly complicated American efforts, which were based in part on social welfare policies, and spurned more aggressive pacification approaches that were punctuated by war crimes including torture, property destruction, and murder. Despite going into hiding, Aguinaldo

[2]"McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation," Philippine Culture, accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/benevolent.html. The proclamation promised the "mild sway of justice" and protection of the rights and freedoms of the Filipino people in so far as they submitted to American rule. This document would partially underline the basis for American pacification efforts in which social welfare efforts such as education, sanitation services, health care, municipal government, and local policing were implemented.

was captured by American forces in March of 1901 and subsequently appealed to his troops to stand down and accept American authority. However, resistance persisted, and culminated in the so-called Balangiga Massacre of September 28 in which 50 American soldiers were killed on the island of Samar as they ate their breakfast. General Jacob H. Smith ordered Major Littleton Waller to pacify the island without mercy, even ordering the deaths of all males over 10 years old. In the Batangas province on the island of Luzon, General J. Franklin Bell began the "reconcentration" policy in which civilians were forced into camps in order to implement a scorched earth campaign, killing and destroying everything and everyone outside the permitted area. The reconcentration policy caused a cholera epidemic that killed tens of thousands at a minimum. Filipino resistance gradually crumbled, and President Roosevelt officially declared the war's end on July 4, 1902. The United States would retain colonial authority over the islands until their independence in 1946. As a result of the conflict, approximately 250,000 Filipinos were killed.

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They also implied that naval deployments in the preceding days indicate that the Americans were planning an attack. In addressing "benevolent assimilation" and the long term effects of colonialism they acknowledged improvements to Filipino society but concluded that it result in the degradation of Filipino culture. The Filipino historian Renato Constantino also emphasized the long-term corruption of Filipino culture due to American education in his article "The Mis-Education of the Filipino." In the United States, author Leon Wolff's *Little Brown Brother* effectively established the Critical School in American scholarship during the rise of the New Left. The work addresses the nation's religious zeal and newfound imperialistic fervor, condemns McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation as "inept" and racist, highlights American brutality in Samar and the Batangas, and points out that the domestic response to atrocities quickly descended into apathy.[3]

Following Agoncillo, Guerrero, and Wolff, critical works on the subject started to abound in the 1970s. American scholarship increased its emphasis on American racism and brutality, and Filipino scholarship continued to emphasize Filipino nationalism. During the Vietnam War, the occurrence of another Asian campaign punctuated by American war crimes became a common – but not ubiquitous – interpretive lens. Daniel Schirmer claimed that the Philippine-American War was "the progenitor of the Vietnam War" and provided a social history of the Anti-

[3] Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People, 2nd edition* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), 259-261, 431-434, 441-443. This is a social and political history. The original edition was published in 1960. Agoncillo's and Guerrero's portrayal of Aguinaldo is, understandably, heroic; Renato Constantino, "The Mis-Education of the Filipino," in *History of the Filipino People, 2nd edition*, by Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967); Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961, 77-78,201, 357-358, 361-364. Wolff's volume blends social, political, and military history. The title comes from William H. Taft, governor of the Philippines and U.S. President from 1909-1913, who used the term to refer to the Filipinos. In the preface of the reprint edition, historian Paul A. Kramer referred to *Little Brown Brother* as the first effort to "revisit this long-abandoned history, doing so from a critical perspective." In the bibliography, Wolff wrote "the Filipinos were indeed capable of self- rule" and that "their forcible annexation was a moral wrong (365)." Another popular work on the subject is Joseph Schott, *The Ordeal of Samar* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), which covers the conflict from the Massacre at Balangiga to the end of the war.

imperialist press in Boston. Schirmer drew continuity between the American Indian wars of the 19th century and praised the Anti-imperialists as carrying a tradition of anti-racism, highlighting their failure in order to spurn contemporary resistance to the Vietnam War.[4] Filipino scholars Renato and Leticia Constantino likewise claimed that the Philippine-American War was "the original Vietnamization" due to practices of torture such as the "water cure" and social engineering policies such as reconcentration, which resulted in widespread epidemics. The Constatinos claimed the war would bring about Filipino unity and wrote their social history to counteract the long-term effects of American Colonial historiography.[5]

Subsequent critical histories published in the 1970s and 1980s were ambivalent about the characterization of the Philippine-American War as a sort of proto-Vietnam. Willard B. Gatewood Jr. avoided the characterization while Richard E. Welch critiqued it, and journalist Russell Roth claimed that contemporary Asian policy grew out of ignorance of the earlier conflict.[6] Regardless, these works touch upon American racism and brutality as well as the domestic American response. Gatewood's study focuses on African Americans in the war and at

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[4] Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books, Inc., 1972), 3, 32, 256. A similar work of parallelism is Luzviminda Francisco, "The First Vietnam: The U.S.-Philippine War of 1899," in *The Philippine Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*, ed. Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Rosskamm Shalom (Boston: South End Press, 1987). This article was originally published in 1973. According to Walter LaFeber, Schirmer offered to donate the proceeds of his book to New England Vietnam War Veterans. See Walter LeFeber, review of *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War*, by Daniel B. Schirmer, *Journal of American History* 59, no. 4 (March 1973), 1023.

[5] Renato and Letizia Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited, From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services, 1975), 241-242, 245, 1, 10. The "Water Cure" was the practice of forcing a victim to ingest enormous quantities of water, causing extreme pain and altered states of mind. Sometimes the victim was forced to vomit so the process could be performed again. Like Guerrero and Milagros, the Constantinos portray Aguinaldo in a heroic fashion and claim that the American refusal to recognize his Malolos Republic was a denial of the Filipinos' first national experience and its achievement against Spain.

[6] Richard E. Welch, *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), xiii. In this political and social history, Welch referred to Schirmer's analysis as a "relentlessly present-minded account"; Russell Roth, *Muddy Glory: America's 'Indian Wars' in the Philippines, 1899-1935* (Hanover, MA: The Christopher Publishing House, 1981), 13. This is a military and social history. Acknowledging the unspoken-of nature of the conflict, he wrote "the forgetting has continued, creating a gap in U.S. military history, until today American policy in Asia is made in the absence of public awareness of that buried past."

home. He portrayed the Black 25th Infantry regiment as fine soldiers who took pride in their social development work while acknowledging the absurdity of forcing Black people to carry the "white man's burden." Touching upon the domestic response to the war, he noted that some decried its racism and worried that long-term colonialism would elevate the Filipino above the African American while others hailed the opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism. Welch reached a similar conclusion regarding African American responses and noted ambivalent viewpoints within business, labor, and organized religion. For example, Catholics and Protestants responded differently to the conflict, with some from both sides condemning American Imperialism while simultaneously celebrating the opportunity for evangelism. Although Americans were concerned by the news about Samar, "the slaughter of Filipinos did not inspire a general sentiment of moral outrage." Ultimately, Welch concluded that such responses offer "a mirror image of the patriotism and racism… of a people uncertain of their national future while convinced of their national superiority." Such racism is shown in Roth's *Muddy Glory*, which demonstrates that the Americans drew upon experience in waging Indian wars to pacify the Philippines. His work shows the "white man's moral disintegration in the tropics" by outlining instances of drunkenness, prostitution, venereal disease, racist violence, and murder, and demonstrates how American troops and officers conflated Filipinos with Native Americans.[7]

[7] Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 265-266, 284-285, 324, x. This is a social and military history. A useful volume of primary source material on the subject is Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), which contains letters from African American soldiers fighting in Cuba and the Philippines; Welch, *Response to Imperialism*, 82, 149, 159; Roth, *Muddy Glory*, 55. 41-46. Roth quoted Pvt. John Bowe in *Harper's History*, who described a scene of retreating Filipino Revolutionaries as follows: "The Indians were stampeded, and this sort of hunting was too good sport for our men to stop (46)." Roth also stated that, after the massacre at Balangiga, "to [General] Bell was designated the responsibility of making 'good Indians' out of bad (83)," and he subsequently turned the once agriculturally rich Batangas province into a wasteland.

The most important work of the Critical School is Stuart Creighton Miller's *Benevolent Assimilation,* published in 1982. It is a grand condemnation of "America's exaggerated sense of innocence" in both its domestic and foreign affairs, delivered on the heels of America's involvement in Vietnam. Miller argued that American imperialists were able to challenge the nation's prior anti-colonialism and blend brazen economic and colonial expansion with the religious paternalism and condescending racism of the "white man's burden," but even their opponents in the Anti-Imperialist league were often supportive of the "informal" imperialism of economic domination and were frequently themselves "race-haters."[8] In the Philippines, the military officials were incompetent diplomats who intentionally started the war and conducted a brutal pacification campaign in a "lawless spirit" reminiscent of the Indian Wars. The war concluded shortly after the atrocities committed on Samar and in the Batangas province, and the American public briefly reacted in horror before quickly suppressing its memory and pretending that the war never happened. Miller refers to this as the "triumph" of American innocence. In a final condemnation, he stated the Philippine War had been akin to the infamous Mylai massacre in 1968, in which American forces slaughtered an entire Vietnamese village and buried them in a mass grave.[9] *Benevolent Assimilation* has remained the touchstone work in this school, drawing strong praise and sharp criticism.

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[8]Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-12, 15-24, 119, 123. Miller's work blends social, political, and military history, effectively synthesizing works akin to Wolff's *Little Brown Brother*, Roth's *Muddy Glory*, and Welch's *Response to Imperialism.*

[9] Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation,* 55-56, 58-62, 188, 253, 267. Citing the U.S. Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain,* vol. 2, 846-48, Miller opposed the claim that the war started due to an unfortunate, accidental exchange of fire, claiming that "a much better case can be made for indicting General Otis and the U.S. army for starting the war. It is easy enough to gather evidence that these soldiers, from privates to generals, were "just itching to get at the niggers." He outlined American reconnaissance, troop positioning, and hardheaded demands made against the Filipinos to bolster this point (58-62). Miller also claimed that correspondence from American troops indicates that "clearly these soldiers had been ordered to take no prisoners and to kill the wounded (188)." He also wrote that "when the [imperialist] dream soured, the American people neither reacted with very much indignation, nor did they seem to retreat to their cherished political principles. If

The Response from the Reactionary School

In response to the growing body of criticism, the "Reactionary School" emerged in the early 1970s. Largely presented by military historians, this school did not attempt to deny American atrocities but instead placed them within the war's wider context, presenting a conflicting blend of American "benevolence" and misrule. Like the Critical School, these perspectives in scholarship have also persisted until the present day due to the increasing ubiquity of critical views on American foreign policy.

A common criticism stemming from the Reactionary School is that Critical scholarship focuses exclusively on American crimes in the Philippines while ignoring the effectiveness of the "policy of attraction," which stemmed from McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" proclamation. John Morgan Gates detailed the social development efforts undertaken by American soldiers in Manila, claiming that their work in instituting sanitation systems, health services, education, a judicial system, and commerce greatly improved the city and mirrored the work of progressive reformers in the United States. Peter W. Stanley focused on American civil governance in the islands and its relationship with the Filipino elites, or *ilustrados*, and demonstrated how many of them tentatively welcomed American rule since they believed that "an independent sovereign Philippine state was at the present time neither possible nor desirable" due to the diverse and disjointed nature of the islands. He also claimed that the policy of attraction produced a "happy confluence of American and Filipino ideals." Both Gates and Stanley concluded that the policy of attraction was effective in part because it overlapped with the goals of the Filipino Revolutionaries in their earlier resistance to Spain.[10]

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anything, they seemed to take their cues from their leader in the White House by first putting out of mind all the sordid episodes in the conquest, and then forgetting the entire war itself (253)."

[10] John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973), 54-67, 276. This work is included in the series "Contributions to Military

Brian McAllister Linn claimed that the policy of attraction was meant to win the hearts of the Filipinos and detailed how benevolent policies such as education and municipal development were effective in separating civilians from guerrilla bands, earning the allegiance of the former and often causing the latter to surrender. In a follow-up work, he detailed the civil development on the Island of Negros, which would form a precedent for benevolent pacification. David J. Silbey detailed the actions of Corporal Herbert Reddy, who constructed a school and provided food and medical attention in a poor village under his command. Silbey claimed that "none of this was high drama" but that "America's control of the Philippines was built on hundreds if not thousands of similar situations."[11]

Another criticism from the Reactionary school is that Critical scholarship is overly cynical in its analysis of the start of the war. Whereas Agoncillo and Guerrero implied what Miller outright claimed – that the Americans started the war intentionally – scholars from the reactionary school have emphasized the unintended outbreak of hostilities. John Morgan Gates admitted that American ignorance and naivety were highly detrimental but emphasized their humanitarian concerns and claimed that the war began due to an unplanned and unintended exchange of fire. Subsequent deployments were defensive and the policy of attraction was continued in the hope of ending the conflict. Peter W. Stanley likewise claimed that the war

History." Gates served in the United States Army from 1961-1963, and his academic career included a visiting professorship at the Military Academy at West Point from 1995-1996. It is worth noting that Gates highlighted the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and upper-middle class nature of the troops (67); Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 59, 75-76, 268-269. His treatment of events during the war is primarily a political history.

[11] Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 164. This work was researched and written in part due to a grant from the U.S. Army Military History Institute; Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000), 76-77. This volume is probably the most important work from the reactionary school since it serves as a highly detailed military history as well as a strong critique of Miller's *Benevolent Assimilation*; David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2013), 183-184.

began due to a "minor incident." Brian McAllister Linn accused Miller of presenting a "tortuous circumstantial argument" that ignored the fact that U.S. forces were generally ill-prepared for a conflict and were still expecting additional reinforcements.[12]

The emphasis on brutality found in Wolff, Roth, and Miller has also come under fire from Reactionary scholarship. In general, the responses highlight the Critical School's lack of nuance on the topic. Gates claimed that the official policy was one of benevolence and that soldiers who abused Filipinos were immediately punished, adding that the atrocities committed on Samar were a "disastrous" aberration that did not represent wider American practice. Stanley admitted American brutality, but added that there were "atrocities on both sides." In an article from 1984, Gates also addressed the question of war related deaths, adding that they were due to some extent to factors beyond American control such as previous Spanish pacification efforts, cholera epidemics, and even the Filipino Revolutionaries themselves. Linn stated that he did not wish to defend American brutality, but claimed that the common view of an "orgy of racism and atrocities" in the Philippines was unsupported by the evidence and that the behavior of the troops varied significantly.[13]

Elsewhere, Linn characterized Miller's treatment of General Otis as a bloodthirsty war monger as "perverse" and defended his role in the policy of attraction. Addressing Miller's claim that regarding the troops' "lawless spirit," Linn conceded that the "torch was applied all to freely by the volunteers" but argued that a large portion of impressments and food requisitions were

[12] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 76-87; Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, 51; Linn, *The Philippine War*, 53.
[13] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 216, 254; Stanley, *A Nation in the Making*, 51; John Morgan Gates, "War-Related Deaths in the Philippines, 1898-192," *Pacific Historical Review* 53, no. 3 (August 1984): 376, accessed October 14, 2018, JSTOR. Linn also detailed wartime cruelty committed by Filipino Revolutionaries in *The Philippine War*: "[General Antonio] Luna ordered the thorough destruction of any village given up to the enemy, and his troops complied with cruel efficiency (99);" Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency*, xiii. 10. For example, Linn states here that some of General Merritt's soldiers "took pride in this noble purpose" of the policy of attraction but that others "robbed civilians, wrote bad credit vouchers, got drunk, and referred to the Filipinos as 'niggers.'"

conducted within established laws of warfare and that affected civilians were compensated for their losses. Furthermore, only 57 genuine war crimes were recorded in the entire archipelago and many of these stemmed from severe psychological trauma upon witnessing the mutilation and torture of U.S. troops at the hands of Filipino revolutionaries. While acknowledging the carnage on Samar and in the Batangas province, Linn concluded that the view that they represent the entire campaign is "one of the great historical fallacies of the war" and claimed that Miller's likening of the conflict to the Mylai massacre was an anachronism that has contributed to some "very bad history." Silbey also addressed Samar, claiming that it was "largely an aberration in the American effort" but that it "does not excuse it." Highlighting the quick reconciliation between Americans and Filipinos after the war and the "strong alliance" that has persisted up to the present day, Silbey claimed that "had the war truly been universally vicious, it seems deeply unlikely that the Filipinos would have reconciled themselves to the Americans so quickly."[14]

Addendum: The Critical School, Continued

Critical perspectives on the Philippine-American War continue to be published. In a similar manner to scholars who viewed the Philippine-American War through the interpretive lens of Vietnam, several contemporary historians have viewed the conflict with in light of the War on Terror and the War in Iraq. Alfred W. McCoy has analyzed the conflict with an emphasis on American intelligence gathering and the surveillance state, highlighting important lessons and parallels in the hope of "mitigating some future foreign policy disaster like that of Iraq." Likewise, Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine have provided a history of the rise and fall of American imperialism in the Pacific and likened it to the War in Iraq, claiming that "U.S.

[14] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 29, 123-124, 306, 328; Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire*, 196, 207-208, 218. It should be noted that, currently, Filipino-American relations have soured, with President Rodrigo Duterte attempting to pivot the Philippines towards a greater relationship with China in the hope of economic investment.

policymakers have ignored or have deliberately forgotten the lessons from the conflicts in eastern Asia."[15] This theme of gleaning lessons from the prior combat is prevalent in both works. McCoy's argues that American pacification efforts and the establishment of municipal policing and intelligence gathering during the guerilla phase of the conflict sparked the gradual development of the modern surveillance state, resulting in recurring suppression of civil liberties in both the Philippines and the United States ever since. Hunt and Levine's work argues that American imperial expansion in the Philippines would ruin America's image in the Pacific and set us on a collision course with Japan. This first imperial endeavor was justified by its so-called civilizing mission, a justification that is still in use today.[16]

Recent articles have also continued the critical emphasis on American racism and cruelty in the Philippines. Paul A. Kramer praised Stuart Creighton Miller's *Benevolent Assimilation* thesis and argued that the conflict could be described as a "race war" in which Americans emphasized their Anglo-Saxon superiority over the "tribalized" Filipinos as justification for their abusive behavior. In a similar manner, James Grant Crawford researched military documentation and concluded, like Russell Roth and Miller in the 1980s, that American forces "equated Filipinos with Native American peoples through their fierce, yet ultimately fruitless resistance."

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[15] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, The Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 4-5; Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine, *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 7.

[16] McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*, 18, 34-35, 54. In the concluding chapter, McCoy wrote "Just as Spain had developed the world's most advanced sixteenth-century state through its conquest of the Americas, so the United States realized the coercive potential of its new information technologies from its colonization of the Philippines. Empire, any empire, makes the state more self-consciously scientific in the application of its power (521);" Hunt and Levine, *Arc of Empire*, 59-62, 274. They wrote that "To see each of the Asian wars in isolation is to miss what U.S. policymakers themselves viewed as America's pacific destiny. This mélange of imperial, commercial, religious, and cultural ambitions was leavened by the conceit of America's mission to uplift and democratize the peoples of Eastern Asia and secure them against internal and external foes. By extension, we should see the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and the broad and open-ended battle against 'terrorism' as part of a history that long antedates September 11, 2011 (274)."

Rod Paschall criticized Brian McAllister Linn's *The Philippine War*, drawing attention to the unnecessary brutality of the successful pacification campaign in light of the pointless strategic "disaster" of McKinley's decision to annex the Philippines. Finally, Allen E.S. Lumba argued that the fusion of racism, capitalism, and empire justified the targeting of under-developed nations and inspired the introduction of a new coinage system in the Philippines that would spurn consumerism, thus civilizing the natives and aiding the acceptance of American imperial control.[17]

Conclusion

In the early days of Philippine-American War historiography, scholars were largely supportive of the American colonial project in the Philippines. This position became untenable with the advent of the Critical School in the 1960s, which condemned the affair from the perspective of Filipino nationalism and the New Left. The war in Vietnam became an interpretive lens that was embraced by some and critiqued by others, but in either case the occurrence of the Vietnam War and its relationship to the Philippine conflict became an object of scholarly discussion. More recent work has also viewed the war through the prism of a contemporary conflict, in this case the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a diverse but loosely united school, these scholars addressed the problems of American brutality, racism, and misrule in the Philippines while highlighting the supportive, apathetic, or willfully ignorant responses to the conflict in the United States. In their view, America's first foray as a global and imperial

[17] Paul A. Kramer, "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War," *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 2 (April 2006): 171, 185, accessed October 12, 2018, EBSCOhost; James Grant Crawford, "'Civilize 'Em With a Krag!': Punitive Violence and the American Mission of Uplift, 1900," *Journal of the North Carolina Association of Historians* 17, (April 2009): 167, accessed October 14, 2018, EBSCOhost; Rod Paschall, "Folly in the Philippines," *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 23, no. 1 (2010): 80, 87; Allan E.S. Lumba, "Imperial Standards: Colonial Currencies, Racial Capacities, and Economic Knowledge During the Philippine-American War," *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 4 (September 2015): 604, 615-616, 622, accessed October 21, 2018, EBSCOhost.

power was a disaster for both the Philippines and for America's image and integrity, and the enduring ignorance of the lessons it offers is a serious liability that must be addressed.

The Reactionary School in the early 1970s did not attempt to revive the fawning and unquestionably supportive perspectives in pre-critical scholarship but instead challenged the growing dominance of the Critical school by addressing the complexity of American involvement in the islands, highlighting the effectiveness of the policy of attraction and Filipino cooperation while arguing that American military behavior was not uniform and varied from benevolent to criminally brutal and abusive. While acknowledging American misbehavior, they sought to contextualize it by highlighting the nature of the conflict without immediately resorting to racism as an explanation. The ferocious pacification efforts on Samar and in the Batangas province were monstrous and deserve condemnation, but they do not fully represent American military behavior in the islands.[18]

In the final analyses, it would appear that the Critical School is winning the day. The Reactionary position is largely informed by military historians who do not have the same intellectual influence as the left-wing academics who have been continuously bolstered in their perspectives by the increasing importance of race as a category of historical analyses and the continuing fallout of America's unnecessary and highly detrimental military voyeurism abroad. Americans on both left and right have continuously grown weary of imperialism in light of global instability and a massive national debt. Thus the Critical School has remained relevant beyond the Philippine-American War, even if the general public is unaware of the conflict. On

[18] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 328: "After a century of portrayal largely in the context of current sensibilities, a re-evaluation of military operations during the Philippine War is long overdue. The imperialist myth of selfless Americans saving their 'little brown brothers' from the violent tyranny of Aguinaldo and the Tagalogs has long been discredited. The current view of a brutal and racist soldiery slaughtering defenseless natives has been unchallenged for far too long. The actual war was a far more complex and challenging phenomenon than either of these superficial interpretations acknowledge."

the other hand, the Reactionary School has virtually nothing to say on the debate over the wider issue American imperialism, and instead attempts to exculpate American personnel of what they see as unduly harsh charges of atrocities during the war itself. Given its emphasis, its defensive posture, and its relative insularity, it is hard to imagine that it could exceed the Critical School's influence.

Appendix B

Michael Weiss

Katyn Massacre and Polish Genocide

The Polish people experienced intense political and military turmoil during World War II. Poland found itself surrounded by enemies and would be jointly carved up by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. The Soviet occupied territory of Eastern Poland endured politically motivated killings, mass deportations and massacres. The Soviets desired to eliminate every aspect of the Polish national identity and sources of resistance, ensuring their hold over Polish territory remained secure. The Katyn Massacre was the largest organized massacre of Polish people perpetrated by the Soviets and saw the execution of 20,000 Polish military officers, gendarmes, intelligence officers, political officials and other "counterrevolutionaries." This massacre, when grouped with the mass deportations to the Eastern Soviet Union, the Prison Massacres and NKVD killings, indicates that the Soviet Union carried out a genocide against the Polish people. According to the United Nations definition of genocide, with the personal inclusion of political groups, the Soviet Union perpetrated an organized genocide against the Polish people in hopes of shattering their national unity and identity.

To understand the roots of Polish treatment by the Soviets, one must understand the complex relationship that existed between the two groups. George Sanford, in *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, Justice and Memory,* observes that, "The relationship between Poland and Russia has been described as an 'age-old antagonism' which transcended the level of mere conflict between two major Slavonic states."[19] Prior to World War I, Poland did not exist,

[19] George Sanford. *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940 : Truth, Justice and Memory*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. 5.

and modern-day Poland was split territorially between the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires. The end of World War I enabled the creation of the first independent Polish nation that had existed in over a hundred years, the Polish Second Republic. The Polish state immediately set out to secure its place in Eastern Europe. Field Marshall Jozef Pilsudksi worked to create a strong Central and Eastern European alliance in hopes of countering future Russian and German influence. The Russian Empire, Poland's primary enemy, had collapsed and the Communist Red Army fought the reactionary White Army for control of Russia's future. War between the Polish Second Republic and the future USSR seemed inevitable to the leaders of both nations.

The Polish-Soviet War set in motion the events that resulted in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1919, following the Polish-Ukrainian War, the Soviet Union attacked Poland amidst the chaos of the Russian Civil War. The Red Army, led by Leon Trotsky, conducted a successful invasion of Poland until 1920. In 1920, the Soviets were defeated in the Battle of Warsaw, which resulted in the Peace of Riga in 1921. This defeat only increased the bitter hatred between the Poles and the Soviets. In 1939, the Soviet Union invaded Poland for the second time and finally achieved victory against the outnumbered forces of the Polish Second Republic. In 1939, with World War II approaching, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which called for Soviet and Nazi non-aggression, alongside a joint invasion of Poland. The USSR obtained Eastern Poland and quickly solidified their hold on power through ethnically and politically motivated killings. This event was yet another episode in the long military and political history that existed between the Russian and Polish people. Prior to the joint invasion of Poland took place, the Polish genocide was well underway.

The killings that occurred during the "Polish Operation" of the NKVD constitutes the first significant act of genocide perpetrated by the Soviets. The "Polish Operation" was the final and bloodiest operation in a series of national operations. By 1938, the NKVD had arrested over 100,000 Polish people. The National Operations targeted "Anti-Soviet" minorities in the borderlands and saw the deportation and execution of various ethnic groups. The Soviets first targeted Kulaks and independent peasants because they were an obstacle to the collectivization of agriculture in the fertile borderlands. Bodan Musial in "The 'Polish Operation' of the NKVD: The Climax of the Terror Against the Polish Minority in the Soviet Union," claims that the Soviets made a concerted effort to rid the country of capitalist and counterrevolutionary elements through the deportation and execution of Kulaks.[20] Soviet authorities arrested 20,000 Polish people during this phase of the operations, with most arrests resulting in execution. The NKVD murder of Kulaks contributed greatly to the horrific famine that occurred between 1932 and 1933, which resulted in over 10 million deaths.[21]

Although a portion of the Polish minority fell victim to the "Kulak Operation," the Polish Operation specifically targeted the Polish community inside the Soviet Union. Musial reinforces this when he states, "The Polish were especially targeted: they accounted for 17 percent of those executed during the Great Terror, despite being only 0.4 per cent of the total population."[22] The Soviets targeted the distrusted Polish and German minorities on the pretext of being spies and saboteurs for the Polish government. The NKVD openly began targeting the Polish population after 1933, with the height of killings occurring in 1938. According to Musial, the Soviet Union

[20] Bodan Musial. "The 'Polish Operation' of the NKVD: The Climax of the Terror Against the Polish Minority in the Soviet Union." Journal of Contemporary History 48, no. 1 (2013)
[21] Ibid.
[22] Bodan Musial. "The 'Polish Operation' of the NKVD: The Climax of the Terror Against the Polish Minority in the Soviet Union." 108.

viewed the independent Polish Republic as an Imperialist bulwark against the spread of communism. The hatred for Polish people in the Soviet Union intensified after the disastrous Polish-Soviet War as well. In the eyes of the Soviets, the Polish minority were an extension of their Polish enemy and they suffered the most proportionally during the national operations. The Soviets also targeted individuals with "Pro-Polish" sympathies in these purges.[23] This category of people included members of various other ethnic minorities.

The NKVD Polish Operation was the first act of the Polish genocide and it looked to worsen life and outright eliminate the Polish minority that lived within the Soviet Union. The most significant proof of this is the ethnic component of the operation and the largest proportional harm being done to the Polish people. The guidelines for arrest, outlined in NKVD order 00485, stated that, "Refugees from Poland regardless of the time of their entry into the USSR," would be arrested by agents alongside anyone accused of being a member of the disbanded Polish Military Organization and any willing emigrant of Poland.[24] The PMO was a Polish military organization created by Josef Pilsudski, that fought alongside the Polish Legions in WW1. The organization ceased to exist in 1921 but its existence provided the Soviet Union with the ability to make fraudulent charges for their own political gain. These orders essentially granted the NKVD a free hand in who they could detain and summarily execute. The "National Operations" show a clear genocidal intent regarding the elimination of the Polish minority in the Soviet Union.

The second act that constitutes a part of the Polish Genocide is the purposeful mass deportation and imprisonment of Polish people. The Soviet Union was famous for its brutal

[23] Ibid.
[24] "Operational Order No. 00485, Aug. 11 1937 - "Polish Operation"." Msuweb.montclair.edu. Accessed May 08, 2018.

prison complexes, called Gulags. The Gulags were all over the Soviet Union and saw excessive use during the reign of Josef Stalin. The first group of Polish people to suffer at the hands of the Soviets were Polish POW's of the Polish-Soviet War. The Soviet Offensives led to the capture of soldiers and officers who were very unlikely to ever return to Poland after war. The second significant internment of Polish people was during the Polish Operation of the NKVD in 1938. Although the Poles suffered alongside other ethnic minorities and political prisoners in the Gulag, their lihood to get arrested, deported and or executed was extremely high. Once the Soviets invaded Eastern Poland in 1939 though, they obtained a lot more Polish political and military prisoners.

The Polish prisoners who entered the Gulags after 1939 were subject to horrific genocidal actions. According to Allen Paul in *Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Seeds of Polish Resurrection*, the USSR never formally declared war on Poland and invaded Eastern Poland under the pretext of maintaining order. They claimed that Polish prisoners were not POWs because they were effectively stateless, and war had never been declared.[25] The highest number of Polish POW's prior to the Katyn Massacre within all Soviet prison camps would reach 39,331.[26] The granting of citizenship by the Soviets also ensured that the Soviet Union did not have to follow international prisoner of war rules. The NKVD rounded up Polish people of different standings in society and would send them to a prison camp or "liquidate" them. Poles captured by the NKVD were either sent eastward to Central Asia or remained in camps that stood in occupied Poland, Ukraine and Belarus. The Soviets presided over the deportation of 1.2

[25] Allen Paul. *Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Seeds of Polish Resurrection*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1996. 76-78.
[26] George Sanford. *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, Justice and Memory*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. 52.

million Poles after the invasion, sending many Poles to collective farms in Kazakhstan.[27] There were also many Poles who were executed by the Soviets in basements and other hidden places, right before being thrown into mass graves.

The mass deportation eastward was a death sentence for many Poles who were forced to endure hard labor and agricultural work under brutal conditions. The Soviet deportation of Poles eastward occurred in four waves, where Poles ended up in labor camps and collective farms in the eastern half of the Soviet Union. A directive from the head of the NKVD Lavrentiy Beria on March 20th, 1940 outlined the deportation of Polish families eastward. The directive stated that NKVD authorities were to deport the families of Polish citizens eastward for a period of ten years. Beria estimated the number of individual family members between 75,000-100,000 people.[28] The journey to the Eastern Steppes involved cramped train cars and starvation. Although in an April 10th, 1940 directive from Beria promised free hot food and 600 grams of bread every day, it is unlikely that prisoners ever received the full amount of food daily.[29] In the chapter titled, "Trains to the East," Allen Paul sheds light on the true conditions of the trains. He states, "There, after three thousand miles and seventeen days the journey by train ended. Along the way the passengers had no chance to bathe and were generally dehydrated from an acute lack

[27] Allen Paul. *Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Seeds of Polish Resurrection*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1996. 137.
[28] "Beria's Directive to the Commissar of Internal Affairs, Kazakh SSR, GB Senior Major Semyon Burdakov, on the Resettlement in Kazakhstan of Polish POW Families to be Deported from the Westren Oblasts of Ukraine and Belorussia." in Katyń: Justice Delayed or Justice Denied? (Katyn – Siberia Documents 1939-1941). Cleveland, OH: School of Law, Case Western Reserve University, 2012.

[29] "Instruction on the Deportation of Specified Persons from Western Oblasts of UkSSR and BSSR." in Katyń: Justice Delayed or Justice Denied? (Katyn – Siberia Documents 1939-1941). Cleveland, OH: School of Law, Case Western Reserve University, 2012.

of water. Hunger verged towards starvation."[30] Polish deportees also contracted diseases like dysentery and had to be buried in shallow graves along the train tracks.

Polish deportees sent to labor and prison camps did not fare much better than the families of Polish POWs. The Soviets used prisoners to augment the Soviet labor force, forcing them to build public works. Tadeusz Piotrowski;s book *Poland's Holocaust, Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1919-1947* briefly delves into labor camps. According to Piotrowski, "The interned soldiers worked in groups of twenty to eighty men in heat and cold with only aspirin and thermometers for their medical needs. They constructed airports, built roads, worked in quarries, erected bridges, hewed timber, worked as carpenters, and in winter, shoveled tons of snow."[31] The conditions in forced-labor camps were identical to those of the Gulags. Prisoners in Gulags typically worked fourteen hours a day in the extreme temperatures Piotrowski mentions. Prisoners were also forced to survive on meager rations that barely sustained them. If exhaustion did not end a prisoner's life, it is likely they could succumb to violence from both prisoners and guards.[32]

The composition of the prison camps was overwhelmingly Polish after 1939 and undoubtedly contributed to the decision to execute the 20,000 Polish officer and soldiers in 1940. George Sanford's, *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940 : Truth, Justice and Memory*, talks extensively about the Stalinist Terror and Soviet prison system. Sanford states that the NKVD designated special camps for Polish prisoners, three camps specifically mentioned were Koselsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov. The fact that specific Polish camps existed point to a specific

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[30] Allen Paul. *Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Seeds of Polish Resurrection*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1996. 125.
[31] Tadeusz Piotrowski. *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic; 1918-1947*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. 16.
[32] "Gulag: Soviet Forced Labor Camps and the Struggle for Freedom." Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives. Accessed May 08, 2018.

targeting of the Polish people, which is a condition of genocide. According to statistic collected by Stanford, The Koselsk camp had a total of 4,486 prisoners, 4,347 of which were Polish and the Starobelsk camp held 3,828 Poles out of a prison population of 3,908.[33] The rest of those numbers were a small mixture of Jews, Ukrainians, Germans, Belarussians, etc. The men who lived in the three NKVD special camps would perish in the Katyn Massacre.

It is also significant to look at the ranks and former occupations of prisoners within these camps. Lavrentiy Beria, states in a memorandum to Josef Stalin in 1940 that, "The prisoner-of-war camps are holding a total (not counting the soldiers and the NCOs) of 14,736 former officers, officials, landowners, police, gendarmes, prison guards, [military] settlers, and intelligence agents, who are more than 97 percent Polish by nationality." After this statement, there is a numerical breakdown of the prisoners based upon their rank and occupation. Included in this document are 609 former landowners, officials and factory owners, along with 6,127 Polish refugees.[34] The inclusion of refugees and civilians reveals that the Soviet intentions regarding the Polish were more than political. Most of these individuals had been rounded up by the NKVD during the Polish Operation, when the Soviets clearly sought to diminish the Polish population in Ukraine and Belarus. A majority of the population would be executed during the Katyn Massacre, claiming the lives of over 20,000 Polish officers, politicians, intellectuals and civilians.

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[33] George Sanford. *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth, Justice and Memory*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. 54.

[34] "Beria Memorandum to Joseph Stalin Proposing the Execution of the Polish Officers, Gendarmes, Police, Military Settlers, and Others in the Three Special POW Camps, Along with Those Held in the Prisons of the Western Regions of Ukraine and Belorussia." in Katyń: Justice Delayed or Justice Denied? (Katyn – Siberia Documents 1939-1941). Cleveland, OH: School of Law, Case Western Reserve University, 2012.

Another event that makes the deportation and imprisonment of Polish people a part of the Polish genocide are the NKVD Prison Massacres of 1941. On June 22nd, 1941 Nazi Germany violated the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and attacked the Soviet Union. The unprepared Soviets quickly retreated from Eastern Poland deeper into the Soviet Union. The hasty evacuation of one hundred prison camps based in Eastern Poland resulted in the mass execution or movement of prisoners eastward.[35] They would extrajudicially kill a total of 100,000 prisoners of various nationalities. Timothy Snyder's, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* estimates that 9,817 of the 100,000 victims of the Prison Massacre were Polish.[36] The bodies of prisoners were often left in the prisons or put into mass graves. The Germans found most of these sights and attempted to use them as Anti-Soviet propaganda.

The final event that makes up the Polish genocide was the Katyn Massacre, where the Soviets killed 20,000 Polish officers and officials and buried them haphazardly in the Katyn forest. To solidify their hold over the newly acquired Polish territory, the NKVD planned to terminate all potential resistance. On March 5, 1940 Stalin officially approved Beria's proposal to execute the Polish officials and it was quickly done. When the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the advancing Germans stumbled upon a mass grave within the Katyn forest. Upon investigation, the Germans were able to determine that the mass graves were the result of a Soviet massacre of Polish officials. The Soviets denied the accusation and attempted to blame the Germans for the massacre. The Propaganda Minister of Nazi Germany, Joseph Goebbels, seized upon this discovery and hoped to drive a wedge between the Allies and the Soviet Union. While he was ultimately unsuccessful, Goebbels was able to prove through a neutral delegation

[35] Tadeusz Piotrowski. *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic; 1918-1947*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. 16.
[36] Timothy Synder. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2012.

of investigators that the Soviets perpetrated the massacre. The Soviets would not admit to this atrocity until 1990.

When analyzing Soviet documents, it becomes very clear that there was a genocidal intention regarding the Polish people. In the March 5, 1940 memorandum to Josef Stalin, Beria outlines his hatred of the Polish people. He believes that the Polish prisoners "…are all sworn enemies of Soviet power, filled with hatred for the Soviet system of government."[37] The most chilling part of the memorandum is the recommendation of the, "Supreme Punishment, [execution by,] shooting." Also important is the organized and bureaucratic nature of the massacre. *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment*, written by various authors, describes the month-long preparation for the massacre of Polish prisoners. The Massacre proceeded in three phases, which led to the consolidation of records and information, deportation of prisoner families to the Kazakhstan SSR and the preparation of prisoners for execution. The Soviet government meticulously checked and re-checked prisoner records before sending them on prisoner transports. The NKVD then proceeded to move them from the prison camps to the spot of their planned execution in the Katyn Forest.[38]

Out of all the atrocities the Poles endured at the hands of the Soviet Union, the one that resonates the most in the Polish collective memory is undoubtedly the Katyn Massacre. In 1944, the Soviet led Burdenko Commission "investigated" the Katyn Massacre and declared the Germans were responsible. After World War II ended, the Poles technically received an

[37] "Beria Memorandum to Joseph Stalin Proposing the Execution of the Polish Officers, Gendarmes, Police, Military Settlers, and Others in the Three Special POW Camps, Along with Those Held in the Prisons of the Western Regions of Ukraine and Belorussia." in *Katyń: Justice Delayed or Justice Denied?* (Katyn – Siberia Documents 1939-1941). Cleveland, OH: School of Law, Case Western Reserve University, 2012.
[38] Anna M. Cienciala , Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski. *Katyn: A Crime without Punishment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.

independent state. The Polish People's Republic proclaimed their "independence" in 1947, becoming a Soviet satellite state. The Soviet Union restricted all discussion and teaching of the Katyn Massacre and the event faded into the background. In 1990 though, Mikhail Gorbachev released documents that admitted Soviet guilt. In 2010, Russian President Dimitry Medvedev presided over a ceremony that commemorated the Katyn Massacre on its 70th anniversary. A plane carrying prominent Polish officials crashed on the way to the ceremony due to fatal navigation errors and heavy fog though. In response to this tragedy, Russian television aired the movie *Katyn* for the first time. Although there are few who still deny Russian involvement, the Katyn Massacre is generally accepted as an atrocity perpetrated by the Soviet Union. Polish and Russian relations remain strained today though because of Poland's NATO membership and an increase in Russian aggression.

The Katyn Massacre was the culmination of various genocidal operations and activities perpetrated by the Soviets between 1930 and 1940. The NKVD operations and mass deportations of "dangerous" Poles set the stage for the massacre and influenced the ultimate decision to execute the prisoners. The debate over Stalin's true motives continue today, but one likely conclusion is that he feared that the Polish prisoners could not be "re-educated" and needed to be eliminated.[39] All three actions analyzed together reveal that the Soviets desired to kill off and eliminate part of the Polish population and the Polish national identity. The Soviets also pursued genocidal policies against other national minorities like the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The atrocities explained in this paper fit within the UN definition of genocide, with the inclusion of

[39] Anna M. Cienciala , Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski. *Katyn: A Crime without Punishment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. 142-144

political groups, and if one was to use the analytical framework of the UN, it is easy to find the proper conditions for a genocide existing in Poland and the Soviet Union.

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