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"The African King Who Conquered Italy", Menelik in the 19th Century US Press before and after Adwa

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Abstract

Ethiopia's Emperor of the late 19th and early 20th Century, Menelik II, is fondly and proudly remembered by millions of Africans and those who had been under the yoke of colonialism whilst he is also a controversial figure among an assemblage of Ethiopian and Eritrean ethnic groups as well as European, particularly Italian, communities and historians. It would be a disservice, unsystematic and unfulfilling to discuss and revisit the Battle of Adwa without discussing the leader of the victorious Ethiopian side, Emperor Menelik II the first black African man to defeat a "civilised and modernising" European force, Italy. Sixty-two reports were selected first, 10 reports omitted, with a word count of more than eighty have been retrieved and finally 52 reports were analysed. Drawing on discourse, colonial and framing theories and literature, the article applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the U.S. media coverage of Menelik both before and after the Battle of Adwa, with the aim of uncovering ideologies and determining if Menelik's victory at Adwa led to any changes in the media discourse on Menelik, thereby Abyssinia. The findings of the CDA showed the presence of ideological stances and frames in the discourse such as "colonialist, hegemonic and racist" ideologies. Secondly, the "ridiculing and incompetence" frames emphasised

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before the Battle of Adwa showed a decrease while the "condescending, uncivilised and barbaric" frames and discourses in which Menelik was represented before his victory at Adwa largely continued even after he defeated the Italians. Interestingly, the U.S., which did not hold any "colonial interest", had a press, which supported the Italian colonial campaign in Ethiopia.

Introduction

Africa's colonial past and the postcolonial period have been widely studied. Popular media rarely mention Africa's victory against colonialism and colonialists. Significant world leaders such as Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Alexander, The Great, Asoka, Winston Churchill, Julius Caesar, Franklin D Roosevelt, and Napoleon Bonaparte are profiled and researched by academics in terms of their legacies and importance. The dominant Western media moguls and academic cliques pronounce, glorify and broadcast the biographies and legacies of African leaders such as Nelson Mandela, who have yielded to Western pressure and "reconciliatory" deals while hushing the biographies and legacies of African leaders who have defeated European aggression and changed the course of world history such as Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia. Finding academic books, papers on the Battle of Adwa of March 1, 1896 or the leader of the victory Emperor Menelik II is not a straightforward task. Nevertheless, there are few recent monographs such as Professor Raymond Jonas' Book published in 2011, "The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire", Professors Paulos Milkias and Getachew Metaferia's book that was published in 2003 "The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism" and scores of works by the leading Ethiopianist and PanAfricanist Professor Mammo Muchie. When it comes to the analysis of the media coverage of the battle of Adwa, I was able to see that there is only one occasional paper by Paul B. Henze and Thomas P. Ofcansky published in 1996 "The battle of Adwa in the American press." However, this 29-page text by Henze and Ofcansky was only available in hard copy and the caption subtitle notes that the report was based on News dispatches from the New York Herald Tribune and the New York Times, transcribed from the microfilm files of the Library of Congress; I was not able to access the report. The occasional paper seems to have had focused only the coverage of the battle of Adwa rather than Menelik in particular and its scientific depth is also not marked out so far. Therefore, the current research is different in that it particularly looks at the coverage of Emperor Menelik II by 19th Century American press and fills the research gap in that regard.

This article illustrates the coverage of Emperor Menelik in the 19th Century American press, and attempts to contribute to the existing knowledge gap in relation to colonialism, Emperor Menelik II, war reporting and the American media and Africa. The article exemplifies the interplay between the publishers' ideological stances and the conceptualization and framing of the other shapes and influences the audiences, the policy makers and the media's perspectives and programs on Menelik, Ethiopia and Africa. The article demonstrates how and what kinds of changes occurred in media discourse after a black African army defeated a European army for the first time in history.

Drawing on key texts on discourse, colonialism and framing, the article starts by presenting a discursive and critical analysis of theories. This is followed by a discussion of the research methodology employed in this research, CDA. The third and the larger body of the article is allocated to the presentation of the empirical data and the critical analysis of the data against the theoretical framework and literature. The last section of the article presents the conclusion of the research based on the findings.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This research is at the intersection of at least two main branches of literature and theory: discourse and colonialism. The discourse dimension of the literature review and theoretical framework draws on theories of representation and discourse whereas given the scarcity of colonial/ism theories in Western scholarly thoughts, and the focus on post-colonialism[2], the discussion will dwell on the available generic literature on colonialism and coloniality and these two are brought together by framing theory.

Theories of Representation and Discourse –

Stuart Hall describes representation as the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture using language, signs and images, which stand for or represent things (Hall, 1997). Hall discusses three theories of representation in a language

[2] Despite the huge consequences and academic merits of studying colonialism, the Western and thereby the international academia is dominated by and promotes postcolonial research, discourse and study. In terms of significance and holistic effect of social deconstruction of history and education, diminishing the study of colonialism and the absence of any theory on colonialism makes colonial research a difficult task.

used to represent the world: *reflective* (language used as a mirror to reflect or imitate true meaning of what is represented), *intentional* (opposite of the first, speaker imposes meaning onto the world) and the *constructionist* argues that the individual users of language or things cannot fix meaning (Hall, 1997):

> Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world, which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors, who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others (Hall, 1997: 25).

There are two approaches within the constructivist framework: the *semiotic* (signs in culture) and the *discursive* approach propagated by Michael Foucault to mean a context dependent production of knowledge. Foucault defines 'discourse' as a "group of statements which provide a language for talking about-a way of representing the knowledge about-a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall, 1997:44). This study also follows the constructivist theory of representation to understand Menelik's representation in the U.S. press.

The mass media as spaces of sameness, difference and invisibility representation define identities according to their political economic orientation, disposition or the inscriptions of "crude stereotypes of otherness to the subtle and not-so-subtle discriminations of dramatic characterization, narrative construction, political punditry, internet chat rooms and talk radio" (Silverstone, 2007: 19). Analysing Menelik's representation on the American press, it might be possible to identify stereotypes and the discrimination discourses subtly or manifestly communicated. According to Orgad (2012) there are two concepts used in analysing representations of others: binary oppositions where the meaning of the concept or word is often defined in relation to its opposite giving moral hierarchy to one side eg. Good and bad and stereotyping representation which "reduces people to a few, simple essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature and sets up a symbolic frontier between the "normal" and the "abnormal" (Orgad, 2012:257-58). This categorisation is very useful in the analysis of media representation and discourse of colonial conquest since the colonisers and the colonised have many differences, which the media emphasises or silences on its reportage.

Colonialism

The 947th plenary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in 1960 renounced colonialism by making a long declaration on "the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" and proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." The three characteristics of colonialism are domination, cultural imposition, and exploitation. Domination is the subjugation of one people by another; imposition is the cultural and custom enforcement on others and the human, resource and relations exploitation of others. Sabelo (2015) cites African scholar Ali A. Mazrui to explain the two main impacts of colonialism on Africa: the epic school and the episodic school. The incorporation of Africa into the world economy as mere contributor since slave trade, the admission and incorporation of weak and divided "post-colonial" African states into the "Euro-North American-dominated state system of world, language, culture, international law, technological age and Christianity dominated moral order." The episodic school on the other hand argues that the impact of European colonialism on Africa has been episodic or shallow. In the 1960s, many African countries achieved independence after nearly two centuries of subjugation and anti-colonial struggles. Ethiopia, as a country, which maintained its independence resisting Italian colonial advances in the 19th and 20th centuries, may not have directly experienced these consequences per se. Unlike many colonised countries, Ethiopia maintained its own language, culture, heritages, resources, pride, and morality. However, as a country part of the international system and interdependence, the indirect effects of international colonial and governance systems have indirectly affected Ethiopian culture, resources, developments and governance.

For scholars like Sabelo Ndlovu, the anti-colonialism struggle has not yet ended and colonialism has not been defeated fully. The author argues that decolonization struggles in Africa resulted in "global coloniality" of a "Euro-North American-centric modernity", which he refers to quoting Ramon Grosfoguel as a "racially hierarchized, patriarchal, sexist, Christian-centric, hetero-normative, capitalist, military, colonial, imperial, and modern form of civilization." Sabelo (2015) explains that the antithesis of coloniality, decoloniality, also known as Ethiopianism, Garveyism, Negritude, Pan-Africanism and etc., is beyond anti-colonial movements and means "a new humanity free from racial hierarchization and asymmetrical power relations in place since conquest." Post-colonialist theorists such as Edward Said point "the production and control of knowledge itself constitutes an exercise of

power" (Said 1978) in Butt (2013:6), or according to (Butt, 2013:6) the "analysis of the domination characteristic of colonialism must seek to take account of the cultural meanings which attach themselves to our attempts to understand both past and present". This highlights the importance of language. In other words, the manner in which we communicate domination as well as who communicates it does highly affect the meanings thereby the production and control of knowledge.

Where is Menelik's place in the colonialism discussion? In most colonial discussions, Menelik's name is a spice inserted to disprove racial superiority or the colonial enterprises of the 19th Century. Menelik II born SahleMariam on August 17, 1844 in Ankober, Shewa, Ethiopia, was a king of Shewa and later Emperor of Ethiopia (1889–1913). He founded modern day Ethiopia by expanding his territories, fought the revolting chiefdoms, and brought much of Ethiopia's present day map, modernity and technologies. Widely remembered for defeating colonialist Italy at the Battle of Adwa and maintaining his Country's independence, Menelik died in 1913. Bekerie (2013) argues that Menelik succeeded at Adwa because he had surrounded himself with great advisors, his popularity, skilful diplomacy, listening skills, belief in reconciliation, acquiring of modern weaponry, and his winning war plan. The symbolic impacts of the victory at Adwa on racism, the liberation struggles of the African world and colonised nations, on European colonialist adventures and supremacy, and the Berlin Conference might be taken as the macro impacts but Adwa also had micro impacts. Despite such a colourful resume and impact of international transcendence and significance, Menelik has not been profiled nor were his legacies in relation to colonialism, post-colonialism or liberty been academically scrutinised.

Colonial advances are communicated in various tropes of discourse and the mass media are the platforms of transmission, which a specialised form of journalism is sometimes credited for fairly recording the events and at others denounced for propaganda, war reporting. War reporting in the modern literature is believed to have started during the Crimean War of 1853-1856 with the coming of the technology of photography as an element, which in turn gave a boost to the professionalism of war reporting. The Battle of Adwa, which took place nearly half a century after the Crimean War, was depicted by artistic impressions and drawings with a brief caption or News reports written by envoys or Italian military correspondents. On the one hand, war reporting could be practiced by taking the most common "bystander" reporting model, when the reporter attempts not to take side and report

"only what he/she saw." The bystander model has been criticised for being detached mainly from the sufferers and victims of war. The opposite of the bystander war reporting is an attachment journalism introduced in 1997 by the BBC's reporter Martin Bell. This position urges the journalist to look for solutions to the conflict and even take sides *with* the victims. These two positions are in the context of an imagined mediasphere, where the journalists' are not ideally propagandists. However, when the journalists are embedded with one of the fighting sides or when those doing the reporting are the military officials, missionaries and envoys, then the question of objectivity or non-propagandist war reporting is hardly discussable. These two later cases are some of the pertinent examples of a one sided, partial, and "history is written by the victors" type of propagandists.

In reading war reports, the framing of the story can be uncovered by primarily looking at the political economy of the media outlet covering the conflict. For instance, in the case of Adwa, most of the international media outlets that were covering the battle were based in the West, at least those reviewed in this report, the Associated Press, New York Herald, New York Tribune and few Rome and London based newspapers. The head office, ownership, control and financial nucleus of these publishers are also based in the Western world. Such a form of ownership and control structure proves Herman & Chomsky's (1988) Propaganda Model, according to the political economy of the media; News could be manipulated for propaganda. Ethiopia and Menelik, were therefore at an information and media disadvantage during the Battle of Adwa for there was no local or international media outlet or any recognized war correspondent on the Abyssinian (Ethiopian) side at the time. Preliminarily, it could be hypothesised that the 19th Century American/Western press covered Menelik and the Battle of Adwa from a pro-Italy or Western war propaganda framework. Regarding the process of selection and transformation in media discourse, Wilkins (1997:60) in Atai & Mozaheb (2013) came up with the finding that "The images used in the Western press compose a selective portrait of reality that resonates with the dominant western ideological perspectives". Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the research method used in this study is geared towards unearthing the hidden ideologies in discourses.

A framework that conceivably brings the discourse, representation, colonialism and war reporting theories together is the framing theory. According to Wendland (2010: 28) a frame maybe defined as

> a psychological construct that furnishes one with a prevailing point of view that manipulates prominence and relevance in order to influence thinking and, if need be, subsequent judgment as well.

In the case of the media, framing supplies the context, it suggests what the issue is and how it should be reporting through "selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Scheufele, 2000: 523). News frames are composed of and are embedded in the metaphors, concepts, keywords, symbols, and images that may reinforce some ideas but not others. News could have a binary nature one that is the result of the feature of the News report itself or the individual frames of the audiences. Media framing thus "selects and highlights" certain aspects of an event to construct arguments around problems, judgment and/or solution and it could affect audiences or society's perceptions and values (Entman, 1993). Traditionally, there have been various types of media framings of events or things such as among many the "human interest" frames, "conflict", "Peace", "racial" and the "rights" frame etc. This study reads the American press to disentangle the discourses and show the frames used to represent Menelik.

Entman's (1993) definition of framing seals the theoretical discussion on framing "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). My analysis of the American press using the research methodology applied in this research will interpret the salient messages, what is promoted and the treatment recommendations. The next section presents the research method used in this research, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In media research, content analysis is used to study the manifest meanings of communication qualitatively by counting the variables that the researcher is interested in studying. On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to study the *latent meaning* of discourses qualitatively. Manifest content refers to the material that actually appears, un-interpreted, in the message. Latent content is content that might become apparent after a coder has interpreted or read between the lines of the message prior to coding. Fairclough (1995) offers a three-part framework of CDA useful in the analysis of discourse, which are text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. The text level of Fairclough's CDA model

dissects the uses of grammar, tenses and speeches to unravel the hidden messages within the discourses. CDA is carried out to unravel hidden ideologies (Machin & Mayr, 2012) buried within the texts. CDA does unknot ideologies by looking at victims, by targeting the powers that legitimise it, by looking at the-account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society, and culture (Van Dijk, 1993). Machin & Mayr (2012) state that the term critical in CDA, means-denaturalising the language to reveal the kinds of ideas, absences, and taken-for-granted assumptions in texts.

The analysis of the text investigates the discourse in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system, and cohesion organization above the sentence level (Fairclough, 1995). According to Fairclough (1995), the analysis of language is concerned with presences as well as absences in texts that could include-representations, categories of participant, and constructions of participant identity or participant relations. CDA analyses the use of language within a social context and aims-to reveal the role of discursive strategies and practices in the creation and reproduction of (unequal) relations of power, which are understood as ideological effects. The detailed focus on the text and sociocultural practice is therefore because the analysis will heavily dwell on these two.

After having retrieved the "Menelik & Adwa" reports from 19th Century American Press, I re-read the data to get very well acquainted with the reports and then identified key themes to point the lexicalisation, context, discourse and the sociocultural discourse, interrelationships, absences and silences of voices within the text, argumentation and ideologies within the discourses. The same process was repeated in the sociocultural or explanation stages. The sociocultural practice or the explanation stage is concerned with the larger cultural, historical, political, and social discourses within the text under study in order to examine the social effects and determinants of discourse in order to explain the use of the discourses (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough (1995) states that at least three aspects of the sociocultural context of a communicative event: economic (i.e. economy of the media), political (i.e. power and ideology of the media), and cultural (i.e. issues of values) can be assessed and explained and not all the three aspects may have to be analysed. Therefore, the findings below are from a mix of analysis of the second to the third stages of CDA; the discourse practice and the sociocultural practice in no particular order. The assessment is conducted based on my

subjective analysis of the corpus using the theoretical framework; as Fairclough (2003) noted CDA is partial and based on the analyst's perception and understanding of the text.

In the Lexis Nexis and Trinity College Dublin (TCD) Library's 19th Century U.S. Newspapers archive, the words "Menelik" and "Adwa" were searched. For the purpose of this research, a random search of Menelik in nineteenth century U.S. newspapers showed a search result of 598 items. In addition, random search of Menelik in nineteenth century U.K. newspapers showed a search result of 1873 items. However, this article uses the 52 reports extracted from the 598 items found in U.S. newspapers because the U.S. is a non-colonising country and the assumption is that U.S. newspapers would have a different type of coverage of colonial invasions from newspapers of colonial states such as the UK or France's. Twenty-two reports before the Battle of Adwa and 29 after the Battle of Adwa were reviewed. The word length of the reports ranged between 80 to 2000 words the average being 300 words. The category of almost all the reports was News.

The study poses two main research questions:

- Were ideologies discernible in the discourses of the 19th Century American press coverage of Menelik?
- Did the discourses in the 19th Century American press change after Menelik's victory at the Battle of Adwa?

The CDA is helpful in revealing hidden discourses employed or emphasised repetitively in the U.S. press to describe Menelik and Abyssinia. The second question can be further divided into two sub-questions. These are "how was Menelik represented before the Battle of Adwa?" and "How was Menelik represented after the Battle of Adwa?" and finally a composite of these two sub questions inquires if there were visible changes in discourse after the Battle of Adwa. The purpose of the next section is to present the primary textual data gathered and analyse it using CDA research method.

Data Presentation and Discussion

The empirical data collected for this research were thoroughly read before discourses, sentences and phrases or words that paralleled our theoretical framework and method were

underscored or extracted from the general corpus. An article with the earliest mention of King Menelik II was found in March 1889. However, there were articles even earlier than 1889 but none did fulfil our word count minima of 80 words. It is worth remembering that most of the articles were written by only some U.S., U.K. or Italian Newspapers/agencies but were reprinted or paraphrased and published by several local US newspapers, some of which are now *de funct*. Most of the reviewed 19th Century US newspapers frequently quote the New York Herald, New York Tribune or the Associated Press as the main source of the original Adwa/Menelik dispatches.

Before the Battle of Adwa

The Atchison Daily Globe on October 12, 1889, seven years before the Battle of Adwa, introduced Menelik calling him "Africa's most powerful ruler." The "new and greatest" ruler, the article states, "he was coronated at Adna, the coronation place of all kings of that country." While demonstrating him very highly, the report makes a factual error labelling Adna as a place of coronation of Ethiopian emperors when "Axum" was the historical place of coronation. "Haelow is also Menelik's father," states the *Globe* making yet another factual error, which as a Paper possibly had no reporter on the ground or the technology to verify. Menelik's father was "Haile Melekot." Describing Menelik's appearance, the newspaper begins by comparing Menelik's skin colour with a coal on what could today be described an insensitive or hate speech "coal black, short and dumpy". Further, the article describes the King as "gentle and amiable" person but without referencing or using reported speech states Menelik "has been guilty of acts of gross cruelty to conquered enemies." The author accuses Menelik of violence but legitimates his heavy-handedness since he was unleashing it against his "enemies."A friend of Europeans, Menelik is described by the paper as person zealous to introduce European "arts, machinery and implement." He became a watch "tinkerer" after practicing on at least 10 watches as well as firearms. The general discourse of this piece could best described as a "love and hate" frame, where the author primarily aggrandizes Menelik but also adds in elements of negative tropes.

Bismarck Daily Tribune reported on 27 Nov. 1891, five years before the battle, about Menelik's declaration of "intentions" sent to European leaders. It reads, "King Menelik of

Abyssinia has *astonished* European leaders by serving on them a general notice of "Keep off this plat"". Plat means a piece of ground or land according to the Oxford Dictionary, 2007. The message sounds like a warning to Europeans to stay away from Abyssinia. This is further explained by the following phrases the author uses to sarcastically interpret Menelik's message, "He did not in so many words add "Beware of the dog", or "the bull is dangerous" but that is the purport of his circular." Both sarcastic expressions have been popularly used since ancient Roman Empire to warn uninvited visitors or intruders about the consequences of their acts. It can thus, benevolently, be assumed that the writer was cynically critiquing Menelik's message. The two sarcastic adages inserted into the News feature contain animal characters and objects. The addition of the two sarcastic phrases do explain the cultural and historical insensitivity of the writers or perhaps the long held prejudice of associating the people of "the Dark Continent" with all sorts of wilderness and wild animals since "the dog or the bull" is used to metaphorically represent Menelik or his soldiers. The last part of the sentence "…and his self-confidence is simply sublime" asserts the author's impression and surprise at an African leader writing such a letter to Europe. The paper adds that Menelik in his announcement had said, "I do not propose to be an indifferent spectator while foreign powers are dividing Africa among themselves." Since the date of the announcement is during the height of colonialism in Africa and five years after the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, Menelik was directly addressing the Berlin conferrers and European leaders. This announcement confirmed by a Western media, reasserts Menelik's Pan-Africanist stance and debunks some of the critics, who accuse him of being anti-black Africa (who considers himself as non-black) or particular Ethiopian ethnic groups. The paper states that Menelik concluded his announcement with a hope that "Jesus Christ will depose the hearts of Europeans so that they will be reasonable and stay away." The "they" word in this quote confirms that the report was written by a non-European, possibly American author and media since it was also filed in North Dakota, and how the author positions himself as an outsider. Written based on Menelik's letter, the report frames Menelik as an arrogant and ridicules his message and him.

This report by *Idaho Avalanche* on March 5, 1892 is taken from the *New York Tribune*, which also took the report from another Italian Newspaper. It describes Menelik as a "Prince" and calls him "enlightened", which was a rare acclamation to be given to an African by a U.S. paper. The newspaper also divulges that Menelik is a prince "who can work and who prays two hours daily." The report based on the accounts of an Italian member of parliament and

then Ambassador to Ethiopia, Count Antonelli, describes Menelik's appearance as such "He is a man of medium height and powerful body, with dark-brown skin and coarse although not irregular features." In this quotation, the last phrase "coarse although not irregular features" indicates that there was a feature that was considered to be "regular", possibly, a face of an American since it was written in the U.S. Menelik is considered to have a "regular feature", according to the witness and the writer but "coarse." Written at least half a decade before Menelik defeated the Italians and his enemies increased, the witness and the paper describe Menelik as a wise, gentle, compassionate and what can be described today a "democratic leader": "He is not naturally cruel and the signing of death-warrants often makes him sorrowful and reflective. He understands his people and is able to gain their love and rule them wisely". The phrase "he is not naturally cruel" means Menelik could at times be cruel. However, in the next paragraphs, the Count paints a very positive Menleik listing his qualities such as "subjecting himself to physical labour", receiving Europeans in a "friendly and flattering manner", planning, organisation and daily prayer. The sociocultural discourse analysis inquires the positive acclamation the King was given in relation to variables such as the time, context, politics and background of Count Antonelli and the period. Around 1892 the contacts between Italy and Menelik were kicking off with limited interactions, thus, there are hardly any interest related reasons for the Count to give such a positive account of Menelik. However, as we will read later on, most envoys gave positive references to the Emperor different from the newspapers or the journalists.

An article that was published by *The Daily Picayune* on March 4, 1895, exactly a year before the Battle of Adwa referring that Abyssinia, as Ethiopia or as the region North of Shoa was known to the outside world then, was going to have its own coinage for the first time after using the Maria Thesesa for long. It notes one side of the coin was to contain the "head of Menelik II." The paper adds Menelik II was crowned with the legend "Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia". This line is interesting in that the majority of the articles make a rare mention of Ethiopia as country and it also puts the debates of some writers, who argue the country as well the the name "Ethiopia" has a history of mere 100 years, to rest. It also answers to those who argue that Ethiopia never existed before "Menelik's expedition to the South of Abyssinia."

The following extract from the report reveals an example of author's interpretation of the speaker and a factual error "As Menelik asserts that Abyssinia is the Sheba of the Bible." It is

very difficult to come across any writing or discourse that asserts Menelik or anyone said Abyssinia was the Sheba of the Bible. The Sheba of the Bible is believed by many Ethiopians to be an Abyssinian or Ethiopian. This factual error by *The Daily Picayune* cautions us from the start that distant press, scholars and historians may not catch and impart the full, fair and firsthand truth of the Battle of Adwa or the history of Abyssinia for that matter due to the language, geographic, cultural, and positional differences. Similarly, the use of assertive metapropositional verbs (Machin and Mayr, 2012)[3] by the author interprets Menelik's speech or claim suggesting that the author does not endorse the King's speech.

The general discourse in this report frames Menelik from a relatively neutral and introductory perspective using few judgmental verbs or adjectives.

The *New York Tribune's* "Italy in Abyssinia" story on the installation of an Italian Chief Mesclascia as governor of Adwa in 1895 perhaps shows the beginning of the tension between Menelik and the Italians. According to the report although King Menelik supported by his "G****" (now a derogatory term for Oromo) fighters advanced to Axum …he returned back, "presumably, not to receive his crown from the hands of the Italians." The phrase "supported by his…fighters," suggests and awards the success of the advance to his soldiers rather than Menelik himself. Moreover, the fact that Menelik returned instead of collecting the crown from the Italians was connotatively described as "disrespect", by the author.

> At any rate, he did not dare attack Ras Alula, the real patriotic leader in Tigre. He resolved the submission of Ras Mengesha, another chief, and, affecting to trust, the sincerity of the latter, he appointed one of the three chiefs of the three districts of the Tigre, the two others being Seguns and Mesclascia. Menelik knew, as did Gerhard Rolf, the celebrated German traveller, that, though belonging to the same race, the Abyssinians are divided politically.

The position of the writer of the report as pro-Ras Alula and Anti-Menelik can be viewed in the use of words and phrases such as "dare attack" to say that Menelik was not brave enough

[3] Metapropositional verbs mark the author's interpretation of a speaker. Some of the sub types of metapropositional verbs are assertive verbs, directive quoting verbs and expressive verbs.

to attack Ras Alula, who is according to the *New York Tribune*'s writer " real" and "patriotic leader." Similarly, the author is connotatively saying that Menelik was not a "real patriotic leader." The writer continues to paint Menelik by describing him as a "rogue" when it compares him to Ras Alula's "sincerity." Another method the writer used to legitimise his own view of a "divided Abyssinia" and to legitimise the German traveller Gerhard Rolf's alleged perception of a "divided Abyssinia" used Menelik as a verification without quoting him but by merely adding the verb "knew." What is the proof that he knew? In this paragraph again, the German traveller's account has been given a higher distinction compared to Menelik's by the addition of the qualifying adjective "celebrated." The campaign of tarnishing Menelik was repeated by *The Macon Telegraph* published on December 26, 1895, which accused Menelik of arresting a German educated Abyssinian Goban Desta for writing a letter to Europe and in the same piece charges the King with enslaving and "killing the G**** men." In the above discourse, we observe an attempt by the author to systematically deny Menelik any form of honour of heroism, credibility and honour.

An article titled "the Abyssinians and their Christianity" published in Columbus, Ohio before the battle of Adwa described the Abyssinian Christianity as a faith that was backward and needed reform. The article cherishes Menelik's inauguration as Emperor and adds he "has been favourable to the representatives of Western civilisation and Evangelical Christianity." Thus Menelik's inauguration, the writer, who is a professor, adds "promises to inaugurate a new departure in the public policy of that historic country by opening it to Western influence, and thus preparing the way for the rejuvenation of its stereotyped and formalistic Christianity." It is an oxymoron that a U.S. writer, who berates and judges Ethiopia's historic Christianity as "stereotyped" himself promotes another stereotype. What is described as a new departure for the country, according to the author, was opening up to Western influence. Criticised as "stereotyped and formalistic", Ethiopia's Christianity was necessarily to be reformed and prepared for rebirth, which according to the tradition of the time accomplished through colonialism. By virtue of publishing this article, the American Newspaper as well as the author have supported interference in Ethiopia and showed how they believe they are superior.

Another sensationally titled article "The man who is whipping Italy" on December 11, 1895 by the *Bismarck Daily Tribune,* condescendingly labels Menelik "Crafty, old and fooling".

Although the headline seems to suggest that the story was going to be glorifying Menelik, the content contains highly reductive and discriminatory representations against Menelik. The first paragraph reads, "the crushing defeat the Italian forces have sustained at the hands of a half savage people will imperil her position among the nations of Europe." The "crushing defeat" metaphor reveals the extent of the defeat Italy sustained and reaction of the publisher. Shockingly, however, the Ethiopian side or Menelik's forces are described as "half savage people" revealing the publishers negative and condescending stereotype. The main worry of the author is, thus, not the effect of the war on victims but Italy's position as a White European nation. The second paragraph reads, "Menelik II is the wiliest and most guileful negro on the dark continent." The phrases "wiliest and most guileful" are employed to describe Menelik as deceptive and the use of the noun negro instead of calling him by his name or status and the "dark continent" metaphor suggest senses of diminution and prejudice. It is yet another case of biased, impartial and denigrating frame.

The piece on the *Daily Picayune* published on December 10, 1895, three months before the battle of Adwa, carried an emotionally charged and typical war journalism headline "The Italians cut to pieces." Further down, the subhead read, "Bloody engagement fought in Abyssinia, in which Major Tosselli, with 1200 troops was surrounded by King Menelik's forces, and over half of them killed." The details of the report contain the same report that was reported by other media outlets earlier, filed from Rome, by the *Associated Press.* Words such as "bloody" and "cut to pieces" show the extent of the war and the damage on the side of the Italians.

A week after the battle of Mekele, the Utah based *Salt Lake Semi-weekly Tribune* reported on 21 January 1896 that Menelik "wanted peace." The nine-line News report stated, "owing to dissentions in the Shoans camp, Emperor Meneleik is suing the Italians for peace." Menelik reportedly asked General Baratieri to appoint "plenipotentiary" for the peace process. The report concludes stating, "the Shoans had killed 500 in the fighting at Fort Makalene on January 11th." The previous report on the battle sent from the same place Massawa only said "heavy losses " on the Abyssinians side and only "three native troopers killed and few wounded" on the Italians side while this report puts the figure of Italians deaths at 500. *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* took a 12-line dispatch from Rome on January 21, 1896, which read, "the government does not expect that any results will follow the negotiations with Menelik, King of Abyssinians, who has infested the town of Makalene." The Italian

forces garrisoned Makalene (Mekele) then. This report shows that Italy believes Menelik, who was not the aggressor, was not genuinely calling for peace. In addition, the reporting shows a typical type of discriminatory and othering reporting that is observed nowadays when reporting about migrants by Western media outlets, which routinely describe the immigrant movement to Europe as "infesting." Menelik was accused of "infesting" Mekele, which was his own country despite many Tigre traitors who sided with the Italians emboldening the latter to consider it their own possession. To infest according to Oxford Dictionary means "(of insects or animals) be present (in a place or site) in large numbers, typically so as to cause damage or disease." It is evident that from the use of the verb "infest" in the sentence, the dispatchers and the publisher were connotatively using a verb that be understood as suggesting Menelik and his forces were "insects or animals."

On January 31, 1896, the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune* carried a special on the *New York Herald* sent from Rome. The six-line report read, "King Menelik continues his advance, cunningly paralysing any offensive movement on the part of Gen. Baratieri by treating the battalion of colonel Galliano as hostages. The situation remains very critical." The words and phrases such as "cunningly paralysing" and "treating …as hostages" describe the fighting skills and intellect of Menelik or eulogize him.

The in-depth feature report by the *Daily Picayune* on February 9, 1896 is by far one of the longest stories, one full page, written on Menelik and his fights with the Italians. Headed "Italy's bad break", the report alleges France and Russia had been supporting Menelik. Deviating from previous reports that dubbed Menelik and his Abyssinian army as "Doubtless", this report describes them otherwise "of all the petty wars of the past few months, the Abyssinian struggle is the most interesting for the reason that the people are fearless and capable of meeting slaughter with slaughter." It adds, "Their national pride is unlimited and they look down upon all other nations of the world as inferior to them in Christianity." This report acclaims Ethiopians as daring enough who can selflessly fight and judgmentally describes them as people with feelings of "superiority" to others because of religion. For the Europeans and Americans of the 19th Century, unlike King Solomon's impression, the country had "a down-at-the-heel" look. It depicts the Abyssinians of the 19th century regarding them as "pre-eminent" but the civilisation was a "ragged and worn out echo." The authors of this article show their contempt to the Abysssinian civilisation and find it meaningless that the Abyssinians were still proud by the echo of their yesteryear civilisation, which by the connotation of the statement *did not exist in the 19th century*. The

authors persuade the readership as well as the Abyssinians to be convinced that their civilisation was run down and nonexistent. The report praises Abyssinians only for one quality: fighting "but for all that the Abyssinians are fighters." In the following line, it reasons the "simple" cause why Menelik kept the upper hand against the Italians for nearly a year was because Menelik had 200,000 soldiers while Italy had 15,000 stationed. The number of soldiers that each force had was recorded differently by different sources. The validity of such an argument does not hold water because a larger native force met Italy when it colonised Libya, Somalia or when the British forces colonised most of the world. Had it been merely a case of number of soldiers, no country would have been colonised by the British colonisers who had much lower fighters than the countries they had invaded.

Regarding the fighting styles of the Abyssinians, the paper states, "the Abyssinians swoop down on a band of Italians soldiers, kill and wound as many as they can in a few minutes and then fade away." The writer appreciates the fighting skills of the traditionally armed soldiers but connotatively degradingly represents it as a "mob styled war." The position of the author is partly made clear when it reports how the Italians missed an opportunity of defeating the Abyssinians in Mekele "The Italians, with the rapid-fire guns, would have annihilated the Abyssinians had they made an assault on the fortress of Mekele." The author clearly sounds to have been utterly disappointed, signifying the ideology of the publisher, by the loss of the Italian side to the extent of lamenting the missed opportunity of "annihilating" the Abyssinians. The article, then, discusses how debt is a disregarded, punishable and abhorred custom in Abyssinia calling it a very ancient custom. Narrating the respect and place of the Virgin Mary in the country, the author details the value that the Abyssinians give to women and their mother, in what could be termed today as gender awareness, "motherhood in the eyes of the Abyssinians is the most sacred, and they venerate their own mothers beyond all else." The author makes another claim that the Abyssinian soldiers were intoxicated with drugs higher than hashish or opium during fights as a result of which "the trained soldier is at a discount when pitted against a legion of these madmen, bent upon slaughter." The author's bias to the Italians is discernible here again in the construction of yet another simplistic cause for the bravery of the Abyssinians and the use of nouns that belittle and blame the Abyssinians for the death of the invading Italians "madmen, bent upon slaughter." It is also, perhaps, the only place where Abyssinian soldiers have been accused of using a "substance" during war. The author failed to do his job by even publishing a claim that does not contain

the name of the alleged "drug." This article is yet another example of scornful, wilfully ignorant and racist articles that framed Menelik as "inept."

My critical analysis of the text and sociocultural discourse of the 19th Century American press coverage of Menelik before the Battle of Adwa generally emphasised on introducing Menelik and Abyssinia to the world especially the American audience. However, they framed Menelik as an arrogant, coward, incompetent, dishonourable King and ridiculed the Emperor's messages, the history and civilisation of Ethiopia calling for the "protection and rejuvenation" of Ethiopia.

After the Battle of Adwa

Before the Battle of Adwa in December 1895 at the Battle of Ambalagi and early 1896 at the Battle of Mekelle, Menelik defeated the Italians winning him fame and more courage. Article 17 of the Wuchale Treaty signed between Menelik II and Italy in 1889 is widely believed to be the main cause of the war between the two countries in addition to the colonial campaign by Italy. The Agreement caused a controversy because the Italian version of the article made Ethiopia the protectorate of Italy. In fact, most of the 19th Century American press repeatedly named the war a "campaign" by Italy. Except a couple of newspapers, the majority of the press reviewed did not mention the Treaty or attempted to show the root causes of the conflict.

On the day of the battle, March 1, 1896, the Louisiana based *Daily Picayune* reported under a neutral headline "Italy in Abyssinia" that the campaign was "proving a veritable disaster" and the whole campaign against Menelik was "series of disasters." The most affected, however, notes the newspaper, was the Italian leader Francesco Crispi, who wanted to use the war as a means of maintaining his country as "first-class power" and to distract local uprisings in Italy. *Daily Picayune* on March 4, 1896 reported as many as 3000 Italians were killed. The paper puts the number of Italians at 40000 plus 6000 native Askaris while Menelik's forces were 60000. It called the Italian defeat at the Battle of Adwa "the culmination of the reverses." The article titled "Mob spirit rampant" by *Denver Evening Post* on March 6, 1896 reported that soon after the News of Italy's defeat in Africa, mass demonstration, riots and protests have broken out across Italy, especially in Milan where properties were damaged and many arrests were made. On March 6, 1896, the *Daily Picayune* wrote a short piece narrating effects of the Italian defeat as a "terrible defeat and slaughter", which led to the resignation of

Premier Crispi's government and the blow to the reputation of the Italian military. Hence, forcing Italy to sit for peace talks with Menelik and is "an event which will put a stop to further colonization schemes in Africa." The next Newspaper clipping is from *Daily Picayune* March 4, 1896 issue reporting the Italian defeat at the Battle of Adwa.

ITALIAN DEFEAT IN ABYSSINIA.

Yesterday the startling intelligence reached Europe that the Italians had suffered another crushing defeat in Abyssinia, at the hands of King Menelik. The details of the disaster are as yet meager, but sufficient is known to make it certain that the reverse was serious.

According to the meager advices available, as many as 3000 Italians were killed or captured, and the defeated army was forced to retreat fifty miles. The number of the wounded and the extent of the demoralization among the troops are not known; but, if the figures of the killed are correct, the wounded must be very numerous and the disorganization considerable.

The Italian army consisted of 40,000 European troops and 6000 native auxiliaries, making a total force of 46,000 men. The opposing Abyssinian force is reported to have reached 60,000 men, and they are reported to have been armed with modern weapons and with cannon. The Italian army was proceeding in three columns, and the attack was so conducted that the soldiers of Menelik were able to separate the columns and attack them in detail.

Were this the first reverse Italian arms have sustained in Africa it would be bad enough; but it has been the culmination of many reverses on a smaller scale. The first serious disaster was the cutting off of a detached column, and the last disaster appears to have been also the direct result of an improper division of the forces, which enabled the Abyssinian King to fall upon each column separately and crush it completely.

The first result of this disaster to Italian arms in Africa will be the overthrow of the Crispi Government. Strong and well-intrenched in power as Crispi is, he cannot be expected to resist the storm of popular resentment that will be sure to follow the publication of the news from Abyssinia. The masses have long been dissatisfied with the Abyssinian war, and they will be disposed to visit upon Crispi all the disappointments resulting from the campaign. The prompt sending of 10,000 additional re-enforcements to the scene of the war will not serve Crispi; in fact, it is already rumored that the Crispi Ministry, yielding to popular clamor, has resigned.

Italian colonization projects in Africa have not been very successful, and the terrible reverses suffered at the hands of the Abyssinians promise to put a prompt stop to all further attempts to extend Italian influence in Africa.

"Italian Defeat in Abyssinia." *Daily Picayune* [New Orleans, Louisiana] 4 Mar. 1896: 4. 19th Century U.S. Newspapers.

A report on March 7, 1986 filed in Rome but dispatched from Massawa, Eritrea and rewritten by the Kansas based *Atchison Daily Globe* cites the skin colour of the fighters, differing from what most of the papers reported using nationality as a means of identification. "Gen. Arimondi and Col. Galliano, with 300 white soldiers, are now reported to be prisoners in the

hands of the Shoans." For the first time, the publication mentioned the colours of the prisoners even though the Italian army included native traitors, who were also captured by Menelik forces. The specific mention of the colour of prisoners as white shows the authors humiliation and his segregation of the non-white local pro-Italian soldiers. Signor Franzoi was assigned to go to Menelik's country on behalf of the Italian King "to conclude an honourable peace with the Abyssinians and abandon the country." On March 8, 1896, Colorado's *Rocky Mountain News* carried a report titled "Italy's destiny at stake" detailing the aftermath of the Battle and the political crisis in Italy. It also follows with a piece of story about the calls by Italian King for the war in Abyssinia to continue. A newspaper noted that due to the effect of the war on Italy's honour "a revenge" was necessary. "The *Tribuna* today declares that the matter is not a question of simple crisis in Africa or in Italy. It maintains that the honour of Italy is involved and urges the incoming ministry to adopt a policy of uncompromising revenge." The Newspaper also reported that many anti-Africa meetings were being organised in Italy "A big ant-Africa meeting to be held tomorrow is being organised at Milan and steps to hold similar assemblages are being taken in other large cities." Since the Battle of Adwa, Shoan forces have made no advance although urged by Abyssinian leaders like Ras Alula to "prosecute the war to the bitter end", Menelik's forces were "anxious to return." Franzol the explorer puts Menelik's pacifist personality in a letter he sent "If our generals again take the offensive, another disaster is inevitable. I do not think the Negus will take the offensive. It would be madness on his part to enter the triangle formed by Keren, Assara and Massowah. Menelik, I know, only desires peace." The message by the Italian explorer and later peace negotiator, clarifies some of the ensuring controversies about the Eritrea issue, why Menelik did not pursue farther. As Franzol notes, it was unwise for Menelik's forces to enter a triangle entrenched by Italian forces in Eritrea and sacrifice his remaining forces.

Obviously, the length of the News reports has showed a steady increase after the Battle of Adwa. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* on March 8, 1896 printing a report filed by the *Associated Press* in London stated that if Russia and France had supported King Menelik against Italy, as was reported then, it predicted that Germany's King William II could side with Russia and France to strike a blow at Germany's "colonial rival" Britain. The report dispatched from London also notes that Britain was sending a loan to Italy as the later requested. Interestingly, the position of Britain becomes evident in this article "Military men here express much

sympathy for Italy in her troubles, and several former British army officers have already offered their services to the Italian government for duty in Africa." Britain, as an empire dictated by the King and the army, expressed through its military men that it supports Italy's military ambition in Abyssinia and even offered *services.* Another report, which appeared on Colorado's Rocky Mountain News written on March 7, 1896 by the Associated Press in London explained the effect of the Battle of Adwa on European honour and pride "General Oreste Baratieri's defeat must have an enormous moral effect in Africa and diminish considerably the prestige of European troops of all nationalities."

Based on dispatches from the *New York Journal* and the Daily Graphic, the Milwaukee Journal presented a one column report titled "Baratieri and His Foe" on March 10, 1896. The headline of the report written in the U.S., places Baratieri as a legitimate fighter while Menelik as the "the foe." The first few paragraphs of the report profile Baratieri as educated and accomplished Italian military personnel, who later became the governor-commander in chief of the Italian colony. The next extract indicates that the author locates Menelik and his Italian "foe" as unequal. Since the paragraph begins by profiling Baratieri as a personal of high qualities, it is a default that he was describing Menelik as less equal. The writer argues that Menelik's "seeming power" comes from consolidating local administrations under his empire, hence, in other words, not by his personal skills. "It was no contemptible foe which defeated Baratieri" states the Journal, and adds "Menelik seems to be a statesman of great power of will for he has consolidated the semi-independent vice-royalties into one homogenous, powerful people, and is in reality, therefore, emperor."

Daily Picayune's March 10, 1896 issue quoting the Paris Figaro called Empress Tayetu, the wife of King Menelik II, "a masterful" and "who rules the King." It describes her face as

> well formed, with regular features, except for a little defect of the mouth, which she endeavours to conceal when she speaks. Her skin is a clear brown. Her eyes are black, large and expressive. Her feet are small and her hands are aristocratic just as are her manners in general. According to circumstances, the expression of her eye is benevolent, or scornful or fiendish.

This report appreciates and represents the Queen better than the way that most of the reports represented Emperor Menelik. The message to be unravelled is the powerfulness of Empress Tayetu in the leadership and in her marriage. Menelik's qualities are factored in by his wife intelligence and skills, it can be learned.

One clear change of name usage and discourse we can observe after the Battle of Adwa is that the Italian and the American media have started avoiding the name Abyssinia and using the generic "in Africa" or where the Italian forces were located was being referred to as Africa rather than by their names. "Negotiations with King Menelik have opened and it is anticipated that peace will be concluded before long, and the war office has countermanded the instructions sent to various points for the hurrying forward of reinforcements to Africa." The article then also reasons that Italian commanders were well prepared but they were defeated because "the native troops under the Italian flag became panic stricken." On the other hand, it points, "Disinterested judges still hold that the real cause of the defeat of the Italian forces was to be found in the almost unceasing clamour of certain newspapers of this (Rome) city and other parts of Italy at the alleged inaction of Gen. Baratieri." "Italy Wants Peace", a report carried by the Denver Evening Post on March 13, 1896 stated that the negotiations were confirmed "upon official authority." The *Philadelphia Telegraph* on March 15, 1896 under the story titled "Tactics of the Abyssinians" stated Menelik's victory was attested to "the fighting qualities of the Abyssinian troops." The story duly awards the success of the Abyssinians to the fighting skills of Menelik's forces rather than pre-war reports that reasoned the causes were external factors rather than Menelik's and his soldiers' skills.

A March 16, 1896 *Milwaukee Journal* reports its surprise at Menelik showing his military store to an Italian peace ambassador and metaphorically questions "The dark King is willing to throw light on his means of offense and enlighten his enemies as to what they may expect to meet. This is a new way to offer a choice of peace or war. Is it wisdom or vanity? " The first metaphor uses Menelik's skin colour to also apply it to the common metaphoric use of black and dark colours to "bad and negativity" and connotatively say he was a bad king, who wanted to use his fighting tools as a means of informing what Italy might face if it dares another attack. In addition, to highlighting Menelik's wisdom and at the same time "cruelty", the sentence applies an interesting parabole of "the dark lighting the light." This parabole of describing Menelik's acts in both negative and positive is repeated in the last sentence, which questions if this was "wisdom or vanity."

In this short article published by *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune* on March 17, 1896, two important issues are glaringly evident. The first line of the piece reads "Menelik II., Emperor of Shoa, and Abyssinia, King of Kings in all Africa and a monarch of Ethiopia" properly delineates Shoa from Abyssinia and Abyssinia from Ethiopia. The sentence explains that the

publisher understands the three as distinctly different states or that the recent discourses that lump Abyssinia and Ethiopia as one and the same or ethnonationalist elites who describe Abyssinia as concerning Gonder, Gojjam and Tigray specific could be wrong in describing Abyssinia as just a name for the North. It also points that the nation of Ethiopia did exist and was recognised in media discourses. Phrases and words such as "most interesting monarch", "all sorts of wild adventures", "self proclaimed", "enabled" "flung aside" and "greatly surprised" do exhibit the contemporary language of the time of the writing and the appreciative and stereotypical bias of the publisher about the King. Moreover, the use of the word "protect" in this sentence "Menelik …who is causing all the trouble to Italy by not allowing that country to "protect him" shows how the publisher itself does not believe Italy is on a campaign to "protect" him but because of another mission and agenda. However, the sentence appropriates Menelik, who was defending himself and his country as "the trouble maker" and Italy, the aggressor, is appropriated as the legitimate and caring state. The cause for all these problems is, according to the U.S. publication "Menelik II." The same report uses adjectives like "great ruler" and "most interesting monarch" amid the cynical sentences.

Dispatched by the *New York Herald* and rewritten by the *Milwaukee Journal* on April 3, 1896 is among the most detailed and figurative articles written about Menelik post-Adwa. The article begins by describing Menelik as a savage

> a savage barbarian King who can cut to pieces a well-equipped European army and overturn the ministry of a civilised government is an interesting person. What couldn't this barefooted savage and his naked warriors do if they had modern arms and discipline and the king himself had the advantage of a military education?

The article compares Menelik with the nature of vicious animals and only expresses his capabilities as "interesting." The phrases well-equipped and civilised government denote the author's suggestion that Menelik and his government were neither well-equipped nor civilised.

Menelik is described as a "dusky king," and "semi-barbarian" in continuation of the pre-Adwa racially toned and condescending reports. The author first appropriates Menelik as an "African" and secondly makes Menelik a superlative being by judgmentally dismissing other Africans unable showing fighting qualities and handling of a large army "The first African of modern times to show fighting qualities of a high order and true military skill in handling large masses of men." By wiping out the whole Italian army, almost at a single blow, says the New York Journal, King Menelik has taught a lesson to European powers.

Menelik's victory against the Italians seems to have lead the writers to represent Ethiopians as racially different and at times superior than the rest of Africans: "The characteristic African features are almost wholly missing among the Abyssinians. They have intelligence, stability of character, courage, skill, and qualities of endurance not to be found in any of the races of pure Negroes." Usefully, this discriminatory and patronising racist phrases perhaps show where and how beliefs and discourses such as "Ethiopians are racists", "The Ethiopians do not consider themselves as Africans" may have started. The author does continue to use racially demonizing and patronising words and phrases to describe Menelik "Thick lips are about the only feature of his face strongly suggestive of his negro blood. His skin is very dark and he has a chin showing determination." Often Ethiopian ethnonationalists who abhor Menelik draw on an unconfirmed and unreferenced meme, which alleges that Menelik had reportedly said, "he was not a Negrioid but a Caucasian." There are no officially recorded evidences that confim he had said so since firstly he may not be aware of such technical racial divisions and secondly because written evidences like the above show that it were Western intellectuals and media outlets that framed Menelik as a "non-Negro" African. The "thick lips are about the only feature of his face strongly suggestive of his negro blood" extract suggests that the author does not observe anything of a Negroid ethnic origin on Menelik but for his thick lips.

The *Milwaukee Journal* of May 22, 1896 reporting about Italian prisoners under Menelik's captivity. The American paper expresses its disbelief and anger at the treatment of white Italian prisoners, relatively treated better, rather than black prisoners, who fought along with Italy and were treated worse by Menelik for they were "traitors."

> harrowing accounts of the barbarities practiced on them were received. Hundreds of men were mutilated by the cutting off of hands and feet , a punishment inflicted on Africans in the service of Italy. But much worse was the treatment of Italians who were emasculated by order of the negus, a barbarity unheard of in modern times.

The Wisconsin Newspaper continues to sprout its condescending, hateful and paternalistic discourses:

> …statements in the Italian Green Book in connection with the relation of other powers to the negus show how little civilisation enters into the plans of the powers in Africa and that much blood will yet be spilled before the barbarians of the dark

> continent will be brought up to the present standard of civilisation. The experience of the Italians is against the assumption of war being a civilising agent.

The writer prefers to attack Africans in totality rather than Ethiopians or the King, whom the article argues are "barbarians", lives in a dark continent and without bloodshed cannot be civilised. The author contradicts himself by arguing that after the Battle of Adwa "war may not civilise." This report typically shows the presence of ideologies within the press. The ideologies presently discernible from this report is that the author and the publisher's "colonialist, condescending and racist" ideologies especially when it came to Africa. Van Dijk's (2009: 78) dichotomy of us versus them or "outgroup derogation and ingroup celebration" is typically identifiable in this extract.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* on August 29, 1896 published an account of Menelik's prisoner by an occasional correspondent writing from Italy for a London based outlet. The prisoner represents Menelik as a compassionate leader, who valued the basic rights of the Italian prisoners:

> Menelik had Abyssinian shirts and trousers distributed among us plus money. On the 10th of June we arrived in Entoto and were conducted to the palace of the negus, the only stone house which exists in that town. The next day a dinner was given to us there, and afterwards we slept under tents and were well treated.

The Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune reported quoting a French Newspaper on July 28, 1896 that Menelik commissioned a Belgian engineer to construct telephone lines across the country. The paper describes Menelik as "The Negus of Abyssinia is evidently not only a valiant warrior and shrewd diplomat." The Italian Pope wrote a letter to Emperor Menelik on June 11, 1896 begged Menelik saying "in the name of all that is dearest to you" to release Italian prisoners of war under Menelik's capitive. Menelik in his replay assured the Pope that the captives were "well-treated" and "Out of consideration for your holiness, I will, if possible, still further alleviate the lot of the prisoners." The *Morning Oregonian* reported on December 18, 1896. The *Associated Press* published on November 16, 1896 a letter by an Italian envoy confirming a peace deal with Menelik signed on October 26. The letter reads that the deal "recognises the absolute independence of Ethiopia and abrogates the (W)Uchalli treaty."

This one column long story titled "Menelik Receives" by the Commercial Appeal on January 17, 1896, taken from French publications and later appearing on the *New York Herald*, gives a detailed description of Menelik and his Empire based on the account of Pope Leo XIII's

envoy (a bishop from Alexandria) to Menelik. The Herald describes Menelik as "the victorious Abyssinian monarch, who conquered Italy and freed his country." Describing him as a religiously spiritual giant, the letter concludes asking if there was anyone to compare with him other than Napoleon Bonaparte, the French military and political leader,

> Menelik so calm and so redoubtable who has uncovered his banned forehead and impenetrable thoughts to God alone, whose heavily marked face, surmounting a pair of enormous shoulders and a colossal figure, has appeared on the dark continent like another juggernaut, following closely that other formidable figure of this century – Bonaparte?

Three years after the Battle of Adwa, the *Fayetteville Observer* of North Carolina published on December 21, 1899 that Menelik was "preparing to strike Great Britain's power in the Soudan." Based on unverified facts but in a tone that asserts Britain's fear of Menelik's capability, the report seems to be a warning call for the British administrations.

The reading of the post-Adwa articles shows a very similar type of discourse and framing of Menelik and his Empire to reports written in the American press before the Battle. The American press continued to frame Menelik and his army as "uncivilised and barbaric" and the tone used was generally was condescending. Yet, the "incompetent and coward" frame decreases after his victory at the Battle of Adwa. However, 19th Century American press attempted to paternalistically purify and make Menelik and Abyssinians more superior than other Africans or as the press described it "negroid." Some of the papers also attempted to reason out why Italy was defeated at Adwa, half of the press duly recognising Menelik's and his soldiers "fighting skills" while the other half alleged it was "support from France and Russia, the miscommunication among Italian forces, the smaller army size of Italy and even the Italian Press." Although in their post-Adwa coverage, the press attempted to introduce Menelik II to their audiences sometimes in a positive and eulogizing manner, the reports were at the same time stuffed with condescending and hateful representations. The pre-war ridicules of the press considerably decreased after Menelik defeated the Italians. The large proportions of negative black or Africa media stereotyping in the Western press may not be of a recent origination. As Fairclough (1995) argued that the power of the press to influence representations of social realities such as knowledge, values, social relations, social identities, is about how language is employed. Another commonly emphasised discourse in the post-Adwa American press was the effect of the Ethiopian victory on Italian and European prestige. Adwa was framed as an "embarrassment" to Italy and Europe as a result of which, the Ethiopian victory made Europeans such as Britain to openly side with and offer support to

"the civilised, white and adjacent" Italy. Even though, most of the original reports were filed in Italy or Messawa, Eritrea, the American press or the News Agencies such as the Associated Press (re)presented them to the audience in an openly pro-Italy and pro-colonialism discourse. The absence of reports filed from Addis Abeba or from the Abyssinian, geography makes the media power relations to fully tilt towards Italy.

Conclusion

The first research question asked if there were discourses that showed the ideological stances of the press. The CDA showed that the majority of the press did contain ideological frames and discourses more prominent after the Battle of Adwa. These discourses reflected the political and ideological stances of the countries where the News reports were published from Rome, London and New York. They purported "colonial, hegemonic and racial" ideologies. The frames were applied discursively in a manner that reinforced discrimination and power distance against Menelik and Abyssinia.

Have the discourses changed after the victory of the battle of Adwa? The anti-Menelik and pro-Italy reports continued even after Menelik's Abyssinia defeated Italy. The only difference is seen in the considerable reduction of "Menelik the incompetent" frame and the redicules while the "barbaric and uncivilised" Menelik frames largely showed continuation in a condescending and racist manner even after Adwa. One of the raison d'être for choosing the American press rather than the press of colonial nations was the fact that U.S. was not a colonialist nation and its press were expected to show some level of detachment in its reporting. However, the CDA findings showed that the American press were not detached or impartial in their war reporting of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia or Menelik II – they showed partiality to the invading Italian side and using information, they fought against Menelik II. Consequently, the preliminary hypothesis that the press could be pro-Western or Pro-Italy propaganda in the colonial advances was proven correct by the findings of the study.

The 19th Century American press generally represented Menelik in a negative frame. After Adwa, the Italian policy changes are also observed on the newspapers because they suddenly started espousing and supporting the negotiations and peace deals with Menelik. The reports

that mentioned the peace negotiations between Menelik and Italy, promoted the peace deal except one Newspaper, which called the signing of the deal with Menelik as "humiliating."

Putting it to the test of contemporary News writing values, most of the reports contained issues of accuracy, balance but clarity. As sited in the previous section for example, Emperor Menelik's father was incorrectly named as "Haelow" and similarly history, places and names related inaccuracies were frequently observed. In terms of balance, the only person quoted about the war was the Italian side that is Baratieri. There was no source quoted from the Ethiopian side about the conduct of the war, their impressions, their tactics, and their solutions. If there were voices from the Ethiopian side, they were the accounts of Italian and Western envoys that wrote or spoke about their personal experiences. Outside these, the voices and alternatives of Menelik's side were silent in the reports. Entman (1993: 55) points out "frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions."

The majority of the reports were written in very practical common English, which can be understood by an average reader hence relatively fulfilling the clarity criteria. Similar patterns, words, and discourses of representation were reproduced mostly favouring or with a feeling of petty for Italy - the aggressor. The war was being represented by the press before the Battle of Adwa as a campaign of "protection" – protecting Menelik but after Menelik defeated the Italians, it took a new frame of war of "civilisation."

The press was used as a soft power of colonialism, monopoly, racism and politio-cultural manipulation. There were rare cases of reports that hailed Menelik and his queen Empress Tayetu. For example after the victory at Adwa, the *New York Tribune* compared Menelik to Napoleon Bonaparte and the *Daily Picayune* compared Empress Tayetu with Empress Eugenie (of France), and Queen Nathalle of Servin (Serbia) a month before the Battle of Adwa, when two minor victories were already achieved against the Italians in Ambalagi and Mekele. The newspapers internationalised, eulogized and made Menelik and tayetu superlative - attributable to Menelik's and Tayetu's victories against the Italians in different battlefronts.

This research studied the discursive practices and frames in select American press at the time of the Battle of Adwa. The British Press coverage of Menelik around the same time has not

been studied but the data is widely available. Future research could probably study if the British press' discourse corroborates the findings from the American press. Not only the British press but also the Asian such as Chinese, Arab or African press at the time need to be retrieved and comparatively studied against these findings. Future research could apply multiple research methods, look at different types of data available at the time in addition to the press such as books, images, and audiovisual archives.

Finally, Menelik has been accused of all sorts of cruelty by his foes and analysts alike. Nonetheless, one of his major legacies that would represent him for a long time to come is that he is the single African leader who conquered a European country; as the *New York Herald* put it on January 17, 1896, Menelik was "the victorious Abyssinian monarch, who conquered Italy and freed his country."

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