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**Selected  
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of the**

**Florida  
Conference  
of  
Historians**

**Editors of:**

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of the  
Florida Conference of Historians*

Anthony Atwood and Joseph F. Patrouch, Co-Editors  
Annette Papizzo and Richard Smith, Associate Editors  
Florida International University

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Florida Conference of Historians

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## Letter from the Editors

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This year's volume marks my third and final contribution to the series. I have learned a lot about the responsibilities of editors and thank the officers of the FCH for allowing me this privilege. I also thank this year's volunteer FIU History graduate student editors Anthony Atwood, Annette Papizzo, and Richard Smith for their assistance. Annette and Richard have contributed their efforts for the second consecutive year, and Anthony has been involved first as an Associate Editor for Volumes 12 and 13 and now as Co-Editor.

This year's volume reflects the contributions of many at FIU History whose work led to the success of the FCH annual meeting. It was held at the Wolfsonian-FIU, a unique research museum in Miami Beach which hosted the conference. Regina Bailey helped coordinate efforts there, as did librarians Frank Lucca and Nicolae Harsanyi. In addition to Anthony Atwood, Annette Papizzo, and Richard Smith, the efforts of Silvia Mitchell, a FIU History MA student and two-time *Selected Annual Proceedings* Associate Editor, must also be recognized.

This year's volume, in addition to revealing the continued interest of FCH historians in the histories of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Florida and the US, shows the relevance of the pre-modern histories of the Florida peninsula and of the cultures which influenced its development. Thanks go to State Archeologist Ryan J. Wheeler for his important contributions to making the earlier histories of the peninsula's peoples better known and incorporated into the general history of the state. It is clear that the histories of what is now Florida are undergoing serious revision as new evidence comes to light or is reinterpreted concerning the lives of the women and men who lived there in the centuries before US acquisition of the area.

Mr. Atwood requests that his thanks to all involved also be conveyed. He will assume the full responsibilities of editing Volume 15, which will include papers from the 2007 conference to be held in Orlando.

Joseph F. Patrouch  
Princeton, New Jersey  
February, 2007

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## Thomas M. Campbell Award

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*Beginning with Volumes 6/7 in 1999, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the Thomas M. Campbell Award for the best paper published in the Annual Proceedings of that year.*

Thomas M. (Tom) Campbell was the driving force behind the creation of the Florida Conference of Historians, at that time called The Florida College Teachers of History, 45 years ago. It was his personality and hard work that kept the conference moving forward. Simply put, in the early years he *was* the conference.

Tom was a professor of US Diplomatic History at Florida State University. The Thomas M. Campbell Award is in his name so that we may recognize and remember his efforts on behalf of the Florida Conference of Historians.

### *Recipients*

- Volumes 6/7: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University
- Volumes 8/9: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University
- Volumes 10/11: Robert L. Shearer, Florida Institute of Technology
- Volume 12: David Michel, Chicago Theological Seminary
- Volume 13: Dennis P. Halpin and Jared G. Toney, University of South Florida
- Volume 14: Steve MacIsaac, Jacksonville University

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**Florida Conference of Historians  
2006 Annual Program**

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**Hosted by  
Joseph F. Patrouch  
Florida International University  
Miami, Florida**

**Thursday, May 4**

6:00-8:00 P.M.  
Registration and Cash-Bar Reception  
Blue Moon Hotel

**Friday, May 5**

8:30: Registration

9:00-10:15: Morning Panels I

**Session I-A: Are We There Yet? Temporality, Identity and Tourism in Florida Classroom**

“The Once and Future Past: Constructions of History at Silver Springs”  
**Wendy Adams King**, USF, Chair and Presenter

“Touring NASA: Communicating Triumph and Tragedy”  
**Linda Levitt**, USF

“Independence and Dependence: Diving in Key Largo, Florida”  
**Cara Mackie**, USF

**Session I-B: Themes and Sources Concerning the Histories of Miami and Miami Beach**

Sponsored by the Miami Beach Historical Association  
**Conference Room**

“Miami Beach in 1930: A View from the Census”  
**Abraham Lavender**, FIU, Chair and Presenter

"On the Care and Feeding of a Miami Memorabilia Collection"

**Seth Bramson**, FIU

"Camp Miami Beach WW2"

**Judith Berson-Levinson**, Independent Scholar

"The City of Miami Beach Historical Records Archives Project"

**Liliam Hatfield**, City of Miami Beach

**Session I-C: The World of Dreams and Fairs  
Library**

**Rebecca Friedman**, FIU, Chair and Commentator

"Romania at pre-World War II World Fairs"

**Nicolae Harsanyi**, Wolfsonian-FIU

"The Dream Merchants' Florida Dreams: Irony and the Circus Come to Florida"

**Allen S. Miller**, USF

10:30: Coffee Break

10:45-12:00: Morning Panels II

**Session II-A: Conflict and Consensus in Modern Florida  
Conference Room**

**Sherry Johnson**, FIU, Chair

**Sean MacMahon**, Lake City Community College, Commentator

"Before Walt Arrived: Florida's Ill-Fated Attempt to Build INTERAMA Theme Park"

**Michael Hoover**, Seminole Community College

"'Catastrophe' seen if sewer suit wins": Dade County's Regional Sewage Solution v. Municipal Resistance, 1971-1974"

**Marlin Kann**, FIU

"Camp Biscayne, 1914-1924: The Sporting Set Sets Sail"

**Susannah Worth**, Barnacle Historic State Park

**Session II-B: In Pursuit of Pleasure: Schultze & Weaver and the American Hotel**  
Sponsored by the Wolfsonian-FIU (includes a tour of the exhibition)  
**Gallery**

**Jon Mogul** Wolfsonian-FIU; **Marianne Lamonaca**, Wolfsonian-FIU; **Robin Bachin**,  
University of Miami; **Kenneth Lipartito**, FIU; **Keith Revell**, FIU

12:15: Lunch on your own. FCH annual business meeting in the Dynamo Café,  
Wolfsonian-FIU.

1:30-2:45: Afternoon Panels III

**Session III-A: Community Planning and Progress in the (Post) Modern US**  
**Classroom**

**Michael Epple**, FGCU, Chair and Commentator

“The Contention between Community and Society: Reflected in New York City, Miami,  
and Historic Preservation”

**Anthony Atwood**, FIU

“Progressive Ideas and City Planning Realities: J. Horace McFarland, the American Civic  
Association, and the Pursuit of Beautification”

**Julian C. Chambliss**, Rollins College

**Session III-B: Performance and Rule in the Early Modern World**  
**Auditorium**

**Joseph F. Patrouch**, FIU, Chair and Commentator

“Maria de’ Medici: a Muse or a Strategist? How Opera, Painting, and Chronicle  
Investigate the Theme of Agency”

**Antonietta DiPietro**, FIU

“A Fallen Favorite in the Court of Phillip III of Spain (1598-1621): The Role of *Fortuna*  
in the Textual Representation of Rodrigo Calderón’s *privanza* and Death”

**Silvia Mitchell**, FIU

“Diverse Affiliations in the City of Angeles: Promoting Urban Identity in Eighteenth -  
Century Puebla, Mexico”

**Frances L. Ramos**, Western Michigan University

3:00: Coffee Break

3:15-4:30: Afternoon Panels IV

**Session IV-A: The Middle East, Then & Now  
Auditorium**

**Blaine Browne**, Broward Community College, Chair and Commentator

"Hamas 2006 and Likud 1977: Terrorists Win at the Polls"

**John J. McTague**, Saint Leo University

"Geo-Strategic Lessons Learned After the II Gulf War against Iraq: US & International Interests in the Middle East/Gulf"

**Marco Rimaneli**, Saint Leo University

**Session IV-B: Pre-Modern Archeology and FIU History**

Sponsored by the Working Group for Pre-Modern Histories and Cultures, FIU  
**Classroom**

"Yotvata: a Roman *Beau Geste*?"

**Gwyn Davies**, FIU, Chair and Presenter

"Handmaidens': History and Historical Archaeology in the Colonial Chesapeake"

**John Coombs**, FIU

"The Making of Oyo Empire during the Atlantic Age: Archaeological Perspectives from West Africa"

**Akin Ogundiran**, FIU

5:45: Reception

Sponsored by the Working Group for Pre-Modern Histories and Cultures, FIU

2<sup>nd</sup> Floor Reception Hall

Welcoming Remarks: **Luis R. Garcia, Jr.**, City Commissioner, City of Miami Beach; **Joyce Shaw Peterson**, Associate Dean, FIU College of Arts and Sciences; **Victor Uribe**, Chair, Department of History, FIU; **Gwyn Davies**, Coordinator, Working Group for Pre-Modern Histories and Cultures, FIU

6:30: Banquet

2<sup>nd</sup> Floor Reception Hall

7:30: Campbell Award Announcement and Presentation of *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, Volume 13.

**Joseph F. Patrouch**, Chair, Campbell Award Committee and Editor, *Selected Annual Proceedings*

Comments and recognition of new FCH president: **Sean McMahon**, Immediate Past President, FCH

**Keynote Address:**

**Ryan J. Wheeler**, Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research,

"The People Who Met Ponce de Leon--the Tequesta in Florida History"

**Saturday, May 6**

9:00-10:15: Morning Panels V

**Session V-A: Conceptualizing Otherness**  
**Auditorium**

**Aurora Morcillo**, FIU, Chair and Commentator

"Forging an Alliance of the "Colored Peoples" of the World: Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Heruy's Mission to Japan, 1931"

**J. Calvitt Clarke, III**, Jacksonville University

"An African Tree Produces White Flowers: Black Consciousness in the Argentine Community, 19th and 20th centuries"

**Erika D. Edwards**, FIU

"Elizabeth Cady Stanton's and Susan B. Anthony's Dual Strategy of 'Other' and 'Privilege' in *The Revolution*"

**Patrica Farless**, UCF/UF

"Raising Our Own Voice: Documenting Latino/a Church History in the USA"

**Raúl Fernández-Calienes**, St. Thomas University

**Session V-B: American Foreign Policy and the Cold War**  
**Classroom**

**David Proctor**, Tallahassee Community College, Chair and Commentator

"The American Nation and the Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957-1958"

**Bernard Lemelin**, Laval University

"Reversing the Course: The Philippine-American Trade Agreement of 1946"

**Steven D. Macisaac**, Jacksonville University

"Cobalt, Southern Africa, and the United States: American - Soviet Clash for Raw Materials in Zaire and Angola, 1945-1988"

**Omer Subhani**, FIU

10:30: Coffee Break

10:45: Morning Panels VI

**Session VI-A: 20<sup>th</sup>-Century US: Best and Worst  
Auditorium**

**Alex Lichtenstein**, Rice University, Chair and Commentator

"McCarthyist Conservatism: The Johns Committee Probe into the NAACP"  
**Chris Day**, FSU

"Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and the Great Depression in America"  
**Michael Epple**, FGCU

"The Dilemma of a Southern Liberal: Claude D. Pepper and Civil Rights"  
**Ric A. Kabat**, Gainesville State College

"Crusade in the Sunshine: Political Immorality in Florida, 1956-1960"  
**Seth A. Weitz**, FSU

**Session VI-B: Threatening Nature: Military Life in Florida  
Classroom**

**Howard Rock**, FIU, Chair and Commentator

"Gators, Sand Fleas, Mosquitos and Tallahassee: Life in Camp Gordon Johnston, 1942-1946."

**Jon Mikolashek**, FSU

12:15: Conference is Adjourned



## Forging an Alliance of the "Colored Peoples" of the World: Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Heruy's Mission to Japan, 1931

J. Calvitt Clarke III  
Jacksonville University

### Heruy and Ethiopia's Japanizers

To the exaggerated horror of many western powers and ultimately a justification for Italy's declaration of war against Ethiopia, in the 1920s a series of Japanese visitors sought to expand trade between Japan and Ethiopia. Japanese representatives attended Hayle Sellase's coronation as emperor in 1930, and soon after signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with Ethiopia. The next year, the Ethiopians promulgated a constitution closely modeled on Japan's Meiji Constitution of 1889. This rapprochement encouraged Ethiopia's "Japanizers," a group of young educated Ethiopians who sought modernization for their country by modeling Japanese successes. Seemingly fulfilling their dreams, Foreign Minister Heruy Welde Sellase, one of Ethiopia's most influential Japanizers, visited Japan in late 1931.<sup>1</sup>

An accomplished and progressive thinker, Heruy wrote some twenty-eight works in Amharic, including stories, histories, and social philosophy. A linguist and, after 1930, foreign minister, he also had served in several diplomatic missions. Additionally, Heruy had edited Ethiopia's civil and ecclesiastical codes. Both he and Emperor Hayle Sellase sought the Japanese developmental model, and both understood that Europeans acting as Japan's educators had prodded Japan's rapid evolution. Speaking with the French chargé d'affaires in Ethiopia, Heruy praised Japan's transformation and asserted, "You will see even more extraordinary things here than in Japan."<sup>2</sup>

Approaches to Japan held practical diplomatic advantages. By the early 1930s, Ethiopia's policy was to confide important business concessions to those countries not having immediate interests in Ethiopia, for example, the US, Germany, a few small European countries, and Japan. In the international political game, Heruy understood that Japan's geographical position meant the Japanese could not threaten Ethiopia's

<sup>1</sup>J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Mutual Interests: Japan and Ethiopia Before the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-36," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 9 (2002), 83-97; J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Seeking a Model for Modernization: Ethiopia's Japanizers," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 10 (2004), 7-22; Richard Bradshaw, "Japan and European Colonialism in Africa 1800-1937," Dissertation, Ohio University, 1992, 300; Aoki Sumio and Kurimoto Eisei, "Japanese Interest in Ethiopia (1868-1940): Chronology and Bibliography," in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, K. E. Fukui and M. Shigeta, eds., 3 vols. (Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997), 1: 713-28; Adrien Zervos, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie: Le Miroir de L'Ethiopie Moderne 1906-1935* (Alexandria, Egypt: Impr. de l'Ecole professionnelle des freres, 1936), 481-85. In National Archives (College Park, MD), Record Group 59, Decimal File [hereafter cited as NARA], see Park, 2 April, 1930: 701.9484/1; Park, 2 April, 1930: 784.942/2; Southard, 9 March, 1931: 701.9484/1; Neville, 4 June, 1931: 701.9484/2; Grew, 14 September, 1932: 784.9411/no no.; Grew, 14 September, 1932: 784.942/4; Southard, 5 October, 1932: 033.8411/81; Southard, 5 October, 1932: 784.942/3; Southard, 17 December, 1932: 784.9411/1; Southard, 17 December, 1932: 784.942/5; and Grene, 17 January, 1934: 784.942/6.

<sup>2</sup>Hidéko Faërber-Ishihara, "Heruy, le Japon et les "japonisants," in Alain Rouaud, ed., *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*. (Paris: Sépia, 1999), 145; Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld, eds., *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 91-93, 94.

sovereignty. Further, Japan's economic interests in Ethiopia might induce Tokyo to back Ethiopia if a European power should threaten. Finally, a Japanese presence, including immigration, in Ethiopia could weaken the rights of England, France, and Italy, which held neighboring colonies.<sup>3</sup>

French diplomats had thought well of Heruy, at least early in his career. In 1919, when he went to Europe, they saw him as leading Ethiopia's intellectual party. When named in 1922 as president of the Special Court in Addis Ababa, a court designed to deal with non-natives, foreign diplomats expressed satisfaction. The French minister in Ethiopia from 1917 to 1923 reported that Heruy was honest, intelligent, and educated, and that all Europeans in Ethiopia were counting on him to guarantee the Special Court's smooth functioning. In 1924, Heruy joined Teferi Mekonnen—the future emperor Haile Sellase—on another trip to Europe. On that occasion, another French minister declared him to be “a man of great worth, completely devoted to Ras Teferi ... Full of common sense and open-minded. Understands well modern ideas and understands the necessity that his country come to know them. One of the government's best heads ....”<sup>4</sup>

Little-by-little, however, this positive opinion changed. In a 1931 letter to his foreign minister, the French chargé d'affaires wrote that Heruy lacked intelligence and took only superficial care of his job. The government in Addis Ababa, nonetheless, took no decision without consulting him. His influence on the sovereign remained so important that one French representative called him Ethiopia's “Rasputin,” and another editorialized, “Heruy was consecrated emperor under the name of Haile Sellase.” One wag disparaged him as “the wizard.”<sup>5</sup>

Why had Heruy's reputation among French diplomats slipped so badly? Not a Francophile, he did not trust Europeans in general, although he did want to draw closer to the English and the Swedes. The French also criticized Heruy's aggressive policies that had isolated Ethiopia, and they blamed Heruy for Japan's advances in Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup>

### Heruy's Visit

The idea for Heruy's visit began in November, 1930 when Tokyo sent its ambassador in Turkey to attend Haile Sellase's coronation. While there, Ambassador Yoshida Isaburo also negotiated and signed a new treaty of friendship and commerce, which the two states ratified two years later. Eager to see if Ethiopia could model its modernization along Japanese lines, Heruy asked Yoshida about sending an Ethiopian mission to Japan to improve relations. Receiving a favorable reply, Ethiopia's emperor then officially requested that Japan accept an ambassador extraordinary to Japan, and the Gaimusho [foreign ministry] directed Yoshida to discuss details.<sup>7</sup> Heruy had originally intended to go in May.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Faërber-Ishihara, “Heruy,” 145.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 147-48.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Taura Masanori, “Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930 nen tsusho gaiko no iso,” *Seifu to Minkan, Nenpo Kindai Nihon Kenkyu* 17 (1995): 148-49; Hidéko Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts entre l'Éthiopie et le Japon* (Paris: ARESAE, 1998), 12; Bahru Zewde, “The Concept of Japanization in the Intellectual History of Modern Ethiopia,” in Bahru Zewde, et al., eds., *Proceedings of Fifth Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1990), 3; Furukawa Tetsushi, “Japanese-Ethiopian Relations in the 1920-30s: The Rise and Fall of ‘Sentimental’ Relations,” unpublished paper presented at the 34th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, St. Louis, MO, November, 1991; Furukawa Tetsushi, “Japan's

Having told Rome of his plans, Heruy, special envoy of the Ethiopian emperor, left Addis Ababa on 30 September, 1931. Traveling with him were Teferi Gebre Mariam (Ethiopia's consul in Djibouti), Araya Abeba, and Daba Birrou. They sailed on 5 October from Djibouti in French Somaliland, bound for Japan.<sup>9</sup>

On the same day that Heruy left Djibouti, the US representative in Addis Ababa, Addison Southard, sent a long message to Washington. He reported that Heruy had said he was going to Japan mainly to return the recent official Japanese visits, which had dealt with opening a legation, negotiating a treaty of commerce and friendship, and attending the coronation. Southard believed the Japanese had proposed an arrangement that would give them a near monopoly of the local cotton piece goods market, which they already competitively dominated. One Japanese firm, which he understood to have "dickered" for this concession, was the Nisshin Joint Stock Textile Company of Tokyo. The emperor also wanted to manufacture in Ethiopia the coarser kinds of cotton piece goods, and Southard thought that Heruy would propose that the Japanese set up such an enterprise in Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup>

From his conversations over many years, Southard added, he knew the emperor admired Japan and believed the Japanese had achieved their influential world position by using foreign advisers. Hayle Sellase further thought that Ethiopia might reasonably expect to accomplish similarly marvelous results through his own foreign advisers. Southard skeptically added that the emperor was "unaware, of course, of the vast differences between the two countries and peoples, and their qualifications and resources which place Japan far ahead of what Ethiopia is or ever could hope to be." Southard had spent many years in the Far East before entering the Foreign Service, and he knew Japan well. But Southard never thought it "discreet to try the probably impossible, and genuinely delicate, task of convincing His Imperial Majesty of the great difference between the two countries and their peoples." Southard did "informally and tactfully" suggest to Heruy how he could make practical comparisons during his visit to Japan.<sup>11</sup>

At 9:00 a.m. on 5 November, Heruy's delegation arrived at Kobe in western Japan aboard the liner *Andre Lebon*. High Japanese government officials, a prefectural governor, the mayor, and two to three thousand citizens, including members of a young men's association, boy scouts, and schoolchildren welcomed him. The envoy told the throng of his hopes for mutual prosperity, closer friendship, economic development, and commercial intercourse.<sup>12</sup> Heruy later exalted in the reception he received. People waved Ethiopian and Japanese flags and joyfully shouted as they lined the route to the hotel. He added that everywhere he went in Japan, his reception was the same.<sup>13</sup> Given their recent withdrawal from the League of Nations, the Japanese were especially happy to welcome Heruy's

Political Relations with Ethiopia, 1920s-1960s: A Historical Overview," unpublished paper presented to the 35th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Seattle, WA, 20-23 November, 1992.

<sup>8</sup>Southard, 10/5/1931; NARA 033.8411/81.

<sup>9</sup>Heruy Welde Sellase, *Dai Nihon*, trans. Oreste Vaccari, Foreword by Baron Shidechara Kijuro (Tokyo, Eibunpo-Tsuron Shoji, 1933), Preface; Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 12; J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Marriage Alliance: The Union of Two Imperiums: Japan and Ethiopia?" *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 7 (1999): 105-16; J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Dashed Hopes for Support: Daba Birrou's and Shoji Yunosuke's Trip to Japan, 1935," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 11 (2004): 135-51.

<sup>10</sup>Southard, 5 October, 1931; NARA 033.8411/81.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*Osaka Maimichi & Tokyo Nichi Nichi* [cited as *OM&TNN*], 6 November, 1931.

<sup>13</sup>Heruy, *Dai Nihon*, 16-17; Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 12.

mission of friendship from Africa. After lunch, the party drove to Mount Rokko and Takarazuka, and attended a tea party held at the Zuihoji temple.<sup>14</sup>

At 9:00 p.m., Heruy's group boarded a special train bound for Tokyo. Arriving the next morning, the Minister of the Imperial Household, Ichiki Kitokuro, Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijuro, and other high officials and journalists welcomed them. While the Toyama Military Band played, the Ethiopian envoy and his party entered the Distinguished Guests' Room at the station for a short rest.<sup>15</sup>

Escorted by Imperial Honor Guards and attended by Master of Ceremony Watanabe, the envoy and his suite then went to the Imperial Hotel. Again escorted by Imperial bodyguards and motorcycles, they left the hotel at 10:20 a.m. for the Imperial Palace in the carriage sent by the court. Received in audience at the Phoenix Hall, Heruy saluted Emperor Hirohito in Amharic and gave him a royal letter and the Grand Cordon of Solomon with Paulownia Flowers, the highest order of the Ethiopian Empire. In turn, he received the First Order of Merit and the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun from the Japanese emperor. Heruy confirmed Ethiopia's choice of Japan as the model for modernization. "Our Ethiopian Emperor is deeply impressed with Japanese Empire's remarkable and great progress of the last sixty years. He is astonished that the Japanese Empire performed such a great deed in such a short time, and he is determined to push the Great Japanese Empire as the best model for Ethiopia." Heruy then thanked the emperor for the imperial representation at Hayle Sellase's coronation the previous spring and for the honor given him as a guest of state.<sup>16</sup>

The emperor, in turn, expressed gratitude for the decoration and for the visit from such a far-off land. Received in audience by the empress, Heruy presented her with the Medal of Sheba. Leaving the Imperial Palace shortly after 11:00 a.m., the envoy and his party returned to the Imperial Hotel. With the members of his suite, Heruy presented himself at the Imperial Palace again and attended the imperial luncheon given in the visitors' honor at the Homeiden Hall. The emperor and empress, the prince and princess, and more than thirty dignitaries attended. The visitors left the palace shortly before 2:00 p.m. and again returned to the Imperial Hotel. The emperor then sent Grand Master of Ceremonies Hayashi to return the call.<sup>17</sup>

Heruy visited the Gaimusho on 7 November at 10:00 a.m. to offer formal greetings to Shidehara, who offered a toast in English:

The Ethiopian emperor invited Japanese representatives for the coronation last year. We enthusiastically sent Minister Yoshida for this honorable mission. Now it is our great pleasure to meet Your Excellency who has been

<sup>14</sup>*OM&TNN*, 1 November, 1931; Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei," 149; Heruy, *Dai Nihon*, 1-15; Bradshaw, "Japan," 308.

<sup>15</sup>*OM&TNN*, 7 November, 1931.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*; Shoji Yuosuke, *Echiopia Kekkon Mondai wa Donaru, Kaisho ka? Ina!!!: Kekkon Mondai o Shudai to shite Echiopia no Shinso o Katari Kokumin no Saikakunin o Yobo su* (Tokyo: Seikyo Sha, 1934), 3; Majoni, 9 November, 1931: Italy, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Direzione Generale degli Affari Politici, Etiopia (Rome) [hereafter cited as AP Etiopia], b(usta) 8 f(oglio) 1.

<sup>17</sup>Heruy, *Dai Nihon*, 26-30; *OM&TNN*, Nov. 7, 1931; Bradshaw, "Japan," 308; Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 12-13.

sent to the Japanese emperor by your head of state. I wish to toast the prosperity of the Ethiopian Empire. Forever for the friendship of both countries! Ethiopian emperor, Banzai!<sup>18</sup>

Heruy kept an active schedule. After his meeting with Shidehara, he paid homage at the Meiji Shrine. In the afternoon, the envoy visited the Ueno Zoo and the "Teiten" Art Exhibition at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum. In the evening, Japanese entertained him at the Kabukiza Theater. Heruy arrived at Nikko on the morning of 9 November and stayed overnight at the Kanaya Hotel. He left the next day after paying a visit to the Toshogu Shrine. The Imperial Household Office held a wild duck hunting party for Heruy at the Hama Detached Palace on 11 November.<sup>19</sup>

At Heruy's request, the War Office arranged for him to observe a mock battle between the Imperial Bodyguard Division and the Utsunomiya 14th Division held in Tochigi Prefecture. This was part of the three-day, interdivisional maneuvers. Bound for the war games, Heruy's party left Tokyo on Saturday morning, 14 November and visited a railway plant at Omlya and the Katakuru Reeling Company during the morning. The mock battle began at 2:00 p.m. and took place across the Omoi River. The group stayed that night at Sano. On 15 November, Heruy and his party watched the battle that started at 5:00 a.m. around Tochigi.<sup>20</sup>

Heruy and his party, after staying in Nagoya, left their hotel on 18 November to visit the Hattori Poultry Farm, the Japan Rolling Stock Manufacturing Company, and the Mitsubishi Aircraft Manufacturing Plant. The Ethiopians attended a luncheon given by Mayor Oiwa at the Buntenkaku Restaurant in Tsurumai Park. Later the guests saw the main tower of the Nagoya Castle. In the evening, they were the guests of honor at the dinner party given jointly by Aichi Prefecture, Nagoya city, and the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce and Industry.<sup>21</sup> Seen off by the governor of Aichi Prefecture, the mayor of Nagoya, and others, Heruy and his party left Nagoya Station at 9:52 a.m. on the 19th for Kyoto.<sup>22</sup>

With his suite, Heruy arrived in Osaka from Nara on the afternoon of 24 November. By this time, Kuroki Tokijiro, the former Vice-Consul at Port Said and now Consul at Saigon had joined Heruy's party. Kuroki had been central to Japan's early approaches after 1924 to Ethiopia. Alighting, Heruy said, "By the present tour in Japan I realized more and more that Japan is a nation of the most hospitality. Everywhere I went I was given a hearty welcome and cordial reception, which I shall never forget. I was particularly surprised to find Japan so much developed."<sup>23</sup> Many prefectural and local officials as well as business and commercial figures welcomed Heruy. As the envoy left the station, hundreds of schoolchildren and students of girls' high schools who lined the open space in front of the station raised cheers of banzai and waved small paper flags.

Then the suite drove to the *Osaka Asahi*, after which the party toured the *Osaka Mainichi*, where they met the newspaper's president and editors. Heruy found the paper's

<sup>18</sup> Okakura Takashi and Kitagawa Katsuhiko, *Nihon-Afurika Koryu-shi: Meiji-ki kara Dainiji Sekai Taisen-ki made* (Tokyo: Dobun-kan, 1993), 32-33, quote on 33; Faerber-Ishihara, "Heruy," 144.

<sup>19</sup> *OM&TNN*, 8, 10, 12 November, 1931.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 15 November, 1931; Bradshaw, "Japan," 308-09.

<sup>21</sup> *OM&TNN*, 19 November, 1931; Bradshaw, "Japan," 309.

<sup>22</sup> *OM&TNN*, 20 November, 20, 1931.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 November 25, 1931.

Braille edition especially interesting. The party then registered at the Osaka Hotel.<sup>24</sup>

Leaving the hotel Wednesday morning, they visited the Osaka Castle, the Osaka Prefectural Office, the Osaka Municipal Office, and the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry. From noon to 2:00 p.m., the Japanese held a reception in honor of Heruy and his group at the Osaka Club under the joint auspices of Osaka Prefecture, Osaka City, and the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry. After this, he visited the Osaka Arsenal. In the later afternoon, Heruy saw the puppet show at Bunrakuzza Theater.<sup>25</sup> The Cotton Cloth Exporters' Association in Osaka hosted Heruy at a dinner.

On 26 November, the visitors went to the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company in Kanebo and the Toyo Spinning Company, where they lunched. Afterward, they toured the Sumitomo Copper Works and the Azumi Insect Powder Factory. That night, the Association of Exporters of Goods to Africa hosted them at a dinner and then entertained them at a geisha house.<sup>26</sup>

Kobe extended a hearty welcome to the Ethiopian envoys, who arrived by motorcar from Osaka at 3:00 p.m. on 27 November. The local governor called their visit an epoch-making event in developing trade between the two countries. The governor's secretary accompanied the party to the Naigai Rubber Factory in Hyogo, which Heruy spent more than an hour inspecting. Later, they attended a reception at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry building with more than fifty leading business and town officials. In the evening, they were guests of honor at a dinner held at the Nishitokiwa, jointly hosted by the governor, the mayor, and president of the chamber.<sup>27</sup>

Admiring Japan's well-disciplined soldiers, Heruy decided to "Japanize" Ethiopia's troops by adopting Japanese-style military uniforms. After studying samples from the Osaka branch of the Army Clothing Depot and elsewhere, he informally contracted the Toyo and Kanegafuchi spinning companies for supplying cloth for uniforms. To make the uniforms in Ethiopia, Heruy wanted to bring home some experienced Japanese tailors. Heruy approached Kuroki, but as a government official he could not help in selecting tailors. Heruy then began talking with the president of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The president of the Toyo Spinning Company thought the Ethiopians would place orders after Heruy returned home. Kuroki was also optimistic.<sup>28</sup>

With Heruy's arrival, Japanese merchants, especially those in Osaka, saw Ethiopia as a bright prospect for developing markets. The National Cotton Cloth Exporters' Association with its office in Osaka was encouraging exports of cotton cloth to Ethiopia to drive away foreign goods, although already more than 80 percent of the cotton cloth consumed there was Japanese. The Japanese also foresaw an increase in the export of celluloid goods, mosquito sticks and insect powder, rubber boots, enameled wares, knitted goods, aluminum manufactures, caps, and hats. Soap, towels, woolen blankets, glass manufactures, and other goods not previously exported to Ethiopia, they hoped, would find new markets there. During his three days in Osaka, Heruy inspected various manufacturers including the Shimada Glassware Manufacturing Plant. Pleased with price and quality, he bought 1,500 Yen worth of cut glass, soap, and other goods as samples. An official of the

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 24 November, 1931.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 25, 27 November, 1931; Bradshaw, "Japan," 309-10.

<sup>27</sup>*OM&TNN*, 28 November, 1931.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 29 November, 1 December, 1931.

Osaka Association of Exporters of Goods to Africa complained that Ethiopians did not appreciate the quality of Japanese goods and had been relying on costly foreign manufactures. He optimistically added, "The visiting Envoy seems to have understood the quality of Japanese goods and the negotiations for commercial transactions in various lines have become brisk between the Japanese manufacturers and the representative from Ethiopia."<sup>29</sup>

Heruy, who had been sojourning in Takahama, arrived at Kobe on 3 December by ferry. He and his group immediately boarded motorcars and drove to Osaka.<sup>30</sup>

When Inukai Tsuyoshi became the new prime minister on 12 December, 1931, Heruy asked to meet with him, which he did three days later. This was his last important meeting. Heruy's mission left Japan aboard the *Sphinx* on 28 December, 1931. He had spent about forty days in Japan.<sup>31</sup>

### Consequences of Heruy's Visit

The trip clearly affected Heruy and those traveling with him. The month-long sea voyage to Japan included stops in India, Singapore, Indo-China, and Shanghai. Everywhere along the way, they saw Asians under white, colonial rule. In contrast, Japan was friendly, modern, vibrant, strong—and independent. Especially impressive to the Ethiopians had been the opportunity to be "wined and dined" with Japan's emperor—at a time when he lived in god-like seclusion with few having the opportunity to meet with him. Every day he had dictated his impressions to Araya. Using these notes in 1932 he published a book in Amharic with the title *The Source of Light: The Country of Japan*. This was likely the first book by an African to try seriously to introduce Japan to Africans. Former foreign minister Shidehara Kijuro wrote the foreword to the Japanese translation, *Dai Nihon [Great Japan]*, published in Tokyo in 1934. Japanese readers eagerly read the account. The trip and subsequent book played into western fears that Ethiopia would take Japan for its model for modernization.<sup>32</sup>

Heruy's mission returned to Ethiopia with two Japanese. The first, a tailor, stayed only three months with Heruy. The second, Dr. Yamauchi Masao, proved more important. He went as a representative of the Ministry of Emigration and later became a special correspondent of the *Osaka Mainichi*. Losing no time in picking up some knowledge of Amharic, in both positions he actively promoted closer ties between Japan and Ethiopia. He spearheaded Japan's commercial thrust into Ethiopia that provoked so much alarm among Europeans. Yamauchi's drive impressed the British minister who admired his "skill and thoroughness." The minister lamented that European merchants, "who complain so bitterly of Japanese competition" were not nearly as energetic or effective.<sup>33</sup>

Japan's approaches especially exercised the Italians. Rome claimed that the Anglo-French-Italian agreement 1906 and the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 1928 sanctified Italy's

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 1 December, 1931; Consul in Yokohama, 30 November, 1931: Ethiopia b8 fl; Bradshaw, "Japan," 310-11.

<sup>30</sup>*OM&TNN*, 4 December, 1931.

<sup>31</sup>Heruy, *Dai Nihon*, 85-86, 146-47; Furukawa, "Japan's Political Relations;" Furukawa, "Japanese-Ethiopian Relations."

<sup>32</sup>Interview with Amde Araya (son of Araya Abeba) and Araya Abeba, Fairfax Lakes Park, VA, and apartment of Araya Abeba, Alexandria, VA, 7 July, 2001, 1:45-6:30 p.m.; Faerber-Ishihara, "Heruy," 144; Faerber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 13.

<sup>33</sup>Bahru, "Concept of Japanization," 3.

position in Ethiopia. Yet, inroads by anyone, especially the Americans and Japanese, petrified Rome.<sup>34</sup> Naturally, then, Italy's representatives in Tokyo closely followed Heruy's progress through Japan, though more calmly than did those in Rome who read the reports.<sup>35</sup> Similarly more sanguine than were their superiors in Rome, Italy's representatives in Ethiopia often downplayed Japanese successes. In the face of fears that Heruy's visit provided the key to opening the door to massive Japanese immigration, the local representatives noted in early 1932 that the Ethiopian court had employed only two Japanese. A husband and wife, one was a cook and the other a maid.<sup>36</sup>

For Japan, Heruy's visit visibly raised Japanese-Ethiopian relations to their zenith and encouraged widespread public support for Ethiopia before and during the Italo-Ethiopian War a few years later. Heruy's journey to Japan also marked his future career, and his admiration for the Japanese developmental model alarmed the western powers, which had no wish for a second Japan—this one in Africa.<sup>37</sup>

A couple of years after Heruy's trip, the peripatetic journalist, Ladislav Farago, asked Heruy about his visit and its implications: "Your Excellency was speaking of your journey to Japan. It roused a great commotion at the time, and started many rumours. Why did you go to Japan?" Heruy replied:

[I]t is not difficult for me to be quite undiplomatic and tell you the simple truth. We had no ulterior motive, and what we wanted was no mystery. Japan has been growing into one of the most influential great powers, and while all the other important nations had their representatives in Addis Ababa, Japan was not represented at His Majesty's court by so much as an Honorary Consul. It meant a great deal to us to open up diplomatic connections with Japan. . . .

The second reason was purely economic. Our people are poor, and our export trade has shrunk during the last few years owing to the depression. We had to find a source for cheap everyday goods, and Japan is famous the world over as the country that sells the cheapest goods, especially cotton. . . . The hackneyed term "Japanese invasion" has a real meaning in this country, for half of our imports is comprised of cotton.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup>As a small example of Italian fear of its interests being displaced in Ethiopia, see Italy, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Commissione per la Pubblicazione dei Documenti Diplomatici, *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, 7<sup>th</sup> Series: 1922-1935 (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1952), vol. 11: nos. 42, 148, 177, and 204.

<sup>35</sup>Colonial Minister, 11 September, 1931; Circular, 24 September, 1931; Majoni, 9 November, 1931; Majoni, 22 December, 1931; Circular, 12 January, 1932; Tokyo, 19 April, 1932: AP Ethiopia b8 fl.

<sup>36</sup>Tokyo, 5 February, 1932; London, 1 March, 1932; Manzoni, 22 April, 1932: AP Ethiopia b8 fl.

<sup>37</sup>Also see Tokyo, 14 September, 1931; Paternò, 5 October, 1931; Gabelli, 8 October, 1931; Paternò, 19 October, 1931; Scammacca, 30 January, 1932; Tokyo, 14 September, 1932: Etiopia b8 fl; Addis Ababa, 17 February, 1932: AP Etiopia b14 f9; *Japan Times*, 23 November, 1934; Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei," 150-51; Marcus, *Haile Sellassie I*, 114. See also 109-113; Okakura and Kitagawa, *Nihon-Afurika Koryu-shi*, 32-37; Asfa Yilma, *Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia: With a Brief Account of the History of Ethiopia with a Brief Account of the History of Ethiopia, Including the Origins of the Present Struggle, and a Description of the Country and Its Peoples* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co. 1936), 208-33; Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1941* (NY: Random House, 1984), 16.

<sup>38</sup>Ladislav Farago, *Abyssinia on the Eve* (NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), 127-28.



Heruy was more “diplomatic” than he allowed. He had also requested arms and munitions. Tokyo, however, was aggressively moving in Manchuria and had worries other than those of supplying arms and munitions to Ethiopia.<sup>39</sup>

Over the next several years as Italy prepared to attack Ethiopia, Foreign Minister Heruy was unable to muster enough allies or arms to protect Ethiopia’s independence. After defeat and always Hayle Sellase’s trusted adviser, he went into exile with the emperor in 1936 and died in England in 1939.

Two Postscripts: A Marriage Proposal and Daba Birrou’s desperate search for arms

Two interesting diplomatic maneuvers grew out of Heruy’s trip to Japan. Both poisoned international relations for Tokyo and Addis Ababa, and became major justifications for Italy’s military preparations against Ethiopia in 1935. The first concerned the Araya Abeba. The second involved Daba Birrou, who had translated for Heruy.

Araya, a member of Hayle Sellase’s extended family, was a figure of underestimated importance in the Japanizer movement. A handsome young man, he played an important part in Ethiopia’s relations with Japan, and he gives every appearance of being groomed for greater things until the Italo-Ethiopian War intervened. Araya saw the Japanizers as “visionaries,” and he admired Japanese courtesy, development, and modernization. If remembered at all today, it is for his proposed marriage with a Japanese, Kuroda Masako. The quasi-betrothal produced great mirth and greater fear among many European observers. Even before his trip to Japan in 1931 with Heruy, his friend and patron, Araya had already expressed his wish to marry a Japanese woman. Partly this reflected the Japanizer in him as well as his wish for a traditionally submissive woman. Heruy was aware of Araya’s interest, but initially restrained him for fear that the marriage would adversely affect Ethiopia’s foreign relations and might interfere with his mission to Japan.<sup>40</sup>

To statesmen in London, Paris, Moscow, and elsewhere, the threat of Japanese political, commercial, and military intrusions into Ethiopia seemed enough to justify Italy’s military preparations against Ethiopia from 1934 on. In 1933 and 1934, Araya’s proposed marriage vexingly personified these intrusions. One hyperventilated account argued that:

[P]lans have been made for effecting mixed marriages between the eligible Japanese settlers (estimated at about 2000 in number) and native Abyssinian women. This declared policy which is intended to produce a new race of leaders in the united revolt of the coloured peoples against the white races, was to have been inaugurated by the marriage of Princess Masako, a daughter of the Japanese prince Kurado [Kuroda], to the Ethiopian prince Lij Ayalé [Araya].<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 19; J. Calvitt Clarke III, “The Politics of Arms Not Given: Japan, Ethiopia, and Italy in the 1930s,” *Girding for Battle: The Arms Trade in a Global Perspective, 1815-1940*, Donald J. Stoker Jr. and Jonathan A. Grant, eds. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 135-53.

<sup>40</sup>Interview with Amde Araya.

<sup>41</sup>Roman Procházka, *Abyssinia: The Powder Barrel* (London: British International News Agency, 1936), 60. Translated from the German edition of 1935, this book was printed in Austria. Procházka had lived in Ethiopia—and had not much liked it there.

Mistakenly believing that this was to be a royal wedding, Europeans saw the origin of the proposed marriage as lying in Ethiopia's wish to model its modernization after Japan and in Japan's romantic vision of Ethiopia.

While this sufficiently explains the motives of Araya and Kuroda for joining in an arranged marriage, other individuals got involved as well. Most important were several Pan-Asian, nationalist Japanese who were promoting the marriage to leverage prominent roles for themselves in commercial exchanges between Japan and Ethiopia. One was Yamauchi. Interestingly, neither the government in Tokyo nor the one in Addis Ababa promoted the marriage idea; neither lamented when the proposal died sometime in 1934. Both suffered international complications because of it.<sup>42</sup>

The proposed union continued to rankle the Italians long after the quasi-betrothal had wisped away.<sup>43</sup> Enemies of Ethiopia or Japan continued to write about it long after they had every cause to know that it had never carried the policy implications feared and had not come to pass anyway. One Communist book published in 1936, for example, echoed the thoughts and fears of many when it thundered against Japanese imperialism: "Through the marriage of an Abyssinian prince to the daughter of a Japanese noble, the Japanese were enabled to equip airdromes in Ethiopian and to receive a cotton concession there."<sup>44</sup> Clearly, for people in Moscow as for many others, the falsity of such statements was less important than was the need to draw on any potential anti-Japanese and anti-Ethiopian arguments. In fact, the USSR came remarkably late and reluctantly to Ethiopia's assistance.<sup>45</sup>

The second diplomatic postscript involved Heruy's translator, Daba Birrou.

In the first half of the 1930s as Italy geared up for war in East Africa, Ethiopia sought outside political, military, and economic support to balance Italy's greater power. No one—to the consternation of the Italians and many in Japan's government—responded more favorably than did Japan's pan-Asian nationalists. In Summer, 1935 as war approached, Ethiopia's lack of supplies was becoming ever more obvious as outlying troops were daily pouring into Addis Ababa to get equipment only to find none available. Desperate for arms and munitions, Emperor Hayle Sellase decided to take advantage of popular Japanese sentiments to send Daba to Japan. Ostensibly, he was to be the first secretary to Ethiopia's honorary consul in Osaka. Shoji Yunosuke, a Pan-Asian nationalist and correspondent for the *Osaka Mainichi* accompanied him, and his newspaper sponsored the trip. Shoji had actively promoted Araya's proposed marriage to Kuroda.<sup>46</sup>

Daba and Shoji arrived in Japan on 13 September. Italy attacked Ethiopia three weeks later. Despite the enthusiastic welcome for Daba from many nationalist Japanese, the government in Tokyo proved unwilling to oppose Italy either directly or indirectly. Its interests in Ethiopia were too few to risk a confrontation in a theater so far away. In

<sup>42</sup>Clarke, "Marriage Alliance," 105-16.

<sup>43</sup>Greene, 17 January, 1934: NARA 784.94/6.

<sup>44</sup>O. Tanin and E. Yohan, *When Japan Goes to War* (NY: International Publishers, 1936), 14.

<sup>45</sup>For the Soviet Union's policies *vis-à-vis* Italy, Japan, and Ethiopia before the Italo-Ethiopian War, see J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Periphery and Crossroads: Ethiopia and World Diplomacy, 1934-36," in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 3 vols., K. E. Fukui and M. Shigeta, eds. (Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997), 1: 699-712.

<sup>46</sup>Clarke, "Dashed Hopes," 135-51.

short, Japan put international relations first and had few resources anyway to offer East Africa. Japan's foreign ministry and army agreed that public passions would not affect policy. The government announced that it would strictly observe neutrality, calmly watch the East African crisis, and completely ignore League of Nations policy.<sup>47</sup> The Japanese told the Italians but not Daba that they would not send loans, arms, munitions, volunteers, or a military mission to an Ethiopia unable to pay anyway. Tokyo rejected Daba's requests only through its instructions of 4 December preparing for appointing a minister *ad interim*, who would open Japan's new legation in Addis Ababa in January, 1936.<sup>48</sup> On 23 January, 1936, Heruy visited the newly-opened Japanese legation at Addis Ababa to order small quantities of light arms from Japan, but did no better than had Daba.<sup>49</sup>

One of the Japanese nationalists actively involved in Heruy's visit in 1931, Araya's marriage proposal, and now Daba's visit, was Sumioka Tomoyoshi. At the end of March, in a letter to Ethiopia's emperor, he predicted that Ethiopia's brave army commanded by "its courageous King of Kings" would defeat his enemies. The letter went on to commend Daba's activities:

During his six months' sojourn in Japan ... Daba has at all times conducted himself with credit, and at no time has the prestige of Abyssinia suffered at his hands.... [The foreign minister] ... has received him twice in private conference and has seen him to the door in person when ... [he] took leave....

Despite the difficulties ... Daba has been able to push negotiations with the Japanese authorities to a point where agreement on principles has been reached, although on particulars there still seems room for further discussion.

The goodwill of the Japanese people toward Abyssinia has been evinced in the warm welcome which ... Daba received when he landed at Kobe and when he arrived at Tokyo station and in the intense activities of ... organizations and individuals in sending medical supplies, money and other articles for the aid of the Abyssinian people.<sup>50</sup>

Sumioka's statement clearly—even if inadvertently—emphasized the semi-official nature of Daba's visit. His list of accomplishments was not much. Daba had seen Hirota twice and been escorted to the door. He had negotiated "agreement in principles" even if without particulars. Many Japanese had enthusiastically welcomed him. Some few groups had sent some few medical supplies, and Daba had not embarrassed himself. All this merely highlights how little his visit had achieved or even could have achieved.

<sup>47</sup>Scalise, 14 October, 1935: Italy, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Direzione Generale degli Affari Politici, Etiopia—Fondo di Guerra (1935-40) (Rome) [hereafter cited as AP Etiopia—Guerra] b(usta) 72 f(oglio) 3; Circular, 9 October, 1935: AP Etiopia—Guerra b117 f4; *Japan Advertiser*, 5 October, 1935.

<sup>48</sup>Unno Yoshio, "Dainiji Itaria-Echiopia Senso To Nihon," *Hosei Riron* 16 (1983): 209. Taura Masanori has written on the issue of Japan establishing and maintaining a legation in Addis Ababa. See "Nihon-Echiopia Kankei," 141-70 and "Nichi-I Kankei (1935-36) to sono Yotai" Echiopia Senso wo meguru Nihon gawa Taio kara," in Ito Takashi, ed., *Nihon Kindai-shi no Saikochiku* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 1993), 302-28.

<sup>49</sup>Faërber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 20.

<sup>50</sup>*Japan Advertiser*, 28 March, 1936; Grew, 16 April, 1936: NARA 894.00/100.

Italy's ambassador in Tokyo agreed. He had only casually followed Daba's exploits. In his report to Rome describing Daba's departure from Tokyo at the end of March, he mentioned the couple of hundred members of "reactionary nationalistic associations," who had seen him off at the station. He received assurances from the war ministry that the supplies given Daba had been but a few samples of poor quality, and did not include "even one of the rifles that he had been insistently requesting."<sup>51</sup>

After seven months in Japan, Daba sailed for his homeland on 2 April. Although he had declined to attend a farewell party held by right-wing organizations, Daba did put on a brave face in interviews with the *Osaka Mainichi* just before his departure.<sup>52</sup> At a press conference on 17 April, a Japanese foreign ministry spokesman stated that if Italy subjugated Ethiopia, Japan would act independently to protect its rights and interests in that region. He pointed out that Japan had a friendship and commercial agreement with Ethiopia and that commerce between the two countries had been increasing.<sup>53</sup>

Meanwhile, Ethiopia's army was neither sufficiently armed, trained, nor led to effectively resist for long Italy's invasion. Italian troops entered Addis Ababa in May, 1936. By mid-October, Daba had settled himself in Cairo, and on 12 December, he subjected himself to Italian authority and received a passport.<sup>54</sup>

Tokyo also adjusted itself to Italy's conquest of the Ethiopian Empire. The exchange of recognitions on 2 December, 1936—Japan's conquest of Manchukuo for Italy's conquest of Ethiopia—paved the way for the reconciliation between Tokyo and Rome and their eventual alliance during World War II.<sup>55</sup>

Surely, Rome and Tokyo could not have this *volte-face* so quickly if the Italians had not come to believe Tokyo's many declarations of innocence about the arms transfers and training that Ethiopia had so desperately sought through Daba's mission. Perhaps they never had. But whether they had or not, throughout 1935 and much of 1936, they had effectively used rumors of significant Japanese inroads into Ethiopia to successfully disarm potential international opposition to Italy's coming adventure, especially in London, Paris, and Moscow. In truth, Daba's visit never had any real chance to succeed other than as a publicity stunt orchestrated by Shoji and the *Osaka Mainichi*. Japan was never in a position to give the kind of help Ethiopia so desperately had sought.

<sup>51</sup>Auriti, 31 March, 1936, 6 March, 1936: AP Ethiopia—Guerra b117 f7.

<sup>52</sup>*OM&TNN*, 31 March, 1 April, 1936.

<sup>53</sup>Grew, 13 April, 1936: NARA 894.00/unclear; Unno, "Dainiji Italia-Echiopia Senso," 208-09.

<sup>54</sup>Rome, 13 June, 1936; Corti, 18 August, 1936; Minister of War, 29 September, 1936; Fabiani, 30 April, 1936, 8 September, 1936; Cairo, 3 October, 1936; 23 October, 1936; 18 December, 1936; Ghigi, 5 December, 1936: AP Ethiopia—Guerra b117 f7.

<sup>55</sup>Bradshaw, "Japan," 320-22, 358-62; Sugimura, 29 October, 1936: Japan, Gaimusho Gaiko Shiryo Kan (Tokyo) [hereafter cited as GSK] A461 ET/II-8; Sugimura, 12-13 May, 1936, 25-26 March, 1936; Mushanokoji, 15-16 April, 1936: GSK A461 ET/II-7-7; Okakura and Kitagawa, *Nihon-Afurika Koryu-shi*, 40-45. US representatives followed these events closely. See the many documents in NARA 765.94.

## Marie de' Medici: Muse or Strategist?

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Marie de' Medici was born in 1573 in Florence, at the core of a world dazed by the economic, religious and social revolution that changed sixteenth-century Europe. The existing, rich historiography regarding Marie has not been favorable to the Florentine granddaughter of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1558-1564) and of the princesses Anne of Bohemia and Hungary (1503-1547) and Eleanor Alvarez of Toledo (1522-1562). Daughter of Francesco de' Medici and, through her mother Johanna of Austria, niece to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564-1576), Marie was born a princess. Later, with her marriage to the Bourbon king Henry IV, she would become queen of France (r. 1600-1610) and then die as an exiled dowager queen in Cologne in 1642 among much criticism and negative propaganda, as the duc de Saint Simon, Cardinal de Richelieu and the historian de Michelet have chronicled.<sup>1</sup> Queen Marie de' Medici was accused of conspiracy, of not loving her children, and of excessive political influence on the Habsburg and Spanish crowns. Only recently, research conducted in France and Italy is throwing a more positive light on her persona. Fortunately for her reputation, for example, her name is bound to the creation of the first opera, "Euridice", written to celebrate her wedding in 1600, and to a cycle of twenty-four paintings created in the years 1622-1625 by Peter Paul Ruben now exhibited at the Louvre in Paris. These masterpieces constitute Marie de' Medici's artistic legacy.

Recent scholarly research on the cultural formation of Marie de' Medici and on her *Medicean* contribution to seventeenth-century French culture has demonstrated the high level of education that the princess received in Florence, and its relative magnitude with respect to that customarily received by the European queens of the period.<sup>2</sup> The goal of this paper is to understand whether art was used by the Tuscan and French governments exclusively to hide geopolitical agendas or if Marie de' Medici favored her personal predilections and inspired new forms of artistic expressions aside from propaganda. A reading of *The Artistic Education of Maria de Medici* (one painting from Rubens's Medici Cycle at the Louvre), of the manuscript by Michelangelo Buonarroti the Young (which chronicles Marie de' Medici's proxy wedding to King Henry IV who ruled from 1589 to 1610), and of the text of "Euridice", the opera written by Ottavio Rinuccini on the occasion of her wedding, is necessary in order to interpret Marie de' Medici's level of personal involvement in the arts and to understand whether she was an active

<sup>1</sup>Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Parallele des trois premiers Rois Bourbons*, M.P. Fougere, ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1746), 20; Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, *Mémoires du cardinal de Richelieu*, Vol. I, Michaud and Poujoulat, eds. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1837), 72; Jules de Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII (Paris: J. de Bonnot, 1867), 152.

<sup>2</sup>For Marie's contribution to French culture, see: Caterina Caneva, *Maria de Medici: una Principessa Fiorentina sul Trono di Francia* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1983), 74-84. For the education of Marie, see: Miles Chappell, "The Artistic Education of Maria de Medici," (*Le Siècle de Marie Actes du Séminaire de la Chaire Rhetorique et Société en Europe (XVI-XVII siècles)* du Collège de France, Paris, 2003), 13-31; Sara Mamone, *Paris et Florence: Deux Capitales du Spectacle pour une Reine, Marie de Medicis*, (Paris: Seuil, 1980), 208-228.

protagonist of the cultural life of her courts or if she played a submissive, although educated, role in the broader political scene.<sup>3</sup>

Francesco Solinas, Maître de Conférence at the Collège de France, Paris, has contributed to the most recent exhibitions on Marie de' Medici: *Marie de Médicis, un gouvernement par les arts* (held at the Chateau de Blois in 2003-2004) and *Marie de Medici: una Principessa Fiorentina sul Trono di Francia* (held in Florence in 2005). In the catalog edited for *Marie de Médicis, un gouvernement par les arts* he writes that Marie and her sister Eleonora (five years her senior) had been protected and educated from early childhood in the most refined of the European courts, the court of Tuscany, and had received an upbringing worthy of sovereigns-to-be.<sup>4</sup> They had familiarity with the artists who were patronized by their father Francesco and by their uncle Ferdinand (second son of Cosimo I): Alessandro Allori, Santi di Tito, Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta, Jacopo Ligozzi and Ludovico Cigoli, who all contributed to their artistic education and painted the numerous portraits of the two privileged but lonely princesses.<sup>5</sup> In fact, following their mother Johanna of Austria's early death and those of their siblings Philip and Anne, Marie and Eleonora were left alone at Palazzo Pitti in Florence by a father distracted by his passions.<sup>6</sup> Solinas resorts to Miles Chappell's article "The Artistic Education of Marie de Medici" and writes in the catalog of *Marie de Médicis, un gouvernement par les arts* that Marie was educated in the study of history and classic and contemporary literature, and was trained to appreciate art and to master writing as few other women of the period.<sup>7</sup> Eleonora and Marie were the first Medici princesses after Caterina to become ambassadors in Europe of the taste and civilization of the grand duchy of Tuscany. For this reason, they were trained to "exude" excellence.<sup>8</sup>

Solinas' and Chappell's depiction contradict the description that the historian Luis Batiffol provides of a young Marie educated by Madame Orsini, a Roman lady of severe and narrow ideas, who kept the princess in the most complete exclusion, allowing her to

<sup>3</sup>For Rubens's Medici Cycle, see: Rubens, *The Medici Cycle*, 1625. Oil on canvas, 12' 11 1/8" x 9' 8 1/8", Musée du Louvre, Paris. For Buonarroti's manuscript, see: Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maesta' di Madama Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra*, ed. Marescotti Giorgio, Firenze, 1600. For "Euridice", see: Ottavio Rinuccini (1562-1621), poet at the Medici court and author of the first opera *Libretti*, has always held a special place in the literary criticism of opera.

<sup>4</sup>Paola Bassoni Pacht, ed., *Marie de Médicis, un gouvernement par les arts* (Paris: Somogy editions d'art, 2003), 44.

<sup>5</sup>Francesco Solinas, *Maria de Medici: una Principessa fiorentina sul Trono di Francia* (Livorno: Sillabe, 2005), 33-34.

<sup>6</sup>He had interests in the sciences, in the arts and in alchemy. He married his mistress Bianca Cappello two months after his wife Johanna of Austria died, and with her he moved to Villa Pratolino.

<sup>7</sup>For Solinas' reference, see: Chappell, "Artistic Education," 13-31. For educated women of Marie's time: Marguerite of Navarre, sister of Francis I king of France (r. 1515 - 1547) was one of the few exceptions. She authored the *Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse* (in 1531) and the *Heptameron* (published in posthumous edition in 1559). Her court was renowned as one of the richest humanist courts in sixteenth-century Europe. Henry VIII's last wife, Catherine Parr, also devoted herself to the art of writing and influenced her stepdaughters Mary and Elisabeth. However, her books were of religious content and, as such, reflected more the religious upheaval of the period than her involvement with culture and education.

<sup>8</sup>Catherine de Medici (1519 - 1589). Queen of France as the wife of King Henry II of France, she was a daughter of Lorenzo II de Medici, Duke of Urbino, and of a French princess, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne.

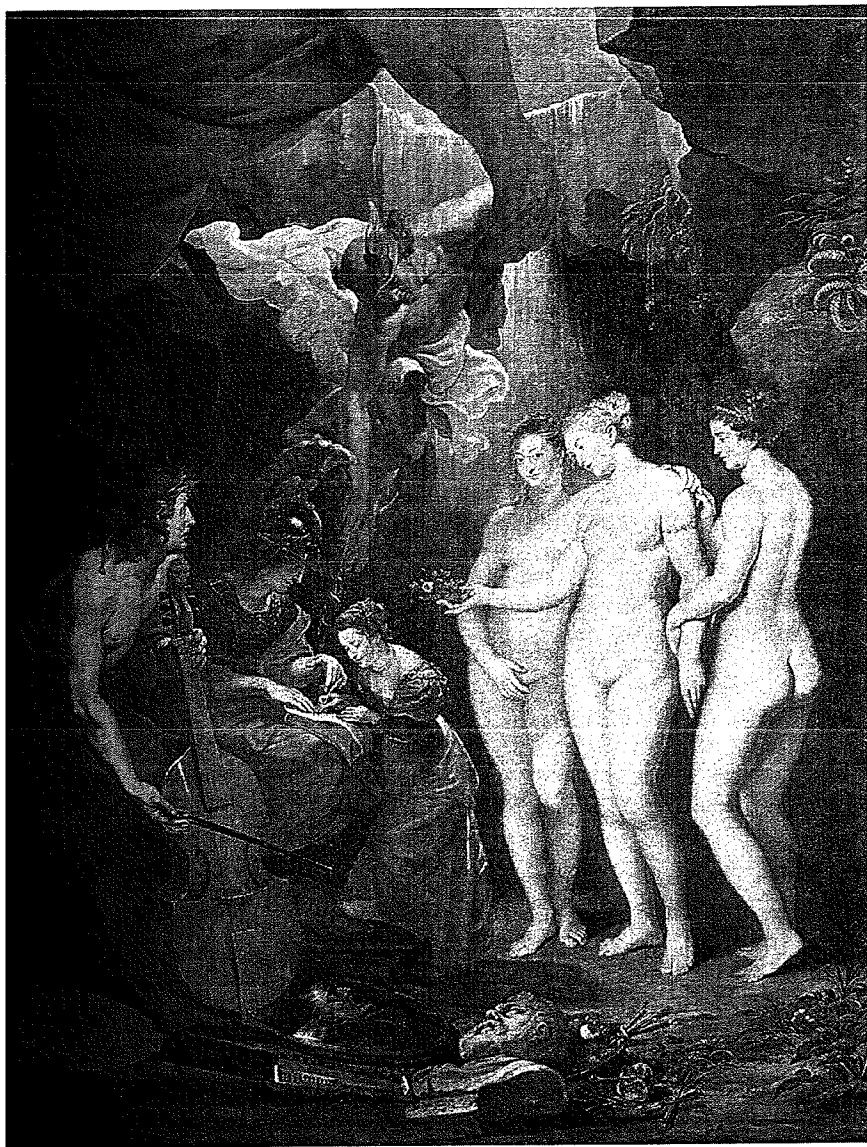


Figure 1: *The Education of the Princess*, by Peter Paul Rubens (Louvre, Paris, 1621-1625. Ronald Forsyth Millen and Robert Erich Wolf, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures: a New Reading of Rubens' Life of Maria de' Medici* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 257.

see no one, and who took care that she should know nothing either of politics or the affairs of the state, "keeping constant watch over her."<sup>9</sup> According to Batiffol, the little princess of Tuscany was kept in effectual ignorance of the world, learned docility and respect for her father, and, after his death, for her uncle and aunt.<sup>10</sup>

The argument of an intellectually modest Marie de' Medici, who reads very little, "because she is myopic and she does not like reading" and who "sometimes writes," was supported until a few years ago by Michel Carmona, geographer and historian at the Sorbonne, who built upon the existing biographies to write his re-examination of Marie de' Medici.<sup>11</sup> There is evidence of an intense correspondence between Marie and her family in Tuscany and other European courts, of letters of circumstance and of instructions sent to the dauphin's preceptor, of various recommendations and missives to the Paris *parlement*, and of letters to the governors and mayors of major villages.<sup>12</sup> Carmona argues that Marie left the task of her correspondence to her secretary because it was an exercise that annoyed her to the point of writing, "It is now time to sleep, and you know that I do not have time to write in another moment" on the few short letters that she started intentionally at night.<sup>13</sup>

The theory that Marie de' Medici did not favor writing and reading cannot be supported simply by the evidence that a secretary wrote her letters. This was common practice in the courts of the time. The first inventory of the books belonging to Marie and reported in 1886 by Ernest Bauchart would support this argument if not for the latest discoveries made during the current wave of rehabilitation of Marie de' Medici, which are unfolding unknown aspects of her life.<sup>14</sup> The archivist-paleographer Isabelle de Conihout has contributed her expertise to the compilation of a (non-definitive) list of 180 books belonging to Marie de' Medici.<sup>15</sup> The list includes texts in French and Italian and is certainly missing many titles, lost during Marie's tumultuous last years of exile that followed the conflicts with her son, King Louis XIII, and his minister Cardinal Richelieu.<sup>16</sup> The new inventory also includes a complete collection of religious texts and books of hours beautifully edited and decorated. De Conihout proposes that the queen kept this collection in a separate place from her other books (probably in the oratory or a little studio in the Palace of Luxemburg where she lived after her regency), which would

<sup>9</sup>Louis Batiffol, *Marie de Medicis and the French Court in the XVII Century* (NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 5.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>11</sup>Michael Carmona, *Marie de Medicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 55. The original citation in the text by Michael Carmona is "parce qu'elle est myope et que'elle n'aime guere la lecture." All translations by author.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>"C'est maintenant l'heure de dormir et vous savez que je n'ai pas le temps d'ecrire a un autre moment que maintenant." *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>14</sup>Quentin Bauchart, *Les femmes bibliophiles vol. I* (Paris: D. Morgand, 1886), 175-188, quoted in Isabelle de Conihout, "I Libri della Regina," Caneva, *Maria de Medici*, 257-259. According to this inventory, Marie de Medici only owned 29 books.

<sup>15</sup>Isabelle de Conihout, "I Libri della Regina," 257-259.

<sup>16</sup>The list of French and Italian books includes: Pierre Vallet, *Jardin du roi*; Andreini, *Adamo*; Honore' d'Urfé, *Astree*; Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire curieuse; Theagene et Chariclee*; Antoine Montchrestien, *Traité d'economie politique*; Pluvinel, *Maneige royal*; Giambattista Marino, *Adone*. Quoted in "I Libri della Regina," Caneva, *Maria de Medici*, 257-259. In 1631, with the excuse of an insurrection in Paris (probably engineered by Richelieu) King Louis XIII placed his mother under detention at the chateau of Compiègne. After escaping and making the mistake of setting foot just outside French territory, Marie was declared to be in exile and was forced to seek refuge in the Spanish Netherlands.



explain its remarkable preservation to this day. Even if only a small portion of Marie de' Medici's library has survived, it is nonetheless sufficient to prove the queen's cultural interests. One could argue that Marie's ownership of books does not necessarily prove that she read them; this may be so, but at the very least it is evidence enough of her cultural taste. This opposes the theory of the queen's plain education that is contended by what is now a surpassed historiographical trend.

Such obsolete renditions ignore the further "spin" that some of princess Marie's cultural formation was received at the marriage of the Prince of Mantua Vincenzo Gonzaga and Eleonora de' Medici in 1584. Marie was introduced to Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), Claudio Monteverdi (1562-1643) and the yet little-known Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) by her sister and the prince Gonzaga.<sup>17</sup> Rubens, one of the favorite painters at the Gonzaga court, would later be present at Marie's proxy wedding with Henry IV in Florence (of which Rubens traced many sketches) and would, twenty-two years later (on 26 January, 1622), receive a commission—for the considerable sum of 60,000 *livres*—to paint forty-eight canvases of considerable dimensions for Marie de' Medici.<sup>18</sup> By this time, Rubens had achieved fame and honors and was one of the most sought-after painters in the European courts, while Marie had concluded her regency and planned to spend her years as queen-mother at the new Palais Luxembourg built for her.<sup>19</sup> The cycle of paintings was commissioned to decorate two galleries of the new palace and was meant to celebrate Marie de' Medici's life, from her birth to her triumph in France as queen.

Rubens completed the first part of his commission (twenty-four paintings for one of the two galleries) in Antwerp by May, 1625, when the proxy marriage of Marie's daughter Henrietta (1609-1669) with Charles I (1600-1649), King of England, of Ireland and of the Scots, took place. The gallery of the Palais Luxembourg was inaugurated for the occasion and was visited by Marie's son, King Louis XIII, and by her daughters, Elisabeth and Henrietta (1609-1669) the queens of Spain and England, respectively—and their courtiers. Marie de' Medici's double triumph was orchestrated by her innate ability to create propaganda from artistic mise-en-scene. As Alexis Merle du Bourg admits, Rubens masterfully transformed artworks strongly biased by Queen Marie's agenda into masterpieces.<sup>20</sup>

Although the narcissistic celebration of Marie de' Medici in the Rubens cycle is evidently a metaphor for other political meanings, one of the paintings has the merit of providing modern scholars with information on her years in Florence. It is *The Education of the Princess* and is of particular importance to answer questions about Marie de' Medici's education. (See Figure 1.) As Ronald Millen and Robert Erich Wolf note, it was placed on the side of the gallery where the portrait of Marie's father Francesco I was located and where all the paintings have to do with her youth and early womanhood, a time of (relative) happiness and full of promise.<sup>21</sup> The iconography takes into account the elements that Rubens was contractually bound to paint: "the highly illustrious life [of

<sup>17</sup>Torquato Tasso Italian poet, born at Sorrento near Naples in 1544; died at Rome, in 1595. Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), Italian composer, violinist and singer. Pacht, *Marie de Médicis*, 44.

<sup>18</sup>This document is quoted in *ibid.*, 96, as being published by J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, 1967 (1969), 98.

<sup>19</sup>Verónica Wedgwood, *The World of Rubens* (NY: Time, 1967), 13.

<sup>20</sup>Pacht, et al., *Marie de Médicis*, 101.

<sup>21</sup>Ronald Millen and Robert Erich Wolf, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 25.

Marie] and [her] heroic deeds," with a profusion of mystic figures, metaphors, myths and allegories. In contrast to the other paintings, which all depict a Marie adored, admired, celebrated, yet rendered as a still character, in *The Education of the Princess*, an adolescent Marie is an active individual with a personality.

As the conventional iconographic canons of interpretation indicate, and as Millen and Wolf also point out, she is receiving instruction from the helmeted and armored goddess Minerva under the approving look of three nude Graces.<sup>22</sup> A wreathed musician (Apollo or Orpheus) plays a viola da gamba, earthly distracted by the voluptuous nudity of the Graces. A swirling Mercury observes Marie bent over Minerva's book, while all the characters in the painting seem not to notice the objects scattered across the foreground: a theorbo, a bust of Homer, a painter's palette and brushes, a sculptor's mallet and chisels, and engraving tools.<sup>23</sup> According to Macrobius, Mercury is associated with the light [of intelligence] and here he represents the swiftness of the intelligence that is descending as a heavenly gift on the princess.<sup>24</sup> Cartari (whose writings have also been used as source of interpretation) proposes to identify Minerva as goddess of Prudence and inventor of all the arts.<sup>25</sup> The familiarity of the adviser (the representational motives of the pictures are indicated in the contract signed by Rubens) of the iconographic program with the classics is validated by the depiction of the three Graces. In fact, they appear on numerous Roman coins as bearers of peace and harmony and their standing on a still life containing objects symbolizing culture and the arts emphasizes their importance for Marie and her intended message.

Millen and Wolf cite the sixteenth-century writer Georg Pictor. He repeated what the Classical and Late Latin sources said about Minerva's garments. These are of three colors—blue, golden yellow, and purple. The combination of these colors suggests the intricacies of wisdom, and this is the reason why Rubens uses them repeatedly for his Minervas in the cycle.<sup>26</sup> Musical instruments also have a symbolic political connotation. The lyre, the lute, the viola da gamba—as well as Minerva's shield—pictured in *The Education of the Princess* evoke harmony of the universe and of the soul, as their depictions in the New Testament, in seventeenth-century mythological texts, and in allegories and emblems confirm, but they can also be taken to refer to the more restricted sphere of relations within the state.<sup>27</sup> In *The Education of the Princess*, Marie studies her

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>23</sup>A theorbo is Minerva's Medusa shield.

<sup>24</sup>Macrobius was a fifth-century Neoplatonist much consulted as an iconographical source from the Middle Ages into Rubens' time, Millen, 38-48

<sup>25</sup>Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini de i dei degli antichi*, (Venetia: Ziletti, 1571), identifies Minerva as goddess of prudence and inventor of all the arts.

<sup>26</sup>Millen and Wolf, *Heroic Deeds*, 46.

<sup>27</sup>Callot, *The Prodigal Son Takes his Place at the Feast (Return)*. etching. Several musicians take part, including one with a lute. (H. Daniel. *Callot's Etchings*. NY, 1974. fig. 326; *La Revue des Arts* 1 [1951] 101 [useless reproduction]); [Book Inventory (BI) Paris 1600] Anon. *Apollo and the Muses*, title-page illustration from Antoine Francisque, *Le trésor d'Orphée* ... Paris, Veuve R. et P. Ballard, 1600. Etching. One of the Muses has a lute. (*Early Music* 6 [1978] contents insert; *Gitarre & Laute* 1981/1, 44 [minuscule reproduction]); [Vignon-J David Pr] Jérôme? David (ca.1605-ca.1670) after Claude Vignon (1593-1670). *Europe*. engraving. Includes an unplayed lute. (Mirimonde *Iconographie musicale* vol. I, no. 43); [BI Paris ca. 1614] Merian, Matthaeus I (1593-1650). "Contentement d'une dame noble," from *Emblemata amatoria*. Paris, Luc LamieL editeur, ca. 1614. etching. A woman sits on a bed and plays a lute. There is an open music book on the table. (Wüthrich 1966. no. 55, Abb. 38); [BI London 1612] Caus, Salomon (ca.1576-1626). *Three Views of the Lute*,

lesson inscribed in the circular universe framed by Mercury (light of intelligence), Minerva (wisdom of the arts), laurel-wreathed Apollo or Orpheus and the peaceful Graces: a harmonious court of gods, bearers of gifts and virtues that Marie de' Medici dominates but to which she is also subject.

Sovereign and captive in a courtly universe ruled by a husband distracted by wars and loves, Marie de' Medici, queen consort in France, is well distant from the "the early happiness of Her reign" sung by Michelangelo Buonarroti the Young in his chronicle *Descrizione delle Felicissime Nozze della Cristianissima Maesta' di Madama Maria Medici Regina di Francia e di Navarra*. This journal is a detailed narrative of "The reason why, in the days that followed the wedding, before the departure of the bride and the accompanying courtiers, many celebrations were held, and not only at the court[...]"<sup>28</sup> On 6 October, 1600 "[...] Jacopo Corsi arranged the musical transposition of the beautiful epic arranged by Ottavio Rinuccini, "Euridice", which was executed with extreme expertise.[...]," the first opera was presented.<sup>29</sup> As Michelangelo wrote, it was based on the fairy tale (*affettuosa e gentilissima favola*) written by the poet at the Medici court Ottavio Rinuccini (1562-1621), who fantasized a different ending for the sad love story written by Ovid, Virgil and Poliziano.<sup>30</sup> In fact, he celebrated the vital reunion of Orpheus and Euridice, and therefore the triumph of love over death and adversities: "It may appear to someone that the changes I have made to the conclusion of Orpheus's tale is too bold, but this is what I wanted," he wrote.<sup>31</sup>

Kelley Harness proposes a political reading of "Euridice" and identifies Euridice with Florence and Orpheus with Ferdinand I de' Medici, thus allegorizing Florence's political health (as in Rinuccini's reformed myth) by means of a marital image (the Medici grand duke).<sup>32</sup> Although Harness' argument is valid (also in consideration of the existence of an existing painting by Agnolo Bronzino of Cosimo de Medici as Orpheus,

from *La perspective avec la raison des ombres et miroers*. London 1612. engraving. (M. Rosci. *Baschenis, Bettera & Co.* Milan 1971. p. 35); [Dr no location] Anon. A Group of Musicians from the *Ballet des fées de la forest de Saint-Germain*, danced at the Louvre, Paris, in 1625. no location. drawing. Includes a figure playing a tenor or bass viol (played upside down as the player is walking), and at least twelve players of lutes and theorbo lutes. (Dufourcq *Musique*. vol. II, p. 238-29 [reproduction across page crease]); Muses: [BI Paris 1594] Anon. *Apollo and the Muses, from Chansonnettes ...* Paris, A. Le Roy and C. Le Bé Ballard, 1594. woodcut. One of the Muses plays a lute. (Mortimer *French*. no. 135, p. 169)

<sup>28</sup>Michelangelo, *Descrizione delle Felicissime Nozze*, p. 22 "Il perche' appresso de le nozze in tutti quei giorni che precedevano la partenza del legato e della regina vari trattenimenti si tennero e della corte non solamente" "[...] avendo il Signor Jacopo Corsi fatta mettere in musica con grande studio la "Euridice" affettuosa e gentilissima favola del Signor Ottavio Rinuccini, [...]; offertola a loro Altezza fu ricevuta [...]"

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 22. "[...] and was offered, and accepted, by Their Highnessess [...]"

<sup>30</sup>For Rinuccini, see: Francesca Chiarelli, "Before and After: Ottavio Rinuccini's Mascherate and their Relationship to the Operatic Libretto," *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music* 9 (2003), 3-13. Here, 8. For Chiarelli's reference, see Bojan Bujic, "Figura poetica molto vaga: Structure and Meaning in Rinuccini's *Euridice*," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 29-64. In regards to the tale: the nymph Euridice was the wife of Orpheus. While escaping from Aristeus, she was bitten by a snake and died. Orpheus visited the underworld to rescue his wife but he broke the promise made to Hades of not looking back until he had reached the upper world, so Euridice was lost again.

<sup>31</sup>Quoted in Chiarelli, Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power*, 270. "Potrà parere ad alcuno, che troppo ardire sia stato il mio in alterare il fine della favola d'Orfeo, ma così mi è parso convenevole in tempo di tanta allegrezza."

<sup>32</sup>Kelley Harness, "Le Tre Euridici: Characterization and Allegory in the Euridici of Peri and Caccini," *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music* 9 (2003), 14.

painted in 1538-40), a reading of Buonarroti's description of the opera setting suggests an alternative evaluation: "the magnificent apparatus appeared behind the curtains arranged to form an arc, with two niches at its sides where the artist posed the statues of Poetry and Painting; it showed a misty landscape with relief, and the statues were beautifully drawn and enlightened by the daily light [...]"<sup>33</sup> It is the same choreography/iconography depicted by Rubens in *The Education of the Princess*, where the arch of curtains, the niches, and all the other elements of Buonarroti's description are conspicuously present. The same choreographer is behind the two works of art.

The scenographic apparatus for "Euridice" was realized by Ludovico Cardi detto il Cigoli, but the painted scenes were later re-employed for other representations and were repainted. Rubens, guest at the wedding celebrations, may have sketched the scenes, but the assertive control of Marie de' Medici over the iconographic program stated in the contract with Rubens in 1622 supports the hypothesis that she was also in control of the representational program of "Euridice." Both *The Education of the Princess* and "Euridice" celebrate a young, Florentine Marie devoted to the arts. (According to mythology, Orpheus was the son of the muse Calliope, who was pictured holding a writing tablet in her hand, sometimes a roll of paper or a book, and crowned in gold.) If in *The Education of the Princess* Marie portrays herself as Calliope, crowned in gold and mother of a laurel-wreathed Orpheus, the inference that she felt her status at this time as de-institutionalized queen mother to be inadequate and that the one of queen regent was more appropriate for her ambition is unequivocal. Moreover, the Three Graces resemble Marie. This suggests that in *The Education of the Princess* Marie de' Medici chose to have herself portrayed as granting the artistic spark to artists and poets. Like the Graces, she brought joy and goodwill to both gods and mortals through banquets, dances, and all other pleasurable social events; she sang with the Muses to the gods on Mount Olympus (her courts), and danced to the beautiful music that the god Apollo made upon his lyre. The traditional association of the Graces with arts and beauty, like the Muses and the Nymphs, must have intrigued the young but strong-willed princess and the more mature queen Marie and led her to personify the triple embodiment of grace and the bucolic beauty of the nymph. Marie is the pacifier, the artist and the patron of the cultural world of her epoch: Euridice and muse.

Harness affirms in her article about *Le Tre Euridici* that in seventeenth-century courts (particularly that of the Medici) comedies were understood to reflect contemporary urban life more closely than were pastorals, the latter being concerned as they were with the imitation of a higher truth. But in both genres, the Renaissance concept of decorum, by which a character's speech was congruent with his station in life, determined by age, class, moral status, and occupation, governed playwrights' choices.<sup>34</sup> At court, the experiences and values of the audience were based on a strict etiquette that determined the hierarchy and the nature of all social interactions.<sup>35</sup> According to these principles, dramatic male and female characters were treated differently by composers, who adhered

<sup>33</sup>Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maesta' di Madama Marie Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra*, ed. Marescotti Giorgio (Firenze: 1600), 23-24. "Il magnifico apparato in degna sala dopo le cortine fra l'aspetto di un grand'arco, e di due nicchie da fianchi suoi, entro le quali la Poesia e la Pittura con bell'avviso dello inventore vi erano per istatue; mostrava selve vaghissime, e rilevate, e dipinte, accomodatevi con bel disegno: e per li lumi ben dispostivi piene di una luce di giorno."

<sup>34</sup>Harness, "Le Tre Euridici," 3.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*

to the cliché of identification of the *giovane innamorata* (the young enamored woman) as a modest figure. Harness maintains that such a character had to be a model of chastity, manifested outwardly by modesty in dress and speech, while the typical scenery of a pastoral outdoor location, more proper for such a comedy, was a venue from which young Florentine women were discouraged.

Ottavio Rinuccini's rendition of Euridice revolutionized the application of these principles and, even though the poet's emphasis on Orpheus as a more forceful and persuasive orator seems to confer him a stronger role, his Euridice predominates.

And she, abandoned, released her face and her golden hair in their arms  
[...] I live and breath again in this joyful space // Oh women, look, I am  
the same // My auburn hair // My beautiful face // Recognize my voice //  
the friendly sound of my words [...]//the ancient lineaments"<sup>36</sup>

The strict courtly etiquette left no space to poets to make innovations. Rinuccini was encouraged to alter his comedy and to create a noble Euridice who is an active protagonist of the story.<sup>37</sup> It is the auburn Marie de' Medici, as she is described by Rinuccini when he writes about Euridice in the above passage. The poetic rhymes portray the same Marie de' Medici, as she is depicted in numerous paintings.

What Marie de' Medici has represented for art and history goes beyond paintings and music. She has conveyed strong feminist assertions that reconcile etiquette and gender limits with the whims of her intelligence. Marie de' Medici used her position to educate herself and to appreciate and participate in the arts and culture of the time—to learn how to survive as a protagonist the stormy courtly life of Florence. Marie, the young princess, gave voice to a young nymph-wife-muse and demanded that poetry and music acknowledge her dominant role while celebrating her femininity. Marie, the dowager queen, still celebrated the muse to whom she also conferred the responsibility of rebuilding a world devastated by religious war, of the invention of a new courtly style, and of a "renaissance" in French arts and letters.

<sup>36</sup>Rinuccini, "Euridice," (Firenze: Palazzo Pitti, 1600).

<sup>37</sup>"Although even Rinuccini's "Euridice" is markedly reticent, delivering only 27 of the opera's nearly 800 lines, in the versions of Ovid, Virgil, and Poliziano, she is nearly mute. She utters a solitary 'vale' in Ovid as Orpheus's backward glance precipitates her return to the underworld. The Euridice of Virgil's *Georgics* expands Ovid's matter-of-fact farewell into a full-blown lament." Harness, "Le Tre Euridici," 3.

## Saving America during the Great Depression: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen Campaigns against Communism to Save the US

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Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1895-1979), who became a prominent member of the US Catholic hierarchy during the Cold War, first began to gain national attention during the 1930s when he launched a crusade to keep the US away from what he viewed as the evils of communism. He was particularly concerned that communist influence was increasing in international affairs and in the US because of the economic hardships of the Depression. He devoted himself to an intensive study of communism and the USSR. He concluded that communism meant to replace Christianity with its own man-made ideology. He often proposed draconian measures to prevent the spread of communism in the US, including the suspension of free speech for communist sympathizers. Later, Sheen turned his attention to the war beginning in Europe. He repeatedly stated that he did not approve of Benito Mussolini, a Catholic and the Fascist dictator of Italy or Adolph Hitler, the dictator of Germany, but his major concern was with the communist state in the USSR. Sheen formulated arguments against communism and the USSR during the 1930s that he would later use during the Cold War to great effect on his national television show.<sup>1</sup>

Sheen brought his crusade to the radio in 1930 when he became the speaker on *The Catholic Hour*, a national radio program. He was already gaining a reputation by speaking at Catholic churches and Church-sponsored institutions and organizations, but speaking each week on the radio brought him widespread media attention. During the 1930s, Sheen was not the only priest known for his radio broadcasts. Father Charles Coughlin broadcast from his church, the Shrine of the Little Flower, in Royal Oak, Michigan. Coughlin, in the beginning of his radio ministry, preached on subjects related to Catholic Doctrine but soon turned to politics. He denounced the Hoover administration after the Depression began and backed Franklin D. Roosevelt for president, but later called him a communist.<sup>2</sup> Coughlin's orations tended to take the form of demagoguery while Sheen's addresses were never aimed at gathering a personal following for political purposes. Sheen's speaking ability proved to be a great weapon in his crusade against

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<sup>1</sup>Sheen served as Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of New York while doing a very popular television show, "Life is Worth Living." I explored Sheen's role in the Cold War in a previous article: Michael J. Epple, "Fulton J. Sheen's Call for Religious Unity During the Cold War," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 12 (2005), 50-57. Until recently the main published works on Sheen were D.P. Noonan, *The Passion of Fulton J. Sheen* (NY: Dodd Mead, 1972) and Sheen's posthumous biography *Treasure in Clay* (SF: Ignatius Books, 1980). In 2001, Thomas Reeves published the first full-length biography of Sheen since Noonan's work, but he does not go into great detail on Sheen's anti-communism. Thomas C Reeves, *The Life and Times of Fulton J. Sheen* (SF: Encounter Books, 2001). Kathleen Field's dissertation *Bishop Fulton J. Sheen: An American Catholic Response to the Twentieth Century* (University of Notre Dame, 1988) attempted to locate Sheen's place in the history of US Catholicism but does not focus on his Anti-communism.

<sup>2</sup>For an in-depth study of Coughlin see Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982).

communism. A *Time* magazine article on Sheen and his broadcasts on *The Catholic Hour* radio program described him as articulate and blessed with an excellent broadcast voice.<sup>3</sup>

After beginning his denunciation of communism, Sheen worried about it gaining a foothold in the US because of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. By 1932 approximately one third of the US population had no income, while half of the labor force was either unemployed or under employed. In large industrial cities such as Chicago and Cleveland upwards of half the working force were laid off.<sup>4</sup> Unable to meet mortgage payments, hundreds of thousands of families were evicted from their homes. People had little to eat and thousands faced outright starvation. Socialist and communist agitators led unionizing drives and appealed to intellectuals to consider the merits of Marxist theory.<sup>5</sup> Sheen became alarmed that the working classes would be deceived by the rhetoric and join communist organizations. He especially worried about the Communist Party USA (CPUSA).

The CPUSA, while relatively small, was able to mobilize and reach a large number of non-Communists. The party used front organizations such as the American Youth Congress and the National Negro Congress that hid the communist connection.<sup>6</sup> 1935 to 1939 the CPUSA attempted to form a Popular Front with socialists and other leftist organizations with the growing threat of fascism as the common enemy. Party membership reached and all-time high of 100,000.<sup>7</sup> The leadership stopped criticizing President Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal and even declared that "Communism is 20<sup>th</sup> Century Americanism"<sup>8</sup> Sheen strongly condemned those who joined the party.

Sheen attacked Earl Browder, the American Communist Party candidate for president in the 1936 election, because he feared that the working class would cast their votes for him. He contended that Browder presented a false picture of what communism stood for and he claimed to have documents that refuted Browder's claims. Throughout his career, Sheen often referred to documentation, which he supposedly received from communist sources. In his autobiography, Sheen recalled that throughout his career, individuals who claimed to be communists would approach him. Although he became suspicious of some of them and enlisted the FBI to check them out, they did provide him with valuable information for his anti-communism.<sup>9</sup> In his lectures he often cited communist publications both in the US and around the world but he only alluded to other non-published documents, which he received from unidentified sources concerning communism. Only a few documents remain in the Sheen Archives of the many that he claimed to have in his possession.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup>"Monsignor's Tenth," *Time*, 11 March 1940, 60-61.

<sup>4</sup>For a look at the hardships of the Depression see, John Garraty, *The Great Depression: an Inquiry into the Causes, Course and Consequences of the Worldwide Depression of the Nineteen Thirties as Seen by Contemporaries and in the Light of History* (SD: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1989).

<sup>5</sup>John Gerassi examines the relationship of unions and the CPUSA in his article, "Comintern, the Fronts, and the CPUSA in Michael Brown, et al, eds., *New Studies in the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1993), 75-91.

<sup>6</sup>Guenter Lewy, *The Cause that Failed: Communism in American Political Life* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1990), 25-40.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>9</sup>Sheen, *Treasure in Clay*, 86-7.

<sup>10</sup>The Sheen Archives are located in the offices of the Diocese of Rochester, NY where Sheen served as bishop

Sheen accused Browder of plotting revolution in the US and being under orders from Moscow. Browder denied those charges.<sup>11</sup> Sheen's insistence that Browder acted on orders from Moscow has been documented in recent works. In fact, Browder and other US communist leaders decided to downplay their differences with Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 and instead attacked Alf Landon, the Republican candidate whom they considered represented the greater threat to the worldwide communist movement. They reached this decision after consulting with members of the Comintern at a Moscow meeting.<sup>12</sup> Sheen ended his attack on Browder by emphasizing that he attacked communism not only because of its opposition to the Catholic Church but also "because civilization as we know it today will pass away if communism is allowed to become supreme."<sup>13</sup>

The bishop continued to attack Browder after the election. In Chicago, Sheen addressed 3,000 people at St. Philip Neri Church, where he asserted that Browder and communism offered nothing new, and he compared communist tactics to those used by Judas Iscariot who betrayed Jesus with a kiss. Sheen argued that communists persuaded people with a proverbial kiss of the good things of communism to incite a revolution and they betrayed the people into slavery as Judas betrayed Christ to his death.<sup>14</sup> When Sheen gave a similar lecture in September, 1936, one newspaper wrote, "Rev. Dr. Sheen is performing a great and patriotic service when he strips the skin off the Communists and exposes them in the raw for the indecent, ugly, and menacing thing they represent."<sup>15</sup> Throughout his career he would employ biblical illustrations in his condemnation of communism.

Sheen also objected to articles that were printed in the *Daily Worker*, the leading communist publication in the US. When the newspaper printed a series of questions dealing with communism, Sheen wrote a reply to the questions. The editor did not print his letter, so the Paulist Press published a pamphlet in February, 1937 entitled *Communism Answers the Questions of a Communist*. His answers reiterated his basic arguments against communism.

As part of his crusade against communism, Sheen condemned US secular universities for aiding the enemy. He emphasized that Catholic colleges were better suited for educating Americans than secular colleges because the faculty at Catholic institutions would not be promoting communism. According to a contemporary report, in one lecture he argued,

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in the 1960s. Unfortunately for researchers looking at Sheen, the archives mainly contain articles written by and about Sheen. He did not keep the large number of letters he received and did not leave diaries or journals.

<sup>11</sup>Sheen cites the official program of the Soviet International as commanding followers to begin revolutions by suppressing opposition. He also asserts that Stalin chastised Browder in July, 1935 for not recruiting more Americans to the Communist party. "Msgr. Sheen Replies to Communist Leader," *Toronto Catholic Register*, 15 October 1936, 1.

<sup>12</sup>In the *Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes and Kyrill M. Anderson offer documented proof that Browder received orders on how to run his 1936 campaign at a 1936 Comintern meeting in Moscow. See 31-48. Mark Naison and John Gerassi agree with this assessment in Naison, "Remaking: America: Communist and Liberals in the Popular Front," in Brown, et al, *New Studies*, 45-75 and Gerassi, "Comintern."

<sup>13</sup>*Toronto Catholic Register*; 15 October 1936, 1.

<sup>14</sup>"Over 3,000 Hear Monsignor Sheen Tell of Aims of Communism," *Chicago Daily Calumet*, 16 November, 1936.

<sup>15</sup>"Rats in our American House," *Scranton Times*, 21 September, 1936.



... many college professors seem to be the most gullible and the seed of Communism is best fostered in universities where the name of God is not mentioned. That is not according to the intent of our forefathers. They took it for granted that schools would teach of God and that the Constitution would remain grounded on high religious principles.... Communism is a real threat to America and American principles. In the final struggle, he intimated, the Church will be the only bulwark against its progress and the only defender of the nations against the pernicious inroads upon American customs and ideals.<sup>16</sup>

For Sheen the separation of church and state had little meaning if it allowed university faculty to promote communism because of their lack of understanding of the spiritual heritage of the US, which would protect it from communism. This touched on another theme that Sheen often used, namely that education in the evils of communism would convince people to abandon its teachings. He also suggested that Catholic colleges and schools could rescue the US from the dangers presented by communism. Sheen often attacked US intellectuals who he insisted favored communism during the Depression. He argued that the majority of the faculty in US secular universities either actively supported communism or did not warn their students of the dangers that it presented to US democracy.

Sheen later proposed that a school be created for industrial workers to teach them about the misconceptions of communism. The schools could be located in the factories or perhaps public schools could be used for educating the working class about the dangers of communism. This would counter secular schools throughout the US. People could learn about the "tactics of Communism."<sup>17</sup> Sheen assumed that ordinary factory workers would be most likely to fall prey to communist propaganda with the Depression affecting their ability to earn a living wage. However, unlike some Catholic reformers such as Dorothy Day, Sheen never offered practical suggestions for how to help working families supply their basic needs; instead he concentrated on protecting their minds.<sup>18</sup>

To keep Americans from admiring communism, Sheen often vilified the communist leadership both in this country and the USSR. On more than one occasion he accused communist leaders, including Lenin who had died thirteen years earlier and Joseph Stalin who led the USSR at the time, of being common criminals. He stated that both men prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917 literally were bank robbers and murderers.<sup>19</sup> Sheen thus argued that the leaders of the Soviet regime were unsavory characters who would stop at nothing to obtain their goals. He also pointed out that Stalin instructed communists in other countries to use violence, confiscation, and insurrection to bring about a successful revolution.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup>"Attacks on Communism Wins Msgr. Sheen Applause in Opening Lecture of the Series," *Cleveland Universe Bulletin*, 6 November, 1936.

<sup>17</sup>"Bishop Proposes Worker's School," *Chicago Herald Examiner*, 16 November, 1936.

<sup>18</sup>For a discussion of Dorothy Day, see James Terence Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1932-1962* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1-101.

<sup>19</sup>"Msgr. Sheen Hits Tactics of Reds," *The Knickerbocker Press*, 23 January, 1937.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

Sheen's 1937 Lenten sermons at St. Patrick's Cathedral attracted visiting foreign dignitaries, including Manuel Quezon, president of the Philippine Commonwealth, who had traveled to the US in February for talks with President Franklin Roosevelt. With Quezon present, Sheen attacked communism's claim that religion was the opium of the people. He argued that communists used that phrase because they maintained religion put workers to sleep. They would not protest working conditions and would only hope for a better life after this one. Sheen countered this argument by pointing out that Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) and Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) had issued encyclicals that called for better conditions for the workers. Sheen also argued, "[r]esignation which religion preaches is not passive submission to economic injustice as Communism contends. Resignation means accepting our lot while working to better conditions by an intelligent understanding of the nature of things."<sup>21</sup>

Sheen concluded his remarks on communism by observing that religion tried to better humanity while accepting its nature. He was referring to Christian orthodoxy that humans are born with an evil nature that only God can change. He also argued that communism must ultimately fail because it tried to bring about revolution but could not change the nature of humanity. Once again, Sheen used religion in the form of the accepted beliefs of Christianity in general and the Catholic Church in particular. This was a comparison that not only his immediate audience could comprehend but also others with Jewish or Protestant backgrounds could most likely understand.

Sheen's skillful critique of communist rhetoric and current events in the USSR allowed him to take a belief long associated with communism in the popular mind and turn it around to demonstrate the hypocrisy within the communist system. Sheen was aware that communist publications often criticized the upper echelons of the Christian Church for living in greater luxury than the majority of Christians, so he wrote in a Catholic publication that communism practiced what it preached against.<sup>22</sup> Again, Sheen's ability to simplify and Christianize his argument against communism appealed to Catholics and other Christians who believed communism was inherently evil and opposed to the forces of good.

In his crusading zeal, Sheen declared at one meeting that, "Communists in America should be denied the right to freedom of speech whenever they would use that right to destroy it."<sup>23</sup> Ironically, he made the statement that certain groups should have their right to free speech taken away at a banquet celebrating the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the US Constitution. He declared that the "Godless Communists" went against the very intentions of the Christian framers of the Constitution. He also claimed that when Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence used the words "inalienable rights," he meant rights given people by the creator, namely God. Sheen gave his own definition of democracy: "Democracy to me means the right to disagree and still have my life. It means the right to dissent and still have my rights."<sup>24</sup> He justified his views by claiming that communists hid behind freedom of speech to bring a message that could eventually lead to the end of liberties if their views prevailed in the US. It would seem as though in

<sup>21</sup>"Shows Communist Attacks Upon Religion False," *The Catholic News*, 27 February, 1937.

<sup>22</sup>Sheen was quoted as saying that only 2% of the Communist elite lived in comfort while other 98% lived in poverty. "Communism is Called Capitalism Gone Mad," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 15 November, 1937.

<sup>23</sup>"Flays Communists at A.O.H. Banquet," *Worcester Telegram*, 20 September, 1937.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

this instance Sheen was condemned by his own words. Communists at this point were a small minority within this country and should have been allowed to speak their views as much as Sheen. According to Sheen, Americans should be happy to live in a country where they had basic liberties such as freedom of speech. They should zealously guard that freedom. Guarding that freedom might require silencing those who would bring about a drastic change in the US.

In September, 1937, Sheen called communists, "capitalists without any cash!"<sup>25</sup> According to Sheen, communists criticized capitalism because they would like to be capitalists but lacked the finances to do so. He argued that the world saw the beginnings of two revolutions in the late nineteenth century. The one revolution, which he termed the "revolution of hate," came from the writings of Karl Marx and Charles Darwin, and the other revolution he termed the "revolution of charity," originated in Christianity. Violence and selfishness marked the "revolution of hate." In the 1930s Joseph Stalin, the leader of the USSR, exemplified violence and selfishness. Sheen even asserted that Stalin had his own mother moved to a different town after she asked a local priest to pray for him, and she subsequently died of a broken heart. Sheen compared the extreme intolerance which existed in the USSR to areas where the "revolution of charity" was practiced. He did not overtly say so, but the US and other Western countries which embraced the free market system and allowed freedom of religion were obviously influenced by the "revolution of charity." He also claimed that the two revolutions were at work in the Spanish Civil War. Near the end of his lecture he asserted, "[i]t is much better to be poor and free than to live in Soviet Russia and be a slave..."<sup>26</sup> Sheen admitted that there were problems in capitalism, but even with some inequities it was much better to reside in a free capitalist country than under communist domination.

Sheen's solution to the inequalities in capitalist countries, especially his insistence that workers share in the profits of their labor, appears to have some socialist overtones. This idea has found its way into some parts of US industry with profit-sharing plans and employee ownership, but it must have appeared radical to the industrialists of the 1930s. He also suggested that workers be organized in something similar to the guilds of the Middle Ages. Pope Pius XI published the encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931, attempting to address the social situation of the 1930s. He declared wages paid should be sufficient for the income needs of the family without the necessity of the wife or children working. The pontiff also praised the growth of labor organizations but stated that Catholics should only join unions that allowed Catholic social teaching. Preferably, those who were of the same occupation could form guilds to work for the good of all.<sup>27</sup> The 1931 encyclical gave papal approval for the increased Catholic attention to social problems. Sheen referred to this encyclical in the 1930s to the 1950s when he argued that the Church did not condone unbridled capitalism that robbed the working man of a just living. Sheen also referred to the medieval guilds as a pattern that modern labor might adopt. Sheen, like many Catholics of the day, had a great admiration for that period of history when the Church had been united and society seemed less complicated, at least in

<sup>25</sup> "Links Hatred to Marxism: Msgr. Sheen Calls Reds Capitalists Without Any Cash," *Windsor Daily Star* 28 September, 1937.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

his imaginings. That image of a simpler time appealed to Catholics confronted with the complexities of the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup>

During the late 1930s with the US economic situation slowly improving, Sheen increasingly turned his attention to the international scene. He became alarmed when the Roosevelt administration began to reassess its neutrality policy in regard to selling arms to the Spanish government in Madrid. That government, which was supported by the USSR, came to power after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931. The new government instituted reforms in several areas, including removal of educational control from the Catholic Church as well as redistribution of land to the poor peasants. In 1936 General Francisco Franco, a Catholic, led a military revolt against the government which began a three-year civil war. Both Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini backed Franco while the USSR actively supported the new government.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the remainder of the decade Sheen would continue to argue that communism was the greatest threat facing the US during the Depression. He would continue to utilize many of the arguments that he used in the 1930s during World War II and the Cold War including his contention that Communism presented a counterfeit of Christian religion. Sheen's warnings about the dangers of Communism and the threat presented by the USSR received less attention during World War II when the US was allied with that state. However, once the Cold War began, Sheen and his arguments once again gained national attention when he would call for Jews and Protestants to join Catholics in presenting a united front against Communism.

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<sup>28</sup>For a discussion of how US Catholics in the twentieth century came to regard the medieval guild as an excellent form of labor organization see Philip Gleason, *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism Past and Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 22-23.

<sup>29</sup>For more information on the origins of the Spanish Civil War, see Douglas Little, *Malevolent Neutrality: The United States, Great Britain, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).

## The American Nation and the Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957-1958

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A consequence of the Suez crisis, the Eisenhower Doctrine of early January, 1957, approved by the US Congress a few weeks later, authorized the Chief Executive to use military forces if necessary to defend Middle Eastern nations (that had requested such aid) from overt communist-inspired aggression.<sup>1</sup> In addition, this measure authorized the president to provide up to \$200 million in economic aid to these countries. Also known as the "Middle East Resolution," the doctrine, formulated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who believed that Nasserism was "a Middle Eastern variety of international communism," received its main application during Summer, 1958 when President Eisenhower sent 14,000 US Marines to Lebanon to forestall a so-called communist coup similar to one that had recently been undertaken in Iraq.<sup>2</sup> The US troops returned home in November of the same year, a withdrawal which virtually marked the abandonment of the Eisenhower Doctrine "as a policy for the Arab Middle East."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This crisis was certainly the most serious world problem Eisenhower faced during his presidency. It occurred in July, 1956 when Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser seized the British-owned Suez Canal, the strategic waterway in northeastern Egypt linking the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez. The fervent Arab nationalist Nasser hoped to finance his great project to build a dam at Aswan with tolls from the canal. Israel, fearful that a mighty Egypt would upset the balance of power in the region, and Britain as well as France, dependent on the canal for the flow of more than 50% of their oil supply, decided to force Nasser to give up the canal. On 29 October, 1956, Israeli troops attacked Egypt and, two days later, Britain and France invaded to seize the canal, to the US Chief Executive's dismay. "Eisenhower was furious. He had not been consulted by America's allies, and with Russia vowing to stand by Egypt, he feared that the West's gunboat imperialism might trigger a nuclear war. The president quickly repudiated the Suez expedition and initiated a U.N. resolution condemning the aggression and calling for a British, French, and Israeli withdrawal from Egypt." Paul S. Boyer, *et al.*, *The Enduring Vision: A History for the American People* (Lexington: DC Heath, 1990), 1015. This crisis, which swelled anti-West sentiment in the Third World, came to an end on 6 November when the invaders announced that their soldiers would leave Egypt.

<sup>2</sup>Chester J. Pach, Jr. and Elmo Richardson, *The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 162. Robert D. Schulzinger, *American Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 252. Robert A. Divine, *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1981), 99. Concerning the supposed 'communist threat' in Lebanon at the end of the 1950s, historian Robert Divine has claimed that it was grossly exaggerated: "There was no evidence of Russian activity in Lebanon; the problem was essentially internal, with understandable Moslem anxiety over [President Camille] Chamoun's political maneuvers intensified by Nasser's propaganda. Arab nationalism, not Soviet communism, was the source of danger to American hopes for a stable Middle East" (*ibid.*, 101). He has added: "The President apparently understood the essence of the problem, even though he did not share his insights with the American people. His greatest concern was not a coup in Lebanon but rather the security of the Persian Gulf oil fields.... The general who had won his reputation by waging mechanized warfare with planes and tanks to liberate Europe in World War II knew how vital petroleum was for both the military defense and the peacetime economy of America's closest allies." *Ibid.*, 101, 103. For William Stivers, Eisenhower's decision to intervene in Lebanon was much more difficult than the decision to overthrow Mohammed Mossadegh, prime minister of Iran, in 1953. William Stivers, "Eisenhower and the Middle East," in Richard A. Melanson and David Mayers, eds., *Reevaluating Eisenhower: American Foreign Policy in the 1950s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 206.

<sup>3</sup>John Findling, *Dictionary of American Diplomatic History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), 174.

Not surprisingly, this doctrine, which historian H. W. Brands has characterized as “a sharpened version of the Truman Doctrine of a decade before,” generated a lot of reaction elsewhere in the world.<sup>4</sup> Eisenhower later wrote,

Britain and France generally favored the plan. Communist China and the Soviet Union condemned it as a ‘substitution for British and French imperialism.’ The Moslem countries divided: Syria was hostile, Iraq and Saudi Arabia were cautiously critical, while Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Iran saw the doctrine as the best possible guarantee of peace.<sup>5</sup>

This paper, based on several primary sources (Gallup polls, the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, the *Congressional Record*, etc.), aims to present and analyze the attitude of Americans towards the Eisenhower Doctrine during the years 1957-1958. Among other things, it intends to demonstrate—through sections dealing with public opinion, the media and Congress respectively—that this doctrine received considerable support in the US, a fact which clearly illustrates the strength of internationalist sentiment during the 1950s.

The historical literature relating to this topic is not extensive. Well-known monographs such as H. W. Brands’ *The Specter of Neutralism: The United States and the Emergence of the Third World, 1947-1960* (1989), Cecil Crabb’s *The Doctrines of American Foreign Policy* (1982) and Robert Divine’s *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (1981) devote some brief paragraphs concerning the debate generated by the Middle East Resolution on Capitol Hill.<sup>6</sup> Salim Yaqub’s *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East* (2004) contains only a few lines regarding the attitude of the public opinion and the media towards the doctrine.<sup>7</sup>

Douglas Little, “Eisenhower Doctrine”, in Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 77. Cecil Crabb, Jr., *The Doctrines of American Foreign Policy: Their Meaning, Role, and Future* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 186. Only one of the 14,000 US Marines who served in Lebanon died from hostile fire. Pach and Richardson, *Presidency*, 193.

<sup>4</sup>H. William Brands, *The United States in the World: A History of American Foreign Policy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), Vol. II, 252.

<sup>5</sup>Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (NY: Doubleday, 1965), 181.

<sup>6</sup>Among these authors, Crabb, who consulted the Gallup polls, has been the only one to address the issue of public opinion. (Crabb, *Doctrines*, 173-174). However, he tends to disregard the media’s reaction to the Eisenhower Doctrine. Scholar Richard Sobel has stated that the public, in foreign policy, is divided into three groups: “the ‘mass public’ is ‘neither interested nor informed’ and therefore seldom has any influence over foreign policy; the ‘attentive public’ is informed but has few means of exerting influence; and the ‘elite’ is both informed and influential.... Among the elite are opinion leaders, including media commentators and reporters, leaders of lobbying organizations, and members of Congress, who understand the issue and help move attitudes (and legislative action) toward specific policies.” Richard Sobel, *The Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1918-1978* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12; see also Ralph B. Levering, *The Public and American Foreign Policy, 1918-1978* (NY: William Morrow, 1978), 19-21.

<sup>7</sup>Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 94, 298.

### Public Opinion

Several indications seem to confirm that US public opinion saw the Middle East Resolution favorably.<sup>8</sup> In a Gallup poll of January, 1957, 70% of Americans responded positively to the question "Would you approve or disapprove if the United States gave economic ... aid to the countries in the Middle East area that are friendly to the United States?" In comparison, 19% disapproved and 11% had no opinion.<sup>9</sup> The rate of approval reached 73% among Republicans, compared to 68% among Democrats.<sup>10</sup> 50% of the sample also approved the sending of "our armed forces if Russian troops attack these countries"; 34% disapproved and 16% had no opinion.<sup>11</sup> A Gallup poll taken a few weeks later showed that no less than 72% of the American population approved "the way Dwight Eisenhower is handling his job as President," compared to a meager 18% of the interviewees who responded negatively.<sup>12</sup>

As for the 1958 US intervention in Lebanon, which had been approved by former US presidents Herbert Hoover and Harry Truman, a Gallup poll taken in New York, Chicago and San Francisco showed that 59% endorsed the sending of US troops there, compared to 27% who disapproved and 14% who remained undecided.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, *Newsweek* magazine, following hundreds of interviews conducted by its reporters in the 48 states in regards to the intervention, concluded that "an overwhelming majority" of Americans believed that Eisenhower was right in sending US troops.<sup>14</sup> As the magazine went on to say:

In 22 states, approval was nearly unanimous. In twenty others, a heavy preponderance favored the President's action. Four states backed him by a narrow margin. One, Pennsylvania, was split. Only in Michigan did critics outnumber supporters.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Eisenhower Doctrine enjoyed a wide degree of support among the American people, an examination of the column "letters to the Editor" in some newspapers reveals that individuals occasionally expressed their outspoken opposition to the doctrine. In January, 1957 the *Chicago Tribune*, for instance, published a letter from a man exasperated by the Middle East Resolution who declared, "[i]nstead of trying to save what is left of the British empire, Eisenhower would be better advised to give serious consideration to the wave of wage increases now so general thruout the country, and the natural corollary of higher prices and rising inflation."<sup>16</sup> A few weeks later, Representative Lawrence Smith, a Republican of Wisconsin, quoted an article which stated that mail to senators on the Foreign Relations Committee "is running 8 or 9 to 1

<sup>8</sup>The notion of 'public opinion', in pure general terms, refers "to the aggregate of individual opinions on issues of public interest." Ole Holsti, 'Public Opinion', in Jentleson and Paterson, eds., *Encyclopedia*, 440.

<sup>9</sup>George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*. Vol. II: 1949-1958 (NY: Random House, 1972), 1467.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*; see also *Newsweek*, 14 January, 1957, 26.

<sup>12</sup>Gallup, *Gallup Poll*, 1476.

<sup>13</sup>*New York Times*, 16 July, 1958, 5; Gallup, *Gallup Poll*, 1560-1561.

<sup>14</sup>*Newsweek*, 4 August, 1958, 16.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Chicago Tribune*, 15 January, 1957, 20.

against the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East."<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, personalities such as former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and former Air Force Secretary Thomas Finletter stood against the Eisenhower Doctrine in early 1957.<sup>18</sup> The US Marines' landing in Lebanon further irritated a number of readers of the *New York Times*. As one of them put it,

[t]he intervention of United States troops in Lebanon to safeguard so-called Western interests in the area at the request of a very unpopular Government and against the majority of the Lebanese people simulates the action of the British and the French in the Suez crisis and the Russian intervention in Hungary.<sup>19</sup>

Another reader referred to "the suicidal unilateral action of the Eisenhower Administration."<sup>20</sup>

### Newspapers and Magazines

Overall, the US press tended to react favorably to the Eisenhower Doctrine. The situation was no different for the most influential magazines of the nation. Newspapers such as the *Washington Post*, the *Hartford Courant* (Connecticut), the *Warren Tribune-Chronicle* (Ohio), the *Elkhart Truth* (Indiana), the *Peoria Journal Star* (Illinois) and the *Deseret News* (Utah) supported the doctrine in their editorial pages.<sup>21</sup> The *New York Times* also voiced its approval of the Middle East Resolution of 1957, depicting it as a "consistent plan" that was entirely justified.<sup>22</sup>

If we left the Middle East entirely alone we would not be leaving it free. The inhabitants of that area simply do not have enough power to maintain peace and security by their own unassisted efforts.... We will go as friends and on invitation, not as conquerors or masters, not as colonial exploiters or imperialists.<sup>23</sup>

Not surprisingly, the prestigious daily—in a fashion similar to newspapers such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Mirror-News*, the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, the *Detroit News*, the *Buffalo Courier-Express*, the *Boston Traveler*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*—endorsed the

<sup>17</sup>*Congressional Record*, 4 February, 1957, A727.

<sup>18</sup>*Newsweek*, 21 January, 1957, p. 26; *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 28 January, 1957, A730-731; 4 February, 1957, A713-714. Niebuhr, for instance, declared: "The economic program presented under the Eisenhower [D]octrine does not offer specific amounts to specific nations for the settlement of [Arab] refugees. We did nothing about this problem in the past, and are doing nothing now." *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 28 January, 1957, A731.

<sup>19</sup>*New York Times*, 18 July, 1958, 20.

<sup>20</sup>*New York Times*, 19 July, 1958, 14.

<sup>21</sup>*Congressional Record*, Appendix, 14 February, 1957, A984-A985; 23 January, 1957, A420-A421; 10 January, 1957, A136; 14 January, 1957, A184; 6 February, 1957, A814-A815; 17 January, 1957, A285-A286.

<sup>22</sup>*New York Times*, 6 January, 1957, 3E.

<sup>23</sup>"The Eisenhower Plan," *New York Times*, editorial, 6 January, 1957, 10E; see also "The Aim is Peace," editorial, 8 January, 1957, 30.



military intervention in Lebanon.<sup>24</sup> It characterized the intervention as “a calculated risk, worth taking.”<sup>25</sup> According to the newspaper, the Eisenhower Administration had no alternative:

The United States cannot be one of the two great world powers and refuse to act like a great power. To ignore appeals for help from supporters like Lebanon,... to make no effort to reassure other friends in trouble like the Jordanians would be to abdicate the role that history and our wealth and energy have thrust upon us. In that respect the decision to defend Lebanon was like the decision to defend Korea.<sup>26</sup>

Magazines such as *Time*, *U. S. News and World Report*, and *Newsweek* also responded positively to the Middle East Resolution. *Time*, for instance, reported the words of a correspondent which asserted that the doctrine “helps to preserve a western influence behind which the British and French may rebuild”<sup>27</sup> while in early March, 1957 columnist David Lawrence of the *U. S. News and World Report* called for Democratic senators to back “the Administration’s policies that seek to avoid war.”<sup>28</sup> For its part, *Newsweek* declared that “if American influence didn’t come into the Middle East, Communist influence would.”<sup>29</sup> According to columnist Ernest Lindley, the Middle East proposals advocated by President Eisenhower were entirely welcomed: “The need to make crystal clear our intention to defend the Middle East against Communist aggression has been urged in this space for more than eight years.”<sup>30</sup> Regarding the landing in Lebanon, the *Newsweek* columnist pointed out that “this expedition was unmistakably helpful to the free world.”<sup>31</sup>

All this having been said, it should not be forgotten that the Eisenhower Doctrine, a mixed success according to scholar Salim Yaqub, also had its vociferous detractors among the press.<sup>32</sup> Describing it as a “blank check,” in January, 1957 the *New York Daily News*, for instance, found it ironic that the US President had seemed to resort to “the same sort of violent Mideast action” used by Britain and France during the Suez crisis.<sup>33</sup>

The most vehement denunciations of the Middle East Resolution, however, came from the *Chicago Tribune* which presented itself as “the only newspaper in the country to have made an articulated case against the Eisenhower ‘doctrine.’”<sup>34</sup> Concerning what it

<sup>24</sup>*Time*, 28 July, 1958, 18; *New York Times*, 17 July, 1958, 12.

<sup>25</sup>“Marines in Lebanon,” *New York Times*, editorial, 16 July, 1958, 28.

<sup>26</sup>“The Consequences of Lebanon”, *New York Times*, editorial, 17 July, 1958, 26.

<sup>27</sup>*Time*, 18 March, 1957, 18.

<sup>28</sup>David Lawrence, “Turning the Clock Back?” *U. S. News and World Report*, 8 March, 1957, 152.

<sup>29</sup>*Newsweek*, 14 January, 1957, 22.

<sup>30</sup>Ernest Lindley, “President’s Message,” *Newsweek*, 14 January, 1957, 36.

<sup>31</sup>Ernest Lindley, “Global Carping – Or Not?” *Newsweek*, 10 November, 1958, 60.

<sup>32</sup>Yaqub has affirmed: “In evaluating the overall success of the Eisenhower Doctrine, one must distinguish between the policy’s ultimate objective and the strategy employed to achieve that objective. The ultimate objective was to prevent a Soviet takeover of the Middle East, and since such a takeover never occurred, it has to be said that the objective was achieved. But the strategy behind the policy—discrediting Arab figures deemed ‘soft on communism’ by promoting other Arab figures who were conspicuously anticommunist—failed miserably.” Yaqub, *Containing*, 4-5.

<sup>33</sup>“Ike’s ‘Keep Out’ Sign,” *New York Daily News*, editorial, 8 January, 1957, 25.

<sup>34</sup>“Reply to the President,” *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 13 January, 1957, 20.

deemed Eisenhower's "latest folly," the conservative daily objected to the moment chosen by the Chief Executive to announce his Middle East proposals.<sup>35</sup> "[T]he timing of this venture is a mystery. There is no sudden communist crisis in the middle east. There is plenty of tension of various sorts, but it has been present for years."<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, the newspaper found the economic aid provisions included in the doctrine preposterous:

The foreign aid provisions of the Eisenhower program are ... illogical. If his concern in the middle east is preserving access to the supply and reserves of oil, there is no reason to start handing out hundreds of millions of dollars. The oil producing governments are already taking down tremendous royalties. They shouldn't need any help from this government.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, the Illinois newspaper emphasized that Eisenhower's electoral campaign of 1956 had rested on a false representation:

His brief in support of the so-called Eisenhower 'doctrine' was ... at odds with everything he had told the American people in the Presidential campaign last year. Then his themes were peace and prosperity. He asked why some politicians were raising an anguished cry that 'we have no peace'.... Now it is Mr. Eisenhower himself who raises the cry that we have no peace and who demands of Congress contingent authority for war.<sup>38</sup>

After the Senate's approval of the Middle East Resolution in early March, 1957, the *Chicago Tribune* did not miss the opportunity to deplore "the fact that Congress has abdicated its sole right to declare war."<sup>39</sup> Naturally, the *Chicago Tribune* stigmatized the intervention in Lebanon and reminded its readers that, in the past, it had been "opposed to military adventures abroad."<sup>40</sup> Incidentally, the *Wall Street Journal* and newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Denver Post*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Detroit Free Press*, also spoke out against the landing in Lebanon.<sup>41</sup>

#### On Capitol Hill

Although the legislative branch did not share Eisenhower's sense of urgency over the Middle East Resolution, it must be noted, as one observer put forward, that the 85<sup>th</sup>

<sup>35</sup>"Messing about in the Middle East," *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 3 January, 1957, 14.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>"Mr. Eisenhower's Mid-East 'Doctrine,'" *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 6 January, 1957, 24.

<sup>39</sup>"The Senate Abdicates," *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 7 March, 1957, 14.

<sup>40</sup>"Our Marines Have Landed," *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 16 July, 1958, 20; see also "As Clear as Mud," *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 17 July, 1958, 10; "A Large Order," *Chicago Tribune*, editorial, 19 July, 1958, 10. According to John J. McPhaul, the isolationism of the *Chicago Tribune* during these years was not really surprising considering its staunch anti-interventionist views during most of the Roosevelt-Truman era. In the months preceding the US entry into World War II, for instance, the colorful newspaper emerged as the press spokesman for the America First Committee and the "organ of the isolationists." John J. McPhaul, *Deadlines & Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 6.

<sup>41</sup>*Time*, 28 July, 1958, 18; *New York Times*, 17 July, 1958, 12.