CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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Editor's Introduction

Welcome to the 2016 edition of *Cornerstone*, the undergraduate historical journal published by the Department of History at the University of California, Riverside. The journal recognizes the outstanding historical research of undergraduate students and celebrates their scholarly accomplishments. Each year, *Cornerstone* invites undergraduates to submit papers they have written for history classes and an editorial board selects from among these for publication in the journal. This edition of *Cornerstone* features four papers that were chosen from among a considerable number of submissions by an editorial committee of four graduate students from the Department of History. One of these four papers has been selected for the Peter Schneider Award for the best essay in American history. This year's submissions explored a variety of themes and the editors confronted a challenging task in narrowing down our choices to the four essays featured here. We are pleased to announce that the following papers were chosen for publication in this year's edition of *Cornerstone:* Sierra Andrew's "The Merging of Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Cuban Urban Spaces," Cecilia Bowen's "The Controversy of Colonel John Chiswell and Robert Routledge," Courtney Garcia's "Cultural Interactions Through Portraiture in Macau During the Opium Wars*,*" and Thomas Marcelletti's "The Social Costs of Rio de Janeiro's Urban Transformation."

Sierra Andrew's paper, "The Merging of Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Cuban Urban Spaces," seeks to unravel the relationship between Cuba's tri-racial reality, the collective memory of its population, and the social and legal proscriptions against various aspects of Cuban identity. Andrew examines the development of the story of Cachita, "Our Lady of Charity" - her rise to sainthood and the changing depictions of her race as these figured in Cuban racial and religious politics. Andrew anchors her discussion in Cuba's colonial past but focuses primarily on the rapid changes to Cachita's racial image in the twentieth century. These constant changes begin with Cachita's canonization in 1916 and accelerate after the Cuban Revolution, with great regional variety. Finally, Andrew examines Cuban exile communities in Miami, who have their own (sometimes contradictory) depictions of Cachita. Throughout, she shows how the varying representations of Cachita reflect the intersection of individual identities, cultural valuations, and political ideologies.

In "The Controversy of Colonel John Chiswell and Robert Routledge," Cecilia Bowen explores how and why colonists in Virginia in 1766 so vigorously condemned the questionable release of Colonel Chiswell, a man found guilty of murdering Robert Routledge in a tavern at the Cumberland Court House. Bowen analyzes articles published in the *Virginia Gazette* immediately following the event and presents a careful reconstruction of the circumstances leading to Routledge's death. Bowen finds that the conflict not only involved tension around honor and virtue as understood in late eighteenth-century colonial society, but also reflected a growing perception among the colonists that certain members of the wealthy elite class had conspired to circumvent laws to protect their friends and family. Bowen considers the implications of this rift between members of the elite in the colony of Virginia and its connection to growing discontent with English rule in the colonies. For its multi-layered analysis of this telling local event, Bowen's article has been awarded this year's Peter Schneider Award in American History.

Courtney Garcia's paper, "Cultural InteractionsThrough Portraiture in Macau During the Opium Wars," explores Chinese-British exchanges by comparing the artwork of two contemporary artists: Lam Qua and George Chinnery. Lam Qua was a Chinese artist living in Macau who adopted the Western style in his portraiture. George Chinnery was a British artist who moved to the Pearl River Delta and often painted public life in Asia. This essay compares specific portraits made by these two artists to demonstrate the impact of the colonial gaze and, more broadly, the dynamics of cultural exchange during the Opium Wars. Using Said's *Orientalism* as a theoretical framework, Garcia demonstrates how we might use these portraits to gauge how Westerners viewed the East and how Chinese artists adopted and capitalized upon this colonial influence.

The cultural, political, and social transformations that Latin America has undergone since the beginning of the twentieth century have affected the region in multiple ways. Among the countries most deeply affected by these changes is Brazil. Thomas Marcelletti's paper "The Social Costs of Rio de Janeiro's Urban Transformation*"* presents us with a compelling study of public projects and sports events in the twenty-first century that were used by various elites to further their own agenda. Through an extensive analysis of primary sources, Marcelletti uncovers the complex process whereby the Brazilian government and Rio de Janeiro city officials and administrators adopted and promoted the development of capitalism in their country but then restricted its benefits to social elites. For this well-documented study of socio-economic injustice in Brazil in the twenty-first century, Marcelletti has been awarded this year's Cornerstone Award.

The editors congratulate each of these authors for the historical work they have undertaken and look forward to receiving future submissions from students. We would also like to acknowledge the help and support *Cornerstone* continues to receive from the faculty and staff of the Department of History. Most importantly, the editors would like to thank Professor Brian Lloyd, the 2016 faculty advisor for the editorial committee, and Veronica Ibarra, the department's Academic Advisor for undergraduate students. The editors would also like to thank Professor Randolph Head, the Chair of the Department of History; Professor Molly McGarry, the department's Graduate Advisor; and Iselda Salgado, the department's Graduate Student Affairs Officer. Lastly, with great enthusiasm, we would like to thank the many students who submitted essays for our consideration this year.

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Cultural Interactions Through Portraiture in Macau During the Opium Wars

Courtney Garcia

In the years leading up to the first Opium War, which lasted from 1840 to 1842, Britain's increasing involvement in China stimulated a cross-cultural transfer of artistry and artistic technique between the two cultures. Much of Britain's presence in China was related to trade, including the art trade. From this time on, art in China was influenced by a growing European demand for both objects and illustrations that depicted Asia as "exotic." This increasing interest in China led Western artists to the Pearl River Delta, particularly to the cities of Macau and Canton. One of these Chinese artists, Guan Qiaochang, who is commonly known by the name Lam Qua, was schooled in Western oil painting by the British artist, George Chinnery.[1] This paper uses a comparison of George Chinnery's and Lam Qua's works, created at this time of cultural exchange, to analyze how local art was influenced by the cultural backgrounds of the artists. This research also uses the works of both these artists to gain insight into how Western artists were coping with being a minority culture in the Pearl River Delta before Britain secured a more stable and culturally quarantined presence in China after the conflicts. Both Lam Qua and Chinnery developed varied portfolios, but their portraits of Westerners and Chinese merchants who had lived in Macau at the same time can offer historians insight into the cultural climate between the local Westerners and the Chinese during the

Opium Wars and its effects on art coming from this region.

This essay will use Edward Said and Peter Burke's analysis of "Orientialism" to further explore how Western and Asian cultures were portrayed in artistic works during this time of cultural exchange. Edward Said defines Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[2] Said's analysis addresses how Westerners, as a dominating culture with a history of colonizing, conceptualized and portrayed Asian culture in art. Said also discusses the reasoning behind the Western habit of Orientalizing, or exoticizing, Asian culture. Said explains that Orientalism is how a Western artist or scholar "makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West."[3] Thus, in the Westerner's work "the Orient is transformed from a very far, distant, and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar."[4] Orientalism was a means for Westerners to translate the overwhelming impression of Asia into stereotypes. Orientalism, in this way, could be considered a coping mechanism for the Western struggle to maintain traditional colonial dominance when confronted with a large, varied, and complex culture. This essay will address specifically Orientalism as a coping mechanism for Westerners in China during the Opium Wars, through the works of George Chinnery and Lam Qua.

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[1] Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, "Peter Parker's Lam Qua Paintings Collection", http://library.medicine.yale.edu/find/peter-parker.

[2] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. (New York and Toronto: Random House, 1979), 3.
[3] Ibid., 20-21.
[4] Ibid., 21.

In *Eyewitnessing*, Peter Burke also explores the historical context and significance of Orientalism, particularly in art. Orientalism in art was often inspired by texts about the East written by Westerners, created by artists who were practicing in the West, and used to perpetuate and commoditize the alien and exotic stereotypes. Paintings created during the Opium Wars were made and meant for an audience with a colonial gaze. The colonial gaze, in art, supported the dominant stance of the Western audience because, through the use of stereotypes in these images, "the position of white settlers [in these foreign lands] has been legitimated."[5] Burke explains that the colonial gaze, like other gazes, "often expresses attitudes of which the viewer may not be conscious, whether they are hates, fears or desires projected on to the other."[6] Because of the colonial gaze, Eastern, Orientalized art commodified far-away cultures for the voyeuristic public that had little to no knowledge of or trust in the foreigners, but marveled at the novelty of their "otherness" from a distance.

Burke says that there are two immediate reactions that occur when cultures begin to interact more frequently or meet for the first time. He explained that "one [reaction] is to deny or ignore cultural distance, to assimilate others to ourselves or our neighbors by use of analogy," to ignore differences, and the opposite reaction is the "construction of another culture as the opposite of one's own."[7] These extreme reactions result in the assignment of lasting stereotypes that can lead to patterns of prejudice. The second reaction shows how,

as time passes, the methods of coping with cultural differences evolve. If the colonized culture was not considered "monstrous" by the colonizers, then it would be assigned exotic, which is how the East came to be portrayed in Western-made and Western-funded art. Orientalism, in this way, is a coping method of the West to interact with the foreign Asian culture from a dominant, distant, but supposedly appreciative standpoint. This reaction was perhaps most comfortably expressed in art made in the West by Westerners for Western audiences. This manifestation of how Westerners assert otherness when they are the minority in a foreign culture is what I believe we are witnessing in the evolution of portraiture composition in the Pearl River Delta during the Opium wars.

Let us now turn to the cultural exchanges during the Opium Wars. Life as an artist in the Pearl River Delta in the years surrounding the first Opium War was marked by a growing market for portraiture as well as an increase in competition and manufacture of commercial art. According to Peter Perdue, "both Chinese and Western artists produced only for the foreign community and their renderings were highly selective".[8] The art market in the Pearl River Delta was competitive and its market functioned much like the trading market of other, practical goods. Reminiscent of the untiring production of opium that was coming into China from Indian factories or of the equally assiduous production of tea grown, a similarly industrious method of mass-manufacturing was utilized in the production in art. John Thomson, a famous Western photographer who toured China

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[5] Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: the Use of Images as Historical Evidence.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 45. https://annasuvorova.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/burke-4_319.pdf

[6] Burke, *Orientalism*, 125-26.

[7] Ibid., 123-4.

[8] Perdue, Peter C. "Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System - I, China in the World (1700-1860s)." *MIT Visualizing Cultures,* 4. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/rise_fall_canton_01/cw_essay04.html

and its painting shops later in the nineteenth century, remarked on the assembly-line-like production of commercialized portraiture as "so divided as to afford the maximum of profit for the minimum of labour… thus one artist sketches, another paints the face, a third does the hands, and a fourth fills in the costume and accessories."[9] Although portraits were, indeed, created and sold in accordance with commercial efforts and intentions, they were not as commercialized as the miniature portraits or landscapes produced *en masse* for an anonymous market of buyers. The portraits discussed in this essay are considerably more personal and intimate in their creation and transactions.

Born in London in 1774, George Chinnery studied and practiced art in the Royal Academy Schools in his youth. In 1802, Chinnery moved to India where he spent twenty-three years painting and sketching his surroundings until his move to Macau in 1825.[10] From 1825 until his death in 1852, Chinnery's reputation in China grew with his body of work. A contemporary and friend of Chinnery's, William C. Hunter, wrote that "his works… have a universal Eastern renown."[11] He sketched landscapes and street scenes, but his most prolific pieces were portraits of the Western and Chinese merchants working in

the Pearl River Delta at that time. He is credited with further influencing the style of local Chinese artists who had been mastering and employing Western artistry techniques. One such Chinese artist was Lam Qua, grandson of the popular oil painter Spoilum who had also adopted the Western style. Lam Qua had his own successful studio of assistants where he would sell his pieces, and painted those who wanted to sit for a portrait.[12] Lam Qua was said to have been a student of Chinnery's.[13] Although some sources suggest a more distant affiliation,[14] most historians agree that Chinnery's style significantly influenced Lam Qua's application of the Western techniques. In *Tokens of Exchange*, Lydia Liu observes that Lam Qua may have inherited "the fresh, fluid brushstrokes and use of light so characteristic of Chinnery's painting."[15] With both Lam Qua and Chinnery using the similar Western techniques that were growing more popular in the Pearl River Delta during these years, both attained increasingly prestigious reputations and clientele.

The significance of comparing the works of Chinnery and Lam Qua does not lie solely in the popularity of the artists, but

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[9] Thomson, John. *Through China with a Camera*. (London and New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 30. https://archive.org/details/throughchinawit04thomgoog

[10] Conner, Patrick. *George Chinnery: 1774-1853: Artist of India and the China Coast.* (University of Michigan: Antique Collectors Club Limited, 1993), Ch. 1.

[11] Hunter, William C. 1885. *Bits of Old China*.(University of Michigan: K. Paul, Trench, & Company, 1885), 264.

[12] Heinrich, Larissa. *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body Between China and the West.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 47

[13] Cushing/Whitney Medical Library,"Peter Parker's Lam Qua Paintings Collection".

[14] Connor, Patrick. "Lamqua, Western and Chinese Painter," *Art of Asia* 29 (March-April 1999): 46-64.

[15] Liu, Lydia H. *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations.* (Durham: Duke University Press, Durham, 1999) http://reader.dukeupress.edu/tokens-of-exchange/1243

in how their experiences and cultural backgrounds influenced their styles. Lam Qua was known for his attention to detail and accuracy, contrasting Western portraitists who often purposefully paint their subjects to be more attractive. This conclusion comes from the converse implication of traveler Osmond Tiffany's remark about Lam Qua's honesty, "wo [sic] betide if you are ugly, for Lam Qua is no flatterer."[16] Lam Qua received international recognition as one of the first Chinese artists to be exhibited in the Royal Academy.[17] Lam Qua's interest in and respect for the Western style is reflected also in his preference for works of Thomas Lawrence, a famous English portrait painter from the turn of the nineteenth century. This affinity for Lawrence is testified by Lam Qua's habit in autographing his works as "The Sir Thomas Lawrence of China".[18]

Chinnery's work was deeply influenced by his years abroad. As another artist in the market of portraits, Chinnery employed the English Grand Style, which included dramatic lighting and rich settings. He spent about fifty years in Asia working as a foreign artist. His years abroad inspired him to attempt documentary-style sketches and paintings of street scenes depicting public life in Asia, which was unusual for Western artists at this time. Thus, both Chinnery and Lam Qua were exceptional in

their backgrounds for having been deeply involved in either the environment or cultural practices of a foreign country for most of their lives. Their art reflected this cultural mix to the point that the painting of one artist was attributed to the other.[19]

To explore each artist's works and their commentary on trends of cultural interaction we can begin by examining their portraits of Westerners in China at this time. First let us compare Chinnery's portrait of Dr. Thomas Colledge, made between 1833 and 1835 and now housed at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (fig. 1) with Lam Qua's portrait of Dr. Peter Parker, made in the early 1840's and currently owned by a descendent of Parker (fig. 2). The comparison of these portraits, both of popular Western physicians practicing in Macau at the same time, offer insight into the attitudes towards foreigners and their cultural presence in Macau. Let us start by noting the similarities between the portraits: the subjects are both Western physicians, both images portray patients and assistants, and both utilize traditional Western compositional techniques. Each image includes a variety of books and papers strewn about, to symbolize the subject's hardworking nature, and each features an open window on the left which grants the viewer a view outside and, metaphorically, a view of the subject's place in their surroundings. Both artists are evidently masters of Western techniques and portraiture symbolism. Although the similarities are comparable, the differences give the audience an opportunity to interpret the narrative of each image and the varying perspectives of and about Westerners in an interpersonal sense.

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[16] Tiffany, Osmond. *The Canton Chinese, or the American sojourn in the Celestial Empire.* (Boston, Mass., James Monroe, 1849), 85.
https://archive.org/details/cantonchineseor01tiffgoog

[17] Heinrich, Larissa. *The Afterlife of Images*, 47.

[18] Gilman, Sander. "Lam Qua and the Development of a Westernized Medical Iconography in China" Medical History 30 (1986): 62..
http://europepmc.org/backend/ptpmcrender.fcgi?accid=PMC1139581&blobtype=pdf62

[19] Liu, Lydia H. *Tokens of Exchange*, 244.

The most important distinctions between the two portraits can be found in the details of the immediate setting. The details that the artist includes that serve less obvious purposes are often the most revealing about the artist himself. In Chinnery's portrait the red drapery and the ornately framed painting of either a British house or factory - schemata he used very often - in the background create a distinctly British space for the subject. This portrait is a rich, dramatic narrative about the subject's dignity and character. Most importantly, this narrative is placed in a Westernized space created by the Western subject. A viewer without previous knowledge of the painting might find it difficult to place the location of the scene if not for the distinctly Chinese patients. It is a scene of a Westerner in his self-made Western space in which he is generously administering his treatments for China as a benevolent figure.

Between the two portraits, Chinnery's is more dramatic. The starker light source, with brighter whites and darker shadows, as well as the warmer palette, add to the classically heroic theme of the image. Dr. Colledge is the most prominent figure in the painting, standing up straight as most of the other figures face up towards him with curved posture. Dr. Colledge's posture is slightly Neoclassical, and he looks away from the viewer in a humble and thoughtful way that neither asks nor demands the audience's attention to his form, but inspires the audience to think of him in an abstract way. He is receiving written thanks from the young boy who is kneeling on the ground, the son of the woman he has just treated. While his patient is a mother, it is the son who is thanking him, which gives a patriarchal and compassionate tone to the subject. Additionally, the fact that the physician is distracted from accepting the thanks by his work adds more to the narrative of his character as a selfless man. The scene outside the window, following traditional symbolism, suggests the subject is a ray of hope, like a ray of light in storm clouds. This technique also carries certain religious and miraculous undertones of benevolent providence. The man waiting for treatment adds a timeline to the piece and a sense of an ongoing, industrious mission to help China.

The compositional differences between Lam Qua's *Dr. Peter Parker* and Chinnery's portrait of Dr. Colledge amount to more than the surface aesthetic preferences between the artists and denote a fundamentally different approach by each artist when portraying the subject of a Western physician. Lam Qua's palette, in depicting Dr. Parker and his office, is lighter and the light source is flatter. This offers a more realistic depiction of the scene, as if it were photographed, making it arguably more objective than Chinnery's. He also uses the traditional British technique of placing the subject seated at the center with crossed legs. Dr. Parker is seated in front of the viewer, holding a document, and is surrounded by his work. This portrait is defining Dr. Parker by his profession, but neglects any commentary of the man's moral character, whether or not they are inspiring his actions in real life, as we saw in Chinnery's portrait. Outside the window is the American flag to further define the subject as American, and the rough waters outside call to mind the recent violence of the first Opium War that had just transpired before the portrait's creation. Behind Dr. Parker is a Chinese paramedical treating a Chinese patient. As stated in Sander Gilman's article "Lam Qua and the Development of a Westernized Medical Iconography in China", Dr. Parker was "the

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first foreign physician to train Chinese paramedicals".[20] The importance of showing the Chinese paramedical in the background lies less in how it portrays Parker's profession than in its depiction of a paramedical treating a patient without aid or supervision. This is a much different, more neutral, relationship between the physician and Chinese subjects that were seen in Chinnery's heroic image of Dr. Colledge.

Although the Chinese subjects in Parker's portrait are still serving as symbols of Parker's identity and presence in China, they are not portrayed in a manner that depicts showing gratitude as the Chinese subjects were in the portrait of Dr. Colledge. In fact, the Chinese subjects in Dr. Parker's portrait are not interacting with Dr. Parker at all. Seemingly true to life, they are carrying on their practice as if Dr. Parker were not present. The space created around the subject is decorated with Chinese writings and documents, in fact the document he holds is written in Chinese. This contrasts sharply with Dr. Colledge's portrait, where he is dictating to his Chinese assistant and it is uncertain whether or not Dr. Colledge knew Chinese. In this way, both physicians are being portrayed at differing levels of assimilation into Chinese society. This detail could offer insight into how assimilation of Westerners into China was perceived differently by a Western or Chinese artist. The setting around Dr. Parker in Lam Qua's portrait creates, or perhaps objectively recreates, a Chinese space for the Western subject to occupy. True to Lam Qua's reputation as an honest portraitist, his painting uses symbolism but ultimately is not a painting of what a Western physician is doing for China but simply what a Western physician is doing in China.

Additionally, both Chinnery and Lam Qua were commissioned to paint very influential figures of the time, most notably the Hong Merchant Mowqua. According to Kendall Johnson, there was a demand for oil paintings of Cohong merchants during this time.[21] Lam Qua painted a portrait of the merchant Mowqua around 1840, which is now housed in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, (fig. 3), although Chinnery's portrait of Howqua, now owned by Hongkong and Shanghai Banking, surpassed Lam Qua's in fame (fig. 4). The significance of these two portraits of the same man lies not in their stylistic differences but in their uncanny similarities. These similarities provide insight into the perception of the Chinese in their own land by both a foreigner and a Chinese painter. Both portraits depict the man in the same attire, seated in presumably the same chair with a high back reminiscent of a throne, surrounded by similar props representing wealth and trade in what appears to be the same room, but only from different angles. It is possible that these portraits exhibit such similarities because the subject sat for them in a particular studio, although the assumption that the subject would have sat for each in the same studio seems unlikely. Rather, the differences that we noticed when comparing these artists' portraits of a Westerner seem to disappear when these same artists portray a Chinese subject. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Chinnery,_Portrait_of_the_hong_merchant_Mowqua._Oil_on_canvas,_62.2_x_45.8_cm..jpg (accessed February 25, 2015)

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[20] Gilman, Sander. "Lam Qua and the Development of a Westernized Medical Iconography in China", 62.

[21] Johnson, Kendall. *Narratives of Free Trade: The Commercial Cultures of Early US-China Relations.* (Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 137. https://books.google.com/books?id=xJzEQMAVH0oC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

While the differences in narrative were very stark between the portraits of the Western physicians, the differences between Lam Qua's *Mowqua* and Chinnery's *Portrait of the Hong Merchant Mowqua*, respectively, are subtle and hold only superficial significance. Both portraits portray the subject with near-objective and equal reverence. The new consideration that comes from this comparison is how both artists could portray Westerners so differently and portray a Chinese subject so similarly. Unlike the portraits of the foreigners, both of which displayed the way in which the Westerner was actively making their life and mark in China, both portraits of Mowqua only display the subjects as being a part of and at ease in his environment. Moreover, this trend continues in the artists' other portraits of Cohong merchants. While there are multiple details that contribute to the creation of a portrait, such as the location, the source of patronage, and the sitter themselves, an artist's perspective is always present in the narrative of the image they create. This unexpected alignment of artistic perspective between Chinnery and Lam Qua when painting Chinese subjects contrasts with the variation of narrative used when they were portraying a Western subject. This disparity could denote a larger trend of how Western artists in China visualized different cultures at this time.

Lam Qua's portraits, for both the Western and Chinese subject, were composed with a sober and clinical eye. Lam Qua's reputation for accuracy and the realistic lighting, setting, and perspective of his paintings are useful for comparison with Chinnery's works. Chinnery, like other European artists, often idealized the form of the sitter, and his portraits of Westerners in China were full of symbolism and cultural narrative. His portraits of the Chinese merchants, however, exhibited an accuracy and realism that seem to echo Lam Qua's style. Although it was a popular trend of Western artists to create images that would highlight European stereotypes of exoticized Chinese culture, instead we see an objective perspective of the Chinese subjects in Chinnery's work. While Chinnery deviates from Orientalizing trends in this way when it comes to portraits of Chinese subjects, his work embodies more traditional European embellishments in Western portraiture, which calls attention to a larger trend of Western artists incorporating a noticeable abundance of imagery and props associated with Western culture in portraits of Western subjects. Thus Chinnery, while practicing in a foreign land, highlighted attributes of his own culture in portraits of fellow Westerners and deemphasized the "exotic" in depictions of Chinese subjects.

In portraiture and image production, whether it is deeply involved with foreign relations or not, the artist's personal background and point of view are transcribed into the image itself. As we have seen, Western artists in China, as foreigners, created works influenced by their backgrounds and the struggles of being an uninvited minority in the cultural exchange. Without a local market for Orientalist works Western artists instead focused on Westernizing their portraits of Westerners. Westernizing a portrait of a Westerner means that the artist includes schemata and symbolic props to highlight the Western cultural background of the subject. Chinnery's portraits often accomplished this to the point that a viewer might not be aware the Western subjects were living in China. This highlighting of Western culture in portraits of Westerners was done to preserve the Westerner's cultural identity while they

were a cultural minority in a foreign land, which was likely a source of stress for Westerners. Like Orientalism, this highlighting of a subject's cultural background was a means of coping with cultural exchange.

The portraits painted by Western and Chinese artists thus provides a lens through which the historian might examine the process whereby foreigners assimilated to Chinese culture and the reactions of Chinese intellectuals to that process. Accordingly, Chinnery's portraits create a British space in China, whereas Lam Qua's Western subjects are painted to dramatize their growing assimilation into the Chinese culture around them. By using art produced during this time a historian can interpret much about the flow of cultural exchange on a local and personal level and how it influenced both China and Britain. The saturation of Western culture by Western artists such as Chinnery, when contrasted to the culturally sober works of a Chinese artist like Lam Qua, offers historians an interpretive insight into how British and Chinese culture interacted and how each defined themselves during this time of war, conflict, and exchange.

Courtney Garica

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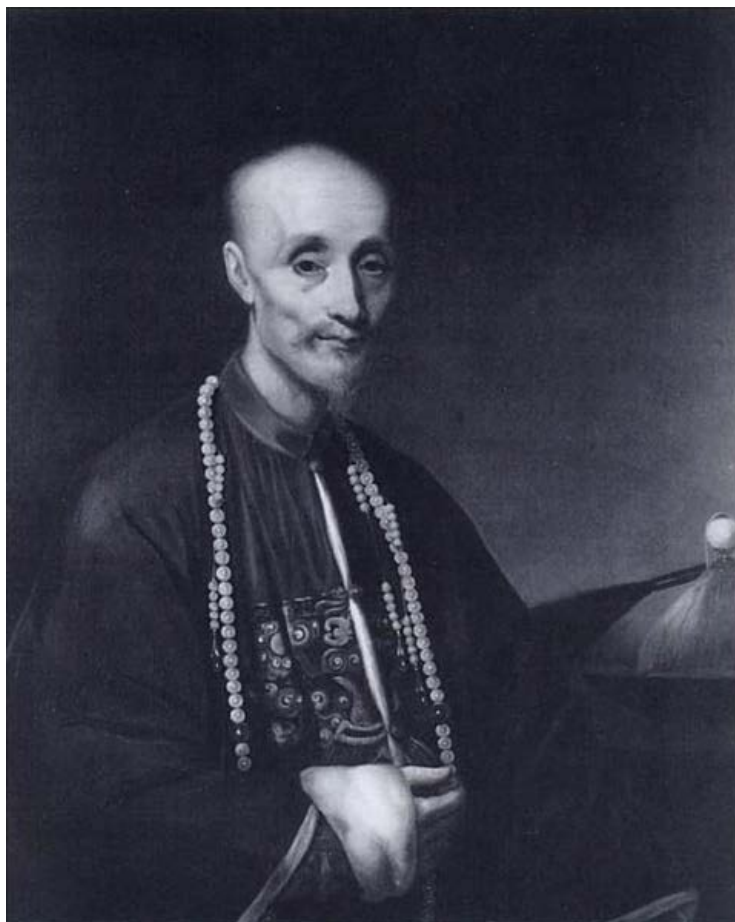
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The Controversy of Colonel John Chiswell and Robert Routledge

Cecilia Bowen

On June 3, 1766, Colonel John Chiswell and Robert Routledge were drinking in a local tavern at Cumberland Court House in Virginia. The two began fighting after Colonel Chiswell insulted Routledge, and in the fight that ensued, Routledge was stabbed with Colonel Chiswell's sword. Colonel Chiswell was taken to the local jail where, after the evidence was reviewed, he was sentenced to a term in prison. Before he could be transported to the prison, however, three judges from the General Court released him, without reviewing any of the evidence.[22] The General Court was not even in session at the time and no report was made about the death of Routledge, until two weeks later when an anonymous "letter to the printer" was published, criticizing the actions of the three judges.[23] The colonists turned to the newspapers, utilizing this new medium to voice their concerns about the actions of the judges and the implications they held for society within Virginia. The two *Virginia Gazettes* received letters both condemning and supporting the actions of the judges, showing the rift in sentiments between those loyal to the established societal hierarchy and those that wanted equal treatment within society regardless of rank or class.[24] Upon

closer inspection, the Colonel Chiswell-Routledge conflict, originally perceived as a drunken bar brawl, encapsulated the turmoil occurring within the American colonies and between the colonies and the British Empire. The dispute also revealed the deeper, underlying societal tensions that were forming around the issues of honor and virtue, traits that Virginian colonists had clung to since the creation of the colony. American colonists, especially Virginians, had come to believe these traits not only distinguished them from the "savages" of the New World and the African slaves they had begun importing, but also from the

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[22] "To the Printer," *The Virginia Gazette,* ed. Purdie and Dixon, June 20, 1766, pg. 2, accessed October 15, 2015, http://research.history.org/CWDLImages/VA_GAZET/Images/PD/1766/0064hi.jpg

[23] Ibid., 2.

[24] At this time there were two rival newspapers both titled *The Virginia Gazette*, although sharing the

name, each had their own editors. The Stamp Act crisis was the first instance that caused many to question the integrity of the original *Virginia Gazette*, which began publishing in 1736, when it was discovered that editor, Joseph Royle, had bowed to the pressures of the royal officials and refused to print the Virginia Resolves or any attacks on local government. (W. C. O'Donovan, "A History of the Virginia Gazette," The Virginia Gazette. 1986. Transcribed by Lew Leadbeater (2002). Accessed Nov 23, 2015. http://www.vagazette.com/services/va-services_gazhistory-story.html). The colonists were angry because the editor was using his position of power to promote the agendas that he supported; loyalist writings supporting the officials and policies of England. The discontent of this censorship caused Thomas Jefferson and others to persuade William Rind to move to Williamsburg to print a "free paper," meaning one that was free from the censorship of government, creating the second *Virginia Gazette* (ibid). The death of Royle left the newspaper in the hands of Alexander Purdie and John Dixon. The two newspapers, both titled the *Virginia Gazette*, competed for the business of the colonists.

corruption of those vying for power in England.

The case of Colonel Chiswell and Robert Routledge occurred at a time when the American colonists were becoming fed up with the conspiring of an inner-governing circle within the wealthy elite class, (the Chiswell family was among this group). In the eyes of the American colonists, this circle came to represent their English counterparts, which through Parliament, had begun passing legislation, much like the Stamp Act of 1765, increasing the taxes American colonists had to pay, without consulting the colonies or even taking into consideration the ability of each colony to pay the increased amounts. Worse still, it appeared that the corruption colonists associated with England had begun to take root in the colonies, when the rule of law was ignored to protect family and friends of the wealthy, as exhibited in the freeing of Colonel Chiswell, a man found guilty of murder and freed simply because he had ties to the judges.

Coronel John Chiswell's father, Charles Chiswell, immigrated to Virginia from Scotland in the late seventeenth century and quickly began making connections among the elite of the colony. By the time of his death in 1737, Chiswell had acquired thousands of acres in Hanover, Spotsylvania, Goochland, and Henrico, had a mansion and 7,000-acre plantation, and had successfully maneuvered his way from an immigrant to the rank of Gentleman, an honorary title that had little meaning in English society.[25] The rank of gentleman could be bestowed uponcommoners (people not of noble lineage) who were able to elevate themselves above their peers through the acquisition of land, wealth, or even employment, like becoming a successful merchant or doctor. The title of gentleman granted the Chiswell family access to high society, a world in which honor, virtue, and reputation meant everything.

Colonel John Chiswell solidified the family's rank among the wealthy elite by marrying the daughter of William Randolph and later becoming the father-in-law to John Robinson, a beloved Virginia colonist and speaker and treasurer of the General Assembly of the House of Burgesses. In the mid-1750's, Colonel Chiswell became a burgess, first representing Hanover county, then Williamsburg from 1742 to 1758. In the late 1750's, Colonel Chiswell had received funds from Robinson to open The Lead Mine Company. These familial and political connections allowed Colonel Chiswell to be released from his prison term, even when the evidence clearly pointed towards his guilt. During his trial, Colonel Chiswell was represented by John Wayles, the father-in-law of Thomas Jefferson.[26] Wayles, also a member of the elite class, was subject to the anger of his peers, especially those who resented the special treatment that had been afforded to Colonel Chiswell.

The victim, Robert Routledge, also had ties to the wealthy elite of Virginia. Routledge had immigrated to Virginia in 1746 from Cumberland County in northern England. He was from a wealthy yeoman family and his mother was the daughter of a Gentleman.[27] Upon arrival in Virginia, he moved to Prince Edward County and began a business with John Pleasants, which gained him wealth and status. He became friends with elite and powerful families like

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[25]Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia," 1766: Or the Importance of the Trivial," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Third Series, Vol. 76 (1964), 10-14, accessed October 9, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25080583

[26]William G. Hyland, *Martha Jefferson: An Intimate Life with Thomas Jefferson* (Lanham Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 221.
[27]Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia," 3, accessed October 9, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25080583

the Hartswells, the Tabbs, the Carringtons and intriguingly, Colonel John Chiswell.

The structure of society in Virginia was similar to the structure of England, but on a much smaller scale. The wealthy elite sat at the top of society and controlled the wealth and power in the colony. They were the judges, lawmakers, and assembly members. The Virginian colonists had begun to develop a view of themselves as Gentlemen, a class of people that was wealthy and owned property, allowing them to hire others to work for them. They had established networks within their ranks that dated back to the founders of the colony. One of the most powerful networks was located in the Tidewater region of Virginia, where status was determined by familial lineage and wealth. They used their status and networks to reserve the most prestigious jobs for members of their families causing resentment from men attempting to break into the ranks of the elite - men like Robert Routledge.[28]

The resentment stemmed from members of society that were beginning to climb the social ranks and were eager to prove themselves in service to their fellow colonists. This service could be achieved by becoming members of the House of Burgesses and guiding the colony of Virginia into the next stage of development as it continued to grow due to the increased production of cash crops, like tobacco, that increased the wealth of the Virginia colonists and made them invaluable to the British Empire. They opposed the system that kept a few powerful families in control of the colony that sought to protect their

interests and rights above those of the lower classes.

The Stamp Act aided in slightly shifting the power balance within Virginia, or at least it appeared that would be the case in the next election cycle, as the seats of established representatives were challenged by new up-and-comers who vowed to fight the oppressive actions on England.[29] Virginians, who had been determined to show opposition to the Stamp Act in a more civil manner than the Bostonians who had rioted, passed what became known as the Virginia Resolves. The resolves were a collection of protests passed within the House of Burgesses, the colonial legislative body that served as a counterpart to the House of Commons in England, that stated why the Stamp Act was unconstitutional and why the colonists should not have to pay the new taxes.[30],[31] The resolves, which were published in other colonies, served as a unifying voice for those opposing the Stamp Act while also inspiring other colonies to write their own. The Virginians were equally inspired by the resolves and the impassioned speech of Patrick Henry, a new Burgess who strictly opposed the Stamp Act, but the original *Virginia Gazette* refused to publish them, bowing to the pressure from royal officials within the colony.[32],[33] This action, or lack of action, angered the Virginian colonists because the newspaper was supposed to be a

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[28]Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1950), 52-70.

[29]Ibid., 66-71.
[30]Ibid., 62-66.
[31] The House of Burgesses can be considered an early form of the House of Representatives, members of this body were given the title "burgess."
[32]Ibid., 62-66.
[33] Patrick Henry was a powerful orator that would again gain the attention of colonists when he made his famous "Give me liberty or give me death!" speech, made during the Second Virginia Convention in 1775.

representation of the voice of the people. By succumbing to official pressure, it was exhibiting the conspiring of the elite that the colonists had always believed they were above and had avoided.

As a scaled down version of English society, society within the American colonies illustrates the intricate and complicated framework that England used to govern the American colonies. When the American colonies were initially established, each had a clear set of goals it wanted to attain; in the Virginia colony, that goal was to earn money and improve the lives of those who made the arduous journey across the Atlantic. Members of colonial society had to work together to build the colony in all areas, from homes and farms to churches and businesses. As these colonies developed and wealth began to separate people, divisions began to form, allowing the wealthy to become more powerful within the colony. American colonial society began to mirror English society, where the wealthy aristocracy dominated all facets of society by, among other prerogatives, controlling the types of laws that were passed and who held power in Parliament. The aristocracy of England was not above closing ranks to protect each other, and doing whatever was necessary to maintain their power base, as evidenced by the forming of backroom alliances through marriages to ensure that their power did not falter.

While acknowledging that the colonists were citizens of the British Empire, the English maintained the view that the colonists were beneath them and needed their social betters to make laws and policies for their benefit. The American colonists were seen as degenerate Englishmen who had been unable to establish themselves at home so they had to flee to the colonies in order to support themselves and their families. Colonel Chiswell and Robert Routledge embody the

tensions between England and the colonists because Colonel Chiswell held the view that Routledge was beneath him. He felt that as a member of the old wealthy elite, he was the social better and should garner respect from Routledge, regardless of the fact that they were members of the same class. In the context of a mirrored version of English society, the Chiswell family represented the established gentry of England. They had successfully established themselves among the elite in the colonies, using the fortune they began amassing to establish links to wealthy families through business deals and marriages while securing coveted positions within the colonial governmental framework. Robert Routledge represented the colonists who had begun to feel that their independence was being infringed upon. As a newly wealthy immigrant, Routledge straddled the line between the classes of wealthy elite (within the colonies) and the poor (of England).

American colonists were adamant that the local assemblies in the colonies, like the House of Burgesses of Virginia, were equal to Parliament in England. American colonists asserted that by not being consulted on the new taxes, the lawmakers in Parliament were reducing them to the status of slaves or anyone else that had no voice in government, for example, Native Americans or any non-property owners.[34] Those who opposed the Stamp Act came to see those in England as corrupt, greedy, and willing to place the needs of those living in England above the needs of the American colonists, especially when, after many colonial assemblies sent letters stating they would be unwilling or unable to pay the new taxes, their pleas were largely ignored.[35]

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[34]Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire,* 72.

[35] England was in need of more revenue to pay off the debts they had incurred during recent wars like the Seven Years War (known as the French and Indian War in American History).

They viewed themselves as more virtuous than those back in England because they had worked their land and built their colonies from the ground up and had avoided the internal power struggles that plagued England.[36] The Virginia colonists were especially adamant in their defense of liberty and independence because they viewed their freedom to determine their fates and govern themselves as vital markers that distinguished them from the Native Americans or the enslaved Africans they had begun importing to work the plantations.

The policy of independence English American colonists had enjoyed since their founding began during the reign of Elizabeth I and was continued by her successors. The leeway granted the colonies was due in large part to the fact that the monarchs were unwilling to devote the energy, time, or money on a venture that had a large possibility of failure. The growing English empire was unwilling to risk a war with the then-dominant Spanish empire that maintained a large presence in their New World colonies. The English monarch granted others the power to establish colonies, in the form of joint-stock companies, charters or proprietary colonies that, while belonging to the queen or king, were largely free to govern themselves as they wished as long as they remained loyal to the crown.[37] This allowed England to participate in the founding of colonies in the new world, while also freeing them from having to provide continuous supervision and military support, as the Spanish did. This new system benefitted England because it allowed for the removal of the "undesirable elements" - the poor, unemployed beggars and members of opposing religious groups. It was from these groups that the foundations of colonial society were formed. Many of the American colonists were able to amass wealth because they were not forced to pay the immense taxes that their English counterparts had to pay. As English subjects, societal views of class, status, and social rank made their way across the Atlantic, allowing those who were gaining wealth to believe that they were equal to the higher-ranking members in

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[36] Jack P. Greene, "Virtus et Libertas: Political Culture, Social Change, and the Origins of the American Revolution in Virginia, 1763-1766," *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, edited by Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 55-108.

[37] A joint-stock company was established by a group of investors that wanted to establish a colony in the new world. Essentially they received land from the monarch and sold portions to those wishing to travel to the New World, or traded spots on the ship to indentured servants, who essentially traded seven years of their life for transportation and the promise to receive land once their term of service was up. Virginia was established this way and was given the power to make their own laws. A charter colony was a colony established by companies like the Massachusetts Bay Company, with the permission of the monarch. These colonies essentially received a deed to land in the colonies and transported specific groups, like the Puritans. The monarch reserved the right to pass laws for the colony, but in reality left them to govern themselves. A proprietary colony was established when the monarch owed a person or family a debt, either for their loyalty, but usually it was monetary, and to pay off that debt, land within the colony was given; Pennsylvania was established this way. The owner was also allowed to make his own laws within the colony. While all three types of colonies were basically free to govern themselves, they existed with the expressed knowledge that they were subject to the British monarch. This became apparent when colonies began losing their charters and were transformed into Royal colonies. This occurred when a monarch wanted to reassert their control over the colonies, as was the case with Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York to name a few. This was another cause of tensions between the American colonies and England.

English society, regardless of what their prior status had been in England and despite the unchanging view of the English towards those within the colonies.

The American colonies gave England an opportunity to make money, for themselves and the empire, and allowed for the sale of commercial items from England, which meant that the American colonists were able to improve the quality of life for those who remained at home in England. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, American colonists resented the monarchs' efforts to exert more control over the territories. The revocation of charters, the implementation of new taxes, and the appointment by the crown of colonial governors were all seen as infringements on their rights as humans and citizens of England. The American colonists believed that because they were aiding in the growth and financial well-being of the British Empire, they should be afforded a stronger voice within the British Parliament. The British, on the other hand, argued that the American colonists enjoyed the benefits of being a British subject (military protection, access to commercial goods, etc.), and should therefore have to help pay for the expenses of the empire. From the British point of view, they were given the same representation as other British colonies like the colonists in Barbados.

While the colonists were still reeling from the death of John Robinson (see footnote 18), news broke of the Colonel Chiswell-Routledge controversy.[38] An anonymous letter, published in the original *Virginia Gazette* edited by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, dated June 20, 1766, called attention to the death of Routledge and the actions of the judges, then asked if the actions of the judges were legal. The author then posed a very important question to the readers, "whether the sheriff, Mr. Jesse Thomas, is not still liable to a prosecution, for not taking those measures to recover his prisoner as are proper to be taken when a prisoner is rescued."[39] By publishing this article, the author, later found out to be Robert Bolling, a member of the wealthy elite class that was unwilling to let this injustice pass unseen, was calling attention to the special treatment that had been afforded to Colonel Chiswell due to his status and familial connections. Bolling seemed to argue that not only should Colonel Chiswell be in prison but that the sheriff should also be charged for allowing a criminal to walk free.

The fact that Colonel Chiswell and Robert Routledge were of not only the same social class, but also actually friends changes the context of the events. The fight that Colonel Chiswell provoked by calling Routledge "a villain who came to Virginia to cheat and defraud men of their property…" caused Routledge to retaliate by throwing wine in Colonel Chiswell's face,

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[38] In May 1766, John Robinson, Colonel Chiswell's son-in-law, speaker in the House of Burgesses and treasurer of Virginia, died. His death opened a new controversy within Virginia, because it was discovered by his interim replacement, Robert Carter Nicholas that there were "irregularities" in the bookkeeping of the treasury.[38] The political enemies of Robinson had always speculated about the funds being used for nonpublic works, but the accusations had largely been ignored because of the popularity of

Robinson. Prior to the discovery of the missing funds, newspapers had mourned his death and had praised him as "the best of men," and the "greatest of human kind."[14] This type of conspiring shook the Virginians because they saw it as an act the English elite would engage in: defrauding citizens for personal gain and using a position of power to benefit friends and family. To make matters worse, Nicholas published an estimate in the newspaper of the estimated losses, £100,000 and none of the recipients came forward.

[39]"To the Printer," *The Virginia Gazette,* June 20, 1766, pg. 2, accessed October 15, 2015, http://research.history.org/CWDLImages/VA_GAZET/Images/PD/1766/0064hi.jpg

an action that should have been ignored.[40] According to eighteenth century code, this action was supposed to be resented, unless the perpetrator was "an aggravated and abused friend, or a man intoxicated by liquor."[41] Routledge was both, and the two began fighting because Routledge told Colonel Chiswell he disapproved of the type of language he had been using and he (Colonel Chiswell) had been drinking in the tavern all day. Colonel Chiswell grew angrier each time he was prevented from punishing Routledge and eventually Colonel Chiswell ordered his servant to return to his home and get his sword. When the servant returned, Colonel Chiswell took the sword and ordered Routledge to leave the tavern or be killed, but Routledge refused, stating that he "held no grudge." At this point, Joseph Carrington, another member of the elite class, attempted to lead Routledge out the back door to prevent any further incidents, but Colonel Chiswell continued to insult him.[42] When Routledge could handle no more, he turned back into the room and approached Colonel Chiswell. According to an eyewitness, who called himself "Dikephilos," Colonel Chiswell appeared completely calm as he stabbed Routledge in the heart. After killing Routledge, Colonel Chiswell ordered his servant to clean the weapon while he remained at the bar to have a drink.

Colonel Chiswell was arrested and taken to the county jail and tried for the murder of Routledge. During the trial, eight witnesses were brought in to testify against Colonel Chiswell. The names of only six witnesses survive- Littlebury Mosby, Thompson Swann, Jacob Mosby, Joseph Carrington, Thomas Vines and George

Frazier.[43] After hearing the evidence, the justices denied his bail and ordered him to prison. While Colonel Chiswell was awaiting transport to the prison, three judges approached the sheriff from the General Court who ordered his release. Two of the judges had close ties to Colonel Chiswell; William Byrd III was Chiswell's business partner in the land mines and had borrowed money from Robinson, while Presley Thornton also participated in business dealings with Colonel Chiswell.[44] The fact that these two men were friends with Colonel Chiswell lent credence to the idea of the elite conspiring and closing ranks to protect one of their own.

The case of Colonel Chiswell-Robert Routledge, in addition to the Robinson case, presented a new opportunity for the newspapers to garner public support, showing readers that submissions would no longer be censored as they had been during the turmoil caused by the passage of Stamp Act.[45] The newspapers printed the submissions condemning and supporting the actions of those involved in the Colonel Chiswell-Routledge case. The submissions in relation to Colonel Chiswell came from opposing sides of the wealthy elite and represented the divisions that were beginning to deepen in society. The older wealthy elite families clung to the belief that they were above reproach in the actions they took. There was a strong need to defend their place in society because, for more than a century, they had written the laws within the colony pertaining to every facet of life

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[40]Ibid., 4.
[41]Ibid., 4.
[42]Ibid., 5-6.

[43]Ibid., 7.
[44]J. A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell" *Early American Literature, Vol. 6, No. 2*, (Fall 1971): 103-104, accessed October 9, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25070514
[45] See footnote 4 for more information regarding why the original *Virginia Gazette* lost creditability with readers

from religion to business, within and outside the bounds of the assemblies. It can be argued that the colonists felt that because they had built Virginia from the ground up, they were entitled to use their connections, political and familial, to defend the actions of one of their own. They had created a system built upon defending one's honor and showing respect to the members of the upper class. The fact that Routledge, though rich and part of the elite, had been in the colony for only two decades led many to still view him as an outsider. He and Colonel Chiswell had been friends, but Chiswell still viewed himself as superior.

The publications that began to appear in the two *Virginia Gazettes* showed the divisions among the elite about the treatment that Colonel Chiswell had received. The initial anonymous submission that broke the story to the public on June 20, 1766, published in the original *Virginia Gazette*, was later found to be authored by Robert Bolling. Bolling also came from a wealthy elite family, but he and his family had lost some of their influence within the colony. He was related to many of the most prominent families including Judge John Blair, who was involved in the freeing of Colonel Chiswell. Bolling's article was important because it showed the growing discontent that many colonists were exhibiting. They were growing weary of the elite, in both England and the American colonies, using their status and power to conspire among themselves to circumvent laws while extolling the virtuosity that accompanied their status. William Byrd III and Wayles sued Bolling for libel after Bolling submitted another article, published on July 11th, in response to one written by Blair defending the actions of the judges who released Colonel Chiswell.[46]

Bolling's untitled submission, dated July 11, 1766, argues that the judges were circumventing the laws of the king and in doing so "have dared to do a most flagrant injury, both to Prince and people" in their decision to release Colonel Chiswell.[47] The author argues that by releasing Chiswell, the judges were showing the public that if you were a member of the elite class, the laws banning murder did not apply. He also calls for a judicial inquiry into the actions of the judges because they did not answer any of the charges that were hurled against them by the public about corruption and favoritism. The judges simply ignored the charges and that made the author suspicious that they were attempting to hide their illegal actions. When it was found out that the two depositions they used to justify the release of Colonel Chiswell were false it added fuel to the conspiracy theory gaining credence among those who saw a wealthy elite attempting to circumvent the laws by whatever means necessary. It is unknown if the judges knew at the time that the testimonies they used were false, but in the eyes of the colonists it would not have mattered because they were members of the wealthy elite that were attempting to protect their friend and business partner.

On October 17, an indictment for libel was presented in the General Court by Wayles and Byrd III against Bolling, while another indictment for libel was presented by Wayles against the editors of the two rival *Virginia Gazette*s, Rind, Purdie and Dixon. The four men were found by the juries to be innocent of the charges.[48] The

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[46] Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia," 23, accessed October 9, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25080583

[47]"To The Printer" *Virginia Gazette* July 11, 1766, pg. 1, accessed October 17, 2015, http://research.history.org/CWDLImages/VA_GAZET/Images/PD/1766/0075hi.jpg

[48]"From Rind's *Virginia Gazette," The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*. November 8, 1766, pg. 6, accessed October 31, 2015, http://infoweb.newsbank.com

failure in Byrd III's case to punish Bolling for defaming his character shows that the new members of the wealthy class were unwilling to circumvent the law in order to protect the honor of another member of the elite, exhibiting the desires of American colonists to distinguish themselves from the English. The failure to get an indictment caused William Byrd III to challenge Bolling to a duel. It is unknown if Bolling ever accepted the challenge, but it shows the sentiment of Byrd. When the court and legal system could not be used to protect his honor and status as social superior, he turned to another ancient form of defense. At this time, it was still common for members of the elite to challenge offenders to a duel and if a death occurred as a result, charges were rarely brought against the shooter.

On October 17, 1766, Colonel John Chiswell was found dead in his home. The report in the *Virginia Gazette* listed the cause, given by his physician, as "nervous fits, owing to a constant uneasiness of the mind."[49] There is no more information given about his death and he is not even given a full article. His death is listed at the beginning of an article that is stating the court cases that had taken place. Shortly after his death, rumors began swirling among the public that Colonel Chiswell committed suicide. The public was convinced that Colonel Chiswell feared he would be found guilty when his new trial took place on November 17, and because there had been such a large public backlash, his friends would have been unable to set him free a second time.

The uncertainty of Colonel Chiswell's death led the contemporary American historian Carl Bridenbaugh to state that it was entirely plausible that Colonel Chiswell died of an ailment like hypertension or a coronary thrombosis caused by his anxieties.[50] He also states that it is entirely possible that Colonel Chiswell committed suicide to avoid being executed. The rumors were given such credence that Colonel Chiswell was prevented from being buried in the cemetery in Hanover County by a crowd that gathered at the church, claiming that the death/suicide of Colonel Chiswell was nothing more than an elaborate hoax designed to allow him to flee for his freedom. They forced the coffin to be opened in order to verify if it was truly Colonel Chiswell and when they were unable to identify the "black and distorted features," they forced a relative of Colonel Chiswell to identify the body.[51] The identification verifying that it was in fact, Colonel Chiswell's body was taken as truth by the crowd. The conspiracies that came to light during 1766 had left the colonists shaken and made them question the validity of information they received regarding the elite of Virginia. They had grown skeptical of those in charge and felt forced to stop a funeral procession to see for themselves whether the body truly was Colonel Chiswell.

On the day of the murder, for whatever reason, Colonel Chiswell had been determined to force Routledge into his place as the social inferior. Routledge attempted to avoid an altercation, but Colonel Chiswell

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[49]"Williamsburg, Virginia," *Virginian Gazette,* October 17, 1766 No. 804, pg 3, accessed October 9, 2015, http://research.history.org/CWDLImages/VA_GAZET/Images/PD/1766/0136hi.jpg

[50]Carl Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766: Or the Importance of the Trivial" *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Third Series, Vol. 76 (1964), 23-24, accessed Oct 9, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25080583
[51]Ibid., 24.

was determined to be shown the respect he believed he deserved. After the murder, Colonel Chiswell was so unaffected by what he had done that he ordered a drink and remained at the bar until the sheriff arrived. This act shows that he truly believed he had acted correctly, defending his honor and status in the face of a social inferior. The fact that there was such a public outcry against his actions and so many calls for his condemnation in court may have surprised Colonel Chiswell. The structure of society was beginning to change, to the dismay of the older elite families that had ruled the colony for more than a century. Men like Robinson and Colonel Chiswell would no longer be allowed to use their political and familial connections to go unpunished for their crimes. Colonists were determined to root out the secretive dealings that they associated with Parliament and the aristocratic class of England.

The divisions within the class were made public by the events of the mid-1760s, because American colonists could no longer ignore the fact that the entrenched elite families were succumbing to corruption and conspiracy. From the perspective of the colonists, the distinguishing virtues of Virginia, like honor and hard work, had been lost or was waning, as had been the fear since the dawn of the eighteenth century. The initial attempts to separate themselves from the greed of the English elite had failed and the result was that the will of a few was beginning to erode the rights of the many.

The Stamp Act had mobilized a new class of political advocates that was determined to voice discontent with the closed ranks of entrenched political and societal networks. These networks were viewed as continuously conspiring for their own benefit, neglecting the needs of the many. The new political advocates believed they had to break rank and protect the spirit of the law to avoid conspiracy and corruption. The case of John Robinson, a case occurring simultaneously with the Colonel Chiswell-Routledge controversy, showed how corrupt the system had become, involving the most beloved man in the colonies in a conspiracy that had robbed the Virginians of untold sums of money. Although it was impossible to determine who received the money or the exact amount Robinson gave each recipient, colonial Virginians knew enough about the societal structure to make an educated guess. Although Robinson would remain unpunished because he died before his corruption could be discovered, the effects of his corruption would change the political system forever. In order to ensure that the level of embezzlement would not happen in the future, the positions of Speaker for the General Assembly and treasurer were separated.

The death of Robert Routledge sent shock waves through Virginia society, not because of the importance of Routledge, but because of the circumstances surrounding events that transpired after his death. Although Colonel Chiswell was found guilty, his sentence was set aside by three judges that were charged with upholding the laws of the colony. The testimonies of the eyewitnesses were ignored and false testimony was given and used to justify the actions of the judges. The colonists were convinced that the corruption and conspiring of elites in the colonies represented exactly what they had fled their native countries to avoid. They were convinced that the wealth and commercial success of the colony had led to a loss of virtue.

The case of Colonel John Chiswell and Robert Routledge is historically significant because it was representative not only of the changing societal views within the American colonies, regarding who held power and what could be done with that

power, but also the changing role of the American colonies within the British Empire. The old, firmly established networks within the colonies, though friendly to the newly rich, still held themselves in higher regard and showed that they felt they deserved more respect from their social inferiors. They used their power and status to maintain the social structure they had established, even when it meant they would have to break the law, as Robinson had done, or ignore the law as the judges had done for Colonel Chiswell. The new generation of aristocrats attempted to distinguish themselves from their English counterparts by trying to hold fellow colonists to a higher moral standard. The American colonists were desperately attempting to show the English that they were more virtuous and, because of that virtue, deserved to be consulted on laws that were passed in regards to their colonies. By making public the details of the Robinson scandal and the Colonel Chiswell and Robert Routledge controversy, the colonists showed they were willing to root out the evils that could lead to their moral downfall. American colonists were determined to avoid replicating the mistakes they felt England had made by placing wealth and status above the needs of their fellow countrymen, and to defend the rights of the colonists to consider Virginia a haven for those that were determined to create a new, prosperous life for themselves and their families.

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"Williamsburg, Virginia," *Virginia Gazette,* October 17, 1766 No. 804, pg 3. Accessed October 9, 2015. http://research.history.org/CWDLIm ages/VA_GAZET/Images/PD/1766/ 0136hi.jpg

The Social Costs of Rio de Janeiro's Urban Transformation

Thomas Marcelletti

In contemporary Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, there are two dichotomous notions of society - one held by the elite and the other by the city's poor, who largely bear the brunt of the elite's ruling agenda. The elite seeks privatization of public assets and to profit from them as much as possible, while the city's poor simply seeks basic educational and social services from their government. The elite pursues an agenda guided by neoliberal, capitalist economic ideas that promote competition with hegemonic notions of modernity and society, while the city's poor endures the backlash of these pursuits. The elite is backed by the force of state police, while the city's poor oftentimes is on the receiving end of police brutality. The enormous economic gap between the rich and the poor existing in Rio de Janeiro has transformed the public realm into unsafe urban spaces of high social tension. These differences are especially perceptible as Rio de Janeiro has planned to spend hundreds of millions of dollars in preparation to host three "mega events" in the twenty-first century: the 2007 Pan American Games, 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. These three events meet urban geographer Martin Mueller's definition of "mega-event" as distinguished by the expectation of tourist attractions, high costs of hosting the event, and an immediate impact on urban transformation.[52] At the least, hosting

these sports-related events necessitates building new stadiums. Because of this, soccer stadiums have a particular role in symbolizing the effects of these events on other facets of society. By channeling Brazilians' love of soccer, the government of Rio de Janeiro invests heavily in stadium projects for two reasons: firstly, as a way to project a Brazilian image of modernity by hosting "mega-events" such as World Cups and Olympics, thereby increasing tourism and attracting foreign investment, and secondly, as a way to control what was previously unregulated public space in advancement of these goals. These investments, while effective at developing Rio's economy and infrastructure, are outweighed by their social costs, particularly to the lower class. These social costs have made modern-day mega-events unpopular in Brazil as they include the gentrification of many lower-class neighborhoods where the stadiums are built, the concomitant development of slums, and the co-optation of unregulated, public urban space for the benefit of the wealthy elite.

Historians, scholars and journalists who write about urban renewal in Brazil explain the influence of the nation's postcolonial urban reforms as well as the unique opportunities presented by soccer stadiums in explaining why Brazil prioritizes public investments that produce global recognition rather than

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[52] Martin Muller, "What Makes an Event a Mega-Event? Definitions and Sizes," *Leisure Studies*, 34, 6 (2015): 627, accessed 3 March 2016, doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.993333.

improvements in poverty rates and education. Historian Jeffrey Needell, an expert in Latin American urban history, established that in the late nineteenth century, the Brazilian elite, influenced by the ongoing trend among former European colonies in Latin America, began its own process of erasing Brazil's colonial past with the goal of attracting European migrants, tourists, and foreign investors.[53] Zeca Brandao, an architect and urban design researcher, demonstrated that the application of this ideology to the built environment resulted in the destruction of colonial-style city centers and their replacement with Beaux-Arts style avenues and monuments in the early twentieth century, displacing the lower-class residents of those colonial centers and serving as a principle cause for the early development of favelas.[54] In addition to this urban renovation, archaeological geologist Christopher Gaffney argues that, beginning with the 1950 World Cup and continuing today, stadium projects are another way through which Rio de Janeiro has co-opted public space for the pursuit of tourism, immigration and foreign investment as they "reflect the exigencies of an increasingly globalized and neo-liberal political economy," ideals to which Rio's ruling class subscribes.[55] Tourism researchers and geographers Fratucci,

Spolon, and Machado argued that the erecting of hotels, improvements in public transportation and increased police presence associated with mega-event investments have been a success from the viewpoint that they accomplish the government's goal of attracting tourism dollars, even while acknowledging that frequent overrun associated with stadium costs has diverted public spending away from the "collective interest urban structure."[56] The billions of dollars in investments made in preparation for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics to renovate stadiums, increase police presence, and improve public transportation follow a general trend in the city of Rio, that began in the late nineteenth century, of investing in ways that, although successful in terms of drawing tourism and foreign investment, also directly lead to higher rates of income inequality and the displacement of lower-class citizens from central areas of the city. This facilitated the consolidation of favelas. Stadium construction and mega-events played a significant role in this process.

There are two moments in Rio's history when years of public investments and alterations to the built environment culminated in the hosting of an international event: in 1950 when Rio hosted the first Post-World War II World Cup, and today's twenty-first century trifecta of the 2007 Pan American Games, 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. When, in 1950, Rio de Janeiro was selected to host the World Cup at the new Maracanã stadium, it was a celebration

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[53] Jeffrey Needell. "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in Fin-De-Siècle Latin America," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, 3 (1995): 522, accessed 5 January 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/179218

[54] Zeca Brandão. "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro: A Critical Review of the Urban Design Practice in the Twenty First Century," *City and Time* 2, 4 (2006): 41, Accessed 2 February 2016, http://www.ct.ceci-br.org

[55] Christopher Gaffney. "Mega-Events and Socio-Spatial Dynamics in Rio de Janeiro, 1919-2016," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 9, 1 (2010): 12, Accessed 20 January 2016, DOI: 10.1353/lag.0.0068

[56] Aguinaldo César Fratucci, Ana Paula Garcia Spolon, and Marcello de Barros Tomé Machado, "Tourism in Rio de Janeiro: From the Triad Beach-Soccer-Carnival to Complexity of Contemporary Tourism Experience," in *Tourism in Latin America: Cases of Success*, eds. Alexandre Panosso Netto and Luiza Gonzaga Godoi Trigo (Switzerland: Springer 2015): 57.

of the modernization efforts that began at the turn of the twentieth century. It displayed to the world Brazil's success in implementing notions of modernity favored by European powers.[57] Rio de Janeiro's government commenced another round of investments in stadium renovations and infrastructure in preparation for the 2007 Pan American Games, 2014 World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics with similar goals as the early twentieth-century reforms: marketing the city and nation to foreign consumers and highly mobile global capital in hopes of earning international recognition.[58] Observations about the 2007 PanAm Games and 2014 World Cup confirm this. However, in contrast to the process leading up to the 1950 World Cup, Pew opinion polls and unbridled public protests suggest that a majority of Brazilians today are not in favor of their country hosting these international events.[59] There is a discrepancy in the way that the ruling class and the lower class view the priorities of their nation. The ruling class continues to pursue an agenda that invests heavily in sporting infrastructure, channeling money away from social and educational programs that could help many poor Brazilians who need them.[60] Brazil is a large country with an equally large economy, but is also plagued by rampant income inequality. According to the World Bank, Brazil's economy is the seventh largest in the world. [61] Yet, the CIA Factbook determined that Brazil has the seventeenth-most unequal distribution of family income out of all countries according to its Gini index, which

"measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country."[62] Much like the steep income inequality between rich and poor, conceptions of Brazil's values and priorities as a nation vary by socioeconomic class and have become more dichotomized as these mega-events approach.

Many of the motivations for hosting international mega-events today are reminiscent of earlier attempts in Brazil's history to privatize what would otherwise be unregulated public space in order to benefit the wealthy elite. In fact, there is a historical pattern in Rio de Janeiro of co-opting public space and displacing poor people for the advancement of wealthy interests, which continues today. This pattern began at the turn of the twentieth century, when Brazil joined in the ongoing trend among the national elites of many former European colonies in Latin America, deliberately using public capital to destroy any signs of colonial history, and regenerating the city to reflect contemporary European notions of modernity. Jeffrey Needell reasoned that the Brazilian elite in this era was motivated by its close cultural proximity to Paris: "Latins had looked to France since the late seventeenth century, when Louis XIV's kingdom had wrested European hegemony from Spain," he explained.[63] Needell also noted that members of the Brazilian elite had been traveling to Paris as often as possible for generations; they also spoke and published in French, proving their preoccupation to European notions of society.[64] In addition, Elisa Reis and Mick Moore, political scientists who focus on poverty and development in the global South,

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[57] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 13.
[58] Ibid, 20.
[59] "Brazilian Discontent Ahead of World Cup," *Pew Research Center*, published 3 June 2014, accessed 20 February 2016, http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/06/03/brazilian-discontent-ahead-of-world-cup/
[60] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 25.
[61] "Gross Domestic Product 2014," *World Bank*, published 2014, accessed 20 February 2016, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf

[62] Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: Distribution of Family Income – Gini Index," *The World Factbook*, n.d., accessed 20 February 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html
[63] Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires," 520.
[64] Ibid.

have articulated that the worldwide cultural hegemony of the French in the nineteenth century allowed it to leave an institutional and cultural legacy on postcolonial Latin American countries that shaped their political ideologies.[65] Therefore, it is clear that the Brazilian elite was culturally and intellectually more in tune with Europe than their own countrymen and women, and in the early 1900s, sought to remake their city in the image of what was culturally hegemonic at the time: that of Paris. This marks the beginning of the social problems that would follow from this ideology.

The Brazilian elite sought to reconstruct central areas of the city out of self-interest to form a European fantasy in Brazil. This necessitated removing people – like the lower-class inhabitants of the colonial style buildings – who were an obstacle to this plan. Needell adroitly summarized this process as "a selective Europeanization for the benefit of the Europhile elite and representatives of their North Atlantic counterparts."[66] The implementation of this "Europhile" ideology on the built environment resulted in the displacement of poor Brazilians and massive renovation of central areas of Rio de Janeiro. Zeca Brandao posited that this process caused the demolishing of thousands of colonial buildings and the construction of wide avenues, public squares and monuments resembling the French Beaux-Arts style architecture in their place.[67] Brandao, however, also noted the toll this process took on people who lived in the colonial areas: "Through the opening and widening of streets and avenues a great number of poor colonial houses, where the low-income communities used to live, were

demolished."[68] In this process, thousands of dwellings where primarily lower-class people lived were razed in a short amount of time, forcing the early development of favelas.[69] Understanding Brazil's history with urban renewal helps to understand why it wants to host mega-events today, as many of the reasons continue to be the same: to privatize, co-opt and profit off of space that previously was unregulated and open to serve the general public. In addition to these aesthetic alterations to the urban environment, the construction of soccer stadiums like the Maracanã was a key way through which Rio's ruling class has historically exerted control over otherwise unregulated public space.

The construction of soccer stadiums like the Maracanã was an ideal component to the postcolonial Eurocentric agenda of urban renewal because stadiums were popularly supported, making them politically feasible, and comprised another way that public, otherwise unregulated space could be made to serve wealthy, private interests. In her book *Soccer Madness,* sociologist Janet Lever commented on the usefulness of building soccer stadiums to Brazilian politicians: "Brazilian politicians have long believed that soccer-related projects win them more popularity than important public works that require long-range planning and appeal to a more future-oriented constituency than they feel they have."[70] In Brazil, politicians earn political capital more easily by appealing to Brazilians' love of soccer, whether it helps to advance prosperity or not, because soccer is popular. Real solutions to social problems, meanwhile, are seemingly too quixotic to be

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[65] Elisa P. Reis and Mick Moore, *Elite Perceptions of Poverty and Inequality* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 30.
[66] Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires," 535.
[67] Brandao, "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro," 39.

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 62.

seriously considered. Brazilian politicians have pursued the construction of soccer stadiums not only because they have been popularly supported and politically practical, but also because they are a prerequisite for hosting international "mega-events" that place Rio at the center of attention in the international community. The inauguration of the Maracanã, Brazil's most famous soccer stadium, as part of the 1950 World Cup was a culmination of a half-century's worth of effort on the part of the Brazilian elite to show off the country's progress in achieving European notions of modernity. Christopher Gaffney wrote that Brazilian officials envisioned the 1950 World Cup as an opportunity to display the country's progress towards modernity on an international stage.[71] The Maracanã was built beginning in 1948 for just this purpose: it was the largest stadium by capacity in the world and the largest stadium project since the Circus Maximus in Rome.[72] The Brazilian elite clearly intended the new stadium's size and capacity to be a projection of power, influence and modernity to a global audience. As a result, Gaffney wrote, "Brazil presented itself to the world as capable of grand engineering feats, ingenious architecture, and productive labor…. The architecture of the stadium was a self-conscious projection of Brazilian modernity for national, continental and international audiences."[73] In addition, Fratucci, et al, researchers at the Federal University of Fluminense who study touristic planning and public policies, agree that 1950 was a declaration of Brazilian modernity: "The year 1950 crowned modernity in Rio de Janeiro, with the city hosting the Soccer World Cup, which required the construction of the Maracanã Stadium." They also note that it was the first large sporting event hosted in South America, let alone the first sporting event hosted by the city

of Rio de Janeiro that received tourists from many parts of the world.[74] This successful attraction of tourists was consistent with the goals of the urban renovations at the turn of the twentieth century, which, according to Needell, "...concentrated on the public space associated with the state, neocolonial commerce, tourism and Europhile high culture."[75] This massive stadium construction to host an international mega-event like the World Cup suggests that the Brazilian elite were attempting to garner the international spotlight in order to attract European capital and tourists. Therefore, the construction of stadiums, especially the Maracanã, was another application of the Europhile societal ideology held by the Brazilian elite, supplementing the aesthetic renovations to the city.

Far from merely existing to host soccer matches, the wealthy elite deliberately designed the Maracanã to serve its private interests by using the stadium's physical form to project the elite's political and social agenda onto Brazilian spectators. What makes stadiums especially useful for this is the seemingly neutral context of sports. In reality, Christopher Gaffney has said, "stadium space is never neutral," but "functions as an instrumental public space to deliver social messages."[76] When the Maracanã was debuted at the 1950 World Cup, Brazilian officials intended for its architecture to encourage a populist, democratic collective consciousness that reduced individual agency.[77] This was embodied by the colossal capacity of the stadium (179,000, the largest in the world), wide entry ramps, and low ticket prices, but especially by a part of the stadium called the *geral*: a concrete slab that encircled the playing field for thousands of unregulated, poorly policed,

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[71] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 13.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

[74] Fratucci, et al, "Tourism in Rio de Janeiro," 52.
[75] Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires," 535.
[76] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 15.
[77] Ibid.

standing spectators.[78] Gaffney has argued that the *geral* was the "populist heart" of the stadium and, along with the cheap ticket prices, allowed for the inclusion of all sectors of Brazilian society to enjoy soccer.[79] Although the stadium was built with an eye towards ingratiating the international community, it also helped to send state-sponsored messages about social and political behavior that, when the Maracanã was debuted, intended to encourage inclusiveness and democratic principles.

However, the privatization of, and renovations to, the Maracanã since its inauguration have improved its ability to earn profit and attract tourists while reducing public access for lower-class Brazilians, mirroring Rio's history of urban renewal since the turn of the twentieth century. The accessible Maracanã stayed mostly the same until 1994, when FIFA and the IOC (International Olympic Committee) established new requirements for host stadiums of the World Cup and Olympics, respectively, mandating that all stadiums have a certain allotment of VIP areas, a high proportion of parking spaces relative to overall capacity, and individual, ticketed seats for spectators.[80] Since the Maracanã was originally built in 1950 and distinguished especially by the *geral*, the stadium did not meet these requirements. This prompted a combined total of $859 million to be spent on renovations to the Maracanã to prepare for the 2007 PanAm Games, 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, according to the Federal Audit Court of Brazil.[81] Dave Zirin, an award-winning American sportswriter and journalist who investigates the conflation of sports and inequality, explained that the prospect of

maximizing profit and societal presentation to an international audience motivated these changes to the stadium: "In 1999, the stadium had a capacity of 175,000…. Now, as the epicenter of the World Cup final and the Olympic games, it will seat only 75,000 and include a shopping center. In an eerily symbolic construction move that mirrors the erasure of the favelas, the upper deck, once the famed low-cost open seating area for ordinary fans, will now be ringed by luxury boxes."[82] Zirin compared the ruination of favelas that are nearby Olympic and other mega-event installations to the renovations of the Maracanã, arguing that both are an attempt to sanitize the realities of Brazilian life – enthusiastic, massive, albeit unruly, crowds – to make the stadium experience more presentable and appealing to wealthy tourists who are more likely to pay for expensive seats. Christopher Gaffney tacitly agreed when he said, "These modifications also reflected a change towards a Euro-American style of spectatorship whereby elites are able to distance themselves from the crowd."[83] This massive amount of spending illuminates the effort and money being invested by the state in something that so clearly sacrifices the well-being of lower-class Brazilians to prioritize meeting the demands of the wealthy, foreign consumer.

The privatization of the Maracanã is another consequence of Rio's hosting of the three twenty-first century mega-events that clearly disadvantages Brazilians on the margins of society. Levi Michaels of the *Rio Times* reported that on June thirteenth, 2013, ownership of the Maracanã officially passed from the state of Rio de Janeiro to joint

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[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 16.
[81] Fratucci, et al, "Tourism in Rio de Janeiro," 56.

[82] Dave Zirin, *Brazil's Dance with the Devil: The World Cup, the Olympics, and the Fight for Democracy*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014): 26.
[83] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 17.

ownership by three private corporations.[84] This precipitated forced evictions of surrounding favelas because they are not consistent with the image of modernity that Rio's government wishes to promulgate during the Olympics. For example, Luanda Vannuchi and Mathieu Van Criekingen, researchers of urban geography and gentrification based in Brussels, have studied the effects of the Maracanã's privatization on its adjacent areas. They have concluded that, "The consortium [of private corporations that now owns the stadium] presented a project for the complete transformation of the neighborhood," and that as a result, five hundred families were forcibly removed from a favela adjacent to the Maracanã, called Metro Mangueria, to prepare for the installation of Olympic consumer attractions such as shopping malls and parking lots.[85] This relates to Gaffney's argument that, in lieu of changes such as these, "The city is no longer a place to live and work, but a thing to be marketed and sold."[86] In addition to the displacement of favela residents, Vannuchi and Van Criekingen also argued that Olympic developers caught a cluster of public facilities in their crosshairs, causing "…the demolition of …a public school, an aquatic park, an athletic track, and the historic building of the former Museum for the Indigenous Peoples. In their place, the consortium designed for the whole area a shopping mall, a parking lot, and a helipad."[87] These renovations are intended to pacify tourist zones, catering the sights to foreign visitors' expectations to make them

more marketable and to conform to the profit-making motive of the Brazilian ruling class. They are reminiscent of the destruction of colonial-style buildings from central areas of the city that took place in the early twentieth century, which also displaced thousands of poor Brazilians from their homes.

In the twenty-first century, Brazil has spent tens of billions of dollars in preparation for three international mega-events which are all hosted in Rio de Janeiro; however, since it was announced in 2009 that Rio was selected to host the Olympics, and especially since 2013, public protests in opposition to the World Cup and Olympics have been numerous and threaten to derail preparation for the events, displaying many Brazilians' vehement opposition to them. Journalist Jonathan Watts of *The Guardian* reported that in one week in 2013, simultaneous demonstrations took place in at least eighty cities, consisting of an estimated turnout between one million and two million people, in protest of the perceived corruption and lack of inclusiveness in the preparations for the 2014 World Cup.[88] The protesters' messages, some of which included signs with slogans such as "Halt Evictions," and "Stop corruption - Change Brazil," were met with harassment in the form of rubber bullets and tear gas from Brazilian police, illustrating the forcefulness of the state in controlling public behavior that does not support its agenda.[89] Part of the preparation for these mega-events involves removing "unsightly" spectacles that are in close proximity to Olympic sites, such as the slums known as favelas. Christopher Gaffney reported that in January 2010, Rio de Janeiro's mayor's office published a list of 119 favelas to be removed by the end of

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[84] Levi Michaels, "Rio's Maracanã Stadium is Privatized," *Rio Times*, July 2, 2013, accessed 20 February 2016, http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-real-estate/rios-maracana-stadium-becomes-privatized/
[85] Luanda Vannuchi and Mathieu Van Criekingen, "Transforming Rio de Janeiro for the Olympics: Another Path to Accumulation by Dispossession?" *Journal of Urban Research*, 7 (2015), 27. Accessed 2 March 2016, https://articulo.revues.org/2813
[86] Gaffney, Mega-Events, 16.
[87] Ibid, 28.

[88] Jonathan Watts, "Brazil Erupts in Protest: More Than a Million on the Streets," *The Guardian*, June 21 2013, accessed 20 February 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-police-crowds-rio-protest
[89] Ibid.

2012.[90] Because of this, strikes, marches, and other public demonstrations protesting the commandeering of people's homes and public facilities for the installation of sporting infrastructure have become common in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro. For example, in 2015, residents of one favela, called Vila Autódromo, found their electricity, water, and telephone services cut off by government officials because some of them would not obey eviction orders nor accept compensation for their land.[91] Despite previous promises to the contrary, mayor Eduardo Paes ordered the residents uprooted so that developers could clear the last remaining favela in the area outside the main Olympic Park.[92] One of the favela's residents, Jane Nascimento de Oliveira, said: "I feel totally excluded. The Olympics has brought the destruction of my home. How would you feel if your home was disturbed by the interests of capital in this way?"[93] These words are likely representative of the feelings of Brazilians, many living in favelas, whose taxes pay for the mega-event preparations, then find themselves evicted from their homes and unable to even afford ticket prices for events. Indeed, World Cup tickets for the Maracanã stadium cost thirty times more than regular prices.[94] Accordingly, a Pew survey from 2014 found that 72% of

Brazilians were "dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country," and 61% of Brazilians are specifically opposed to hosting international mega-events because of the perception that they divert public money from schools, health care and other public services.[95] This is troubling for a country that is trying to send an external message of unity and societal advancement to the world through mega-events because its own people are challenging the validity of these very ideas. It is difficult to find one event that was a turning point for the unpopularity of mega-events, but the 2007 Pan American Games certainly did not set a good precedent in terms of delivering promised benefits to the Brazilian people.

One of the main reasons that protest against the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics abounds is that the precedent of the 2007 PanAm Games was a worst-case scenario for the city's numerous poor. Police killings, displacement, and the destruction of public buildings were pervasive. This led to concerns about human rights abuses. A 2007 Human Rights Watch Report on police violence read, "In the state of Rio, alleged resistance killings by police reached a record high of 1,330 in 2007."[96] The report goes on to say that very seldom are any of the officers charged with any crimes, even though the killings in 2007 set a record for police killings in a single year Rio's

[90] Christopher Gaffney, "Gentrifications in Pre-Olympic Rio de Janeiro," *Urban Geography* 35 (2015): 14, accessed 1 February 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2015.1096115

[91] Jonathan Watts, "Rio 2016: The Olympics Has Destroyed My Home," *The Guardian*, July 19, 2015, accessed 20 February 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/2016-olympics-rio-de-janeiro-brazil-destruction.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Associated Press, "FIFA Sets Ticket Prices for 2014 World Cup," *CBC Sports*, July 19, 2013, accessed 25 February 2016, http://www.cbc.ca/sports/soccer/fifa-sets-ticket-prices-for-2014-world-cup-in-brazil-1.1308336.

[95] Brazilian Discontent Ahead of World Cup," *Pew Research Center*, published June 3, 2014, accessed 15 February 2016, http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/06/03/brazilian-discontent-ahead-of-world-cup/

[96] Human Rights Watch, "Lethal Force: Police Violence and Public Security in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo," December 8, 2009, accessed 1 March 2016, https://www.hrw.org/report/2009/12/08/lethal-force/police-violence-and-public-security-rio-de-janeiro-and-sao-paulo

entire history of existence.[97] This suggests that the state is complicit in enforcing these injustices and is another sign of a disadvantaged Brazilian working class, whose lives and land the state commandeers so that it may profit with tourist attractions like shopping malls. Meanwhile, Fratucci, et al, have argued that another critical shortcoming of the 2007 PanAm games that contributed to mega-events' unpopularity was that many of the stadiums built in advance of the 2007 Pan American games would not even be eligible to be used for the 2016 Olympics because they do not meet safety standards of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), requiring another round of public money to be spent to meet these standards.[98] Even after the state invested this money, ownership of the Maracanã was turned over to wealthy private corporations. While the Brazilian elite and ruling class institute policies to promote the profitability of mega-events, lower-class Brazilians, especially residents of the favelas being cleared out, are feeling left behind, excluded and unhappy. In many cases they even find themselves evicted from their homes. In tacit agreement, Gaffney asserted that the legacy of the 2007 Pan American games damaged the reputation of mega-events for Brazilians because while they did provide temporary jobs, the games did not follow through on promises made to improve transportation, infrastructure or the housing situation for Rio's poor.[99] In sum, the majority of Brazilian people do not support these investments because, judging from their experience with the 2007 games, they are perceived to only benefit the ruling class.

The urban transformations of both eras were similar in that both received praise from the foreign entities with which they were ideologically aligned, suggesting that the Brazilian elite measured success by their level of adherence to internationally hegemonic, capitalist conceptions of society. At the turn of the twentieth century, Needell quoted many French commentators who were amazed by the urban renovations in Paris' likeness and implied that any more comments would be superfluous; all strongly supported the message of modernity the renovations sent. In 1950, the LA Times and Washington Post both published articles in advance of the World Cup that year praising the status of stadium safety as well as the receipt of American capital, two issues that concerned prospective American visitors to Rio. On January 29, 1950, the New York Times published an article commending a moat that was built around the field at the Maracanã: "This medieval barrier is considered a highly modernistic improvement... to prevent standing spectators from encroaching upon the players."[100] The article also indicated that other Brazilian stadiums did not have such barriers.[101] The Brazilian government's concern for additional safety features during World Cup games illustrates that its main priority was creating an atmosphere of comfort for the wealthy foreigners the country intended to captivate. Gaffney supported this direct connection between mega-event investments to the attraction of wealthy, foreign tourists: "The public investiture in mega-events is intended… to provide world class facilities that cater to an international tourist class."[102] In November of the same year, an article from the Washington Post appraised the prospect of American investment in Brazil amid political transition to a leader that espoused socialist principles, which

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Fratucci, et al, "Tourism in Rio de Janeiro," 56.

[99] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 18.

[100] The Canadian Press, "Rio Builds Soccer Field Moat to Protect Players from Crowds in World Title Games," *New York Times*, January 29, 1950, accessed 5 march 2016, Proquest Historical Newspapers.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Gaffney, "Mega-Events," 24.

worried American investors: "The growing thought is that Brazil…could absorb a billion or billions of our capital. Vargas' post-election reference to forming a government like Britain's [labor party-led government] threw a slight veil over this vision."[103][104] This article referenced Getúlio Vargas, who, according to the January 1951 edition of *Foreign affairs*, won a democratic election in 1950 with the support of the Social Progressive Party of Brazil.[105] The Washington Post article served to assuage American investors' worries that Vargas' seemingly socialist ideology was more of a vehicle used to win popular support among Brazil's middle and lower classes than his real agenda: "Strange as it may seem to an American, Vargas' references to socialist Britain would be reassuring to a Brazilian capitalist conscious that communism is wooing the Brazilian masses…. Vargas' full post-election statements, in fact, carry a precise blueprint for the coming of American capital into Brazil," the article continued, maintaining its hopeful and favorable tone. Similarly, U.S. commentators praised Brazil's adherence to capitalist notions of economy in advance of the 2014 Olympics. For example, in 2009, the cover story of *The Economist* featured an image of the famous "Christ the Redeemer" statue blasting off from its perch like a rocket headed for outer space,

with the caption, "Brazil Takes Off."[106] The article celebrated the announcement that Rio de Janeiro would host the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, comparing Brazil favorably to other up-and-coming economies such as China and South Africa and praising the nation because it "treats foreign investors with respect."[107] "In short," the article read, "Brazil suddenly seems to have made an entrance onto the world's stage."[108] The similarities in praise from French and American commentators regarding urban renewal in Rio suggest that the Brazilian elite, throughout the city's history, subscribed to the capitalistic, globalist notions of economy favored by cultural hegemons such as the U.S and, earlier, France. This ideology was particularly destructive in Rio de Janeiro, where the ruling class displaced poor residents and destroyed facilities that served the public in order to receive foreign capital.

In addition to garnering praise from foreign commentators with which the reforms were ideologically aligned, the reforms of both eras also accelerated the consolidation of favelas, suggesting that throughout Rio's history, the elite sacrificed the well being of middle and lower class Brazilians for their ideological pursuits. Zeca Brandao has argued that favelas, considered a major symptom of social problems in Brazil, originated as a product of the urban reforms undertaken in the early twentieth century: "The widespread tenement demolition left the evicted population to build their own houses in the vacant surrounding areas… giving rise to the first shantytowns which are known in Rio as

[103] Virginia Prewett, "Brazil's 'Socialism' Probably Will Be A Relative Thing," *Washington Post*, November 5, 1950, accessed 5 March 2016, Proquest Historical Newspapers

[104] Roland Quinault, "Britain 1950," *History Today* 51, 4, April 4, (2001), accessed 8 March 2016. http://www.historytoday.com/roland-quinault/britain-1950

[105] C.H. Haring, "Vargas Returns in Brazil," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1951, accessed 5 March 2016. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/brazil/1951-01-01/vargas-returns-brazil

[106] "Brazil Takes Off," *The Economist*, November 12, 2009, accessed 20 February 2016, http://www.economist.com/node/14845197

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

favelas."[109] Regarding mega-events in the twenty-first century, Fiona Hurrell of the *Rio Times* – an English-language newspaper covering the Brazilian city – reported that, based on her review of 2010 census documents released by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), during the years 2001-2011, the city's total population grew 3.4 percent while the favela population has grown by 27.7 percent – and that number may even be underestimated thanks to questionable methodology used by Rio's government that excludes some favelas in outer regions of the city.[110] Of course, mega-event installations are certainly not the only cause for this phenomenon, but certainly, the state-enforced relocation of residents from neighborhoods and favelas that are already in poverty does not bring benefits either.

The elite ruling class of Rio de Janeiro has historically pursued a self-interested economic doctrine by arranging to host mega-events that require the construction of massive amounts of infrastructure, including soccer stadiums. Once built, the elite uses these stadiums to advance policy goals, such as the attraction of capital, tourism, and the physical regeneration of otherwise unregulated, public space to meet the demand of wealthy foreign tourists. This reflects the elite's tendency towards capitalist, globalist, neoliberal notions of society favored by international cultural hegemons such as France and the U.S. owing to their postcolonial influences on Brazil. There were two phases of urban renovation that culminated with the hosting of mega-events: one beginning with the urban reforms at the turn of the twentieth century and ending with the 1950

World Cup, and the other resulting in the twenty-first century trifecta of 2007 PanAm Games, 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. In both, Rio's elite proved itself willing to sacrifice the livelihoods of lower-class Brazilians in pursuit of a self-serving economic rationale.

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[109] Brandao, "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro," 39.
[110] Fiona Hurrell, "Rio Favela Population Largest In Brazil," *Rio Times*, December 23, 2011, accessed 20 February 2016, http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/rios-favela-population-largest-in-brazil/#.

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The Merging of Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Cuban Urban Spaces

Sierra Andrew

Cuban collective memory, urban space, and tourism, are all aspects of Cuban nationality that are centered around the idea of there being three distinct races that distinguish Cubanismo. The three ethnic categories that construct Cuba's historical imagination are Indian, Spanish, and African. The concept of Las Tres Razas, or The Three Races, is the concept that Latin-Caribbean culture is shaped by the colonization of Taíno Amerindians and enslavement of West Africans by Spanish conquistadors.[111] One of the biggest expressions of Cuban identity, in which race is the primary focus, is the emphasis on spiritualism. The story Our Lady of Charity displays the effect that spiritualism and race have on Cuban identity by allowing the narrative of an Afro-Cuban to be revered as a national symbol. The fluidity of Cachita's race allows for the ambiguity of her spiritual representation. Culturally, African spirituality has impacted Cubanismo more powerfully than is typically acknowledged. Ultimately, a woman of African descent became Cuba's patron saint. The evolving imagery of Cuba's Patron saint from morena to mulatta, as well as the many shrines devoted to her name, is embraced by Cubans of all classes and ethnic groups as a source of comfort, guidance, and national pride. The international media in the mid twentieth-century highlighted Cuba's complex race relations as leader Fidel Castro attempted to rid Cuba of all Western influence as a movement away from capitalism. Though Fidel Castro's crusade against organized religion allowed Afro-Cuban cultural contributions to be publicly acclaimed, black Cubans were also commodified, leaving their complex realities out of public sight.

Despite of the importance of Cachita, the Cuban collective memory tends to uplift native Taíno heritage while ironically downplaying Cuba's West African heritage. According to race studies done by the Ministry of Public Health in Cuba, only twelve percent of surveyed Cuban residents self-identified as negro or Africano while thirty-three percent self-identified as mestizo in 2014.[112] Individuals identified as mestizo are primarily of Spanish and Amerindian descent, while individuals identified as negro are of African descent. In reality, the Ministry of Public Health found that bi-racial black and white Cuban ancestry is more common than native Taíno ancestry in Cuba, causing a mulatto presence to be much higher than a mestizo presence, especially in Cuba's southeastern regions.[113] The reality of Cuba's colonial racial history suggests that the high amount of enslaved West Africans in the south east of Cuba, including El Cobre, Oriente, produced both cultural and sexual mixing with Spanish

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[111] Ted Henken, Miriam Celaya, and Dimas Castellanos, *Cuba*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013. 203.

[112] Marcheco-Teruel B, Parra EJ, Fuentes-Smith E, Salas A, Buttenschon HN, Demontis D, et al. (2014) Cuba: Exploring the History of Admixture and the Genetic Basis of Pigmentation Using Autosomal and Uniparental Markers.

[113] Marcheco-Teruel B, Parra EJ, Fuentes-Smith E, Salas A, Buttenschon HN, Demontis D, et al. (2014) Cuba: Exploring the History of Admixture and the Genetic Basis of Pigmentation Using Autosomal and Uniparental Markers.

male land owners. Consequently, enslaved African women were likely to have children by their white male owners rather than from a native Taíno, widening Cuba's social class hierarchy to include a second group of mixed-race people who were of West African and European descent. The original Cuban class structure was founded on mercantilism, land ownership, and the color of one's skin.[114] Internal racism against mulatto and negro working-class Cubans is a factor that Cuba has yet to overcome today because of its rigorously racialized colonial past.

The trans-Atlantic African slave trade developed as a means of transporting millions of West Africans to the "New World" to work on sugar, cotton, and tobacco plantations. As justification for the harsh labor conditions that prevailed on sugar plantations, Spanish conquistadors and Caribbean settlers cited "paganism" as the reason why Africans were suitable for coerced labor.[115] Prejudiced attitudes about African primitiveness persisted beyond the colonial period (1512-1902) in Cuban social history, as the Spanish deemed Africans unworthy of evangelization. Lee M. Penyak argues that the Spanish settlers of the Caribbean exerted evangelical conversion efforts to save native Taínos that the Spanish viewed as barbarous, yet salvageable people in comparison to their African counterparts: "evangelization of Africans was not a priority for the Catholic Church in Spain and Spanish America."[116] The Taínos of Cuba are a sub-categorization of the Caribbean's Arawak people, who historically migrated to neighboring islands off the coast of South America. Though Spaniards envisioned Taínos transforming into noble savage converts, Taínos regularly resisted Spanish domination and Christian conversion.[117] This resulted in several wars that nearly annihilated the native population in the Spanish Caribbean. Due to the declining numbers of native Taínos in Cuba, evangelization efforts by the Catholic Church halted in the sixteenth-century. Owing to limited church supervision of non-White Cuban Christian conversion, Afro-Cubans syncretized traditional West African deities with values based in Catholicism.[118] Historically, the national essence of Cuban identity is founded on combined West African and Spanish customs. Hence, the cross-cultural mixing of religious characteristics provided Cuba an eccentric sense of spirituality that differs from that of other Latin American nations.

Though the story of Los Tres Juans promotes a multi-ethnic religious experience for Cubans, there is a tendency to silence the Afro-Latin voice by privileging Spanish and indigenous American narratives in Cuban collective memory. The term "collective memory" is described by historian Amos Funkenstein as "a trademark of a generation... past, people, events, and historic institutions serve as prototypes and are not recognized for their uniqueness. They are links in an ongoing past."[119] In

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[114]Ted Henken, Miriam Celaya, and Dimas Castellanos, *Cuba*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013. 210.

[115] Lee M. Penyak, *Religion and Society in Latin America: Interpretative Essays from Conquest to Present*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2009. 84.

[116] Lee M. Penyak, *Religion and Society in Latin America: Interpretative Essays from Conquest to Present*. 85.

[117] Ibid.

[118] George Brandon, *Santería from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1993.

[119] Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness". *History and Memory*. Indiana University Press, 1989. Accessed 25, 2016. February http://www.jstor.org/stable/25618571.

reference to Cuba, collective memory is based on a story of three races coming together and branding a new social presence in the midst of colonialism and Spanish oppression. The story of Our Lady of Charity creolized Cuban collective memory, finally including African, cultural elements. Cachita's negra or morena image was transformed by independence agitators in the 1890s who introduced the idea of "Indianess.."[120] "Indianess" is a theory that suggests that the majority Cubans descended from fierce Taíno warriors rather than from an admixture of African and European descent.[121] By comparing the post-colonial Cuban struggle for independence with that of pre-Colombian American natives, the Cuban independence movement of the nineteenth-century acquired reassurance of ideological "Indianess." Though most Cuban's are ethnically mulatto, an ethnic categorization that encompasses African and European ancestry at varying degrees, Cuban collective memory clings to the narrative that Cubans are descendants of Taíno mestizos, meaning "mixed people," who were stripped access to their territory by Spaniards. Mestizo is a colonial term used to describe Latin Americans of Spanish and Native American descent. More specifically, mestizo implies that an individual's Spanish ancestry is paternally attributed, while Indian ancestry is maternal. According to the Sistema de Castas, the Spanish racial classification system, mestizos are recognized as having a Spanish father and an indigenous mother.[122] African

heritage was overlooked due to the myth that Africans have no relevant place in history.[123] Many people who were mulatto or negro by definition denied their African ancestry to gain access to upward mobility in Cuban colonial society. The combination of Taíno, Spanish, and West African influence created a creolization of Cuban collective memory. The Cuban cultural emphasis on Spanish and Taíno merging would soon devalue black contributions as the story of Virgin Charity became a national narrative that spread outside of Oriente in the late nineteenth- century.

During Cuba's colonial period (1512-1902), Spanish cultural and religious experiences were fused with multiple Africanisms introduced by the enslaved. For example, the Virgin Charity story originated in El Cobre, Oriente, Cuba's first African settlement. According to local Cuban oral historians, in 1612, two native Taínos went salt mining in the Bay of Nipe with an African slave boy, Juan Moreno of El Cobre.[124] The three young men, known as "Los Tres Juans," were traveling by sea when their canoe began to capsize in the midst of a severe tropical storm. The boys witnessed what appeared to be a Virgin Mary holding an inscribed cross with the phrase, "I am the Virgin Charity."[125] Miraculously, the Virgin's presence allowed the youthful sailors to safety on shore. Spiritually uplifted, the three boys went back to El Cobre to explain their spiritual awakening at sea. The most notable detail of Virgin Charity's arrival was her skin color.

[120] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. Duke University Press, 2015. 47.

[121] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 48.

[122] Marcheco-Teruel B, Parra EJ, Fuentes-Smith E, Salas A, Buttenschon HN, Demontis D, et al. (2014) Cuba: Exploring the History of Admixture and the Genetic Basis of Pigmentation Using Autosomal and Uniparental Markers. PLoS Genet 10(7): e1004488.

doi:10.1371/journal.pgen.1004488. http://journals.plos.org/plosgenetics/article?id=10.1371/journal.pgen.1004488#s3 Accessed February 22, 2016.

[123] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 47.

[124] Lionel R. Fanthrope and Patricia Fanthorpe, *Mysteries and Secrets of Voodoo, Santeria and Obeah*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008. 80.

[125] Ibid.

Residents of El Cobre had imagined Virgin Charity as their own regional patron, thus making her image morena.[126] Coincidently, El Cobre was the first Cuban city settled by freed African people who escaped slavery in the seventeenth-century.[127] The story of Los Tres Juans was the first time that African descendants were given historical relevance in Cuban society's collective memory, considering that both the testifying "Juan" and the Virgin Mary were characterized as moreno. As the miracle of "La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre" spread across the island, the Virgin's racial identity would shift between mestizo, negra, and mulatta due to the attempt of Cubans across all race categories to identify with the Patron. Sponsored by a mine overseer, Templo Parroquial del Cobre in Santiago de Cuba is the site of Our Lady of Charity's shrine. El Cobre natives, some who faced enslavement at the time of Virgin Charity, viewed the saint and her shrine in their own African image and would continue to utilize her spirit to combat their oppression.

Historically, Santería is considered a fusion of European saints, West African Orisha deities, and Indigenous Taíno rituals.[128] Santería is defined as a Black Atlantic religion, meaning that the religion was established in the midst of "New World" colonialism and the Trans-Atlantic African slave trade. The distinguishing traits of Santería include: live animal sacrifices, call-and-response ancestor worship, spiritual

possession, and prayer to Orishas.[129] Orishas are manifestations of pre-colonial gods and goddesses, present in the Yoruba ethnic group of Nigeria. Santería's followers officially recognize Our Lady of Charity interchangeably with Yoruba Orisha, Ochún. The goddess Ochún is characterized by beauty, patience, and fertility while sporting a canary yellow, floor-length gown.[130] It is not known why Our Lady of Charity has been syncretized with Ochún by Santería practitioners and some Afro-Cubans. However, Orisha worshippers merged the maternal spirit of Cachita with the ultra-feminine qualities of Ochún after stories of Los Tres Juans began circulating in El Cobre boroughs. Santero spiritualism invokes saints and spirits who serve as protectors. Santeros associated Virgin Charity with the guidance of Ochún: "saints, gods, and heroes are lumped together in an extricable Afro-Cuban performance of the Orishas, the intermediaries between human beings and God."[131] While the Catholic Church and the Cuban government banned Afro-Cuban spiritual customs throughout the nineteenth-century, Cachita and the story of Los Tres Juans persisted in Cuban collective and historical memory.

As they did to any Afro-Cuban traditions that developed during the Spanish colonial period, white colonial administrators suppressed Santería because the Catholic Church viewed Afro-Cuban spirituality as sinful and invalid. Black Catholic Cabildos initiated the creation of Santería in the sixteenth and seventeenth

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[126] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 18.
[127] Maria Luiz Scaperlanda, "Library : Our Lady of Charity." Catholic Culture. September 1, 2008. Accessed February 01, 2016. http://www.uscatholic.org/church/2011/09/island-queen-reflection-our-lady-charity
[128] Mozella G. Mitchell, *Crucial Issues in Caribbean Religions*. New York: P. Lang, 2006. 140.

[129] Ibid. 140.
[130] Lionel R. Fanthrope and Patricia Fanthorpe, *Mysteries and Secrets of Voodoo, Santeria and Obeah*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008. 80.
[131] Marc Blanchard, *From Cuba with Saints*. The University of Chicago Press. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 35, No.3. pp. 383-416.

centuries. Cabildos were religious brotherhoods that church officials constructed to convert enslaved people to formal Catholicism.[132] Perhaps, Christian missionaries attempted to Christianize Africans after the failure of indigenous evangelization. Spanish colonizers needed divine justification for the enslavement of Africans and the eradication of indigenous peoples. Christian missionaries coerced Africans into religious assimilation in order to reinforce ideas of African inferiority. Contrary to the Church's intentions, Cabildos promoted religious syncretism of the seven Yoruba Orishas and the Catholic Church's seven sacraments.[133] Santero Charles Guelperin of the Santería Centre in Los Angeles argues that Cabildos taught black Cubans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about Catholic saints by relating them to the Yoruba word, "Orisha."[134] During Cuba's early colonial period, Afro-Cubans were unaware of a Yoruba word that translated to "saint." Diocesan missionaries took note of the trend that Black Cabildos associated Catholicism with Yoruba worship and language: The Catholic Church outlawed Cabildos in eighteenth-century.[135] From this point onward, the Catholic Church persisted in keeping African spirituality out of church sanctuaries.

The evolving depiction of Our Lady of Charity, also known as Cachita, is deeply rooted in Cuba's sociological imagination of national identity, syncretism, and creolization. Our Lady of Charity was officially patronized by the Catholic Church in 1916 after gaining popularity in the entire eastern region of Cuba. Her official image in the Catholic Church was deemed to be fair-skinned.[136] Though Cachita's image was lightened, her patronization was essential to Cuba's African history. When the Catholic Church solidified Cachita's stature as a patron saint, Cubans of African lineage were given personhood in Cuban society. The patronization of Cachita is important to Cuban collective memory because the Catholic Church validated an oral history translated by members of an African settlement. Nonetheless, Cachita's patronization also countered widespread racist beliefs upheld by white elites that Afro-Cubans were inhuman and incapable of spiritual development. The Virgin's image became more common throughout Catholic cathedrals after her sanctification. Our Lady of Charity's sanctified appearance grew more mulatta through the lens of the Catholic Church rather than morena because black participation in the Cuban Catholicism was limited.[137] Thus, the official church whitened Cachita to fit the image of participating Catholics. Cuba's Catholic clergy recognize Cachita as a fair-skinned, white-passing mulatta in attempt to erase her strong African presence at a time when the Catholic Church publically denounced Afro-Cuban religious practicalities.[138] The Catholicized image of Cachita appears to be beige in hue, with dark-brown, wavy hair--

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[132] Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 45.

[133] Lee M. Penyak, *Religion and Society in Latin America: Interpretative Essays from Conquest to Present*. 95.

[134] Santero Charles Guelperin, "Santeria- Fusion of the Gods. Interview with a Santero". Filmed [October 2014]. YouTube video, 39:26. Accessed January 21, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtrsLGzjaNA

[135] Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 45.

[136] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 94.

[137] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 118.

[138] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 97.

as seen on the cover of Thomas A. Tweed's Our Lady of the Exile.[139] This portrayal of the Virgin capitalizes the mulatto or mestizo aesthetic that the Church considered more divine in comparison with the negro aesthetic. According to Jalane D. Shmidt's research, the majority of Cubans celebrate La Virgen de la Caridad as a lively mulatta or morena woman, contrary to the official Catholic Church's representation.[140] The statue of Our Lady of Charity that exists in El Cobre is of a medium-brown complexion with visibly fuller facial features.[141] The sanctification of the Virgin further increased the fluctuation of Cachita throughout Cuba's racialized regions. Though the Church could have employed Cachita's sainthood to generate equality among poor, black Cubans and elite white Cubans, the sanctification of Cachita and the whitening of her image did not ensure the erasure of race stratification in Cuba.

White Cuban landowners, aristocrats, and bureaucrats in the twentieth-century initiated Blanqueamiento to racially purify the Cuban nation. The term Blanqueamiento is of Spanish origin and means "to whiten."[142] Cuba's historical anti-blackness has political roots in the prevention of blacks gaining political autonomy after the official end of slavery on the island. From 1902 to 1931, the Cuban government paid impoverished Europeans from Ireland, Germany, and Spain to relocate to Cuban shores with the goal of suppressing the African population.[143] In Cuba, racism and the implementation of Blanqueamiento directly affected immigration law.[144] The Cuban government promised hopeful European immigrants the rights to political freedom and fertile land. During Blanqueamiento, the Cuban government prohibited the immigration of "undesirables" from the southeast Caribbean to Cuba. Haitians and citizens of other neighboring Caribbean islands were banned from moving to Cuba in 1902 because the government feared the rise of black political factions in their newly independent nation.[145] Blanqueamiento was a highly discriminatory policy grounded in false scientific racism and classism that was wholly incapable of empirically representing Cuba's diversified racial make-up. European immigrants, most of whom aspired to be independent farmers, were not accustomed to tropical soil and the Caribbean climate. Occasionally, interracial marriages and friendships formed as European immigrants attempted to navigate a new space, proving that whiteness was not just about skin color but also about social status. The intermingling of races in Cuba worked against blanqueamiento. By 1920, nearly fifty-percent of European migrants returned to Europe.[146] Blanqueamiento failed - the Cuban government was forced to find

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[139] Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

[140] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 115.

[141] Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 22.

[142] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 74.

[143] Richard Graham and Aline Helg, *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. 4.

[144] Ibid. 4.

[145] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America:, 1800-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

[146] Alejandro de la Fuente, 1998. "Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview". *Latin American Perspectives* 25 (3). Sage Publications, Inc.: 48. Accessed February 22, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2634166.

creative ways to either suppress the black population or attempt to de-racialize them.

White intellectuals developed Afro-Cubanismo as a coy response to the rapid collapse of Blanqueamiento. Afro-Cubanismo is characterized as the explosion of music, art, and food that originates from Cuba's West African descendants. White intellectuals openly acknowledged the significant role that West African culture played in mainstream Cuban artistic expression from the late 1920s through the early 1940s.[147] Interestingly, Havana's tourism industry peaked at the height of the Afro-Cubanismo cultural appreciation movement. Cultural tourism evolved as foreigners, typically from the United States, wanted to experience non-conventional aspects of Latin American/Spanish colonial society at the onset of the Cold War. Cultural tourists look for people who have their own agency: "Tourism creates articulation and connectivity both in real life and in the creation of images."[148] Afro-Cubanismo provided tourists with a romanticized view of race relations in Latin American cities. In 1920s Cuba, cultural tourism was centered in both Havana and El Cobre. Specifically, the shrine Our Lady of Charity in the Basiclica of Nuestra Senora Caridad del Cobre was a hub for cultural tourism due to the connection that the Virgin has to Afro-Cubanismo.[149] Despite tourism peaks, Afro-Cubans existed on the margins of Cuban society. White elites encouraged a homogenous sense of nationalism to market cultural unity in Cuba to tourists. Nationalism came at the expense of distinguishing racial differences in Cuba and silencing the struggles of Afro-Cubans.[150] An emphasis on cultural tourism during the 1920s gave Afro-Cubans an opportunity to showcase their culture for profit while also ignoring their marginalization.

Cachita was often embraced by Oriente residents as a symbol of femininity and black womanhood and integrated into Cuba's tourist industry. Havana experienced an influx of foreign visitors from 1924 to 1931 as Cuba's tourism market was restructured to more effectively generate profit in a flawed economy.[151] The Cuban tourist industry shifted gears to showcase African elements in their promotions, responding to the notion that white, middle-class tourists were flocking to black neighborhoods to experience interactive Rumba, art, and food: "Tourism promoters exalted sensual and mystical qualities of Afro-Cubans for purposes of profit, and foreigners saw Cuba as an erotic, exotic island devoted to their pleasure and entertainment."[152] Black neighborhoods of Cuba offered tourists an opportunity to venture into the dark side of society, socializing with Black natives with whom they would not associate in their own country. Engaging in elements of Afro-Cubanismo was seen as forbidden fruit to white tourists: White tourists viewed Afro-Cuban boroughs as mysterious and cultivating. The hyper-sexualization of Our Lady of Charity has its roots in Cuba's Afro-Cubanismo tourism height of the 1920s, as

[147] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 109.

[148] Baud, Michie. Ypeji, Annelou, "Cultural Tourism in Latin America: An Introduction." In *Cultural Tourism in Latin America: The Politics of Space and Imagery*, edited by Michiel Baud and Annelou Ypeij, 1-20. Boston: Brill, 2008.

[149] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 20.

[150] Alejandro de la Fuente, 1998. "Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview". *Latin American Perspectives* 25 (3). Sage Publications, Inc.: 48. Accessed February 22, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2634166. 44.

[151] Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 80.

[152] Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 87.

Cachita was appropriated by Cuba's tourist industry in an attempt to attract wealthy white men.[153] Cachita's appropriated image represents the fetishization of black Cuban women that has lasted throughout the twentieth-century. After a brief lull in the Communist period, prostitution revamped Havana's modern tourist industry in black communities during the 1980s. Historian Jalane Shmidt discovered that in the red light district of Havana, prostitutes are instructed by their pimps to dress in traditional, canary yellow dresses that mimic that of Cachita's: "A disproportionate number of these present-day young sex workers wear yellow, gold, and amber elekes."[154] These sexualized costumes appeal to the sexualized aesthetic of the negra or mulatta Cuban woman. Our Lady of Charity's association with the Orisha Ochún, goddess of fertility and seduction, allowed her image to be utilized in Havana's mulatta prostitution industry.[155] Afro-Cubanismo was central to the Cuban tourist industry in the twentieth-century, utilizing cultural markers like the creolization of Cuban women as its selling point.

As a response to Cuba's efforts to commodify cultural creolization beginning in the 1920s, Americans were offered an opportunity to engage in Cuba's Carnival celebrations. American tourists flocked to Havana, participating in Carnival by sporting native Taino and Afro-Cuban costumes.[156] Unaligned with the Church, Carnival was moved before Ash Wednesday in 1928 to accommodate tourists who came for the week's festivities.[157] During the development of Cuba's anti-colonial movement, Fidel Castro expressed resentment towards the Americanization of Cuba and commodification of Afro-Cuban culture. The Cuban Revolution progressed from 1953 to 1959 as a political revolt against Cuban President Fulgencio Batista. Historian George Reid Andrews states that Cuba's Communist party, "refused to permit any political organizing outside official party structures, especially any that might divide Cuban society along racial lines."[158]A Westernized worldview of race relations, tourism, and cultural commodification came under fire during Fidel Castro's revolutionary regime in Cuba.

After the revolution, Cubans devoted time to spiritual expression in their homes and on the streets as the government became less tied to the Catholic Church. Fidel Castro banned Catholic saint processions in La Plaza Vieja and other public spaces after his regime was accused of criminal activity by the Catholic Church.[159] In 1960, Castro explained to the public that:

The revolution has no reason to try to deny the right of any citizen to practice his beliefs or the right of any religious body to preach it. But we can ask the priest if they have the right to forbid the revolutionary government to pass revolutionary laws or act within the social and civil order in the form it considers in the interest of the people.[160]

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[153] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 250.
[154] Ibid. 250.
[155] Ibid. 250.
[156]Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 85.

[157] Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 84.
[158] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America: 1800-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
[159] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 218.
[160] Fidel Castro. "Havana Fiel Network: Clergy and Judges Attacked by Castro." Castro Speech Data Base - Latin American Network Information Center, LANIC. December 19, 1960. Accessed February 10,

Fidel claimed that the Church and judicial system had no reason to oppose the Cuban Revolution, besides having their own guilt about past transgressions of deceiving the public. Though Fidel's original revolution for Cuba called for religious freedom, increasing strife between Fidel and organized religion led to the growing predominance of atheist voices within the revolution.[161] Even as Communism's conflict with the Catholic Church caused the decline of citizen participation in organized religion, spirituality remained an important aspect of Cuban identity. Castro attempted to separate Cuban citizens from all forms of Westernization to promote racial equality of white, black, and mixed-raced populations, but simultaneously his push for atheism encouraged the denigration of the first Afro-Cuban patron saint. As a "socialist" leader, Fidel Castro had the goal of integrating poor Cubans, who were often black or mixed race, into Cuban society by dismantling the white supremacist system that was embedded in European institutions such as the Catholic Church. Cuban religion was closely tied to politics prior to the Cuban Revolution. Castro broke political and religious bonds to dismantle Cuba's racial hierarchy that was grounded in Catholicism. Aside from disenfranchising street processions, Castro's initiatives for boosting government aid to elevate Afro-Cubans worked. Public health services and social reforms initiated during the Cuban Revolution led to a near equalization of demographics between blacks and whites by 1980.[162] According to statistics computed by historian George Andrews, Castro was successful in promoting legal racial

inequality in Cuba. Street procession and public recognition of Cachita returned to Havana after Cuba's popular culture began to re-embrace both Catholic and Afro-Cuban religions in the 1990s.[163] Though Castro aimed to create equality amongst black, white, and mixed race Cubans, the banning of religious procession worked to remove the importance of spiritualism from Afro-Cubanismo.

Fidel Castro wished to reform Cuba into a nation that was exempt from Christian influences, leading to a ban on Havana's carnival celebrations and processions in 1964.[164] With the pubic erasure of religious acknowledgement, Fidel shifted celebratory focus to the working-class Cubans. As the Batista regime crumbled in 1959, wealthy Cubans fled to Miami, Florida as refugees. Batista supporters were the owners of property prior to the rebellion and now had their businesses and homes confiscated by the reformed government, leading to mass Cuban migration to the United States. Cuban American refugees and exiles asked Virgin Charity to bless them with perseverance, eventually carrying her image to Miami with them.[165] Being relocated from their homelands, Cubans held on to espiritualismo to make sense of their nationality. According to Thomas Tweed, Cubans who settled in Miami allowed their spirituality to manifest in Cubanidad.[166] Miami

2016. http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1960/19601219.html.

[161] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 218.

[162] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America: 1800-2000*. 155.

[163] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 260.

[164] Daniel Harker. "Castro Bans Big Features of Carnival." *Gettysburg Times* (Havana), February 29, 1964. Google News. Accessed February 29, 2016. https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2202&dat=19640228&id=m09AAAAAIBAJ&sjid=l_8FAAAAIBAJ&pg=996,35132&hl=en

[165] Maria Luiz Scaperlanda, "Library : Our Lady of Charity." Catholic Culture. September 1, 2008. Accessed February 01, 2016. http://www.uscatholic.org/church/2011/09/island-queen-reflection-our-lady-charity

[166] Tweed, Thomas A. *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in*

experienced an increase in Catholic churches and religious sites with the migration of Cuban-American in the 1960s. After one year of migration, Cubans made Miami their official home by building a new sanctuary to honor Our Lady of Charity.

The number of Cubans who made the pilgrimage to Miami is significant because it shows that though Cubans were removed from their original settlement, Cubans Americans managed to bring their spiritualism with them. On September 8, 1961, about 30,000 Cuban-Americans travelled to Miami to commemorate the first feast for Our Lady of Charity.[167] The commemoration of the first feast held by the Archidocese also reaffirmed the influence that Cuban migration exerted on the American Catholic Church, as the Catholic Church was strengthened by their numbers. Though Cuban-Americans came to the United States as refugees, some of whom were stripped of their possessions, the Miami community underwrote the construction of the Ermita De La Caridad, a new shrine devoted to their patron saint.[168] The shrine was consecrated in 1973, featuring a fair-skinned, mulatta Cachita that stands fifteen feet tall. Interestingly, the focus of the shrine is centered on the mural alongside of the Virgin's statue. Exile artist Teok Carrascos intended the mural to be a depiction of Cuba's elaborate collective memory.

Carrasos' mural attributes Cuban identity to the patrons of the Cuban independence movement, Christopher Columbus who "discovered" the Caribbean, the Christian cross, and the modern Cuban flag. Our Lady of Charity is at the center of the illustrative story.[169] Analyzing the personalities depicted on the mural, Our Lady of Charity is the only Cuban of visual African-descent represented. Cachita is depicted as a medium-toned, dark-haired woman. Thomas A. Tweed claims that the intersections of race, class, and religion did not hinder visitation at Ermita de La Caridad in the same way that determined visitation demographics in El Cobre's shrine.[170] The willingness of Miami Cubans to worship in one space can be attributed to the notion that Cuban nationality was a stronger commonality between Cuban migrants, trumping race, class, or gender. It is unknown if Afro-Cubans felt slighted by their under-representation in the Ermita mural because national solidarities were formed among the Miami Cuban exile community regardless of race.

The collective memory of Los Tres Juans and Cachita remains disputed in Cuba, much as Cuban race politics are continually characterized by fluidity. In general, Our Lady of Charity symbolizes the creolization of Cuban collective memory, but her significance is subject to multiple interpretations. The individual nuance of Cachita varies cross culturally. Afro-Cubans

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Miami. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 26.

[167] "Ermita: History of the Shrine." Ermita De La Caridad. Web. Accessed February 01, 2016. http://ermitadelacaridad.org/NationalShrine.asp?op=History

[168] Maria Cristina Garcia, Review of *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami.. The Journal of American History* 85 (3). [Oxford University Press, Organization of American Historians]: 1170–71. 1998.

[169] Teok Carrasco, "Descripción del Mural." In Ermita de La Caridad, 38-41. Miami: Ermita de la Caridad, 1986. In Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 108.

[170] Tweed, Thomas A. *Our Lady of the Exile Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 83.

who populate El Cobre, Oriente, view Cachita through the lens of their ancestral roots. Cachita is Ochun, their morena Goddess who continues to provide comfort through the pain of racism and poverty. Citizens in the eastern Cuban region, accordingly, refer to her as 'La Santa Negra.'"[171] Our Lady of Charity shows that certain aspects of Afro-Cuban cultivation are celebrated and appropriated while Afro-Cubans themselves endured marginalization up until the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Our Lady of Charity is crucial to the identity of Afro-Cubans because, like them, she arrived by boat and harnessed spiritual power to the struggle against oppression throughout Cuban history.

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[171] Jalane D. Shmidt, *Cachita's Streets: The Virgin of Charity, Race, and Revolution in Cuba*. 115.

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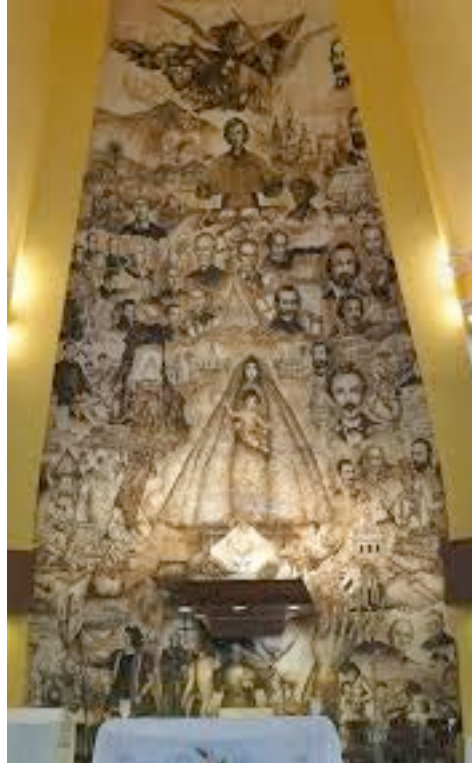
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