



Colonial Olympism: Puerto Rico and Jamaica's Olympic Movement in Pan-American Sport, 1930 to the 1950s

Antonio Sotomayor

To cite this article: Antonio Sotomayor (2016) Colonial Olympism: Puerto Rico and Jamaica's Olympic Movement in Pan-American Sport, 1930 to the 1950s, The International Journal of the History of Sport, 33:1-2, 84-104, DOI: [10.1080/09523367.2016.1147429](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2016.1147429)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2016.1147429>



Published online: 29 Feb 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 83



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Colonial Olympism: Puerto Rico and Jamaica's Olympic Movement in Pan-American Sport, 1930 to the 1950s

Antonio Sotomayor

University Library, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL, USA

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how two Caribbean islands, Puerto Rico and Jamaica, developed ideas of national identity while negotiating political emancipation within two distinct, yet allied Anglophone empires. We can see this process through the Olympic movement and referred to here as 'colonial Olympism'. Both Puerto Rico and Jamaica participated as colonies of the USA and Great Britain at international sporting events from 1930 to the 1950s. More than a benevolent gesture by the USA or Great Britain, Puerto Rico and Jamaica's participation was intended to foster international goodwill through sport, including crucial notions of Pan Americanism. Comparing these two islands, and the metropolises they represented, offers a good way to understand the commonalities and differences in the US and Great Britain's geopolitical interests in Latin America. However, the Olympic and the Pan-American Games gave both colonies the perfect scenario to perform as separate nations and fed a sense of distinct peoplehood. Sport leaders from both islands negotiated their way into nationhood by the very fact of participating in the Olympic movement, albeit as non-sovereign states. In turn, having Olympic nationhood became another important tool in both islands' quest for decolonization, contributing an important angle to better understand twentieth-century international politics and decolonization processes.

KEYWORDS

Colonial Olympism; Puerto Rico; Jamaica; national identity; colonialism

On July 1979, Puerto Ricans hosted the Eighth Pan-American Games (PAG). It was the largest edition yet, gathering some 5029 athletes, trainers, and staff from 35 countries. It was also the first time a Caribbean country hosted the Games. However, these Games are known today not necessarily for these facts, but because of the political overtones surrounding a colonial society. Colonial politics were in the foreground during these PAG as Puerto Ricans explored once again the limits of having national Olympic sovereignty in a de facto colonial relation under the USA. The public discussion over Puerto Rico's national symbols at the Games climaxed when Governor Carlos Romero Barceló was publicly rejected by loud whistles from thousands of Puerto Ricans during the opening ceremonies for his determined preference of using both Puerto Rican and US flags to represent the Puerto Rican delegation, undermining Puerto Rican national and Olympic

identity. The *pitada olímpica* (Olympic whistle), which has been analyzed by John MacAloon, is a perfect example of the colonial politics played out at Pan-American (and other international) Games.¹

The PAG of 1979 is only one example of a longer history in the confluence of colonialism and national identity at Olympic events. Certainly, Puerto Rico is not the only country that has dealt with political subordination and the Olympic movement, for similar issues happen in other parts of the world, including Jamaica. Yet, these two colonies are important not only for the empires they represent, but for also for their differences and similarities in decolonization politics, variants of nationalism, and Olympic accomplishments, which helped in a larger scaffolding of Pan-Americanism through sport.² Puerto Ricans and Jamaicans negotiated the terms and scope of their Olympic sovereignty since at least 1930 when they participated for the first time at the Central American and Caribbean Games (CACG) in Havana, Cuba, as colonies.³ While studies on the Olympics and national identity/nationalism have received a fair share of academic attention,⁴ the relationship between colonialism and Olympic events has been less studied.⁵ Similarly, although Pan-Americanism has been studied before in the realm of culture and hemispheric politics,⁶ it has received little attention in the scholarly sport literature until recently.⁷ For instance, Basil A. Ince has explored nationalism and conflict between Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the USA at PAG during the Cold War.⁸ However, a broader and deeper historical scope is necessary to fully grasp the complexity of Pan-American sport and colonialism.

Scholars have studied Pan-Americanism in different ways, from an idea present during the period of Spanish American independence, to the ways the USA used it to uphold hemispheric hegemony and imperialism.⁹ By the 1930s and 1940s, the US's ideas of Pan-Americanism were embroiled with the Good Neighbor policy, which meant to ameliorate hostile foreign relations with Latin America, while still upholding notions of superiority.¹⁰ Puerto Rico and Jamaica were intimately involved in this process by representing the USA and Great Britain, respectively, at regional games. While the USA has been a key player in defining Pan-Americanism, Jamaica brings an additional level, that of American Britishness.

The first PAG were held in 1951 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, an event in the making since the late 1930s. However, notions of athletic Pan-Americanism should include the CACG, the oldest regional Olympic style games held uninterruptedly since 1926. Gathering the Latin and Anglo-Americas, these Games had the political and ideological meanings of Pan-American sport. For these two delegations, the CACG were an ideal scenario to mingle and bridge the cultural gap between Latin America, the USA, and the British Empire throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

However, while Jamaica and Puerto Rico contributed to Pan-Americanism at these Games, they also developed and displayed notions of nationhood. With growing notions of nationalism in both islands, in the balance for Puerto Rico and Jamaica was the subtle showcase of their nationhood and the predicaments of Pan-American diplomacy. Yet, this nationalism was not a radical nationalism. Instead, the Puerto Rican and Jamaican delegations sought in the Olympic movement a way to foster cultural or creole nationalism on a diplomatic route to insular self-government. Hence, the Olympic movement for these peoples was as much as a platform for cultural nationalism, as a testing site for Pan-American diplomacy, and a vehicle to decolonization, which altogether can be called 'colonial Olympism'. Colonial Olympism is an overlooked aspect of Olympism due to the

customary attention placed on the politics of independent nation-states. The experiences, meanings, and the consequences of colonial territories that participate, both in athletics and in politics, at these international games have been misunderstood at best or plainly ignored at worse.

This paper starts with a brief discussion of the methodological benefits of comparative history, followed by some background of the politics of colonialism and nationalism in both islands. The following section explores the ways in which the CACG during the 1930s represented an original venue for Pan-American athletic diplomacy and how different actors negotiated the terms of colonialism and national identity. Issues of colonialism continued as the PAG started to be organized throughout the 1940s, revealing the colonial politics within the larger Olympic movement. By the 1950s, although both Jamaica and Puerto Rico were on their way to decolonization, their postcolonial identities were still plagued by the uncertainties of their colonial heritage.

Comparing Colonialism and Nationalism in Puerto Rico and Jamaica

Historian Victor Andrade de Melo has written about the usefulness and need of comparative work in Latin American sport scholarship. He argues that comparative work is more than looking for similarities between countries, but the systematic analysis of the similarities and differences between two or more societies. Looking comparatively may shed light into historical aspects or processes not seen before, as it helps the scholar move from local to regional to global, and back to the local again. Comparative methodologies for Latin American Studies, thus, will help us obtain 'greater understanding within the region ... a more profound comprehension, not only to better understand our societies, but even to confront the limits of the current academic models'.¹¹

Our comparison of Puerto Rico and Jamaica moves away from a simplistic view that sees two small and irrelevant Caribbean islands with long colonial traditions, to understand them as part of a complex web of imperial interests, as protagonists of regional diplomatic imperatives, as collaborators in imperial interests, as designers of cultural nationalism, and ultimately as products of Plantation societies that once had a premier role in the mechanisms or world power, capitalism, revolution, and hegemony.¹² Out of the similarities of these societies, but from the different experiences in each, came various notions of national identity, ranging in meanings and intensity.¹³ Looking at the differences and similarities in Puerto Rico and Jamaica will allow us to have a better understanding of each and the complexities of the region and elsewhere.

Colonialism in Puerto Rico and Jamaica has been shaped by the presence of empires such as Spain, Great Britain, and the USA. Jamaica, a rich English colony during the eighteenth century, was neglected by the late nineteenth century, as England switched attention to new colonial enterprises elsewhere in the world. As a result of the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865, Jamaicans lost their elected Legislative Assembly and a Crown Colony was established with direct control from London. As the English empire transitioned from a forced to a free labour system, and sought new places for economic enrichment, the Jamaican economy gradually declined, forcing many black Jamaicans in the early twentieth century to seek employment and opportunities in places like Cuba, Panama, Costa Rica, and the USA. The First World War greatly diminished Great Britain's imperial power, which was exacerbated

by the Great Depression of the 1930s, leading to renewed social instability and distress during the 1930s.¹⁴

After being a Spanish colony for 400 years, Puerto Rico passed to US control in 1898 as part of the Spanish–American War. The new imperial overlords established a republican-style government – granting US citizenship in 1917 – but declared Puerto Rico to be an unincorporated territory to be held indefinitely under the plenary powers of the US Congress. American insular governors were appointed by the US President and the legislature was elected from the local population. The economy was led by American-owned modern sugar plantations, and regardless of improvements in education, infrastructure, and health, social conditions for the majority did not improve to the desired and expected levels. The Great Depression of the 1930s hit particularly hard for Puerto Ricans and unleashed island-wide instability.¹⁵

As social, economic, and political conditions experienced change and instability in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, different notions of nationalism also developed. Nationalism in both islands reflected the colonial heritage of each island and varied in form and meaning. Historical sociologist Juan Manuel Carrión compared nationalism in Puerto Rico and Jamaica to illustrate how these two islands while sharing a colonial Caribbean profile, differed significantly in their notions of nationhood. He centred on two critical individuals, Jamaican Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) and Puerto Rican Pedro Albizu Campos (1891–1965). Both leaders developed their nationalist ideas from plantation-style colonial societies and both were deeply influenced by their experiences while living in a racially charged USA during the early twentieth century. For Garvey, race and blackness, otherwise known as black nationalism, were paramount. While in the USA, he created in 1919 the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and saw the need to liberate blacks from white supremacy. In the USA, as in Jamaica since 1927, he was radical in his approach and staunchly an anti-imperialist, in accordance with an international sphere of black intellectuals. Nonetheless, Garvey reached out to the masses and argued for black pride and solidarity.¹⁶ He was jailed in the USA between 1925 and 1927, and lived in exile in London since 1935 until his death in 1940.

Pedro Albizu Campos was Puerto Rico's most radical nationalist; yet, he placed the creation of an independent nation-state above race. According to Albizu Campos, Puerto Ricans belonged to one race, the 'Hispanic', and such was the platform of the *Partido Nacionalista* (1922), which he presided over since 1930. Although a mulatto from Puerto Rico's racist plantation society, he saw Puerto Ricans foremost as a Hispanic and Latin American people occupied by US Anglo-Saxon invaders. In this regard, he viewed Puerto Rico as a key feature in Latin American resistance against US imperial interests in the region.¹⁷ Initially, Albizu Campos demanded independence from the USA through pacific means, but later incorporated the use of force. He was found guilty of seditious conspiracy in the murder of Francis Riggs, Puerto Rico's Police Superintendent, in 1936. He was in and out of prison since then until his death in 1965.

Although Garvey and Albizu Campos were Jamaica and Puerto Rico's most prominent radical nationalists, there were other leaders who sought a different way to conceptualize Jamaican and Puerto Rican nationhood. These leaders sought to develop national identities not by radically cutting ties with the empires, but working with them. In this regard, their views of the metropolises were not one of oppression, but as collaborators in local search for progress and well-being.¹⁸ While the majority of the population in Jamaica is black, there is

also a wide variety of ethnicities and races that complicate visions of Jamaican nationhood. As in other West Indian societies, creole nationalism developed strongly in Jamaica. This type of nationalism understood the nation as more than black nationalism, but one that included all possible races and ethnic groups in the island such as blacks, Amerindians, Europeans, Indians, and Chinese, all affected by colonialism.¹⁹ The Federation of Citizens Association was created to develop Jamaican creole identity and sponsor different cultural activities at the grassroots including plastic arts, music, and folktales.²⁰ Moreover, creole nationalism sought political liberation by embracing the same British political structures that had established colonial rule. F.S.J. Ledgister eloquently describes West Indian creole nationalism's synthesis as coming from British liberalism,

a liberalism that found it entirely acceptable to impose imperial rule on nonwhite peoples for their own good, which also furnished the intellectual tools to challenge it, and from an identification of the colonized peoples of the West Indies as having, in concert with British ideas and institutions, a contribution to make in a world that, for good or ill, was ... dominated by the West.²¹

In Puerto Rico, more than political nationalism, cultural nationalism was developed particularly by those who sought continued association with the USA. The idea was to celebrate a unique Puerto Rican identity as Latin people separate from the US's Anglo-Saxon identity.²² In that regard, the Spanish language and Puerto Rico's traditions in music, literature, and idiosyncrasies were taken as markers of Puerto Ricanness.²³ These could easily coexist with the US's values on democracy, rule of law, and US citizenship, and complicate a simplistic binary view of imperial oppressor/colonial victim.²⁴ Sport is another venue to see the liminal negotiations of colonialism and identity, as seen in the case of colonial Angola soccer during the 1960s, and in São Tomé's Sporting F.C.²⁵

These contending colonial nationalisms coexisted in Jamaica and Puerto Rico throughout the early and mid-twentieth century and informed colonial Olympism in both places. Their rise as sovereign Olympic nations cannot be understood without understanding their colonial context, and the particularities of their metropolises.

Negotiating Identity and Colonialism through Pan-American Athletic Diplomacy during the 1930s

The discussion to create a Pan-American multi-sport event goes back to the late 1939 as a result of the imminent cancelation of the 1940 Olympic Games. However, the idea of a regional Pan-American sport event occurred through the CACG since 1930. The first Central American Games of 1926 was a gathering of American countries to foster goodwill through Olympic sport, but only Mexico, Cuba, and Guatemala sent delegations. Yet, by 1930, the Games became a Pan-American event with nine countries attending (Cuba, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Panama), including the Anglo-American delegations of Puerto Rico/US and Jamaica/Great Britain. However, the colonial status of Jamaica and Puerto Rico, and their growing nationalism, made their participation problematic in fostering Pan-American solidarity, especially in the case of Puerto Rico. Contextualized in already contentious US–Latin American relations, a colonial Puerto Rican delegation portrayed imperialism rather than Olympism. For Jamaica, the idea was to represent British sportsmanship and the British Empire in times of a declining, but still relevant British presence in Latin America.

Participating at the 1930 CACG in Havana, Cuba, was particularly special for Jamaica since it was the first time that a Jamaican delegation participated outside the realm of British imperial possessions in an Olympic-style event.²⁶ The meanings of Pan-American athletic goodwill was not at all missed by the Jamaicans; indeed, they called the whole idea an 'Olympic venture'. Using the term 'Olympic' to describe these regional games is particularly important to consider. For small countries/colonies like Jamaica and Puerto Rico, these regional games, under the patronage of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), were just a step behind from the world Olympic Games. Whether they knew or not that the term Olympic is reserved for the global Games, they viewed the CACG as regional Olympics, and for Jamaica, in particular, as 'Pan-American Olympic Games'.

Although Jamaicans were clear of their colonial status, some sportsmen reflected growing ideas of nationhood. A reporter commented on Jamaica's leading newspaper the *Daily Gleaner* that 'the invitation from Cuba to this country (Jamaica) was essentially a national one', and that

had we failed altogether to send a team after the extraordinary courtesy and generosity extended to us by the Cuban government, it would have been a lasting disgrace, not only to the sportsmanship, but to national honours of this country – and would undoubtedly have been regarded as such by Cuba herself, and by every other nation competing.²⁷

While the national overtones are strong, Jamaicans also understood that they represented Great Britain and the British Empire because the invitation was also 'an Imperial one, since Jamaica is the only British country invited'.²⁸ Make no mistake, as Mathew Llewellyn states, since the early years of modern Olympism, the British Olympic Association in seeking a unified imperial British team at Olympic Games, considered their black colonies as incapable of sustaining advanced athletic competition mainly due to their inferior race.²⁹ Despite this point of view, the UK still had diplomatic interests in the Americas, especially in trying to revive Britain's decline after the First World War and compete with the US hegemony in the region.³⁰ Hence, the CACG were as much an athletic festival as an opportunity for British Pan-American diplomacy. Jamaica's invitation came from the Cuban organizing committee with particular interest from the Cuban Consul to Jamaica, Armando de León, and not initially from local circles.³¹ De León arranged for the Cuban warship *Patria* to pick up the athletes in Kingston,³² and was reported to have always 'taken a great interest in Jamaican affairs and has done his best to further the relations between Jamaica and Cuba'.³³

Although diplomacy featured prominently in Jamaica's first international sport event, popular support was equally present and strong. The delegation was sent off before a large crowd of some 500, being present the Consuls of Costa Rica, Panama, and other dignitaries. W.J. Palmer of the Jamaican Football Association said he was 'confident that the team would successfully uphold the honour of the Island and of the British empire'.³⁴ At the opening ceremony, in front of 25,000 spectators, Jamaica's Charlie Royes carried the Union Jack for Jamaica while God Save the King played in the background. Calling it the 'Pan-American Olympic Sports', a front page report captured the essence and importance of these games when the reporter stated that 'although the primary object of the games ... is to promote Pan-American good-will, the contests are also by way of preparation for the world's Olympics to be held in Los Angeles, Calif. in 1932'.³⁵

Jamaica also participated at the 1938 CACG in Panama. Many things had changed in the eight years since they participated at the 1930 games. Growing instability due to dire social and economic conditions led to labour revolts that peaked in 1938, and which saw the rise

of leaders such as Alexander Bustamante with heightened calls for independence.³⁶ Central to these changes was the emergence of a monumental figure in Jamaican history, Norman Washington Manley, a recipient of the Order of National Hero by the Jamaican State shortly before his death in 1969. A lawyer by trade and of mixed heritage, Manley is considered the best proponent of Jamaican creole nationalism. In 1938, he founded the People's National Party, arguing for increasing self-government, universal suffrage, and Jamaican national unity. He was part of the Jamaican leadership that was willing to work in unison rather than division and within the legal frameworks of the British Empire towards self-determination. Manley was also a sports hero, holding the Jamaican record for the 100-metres sprint of 10 seconds from 1911 to 1952.³⁷ In 1936, as part of his interest in using culture to develop a Jamaican national spirit,³⁸ he founded the Jamaican Olympic Association (JOA) and served as president until 1940.

Manley was both the political and Olympic leader during Jamaica's second participation at the CACG of 1938 at Panama City. Just as in 1930, Jamaica's participation at these games meant an opportunity for Pan-American diplomacy through sport, a vehicle for Jamaican nationalism, and an opportunity to showcase their Britishness. Before departing from Kingston to Panama, Manley, as Head of the JOA, sent a letter to all Jamaican athletes, which captures the diplomatic stakes of Jamaican international sport enterprise. The message also captures the dual meanings of Jamaican identity, one that was increasingly national (i.e. Jamaica) and British.

Everyone with whom you come into contact will judge Jamaica and our athletic system by your personal conduct, on and off the field. Your demeanor, observance of training rules, and discipline will come before the scrutiny of foreign countries ... Let us repeat that by your words and deeds not only you but Jamaica will be judged, and that is a responsibility which we believe we can place in you. It now rests on you to uphold the honour and reputation of the only British possession taking part in the games. Remember that to be modest and gracious in victory or defeat is the first and last essential of a British Sportsman.³⁹

Manley's sentiment was shared broadly, from the government to the people. At the Games' opening day, Gene Martinez, a reporter for the *Daily Gleaner*, eloquently put in words the meanings of the 'Fourth Pan-American Olympic Games':

We shall be there, and Jamaica has received a signal honour in being asked to participate in the competition. As the only English-Speaking nation to take part, we will not only compete as Jamaica but as representatives of the British Empire, and so, our boys and girls will be called upon to uphold the great tradition of true British Sportsmanship. That they will come through with colours flying, we have not the slightest doubt, and even if they go down in defeat in every department in which they have been entered, they will do so grandly and return to us with the knowledge that a bond of friendship has been welded with the other countries, a bond which will mean much to us in the years to come.⁴⁰

The proudest moment for Jamaica at the Games came on 8 February when Arthur Wint won in record setting time the 800-metres race, Barrington 'Flying Farmer' Grant won the 5,000 metres, and Beryl Delgado arrived in second place in the women's high jump. There was much excitement in Panama and in Jamaica as cables and radio transmissions reported the achievement. The athletes' reactions also provide us a window to not only the drama of the events, but also to the cultural exchange that these 'Pan-American' games promoted. 'Flying Farmer' Grant talked about his anxiety to a foreign crowd: 'You can all imagine how happy and proud I am ... I was fortunate to bring off a win, running in a strange country before an enormous crowd of Spanish-speaking people. I can assure you I was apprehensive

before this huge crowd.⁴¹ Arthur Wint, who is regarded today as a national hero in Jamaica for his record setting 400-metres race at Jamaica's first Olympic Games in London in 1948, said about his win in Panama: 'It was a glorious time for me when I stood up at the sports pedestal with the President of the Games pinning on the gold medal whilst the Union Jack was being hoisted and the band played God save the King.'⁴²

Although British sportsmanship and the British Empire were the official symbols of the Jamaican delegation, it must not be forgotten that national identity runs parallel during these performances. Ultimately, participating at the games were Jamaican athletes led by Jamaican managers, directly representing the Jamaican people and their hopes for self-determination. After the wins in 1938, Manley said that 'there is nothing but good news of our team ... they are proving splendid ambassadors of our island', without mentioning the British Empire.⁴³ Later, in addressing some incidents at the games, Herbert MacDonald, who became the JOA's President and the face of Jamaican Olympism, declared 'national pride above individualism is uppermost in every athlete's mind', yet as he also noted this was a small price to pay, when 'the Games in Panama have given better understanding of these Pan-American and Caribbean countries of Jamaica and Jamaicans.'⁴⁴ When the delegation returned to Kingston, another large crowd received them as heroes, some wearing green and gold rosettes,⁴⁵ colours of Pan-Africanism and eventual colours of the Jamaican national flag.

Puerto Rico's experience during the CACG of the 1930s was similar to Jamaica's growing sense of nationhood and in their mission to foster Pan-American goodwill, especially under the Good Neighbor policy.⁴⁶ However, it was different in that their colonial situation entailed a stumbling block for that same goal. That is, due to the US history of intervention in the region, many saw in the USA a threat to Pan-American goodwill. By the 1930s, the USA sought opportunities to reconcile this idea, and used Puerto Rico and the Olympic movement for this purpose. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, used these games to also exert some degree of diplomacy and foster growing ideas of national identity.⁴⁷

Like Jamaica, Puerto Rico first participated at the 1930 CACG in Havana, and the invitation came from the diplomatic sphere, specifically from the US Ambassador in Havana, Harry Guggenheim. Contrary to Jamaicans who travelled by boat, Puerto Ricans went to Havana through the up and coming Pan-American Airways, which by then had become the US government's unofficial instrument for air travel.⁴⁸ Flying through Pan-American Airways was a big deal for Puerto Ricans because it not only came as a result of public and governmental support,⁴⁹ but also for its symbolisms, mainly to showcase modernity, but also in symbolic Pan-American solidarity. There was indeed enthusiasm for the games, as seen in the coverage by Puerto Rico's leading newspaper *El Mundo*.⁵⁰

While the enthusiasm was clear, it might not be clear who was actually participating at the games, complicating again the binary imperial oppressor/colonial victim. As in Jamaica, Puerto Rico had the unique experience of representing two countries, the USA and Puerto Rico. While legally Puerto Rico was not a country, culturally and for centuries, Puerto Ricans had been identifying as a separate entity be it under Spain or the USA. For Harry Guggenheim and others (including Puerto Ricans), the Puerto Rican delegation was representing the USA in a Latin American Olympic event. It was somewhat different in the Puerto Rican press. Newspaper headlines read 'Arrangements that have been made so that Puerto Rico may be represented in the Latin American Olympics', 'By airplane to Havana depart today the athletes that will represent Puerto Rico in the Central American Games', and 'Puerto Rico in the Latin American Olympics'.⁵¹ Yet, like the Jamaican-British

delegation, Puerto Ricans at the opening ceremony used the US flag and played the US anthem. Throughout the 1930s, the idea of the delegation was to represent both Puerto Rico and the USA to foster Pan-Americanism. According to Puerto Rican Olympic authorities, the delegation was composed of 'American citizens and in addition to representing Puerto Rico, they carry the representation of the great American republic', who would help in 'extending bonds of fellowship between Puerto Rico, Central America and the United States'.⁵²

At the 1935 CACG in El Salvador, the idea of a Puerto Rican national Olympic squad became evident when Manuel Luciano, a nationalist, paraded with the Puerto Rican flag during the opening ceremonies. Later, after Fernando Torres Collac won gold in the shot put, the Puerto Rican flag was again raised while the band played the Salvadorian national hymn.⁵³ This incident was highly appalling to Frank P. Corrigan, Head of the US Legation in El Salvador, who quickly communicated the incident to the US Department of State. The incident, while an act of Puerto Rican nationalism, was a failure of US Pan-American diplomacy. To compound things, an article in the Salvadorian press said:

Cuba, today a republic, is more fortunate than Puerto Rico, without being either a state of the North American Union or an independent republic. But in the Central American Olympics Puerto Rico has been a nation. Olympically [*sic*] speaking, in San Salvador we have witnessed the birth of a nation: Puerto Rico. Its small flag with its single star, like a younger sister of the other flags, has been raised for the first time on the common flagstaff of the Central American standards. This took place on Salvadoran ground, the free ground of a self-governing people. The firm ground of a people who have declared their independence. And we shall never forget it.⁵⁴

The US interest in using Puerto Rico at the CACG for Pan-American diplomacy backfired because they did not take into account the rising nationalist sentiments in the island and the possibility of anti-imperialism at the Games. At El Salvador in 1935, the Puerto Rican delegation did very well, finishing in third place (after Mexico and Cuba) with 15 medals, five of each colour. During the arrival and welcoming party, a large crowd gathered, a sea of Puerto Rican flags covered the multitude, and newspaper reports celebrated Puerto Rican nationhood.⁵⁵ Indeed, Puerto Rican nationalist sentiment was at the highest in the mid- to late 1930s. A series of labour strikes, the violent discourse of the Nationalist Party, and police repression were the backdrop for the Ponce Massacre of 1937, when a peaceful parade by the Nationalist Party to commemorate the abolition of slavery turned deadly.⁵⁶ The police opened fire at the crowd, resulting in 20 deaths and nearly 200 wounded. With this in mind, the nationalists' acts at the CACG in 1935 were not treated lightly by the colonial state. Efforts were made so that during the games in Panama, the symbols representing Puerto Rico were unequivocally American. Justo Rivera Cabrera, Head of the Puerto Rican delegation to Panama, informed Governor Blanton Winship that 'Due to the fact that Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, our team will be carrying to the Central American Olympic Games the national flag, representing, as it will represent a part of the United States in said games.'⁵⁷ While officially the delegation represented the USA, for some athletes, the delegation was unequivocally Puerto Rican, and declared so publicly. Rebekah Colberg, pioneer female athlete at the CACG and first Puerto Rican woman to win a medal at the CACG, stated moments before departing for Panama: 'We go to Panama with our hearts filled with much enthusiasm. We will do our best effort to elevate the name of Puerto Rico during the Games'. She also thanked the support given by the interim Governor Rafael

Menéndez Ramos (Winship was eventually removed from office by the US president in 1939) and Commissioner of Sport and Recreation Teófilo Maldonado.⁵⁸

The CACG, hence, became an initial testing ground for several issues. From the point of view of the diplomats, governments, and even some participants, they were the first sustained attempt in Pan-American athletic diplomacy. Bridging the political and cultural bridges between the Anglo and the Latin Americas was in most people's minds at these games. However, given the nationalist currents in both Puerto Rico and Jamaica, the Games were also a perfect venue to nurture those ideas since these were athletic festivals for nations. They were, indeed, an important element in the ways some in these colonies saw an opportunity to negotiate the turbulent waters towards decolonization.

The PAG and the Road to Decolonization

Amy Spellacy studied the significance of Pan-Americanism for to the USA during the 1940s. Exploring the US's government discourse of the good neighbour, Spellacy maps out the flexibilities and inflexibilities of the good neighbour to 'both promote a sense of inter-American community and facilitate continued US economic and political domination of the hemisphere.'⁵⁹ What is left out of Spellacy's discussion is how the USA dealt with the contradictions of colonialism in promoting goodwill through Pan-Americanism. The organization of the PAG through the 1940s provides us with a window into this process.

Jamaica was part of the founding group of nations at the first PAG in 1951 in Argentina. They were not the only West Indian colonies to be present, as Trinidad and Tobago also participated. Puerto Rico did not attend. Puerto Ricans, like Jamaicans and other colonies in the hemisphere, faced different obstacles in their road to participation at the PAG. These obstacles included their colonial condition, which led to a second-class Pan-American Olympism. Nevertheless, once present at the PAG after the 1950s, Jamaica and Puerto Rico consolidated their Olympic movement, aspirations for political self-rule, and solidified national identity.

After the 1938 CACG, Jamaica found its niche within colonial Olympism. As the representative of the Anglophone world and British sportsmanship, they had a particular purpose in Pan-Americanism – to help bring the Latin and Anglo-Americas together. Although this role was also embodied by Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans were indeed Anglophone, while Puerto Ricans remained Latin American in culture, history, and language. As mentioned before, by 1938, Herbert MacDonald had consolidated himself as an important figure in Jamaican Olympism. He was a member of the Jamaican tennis team at the 1930 Games in Havana, serving also as the *Daily Gleaner's* representative at said Games. In 1938, he was the President of the Jamaican Amateur Athletics Association (JAAA). Although he helped Manley establish the JOA in 1936, MacDonald was the de facto leader.

A white Jamaican of Scottish ancestry, Herb MacDonald was a recipient of Jamaica's Sportsman Award, the IOC's Olympic Diploma of Merit (1967), and bestowed by the Queen Elizabeth II as Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.⁶⁰ However, following Jamaican increasing connections and relations with the USA,⁶¹ MacDonald sought closer ties with US athletics, including Avery Brundage. Both Olympic leaders were already in contact by March 1939, when Brundage sent MacDonald a book of the American Olympic Association.⁶² Although claiming British identity, Jamaican Olympism was certainly looking to the USA as a model in Olympism. Thanking Brundage

for his assistance and support to the JAAA, MacDonald confessed his admiration: 'I must apologize for being such a constant nuisance to you, but you will have to view yourself as our American Godfather, and grin and bear it'.⁶³

Julio Enrique Monagas, Puerto Rico's Olympic and sport leading figure during the 1940s and 1950s, also looked towards the USA not only for inspiration, but also to help in keeping through sport the colonial status quo.⁶⁴ And Brundage's support of Puerto Rico's Olympic aspirations was no different than Jamaica's. Throughout the 1930s to the 1950s, he made sure that Puerto Ricans would be present at different regional sport competitions. However, his interest was not always in favour of supporting a nascent Puerto Rican national identity, but perhaps to support the US's diplomatic interests in Pan-American confraternity and to grow the Olympic movement in general. In the early 1930s, Brundage presided over an American Olympic Committee that viewed Puerto Rico as part of it.⁶⁵ Once Puerto Ricans showed their nationalist leanings at the CACG and Latin Americans showed their support, Brundage, like a number of US diplomats, reconsidered their position and began supporting Puerto Rico as a separate Olympic entity. That is, in order to fulfil the mission of Pan-Americanism, US Olympic and political leaders could not silence Puerto Rican Olympic voice.

The efforts to reconcile colonialism and Pan-Americanism can be seen during the preparations and organization of the PAG throughout the 1940s. As the Argentine Government and Olympic Committee proposed to host the first PAG in Buenos Aires in 1942, questions over membership of the newly created Pan-American Sport Organization (PASO)⁶⁶ and who could participate at the PAG became more present, and problematic. That is, the PAG was an athletic festival to foster goodwill among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The keyword here, and one that must not be overlooked, is nation, which means precisely 'independent countries'. At the CACG, the issue of independent nation states was dealt with informally and through the intervention of diplomats. At the PAG, due to the presence of larger countries and the USA in particular, this not too small issue became more relevant.

The Caribbean delegations' colonial condition at the PAG was particularly relevant due to Latin American solidarity with Puerto Rico's independence.⁶⁷ Tracing the reactions to Pedro Albizu Campos's Latin American pilgrimage and beyond, historian Margaret Power shows the

deep bonds of solidarity that existed among and between Latin Americans, the importance that people throughout the hemisphere placed on securing a free and independent Puerto Rico, and the profound anger that many Latin Americans felt at the US government's imprisonment of Puerto Rican nationalists who fought to end colonialism in their country.⁶⁸

While Jamaica was not a colony of the USA, they had been adopted by the USA and represented, like the USA, Anglo-America. Hence, the problem of colonialism at the PAG was a Pan-Caribbean colonial problem.

Soon after Avery Brundage and Juan Carlos Palacios, President of the Argentinian Olympic Committee (AOC), began conversations about establishing the PAG, Puerto Rico appeared to be present in the conversations of Pan-American Olympism. In 1940, the AOC sent invitations to the Pan-American Congress to different 'nations' including Puerto Rico, but not Jamaica.⁶⁹ The Puerto Ricans replied to the invitation indicating their interest in the Games, but were not sure if they would be able to participate at the Congress. Brundage, perhaps noticing that the Argentines had not communicated with the Jamaicans, told MacDonald about the PAG and that he wanted them to participate.⁷⁰ It is clear that

Brundage wanted as many participants at the PAG as possible. It is also clear that he wanted no diplomats in the organization of the games, a policy of non-political intervention in Olympism that was so pre-eminent during his presidency of the International Olympic Committee after 1952.⁷¹ However, it is also clear that Brundage understood the diplomacy of international sport, as evident in his communication to Cordell Hull, US Secretary of State, in September 1939, regarding the benefits of the PAG to foster hemispheric goodwill: 'If your department has any official interest in such an enterprise, I am sure that the American Olympic Committee, consisting of practically all of the amateur sports governing organizations of the United States, would be happy to cooperate.'⁷²

The issue of colonialism was present early on in the discussion of the PAG. There needs to be two ways in understanding the PAG and colonialism: first, European colonialism (e.g. Jamaica), which was openly discussed and second, Puerto Rico, which was not as openly discussed. That is to say, Brundage was willing to talk and define the role of colonies such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Guianas, and others in the establishment of the PASO, but Puerto Rico was almost absent in the discussion. Colonialism was a difficult topic to address, not necessarily due to humanitarian grounds, but because it was a blatant admission of imperial politics in Olympism. For Brundage, as a US citizen, it must have been particularly difficult to address Puerto Rico's colonial situation in front of Latin Americans. At the centre of the discussion was whether colonies could participate at the PAG and if they could do so as full members of PASO. In other words, at stake was recognizing some sort of international voice and persona in sports to these colonies, when in formal politics, this voice was exerted by the imperial metropolis. Additionally, recognizing Puerto Rico as a colony in the PAG would unmask US's imperialism, potentially hindering the same efforts of goodwill all of these sport officials looked for.

The issue of colonialism was actually discussed during the first Pan-American Congress in 1940 in Buenos Aires, where neither Puerto Rico nor Jamaica were present. Palacios and others wanted a final and clear decision on the colonial problem, and appealed to Brundage, as President of PASO's Permanent Commission, for directions. Brundage replied in vague wording saying that: 'I agree with your view that while Canada is eligible to membership in our organization, being a self-governing dominion, colonies like Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, Curacao, Newfoundland, and the Guianas cannot be given full membership.'⁷³ Nonetheless, Brundage recommended a possible 'associate membership' status with no voting rights to be discussed in the next Congress. In addition to dismissing the topic until 1946, neither Palacios nor Brundage mentioned Puerto Rico. To some extent, Brundage appeared to be replicating a similar colonial relation the USA had with Puerto Rico, but within PASO. His point of view remained resolute until the second Pan-American Congress in 1948 at the Olympic Games in London.

Many things changed during the 1940s. The Second World War left England unable to support its empire as it once was. The Allies put an end to fascist Nazi Germany, and along with it came a realization of the dangers of imperial pursuits. As a result of this, a wave of decolonization movements spanned across the developing world, as the new world powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, entered into a Cold War in defence of two very different ways of seeing society, economic systems, and political regimes, which were also seen in international athletics.⁷⁴ There was also the need to revive the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games, and in our case, finally hold the PAG. The question over colonies in PASO re-emerged once again in 1946, with Brundage holding on to the idea that while colonies

could not be members, they could still participate in the PAG. However, in the light of new world developments, AOC's new President, Rodolfo Valenzuela, now under Juan D. Perón's anti-American discourse, pressured Brundage again for a final decision on the colonial situation. In 1950, Valenzuela told Brundage of the desire within PASO to have 'all countries of the continent' to take part in the first PAG.⁷⁵ He stated though that Brundage had the ultimate word as President of the Permanent Commission.

Although Puerto Ricans faced opposition from the US Department of State to participate in London and at the 1951 PAG, they were finally allowed to participate due to Brundage's intervention. He argued that Puerto Ricans had been participating in international games for decades and future participation at other international games would benefit US's foreign diplomacy.⁷⁶ Jamaica's case was somewhat different. The UK was in no position to limit the athletic will of its colonies, and the British Olympic Association debated over allowing colonies to participate at international meets. Contrary to earlier ideas that promoted a unified imperial British Olympic Association,⁷⁷ and despite efforts to reinvigorate the empire after the Second World War,⁷⁸ by the 1940s, Great Britain was in no position to uphold this desire, and had greatly diminished its political and economic presence in Latin America.⁷⁹ Claiming that to make a colonial subject participate for Great Britain solely on the basis of their British nationality was 'contrary to the spirit of the Olympic Games', it went on to say that if a person is born in a colony, he or she could not participate with Great Britain, but for his place of birth.⁸⁰ In other words, Jamaica and Puerto Rico simply took advantage of new political landscapes after the Second World War, decolonization movements, and changing attitudes by their respective empires to ensure Olympic participation.

For Avery Brundage, pressure from Latin America, changing political climates in the USA and Great Britain, and the need to foster goodwill in the hemisphere were enough to change his mind and now allow all countries and colonies to participate at the PAG, but also to become full members of PASO. In a 1950 letter to Valenzuela, Brundage declared:

From time to time there have been discussions of the position of colonies, such as Jamaica, Trinidad, Curacao, Puerto Rico, British Guiana, etc. in the Comité [sic] Deportivo Panamericano. The result of these discussions was that colonies should be eligible for associate membership, with voice but not vote. Because of the extensive sport development in some of the colonies it may be advisable to revise the Constitution to allow them to be eligible for full membership.⁸¹

The recognition of Puerto Rico was particularly special, as it was the first time he acknowledged it as a colony in the correspondence about the PAG. The Puerto Rican case was proving particularly troublesome for the USA, as not only it touched closely on issues of US–Latin American relations, but also the island was experiencing increased political volatility. On 23 October 1950, armed nationalist staged an insurrection in several towns and declared an independent Republic of Puerto Rico in the central municipality of Jayuya. While the revolt was quickly suppressed by the National Guard with the use of airstrikes (P-47 Thunderbolt planes), it placed the authorities on high alert.⁸²

While Puerto Rican nationalists fought for independence, the elected political leadership, in keeping close ties with the USA, sought self-government and eventually established the *Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico*, or Commonwealth, in 1952. As for international sports, although Puerto Rican sport leaders wanted to participate abroad, they did not want to hinder their relations with the USA. For the 1948 Olympic Games in London, Julio Enrique Monagas, President of the Puerto Rican Olympic Committee, actually wanted to participate carrying the US flag, but was not allowed due to the USA already being a

participating nation. For Monagas, who after 1952 would rejoice at using the Puerto Rican national flag in Olympic events, Puerto Rico's participation at the first PAG was not a good idea because it would mean having two delegations from the USA.⁸³ Puerto Rico's colonial status and its role in the PAG placed pressure on the US's Olympic image. Forney Ranking, a public affairs adviser at the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, sought Brundage's opinion on the matter. Utilizing very diplomatic wording, Brundage suggested the following approach:

In your letter ... I think perhaps a general reference to the benefits from international athletic competition would make a good preface to your remarks. You might then make special reference to Latin-America, since this is one field (there are not too many) in which they admit our leadership and desire assistance from us. This has been demonstrated by their repeatedly enlisting the services of our officials and coaches. This reference of course will have to be couched in diplomatic language to avoid any assumption of superiority.⁸⁴

Although not referencing to Puerto Rico as such, the letter summarizes the benefits of PAG diplomacy for the USA. Puerto Rico was considered as another US delegation, not only by US diplomats and government officials, but also by Puerto Rican themselves looking to benefit from political and economic association with the USA. If Puerto Ricans felt like another US delegation, it was not the fault of imperialism, but a recognition of a Latin American people seeing in the USA the model of Olympic athletics. While US colonialism in Puerto Rico was (and is) a reality, it is also true that many in Latin America saw the USA as the standard in sports (either to emulate or to beat), and that's the same reason why Jamaica also saw in Brundage their sports 'godfather'.

As mentioned before, Puerto Rico did not go to the first PAG in 1951. It looks like Brundage originally wanted Puerto Rico to participate under the USA. His initial solution to the US Government's denial of a separate Puerto Rican delegation was to have Puerto Ricans participate as part of the USA, but having a different flag. This idea was quickly abandoned and instead he argued for their separate participation.⁸⁵ It is unclear why he changed his mind, but Puerto Rican participation as a separate nation in previous international meets, in addition to the decolonization process that resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1952, might have played a significant role. The indecision regarding Puerto Rico's participation at the 1951 PAG dragged too close to the celebration of the games, and it became evident that Puerto Ricans would not participate. This was different from Jamaica who did not have problems from Great Britain to participate in Buenos Aires. However, the Jamaican public and the press disregarded the first PAG. There were very few, brief, and dull reports about the games in the local newspapers. For Jamaicans, the CACG were the first and premier instance of Pan-American athletic fellowship.

Despite this lack of interest, Jamaicans participated in Buenos Aires in 1951, and earned three bronze medals to the almost unnoticeable press coverage in Kingston. From here on, the PAG has been overshadowed in Jamaica by the Olympic Games due to their track and field success at this level.⁸⁶ Jamaica participated at the 1959 PAG under the uncertainty of the West Indian Olympic Association (WIOA). As it happened in 1951, newspaper coverage was slim. The squad had 55 members and was again led by MacDonald.⁸⁷ Coverage of the opening ceremonies did not acknowledge the newly created WIOA, but instead focused on Chicago's weather and the US squad.⁸⁸ The first round of medals (one silver and two bronze) that the West Indies (WI) won as an Olympic nation did reach the first page of the *Daily Gleaner*, but failed to have the enthusiasm of previous victories at the CACG or the Olympic Games.⁸⁹ During the 1950s, Jamaica navigated the shaky waters of a West Indian

Federation, which merged the NOCs of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados to other seven islands to create the WIOA in 1960.⁹⁰ Both Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley headed Jamaica's government as it transitioned away from Great Britain. Although the WIOA participated as such at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, it disbanded, as did the West Indies Federation (WIF), as a whole in May 1962. Jamaica's route to independent nationhood was achieved in 6 August 1962, with Alexander Bustamante being elected Jamaica's Prime Minister.

For Puerto Rico, the meaning behind the PAG was very different. Due to Puerto Rico's inability to earn medals at the Olympic Games (except sporadically in boxing), the PAG became an integral component in their Olympic cycle, a step above the CACG. Also, Puerto Ricans embraced the PAG because they were a venue that gathered the entire group of Latin American and Caribbean countries, not just Central America. The cultural, historical, and linguistic affinities at the PAG continued to work the bonds of Latin American solidarity, which went beyond the smaller CACG.

However, there was an added piece, particularly significant, that made the PAG special for Puerto Ricans, and different from the CACG. At the PAG, the USA was represented with its own delegation, and not through the Puerto Rican proxy. Given the coalescence of Puerto Rico's participation in international athletic events since 1930 and the progressive political changes towards autonomy, there was little reason to deny Puerto Rico's participation at the PAG. Therefore, Puerto Rican participation at the PAG along and separate from the USA was a clear indication that it had achieved sporting sovereignty. At the PAG of 1955 in Mexico City, Puerto Ricans for the first time officially paraded carrying their national flag as a separate nation from the USA. Julio Enrique Monagas captured the significance of the moment:

But this glory was more eloquent and fundamental when before our flag as under the melody of our hymn the entire United States delegation paraded, led by its Ambassador and its flag to pay then and there the salutation and acknowledgement and cordial affection of that distinguished North American representation to the national representation of our people.⁹¹

This moment represented not only Puerto Rico's first parade as a sporting nation, but also represented an achievement in the negotiations over sport sovereignty and political autonomy towards decolonization.

In addition to being a vital aid to the Commonwealth, Monagas, and his Public Recreation and Parks Administration (PRPA)/COPR was acquiring international relevance as a Latin American sports leader. This leadership also became official in 1955 when Monagas was elected President of the Statutes Committee of the PAG. This was not just any committee; this was PASO's 'most important committee', as declared by José de Jesús Clark Flores, newly elected President of PASO.⁹² Monagas was now in charge of the 'study and writing of the statutes and other regulations that govern these sporting events.'⁹³ Moreover, it was decided that Puerto Rico, under the leadership of Monagas, would have the honour and responsibility to coordinate the next PAG in 1959.⁹⁴ Hence, Monagas was not only leading Puerto Rico's national sporting presence internationally, but he was also becoming a key participant, a guardian of Pan-American Olympism.

COPR under Monagas's leadership was perceived by other Latin American NOCs as a separate and sovereign Olympic entity. After the 1959 PAG, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina requested a visit from Monagas to evaluate their Olympic track and field programmes.⁹⁵ This was because although the Puerto Ricans did

not win the track and field meets, they did place above many Latin American countries. More importantly, Monagas was perceived, and praised, as the key figure to help ameliorate conflicts and resolve difficulties between Latin American and US delegations. Hence, just as in Puerto Rico's introduction to the Olympic cycle in the 1930s, islanders entering the 1960s were still seen as the bridge between two cultures.

Despite the victories at the playing field and the successful struggle for international Olympic representation on the road to self-governance, the enduring effects of colonialism still plague both Jamaica and Puerto Rico. Stagnant economies on both islands, high unemployment, public debt, corruption, crime, volatile politics, and uncertain political status still endure amidst Olympic successes. While amassing 27 gold medals, 80 silver medals, and 121 bronze medals at the PAG, Puerto Ricans are still under the plenary power of the US Congress as an unincorporated territory and continue to depend highly on US subsidies. Jamaica has won 22 gold medals, 38 silver, and 60 bronze medals at the PAG, while having impressive and legendary runners at the Olympic Games. Yet, they also face another 'peculiar' postcolonial society where Britain is viewed overwhelmingly positive by the people. A 2011 poll found that more than 60% of Jamaicans thought the island would be better off under British rule, with 44% favouring the monarchical system and 35% a republican one.⁹⁶

But to call 'peculiar' Puerto Rico and Jamaica's political and sport identities is to undermine an important facet of the Olympic movement, Caribbean decolonization, and nationalism in the developing world. As illustrated in this paper, these facets are rooted in Pan-Americanism, in Puerto Rico and Jamaica's relation to their metropolises, and in Britain and US's relation with Latin America. Jamaica and Puerto Rico's colonial Olympism is an Olympism characterized by a struggle against the strictures of their own political and socio-economic limitations. Their engagement with the Olympic movement, while based on the same tenets as those professed by Pierre de Coubertin in the belief that through athletic competition nations could gather in international goodwill, was inherently different because these colonial people had to negotiate their Olympic hopes with the empires that ruled over them. While they participated at the CACG or PAG in the belief of advancing regional goodwill, they did so as much as for their own island/colonial interests, as for the direct and explicit diplomatic interests of two empires, the British on the decline, and the USA on the rise. It is not surprising that their road to decolonization produced different outcomes: Jamaica became independent to a declining British empire, and Puerto Ricans consolidated their colonial relation with a more powerful USA.

As this paper shows, there is a need to reconceptualize the idea of PAG in order to include multiple points of views throughout the hemisphere, especially those of the colonial Caribbean. Taking into account the diplomatic spirit and cultural exchanges that occurred during the early CACG, the PAG would seem to have begun as early as 1930. To be clear, the CACG's history should not blindly merge with the PAG, for these are two clearly separate Games. However, if the discussion revolves around Pan-Americanism within the Olympic movement, then there is certainly space to include the dynamics of the CACG. Lastly, colonial Olympism allowed not only to cement ideas of national identity, but to nurture them from inside colonial trappings negotiating the ambivalences of dual identities, the national and the imperial. Through the imperial façade lay increasingly strong and well-articulated visions of Puerto Rican cultural nationalism and Jamaican creole nationalism. In this regard, Pan-Americanism through sport gave Jamaica and Puerto Rico a powerful tool, perhaps the most notable, to perform and be victorious as nations.

Notes

1. John MacAloon, 'La pitada Olímpica', in Edward M. Bruner (ed.), *Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society* (Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society, 1984), 315–55.
2. While Canada is part of the Pan-American movement, it was not legally under a colonial status, but a British dominion, which brings another host of issues. See Matthew Llewellyn, *Rule Britannia: Nationalism, Identity and the Modern Olympic Games* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 53–4. Additionally, Canada was outside the geopolitical dynamics of the PAG.
3. For a comprehensive historical study of Puerto Rico's Olympic movement, see Antonio Sotomayor, *The Sovereign Colony: Olympic Sport, National Identity, and International Politics in Puerto Rico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).
4. Llewellyn, *Rule Britannia*; Philip A. D'agati, *Nationalism on the World Stage: Cultural Performance at the Olympic Games* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2011); John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Christopher Young, 'Munich 1972: Re Presenting the Nation', in Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (eds), *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup* (State University of New York Press, 2006), 118; Satoshi Shimizu, 'Tokyo – Bidding for the Olympics and the Discrepancies of Nationalism', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 6 (April 2014), 601–17; and Jennifer Adese, 'Colluding with the Enemy? Nationalism and Depictions of "Aboriginality" in Canadian Olympic Moments', *American Indian Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2012), 479–502.
5. Glos Ho, 'Reconnecting Colonial Imagination? Hong Kong People's Attitude Towards the London 2012 Olympics', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 18 (December 2013), 2209–22; Estée Fresco, 'Consuming Canada's Colonial Past: Reconciliation and Corporate Sponsorship in the Vancouver 2010 Olympics', *Olympika: International Journal of Olympic Studies* 21 (2012), 58–74.
6. Reiko Hiller, 'Cold War Conquistadors: The St. Augustine Quadricentennial, Pan-Americanism, and the Civil Rights Movement in the Ancient City', *Journal of Southern History* 81, no. 1 (February 2015), 117–56; Carol A. Hess, 'Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 1 (2013), 191–250; and Benjamin A. Coates, 'The Pan-American Lobbyist: William Eleroy Curtis and U.S. Empire, 1884–1899', *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 1 (2014), 22–48.
7. Cesar R. Torres, 'The Limits of Pan-Americanism: The Case of the Failed 1942 Pan-American Games', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 17 (December 2011), 2547–74; Christopher Gaffney, 'Mega-Events and Socio-Spatial Dynamics in Rio de Janeiro, 1919–2016', *Journal of Latin American Geography* 9, no. 1 (2010), 7–29; Martin Curi, Jorge Knijnik, and Gilmar Mascarenhas, 'The Pan American Games in Rio de Janeiro 2007: Consequences of a Sport Mega-Event on a BRIC country', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 46, no. 2 (2011), 140–56; and João Manuel Casquinha Malaia Santos, 'Brazil: An Emerging Power Establishing Itself in the World of International Sports Mega-Events', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 10 (2014), 1312–27.
8. Basil A. Ince, 'Nationalism and Cold War Politics at the Pan American Games: Cuba, The United States, and Puerto Rico', *Caribbean Studies* 27, nos 1–2 (January–June 1994), 65–84.
9. Germán A. De la Reza, 'Pan-Americanismo o Hispanoamericanismo? Los antecedentes formativos del Congreso Anfictiónico de Panamá de 1826 [Pan-Americanism or Hispanic-Americanism? The formative background of the Anfictionic congress of Panama of 1826]', *Revista de Historia de América* 147 (julio-diciembre 2012), 9–30; David Sheinin (ed.), *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 1–8.
10. Amy Spellacy, 'Mapping the Metaphor of the Good Neighbor: Geography, Globalism, and Pan-Americanism during the 1940s', *American Studies* 47, no. 2 (2006), 39–66.

11. Víctor Andrade de Melo, 'A presença e a importância do esporte na América Latina: Potencialidades e possibilidades do uso do método da história comparada [The presence and importance of sport in Latin America: Potentials and possibilities of comparative history methodology]', *Espacio Abierto: Cuaderno Venezolano de Sociología* 18, no. 1 (enero-marzo 2009), 41.
12. Antonio Benítez Rojo, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 72–81.
13. A classic in the exploration of Caribbean nationalisms is Franklin Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
14. For a history of the nuances and implications of the transition from slave labour to free labour in England's colonial possessions, see Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
15. For an overview of the political processes of US–Puerto Rican relations, see José Trías Monge, *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Pedro Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898–1932* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); and in education see Solsiree Del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of School in Puerto Rico* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).
16. Juan Manuel Carrión, 'Two Variants of Caribbean Nationalism: Marcus Garvey and Pedro Albizu Campos', *CENTRO Journal* 17, no. 1 (2005), 36–7.
17. *Ibid.*, 38–40.
18. In the British Commonwealth, ideas of nationalism and decolonization revolved around self-government within the Empire, not full independence. Anthony G. Hopkins, 'Rethinking Decolonization', *Past & Present* 200, no. 1 (August 2008), 218.
19. F.S.J. Ledgister, *Only West Indians: Creole Nationalism in the British West Indies* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2010), 27.
20. Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 52.
21. Ledgister, *Only West Indians*, 35.
22. Magali Roy-Féquièrre, *Women, Creole Identity, and Intellectual Life in Early Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), 30–4.
23. Jorge Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 125.
24. *Ibid.*, 131–3.
25. Marcelo Bittencourt, 'Futebol e colonialismo em Angola', in Victor Andrade de Melo, Fabio de Faria Peres, and Maurício Drumond (eds), *Esporte, cultura, nação, estado – Brasil e Portugal* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2014), 104–9; and Augusto Nascimento, 'Desporto e nacionalismo no caso do colonialismo e nos primeiros anos de independência de São Tomé y Príncipe', in Victor Andrade de Melo, Fabio de Faria Peres, and Maurício Drumond (eds), *Esporte, cultura, nação, estado – Brasil e Portugal* [Sport, culture, nation, state - Brazil and Portugal] (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2014), 87–90, 99–100.
26. Jamaica had played cricket in the USA and Canada in the 1890s. Hilary McD Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket. Volume 1, The Age of Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1998), 18–19.
27. G.St.O.S., 'The Olympic Venture', *Daily Gleaner*, 1 March 1930, 35.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Llewellyn, *Rule Britannia*, 53.
30. See Leslie Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America in Historical Perspective', in Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 17.
31. 'Jamaica Asked to Take Part in Olympic Games', *Daily Gleaner*, 10 April 1929, 26.
32. 'Last Day for Donating to the Olympic Fund', *Daily Gleaner*, 7 March 1930, 14.
33. 'Cuban Consul Here is Appointed to Post in Atlanta', *Daily Gleaner*, 11 March 1930, 1.

34. 'Jamaica's Team Sails for Havana Olympic Games,' *Daily Gleaner*, 10 March 1930, 6.
35. 'Jamaica Out of Pan American Soccer Event,' *Daily Gleaner*, 19 March 1930, 1.
36. See Richard Hart, *Towards Decolonisation: Labor and Economic Developments in Jamaica, 1938–1945* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1999), 19–29.
37. Victor Stafford Reid, *The Horses of the Morning: About the Rt. Excellent N.W. Manley, Q.C., M.M. National Hero of Jamaica. An Understanding* (Kingston: Caribbean Authors Publishing Co. Ltd., 1985), 24.
38. Ledgister, *Only West Indians*, 106.
39. As quoted in G. St. C. Scotter, 'The Olympic Message,' *Daily Gleaner*, 15 January 1938, 14.
40. Gene Martinez, 'To-day's The Day,' *Daily Gleaner*, 5 February 1938, 14.
41. "'Flying Farmer" Double Gold Medalist So Far in Pan-Olympic Sports,' *Daily Gleaner*, 10 February 1938, 1.
42. *Ibid.*
43. As quoted in 'Jamaica's Brawn & Skill: We Win at the Weight-Lifting & Tennis at Panama,' *Daily Gleaner*, 14 February 1938, 1.
44. Herbert MacDonald, 'What Price The Olympics?,' *Daily Gleaner*, 25 February 1938, 14.
45. Gene Martinez, 'The Boys Return,' *Daily Gleaner*, 16 February 1938, 14.
46. For Puerto Rico's role in Good Neighbor Policy, see Robert D. Johnson, 'Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbor Policy: Ernest Gruening and Puerto Rican Affairs, 1934–1939,' *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29, no. 1 (February 1997), 89–110.
47. For a detailed history of this dynamic, see Sotomayor, *The Sovereign Colony*, 2016.
48. As quoted in Amy Spellacy, 'Mapping the Metaphor of the Good Neighbor: Geography, Globalism, and Pan-Americanism during the 1940s,' *American Studies* 47, no. 2 (2006), 52.
49. Carlos Uriarte González, *80 años de acción y pasión, Puerto Rico en los Juegos Centroamericanos y del Caribe, 1930 al 2010* [80 years of action and passion, Puerto Rico at the Central American and Caribbean Games, 1930 to 2010] (Nomos Impresores, 2009), 12.
50. *Ibid.*, 12–16.
51. *Ibid.*, 12–13.
52. Memorandum to Robert Hayes from COPR, 1935, Fondo Oficina del Gobernador, Tarea 96–20, Caja 1799, 190, Archivo General de Puerto Rico (hereafter AGPR).
53. Uriarte González, *80 años de acción y pasión*, 19.
54. Local Editorial Regarding Puerto Rico, Letter dated 5 April 1935, No. 200, Box No.963, RG 126, Office of Territories Classified Files, 1907–1951, File No. 9887, Recreation and Sports, Central American and Caribbean Games, National Archives and Records Administration.
55. As appears in Félix R. Huertas González, 'Deporte e identidad en Puerto Rico,' *Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico*, 28 September 2010, http://www.encyclopediapr.org/esp/print_version.cfm?ref=09021302 (accessed 16 October 2013).
56. Luis Nieves Falcón, *Un siglo de represión política en Puerto Rico (1898–1998)* [One century of political repression in Puerto Rico (1898–1998)] (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Puerto, 2009), 100–10.
57. Letter dated 24 May 1937, addressed to Hon. Blanton Winship from Justo Rivera Cabrera, Fondo Oficina del Gobernador, Tarea 96–20, Caja 1799, 190, AGPR.
58. Samuel E. Badillo, 'Rebekah Colberg, la muchacha que quiso jugar ...,' *El Mundo*, 7 February 1938, 12. Women were first allowed to participate at the Central American and Caribbean Games in 1938.
59. Spellacy, 'Mapping the Metaphor of the Good Neighbor', 40.
60. International Olympic Committee, 'Jamaica and Olympism', LA84 Foundation, <http://library.la84.org/OlympicInformationCenter/OlympicReview/1980/ore155/ORE155m.pdf> (accessed 26 March 2015).
61. Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 43–4.
62. Letter dated 28 March 1939 from Herbert MacDonald to Avery Brundage. Box 145, National Olympic Committee – Jamaica. Jamaica Olympic Association, 1939–41, 1946–50, 1958–62, 1965–69, Avery Brundage Collection, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (hereafter ABCUIUC).

63. Letter dated 25 May 1939 from Herbert MacDonal to Avery Brundage, Box, 145. National Olympic Committee – Jamaica. Jamaica Olympic Association, 1939–41, 1946–50, 1958–62, 1965–69, ABCUIUC.
64. Antonio Sotomayor, 'Un parque para cada pueblo: Julio Enrique Monagas and the Politics of Sport and Recreation in Puerto Rico during the 1940s', *Caribbean Studies* 42, no. 2 (July–December 2014), 3–40.
65. Letter dated 14 December 1932, from George Graves to Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of Puerto Rico, Fondo Oficina del Gobernado, Tarea 96–20, Caja 1799, 190, AGPR.
66. Pan-American Sport Organization (PASO) was not the original name of this association, as it had been called Pan-American Sports Conference in 1940. A few years later, the name changed to PASO. For the sake of simplicity, this paper will use the current name of PASO to refer to this association.
67. Margaret Power. 'The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Transnational Latin American Solidarity, and the United States during the Cold War', in Jessica Stites-Mor (ed.), *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 25–30.
68. *Ibid.*, 23.
69. Letter dated 8 May 1940 from Juan Carlos Palacios to Avery Brundage. Box 222, Regional Games – First Congress, Pan American Sports Committee, Buenos Aires, Argentina, January–July 1940, ABCUIUC.
70. Letter dated 22 April 1940 from Avery Brundage to Herbert MacDonal. Box 145, National Olympic Committee – Jamaica. Jamaica Olympic Association, 1939–41, 1946–50, 1958–62, 1965–69, ABCUIUC.
71. Letter dated 29 October 1940, from Avery Brundage to Juan Carlos Palacios. Regional Games – First Congress, Pan American Sports Committee, Buenos Aires, Argentina, September–December 1940, ABCUIUC.
72. Letter dated 16 September 1939 from Avery Brundage to Cordell Hull. Box 222, Regional Games – Pan American Games, Cordell Hull, 1939, ABCUIUC.
73. Letter dated 7 October 1941 from Avery Brundage to Juan Carlos Palacios. Box 223. Regional Games. Pan American Games, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1951) 1941, ABCUIUC.
74. See Heather L. Dichter and Andrew L. Johns (eds), *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2014).
75. Letter dated 4 September 1950 from Rodolfo Valenzuela to Avery Brundage. Box 223. Regional Games – Pan American Games, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1951) September–December 1950, ABCUIUC.
76. Sotomayor, *The Sovereign Colony*, 2016.
77. Llewellyn, *Rule Britannia*, 53.
78. Hopkins, 'Rethinking Decolonization', 216–17.
79. Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America', 20–1.
80. Memorandum dated 7 April 1948 from Evan A. Hunter, Secretary, British Olympic Association to 'All Governing Bodies and Dominions and Colonial Olympic Committees'. Box 139, NOC – Great Britain, The British Olympic Association, 1948–55, ABCUIUC.
81. Letter dated 29 September 1950 from Avery Brundage to Rodolfo Valenzuela. Box 223, Regional Games First Pan American Games, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1951), September–December 1950, ABCUIUC.
82. For a comprehensive study of the Nationalist revolt of 1950, see Miñi Seijo Bruno, *La insurrección nacionalista en Puerto Rico, 1950* (Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1989).
83. As quoted in a letter dated 10 November 1950 from Foreny A. Rankin to Avery Brundage. Box 223. Regional Games – Pan American Games, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1951) September–December 1950, ABCUIUC.
84. Letter dated 13 December 1950 from Avery Brundage to Forney A. Rankin. Box 223, Regional Games – Pan American Games, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1951) September–December 1950, ABCUIUC.

85. Letter dated 23 December 1950 from Avery Brundage to Daniel J. Farris. Box 143, Comité Olímpico de Puerto Rico, 1935, 1947–1962, ABCUIUC.
86. Anderson, Hartley. 'Were the Pan-Am Games Really Worth It?' *Jamaica Observer*, 30 October 2011, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/sport/Were-the-Pan-Am-Games-really-worth-it_10045675 (accessed 11 March 2015).
87. Herbert MacDonald, 'WI Team of 55 for Pan Am Games', *Daily Gleaner*, 8 August 1959, 12.
88. 'PanAm Games Open with Pageantry', *Daily Gleaner*, 28 August 1959, 14.
89. 'One Silver, Two Bronze Medals to West Indies', *Daily Gleaner*, 30 August 1959, 1.
90. Letter dated 7 March 1958 from H.N. Walker to Otto Mayer. Box 145, National Olympic Committee – Jamaica. Jamaica Olympic Association. 1939–41, 1946–50, 1958–62, 1965–69, ABCUIUC.
91. 'Pero esta gloria fué [sic] más elocuente y fundamental cuando frente a nuestra bandera y bajo los aires de nuestro himno desfiló la delegación completa de los Estados Unidos, presidida por su Embajador y su bandera para rendir entonces y en aquel momento el saludo y reconocimiento y cordial afecto de aquella distinguida representación norteamericana a la representación nacional de nuestro pueblo', *Ibid.*, 3.
92. Teófilo Maldonado, 'Monagas Preside Comité Estatutos [Monagas presides statutes committee]', *El Nuevo Día*, 8 March 1955, 15.
93. *Ibid.*
94. José Prados Herrero, 'Escogen a Puerto Rico País Coordinador Juegos de 1959', *El Mundo*, 25 January 1956, 17–18.
95. Rafael Santiago Sosa, 'Monagas consultará con gobernador sobre gira atletas boricuas sur [Monagas will consult with governor about Boricuas Athletes tour to the south]', *El Mundo*, 7 September 1959, 22.
96. 'Give us the Queen!' *Gleaner*, 28 June 2011, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110628/lead/lead1.html> (accessed 18 March 2015).

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank César R. Torres and Bruce Kidd for the invitation to present this work at the 'Historicizing the Pan-American Games: An International Colloquium' at the University of Toronto – Scarborough, Canada, and to the rest of the presenters and audience for an engaging and productive discussion. Thank you as well to Rogério de Souza Farias and Margaret Power for their critical reading of this work and productive suggestions.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Antonio Sotomayor is an assistant professor, historian, and librarian of Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois.