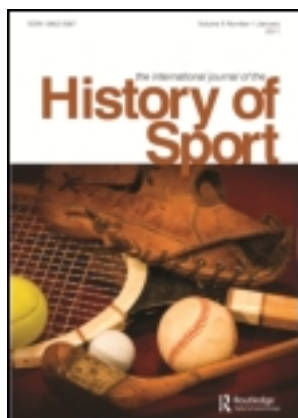


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From *la bomba* to *béisbol*: sport and the Americanisation of Puerto Rico, 1898–1950

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The concept of ‘Manifest Destiny’, which had been of interest to some Americans since the early 1800s, was made a reality by The Spanish-American War 1898. As a consequence of victory the United States gained control of the Philippines and the Island of Puerto Rico. The latter is the focus of this article. Education proved to be an especially useful means for the United States to impose its values upon the resident population. Games and sports were, in many ways, more influential. Within a short time children, youth, and adults were engaging in basketball, volleyball, and other sports for health and, more so, for enjoyment. The close proximity of Puerto Rico to the American mainland facilitated the introduction of baseball, which quickly became the Island’s most popular sport. In 1936 the Cincinnati ‘Reds’ were the first of a long tradition of major league teams that came to the island for Winter League training. Imported sports were of considerable value in bringing Puerto Rico into wider global affairs. Puerto Rico began participating in the Central American and Caribbean Games in 1930 – its athletes first participated at the Olympic Games in 1948. Whereas American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands ended in 1946, Puerto Rico remains an *Estado Libre Asociado* (Commonwealth).

Keywords: Sport as a socializing agent; sport and ‘soft imperialism’; the United States and Puerto Rico

Introduction

‘The Spanish-American War of 1898 was a watershed in the historical geography of United States expansionism. Unlike earlier territorial acquisitions such as northern Mexico, Alaska and the Louisiana Purchase, all the territories wrested from Spain after 1898 were held in some form of colonial possession, never to be incorporated fully into the nation-state’. These words, which open chapter 2 of Neil Smith’s book *American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, have particular relevance for Puerto Rico.¹

As the nineteenth century was nearing an end Theodore Roosevelt and various other Americans were becoming preoccupied with extending the United States’ presence into several parts of the world. This also was a period during which educators, social reformers and other individuals were beginning to turn to games, sports and physical training as ways to develop both health and positive social values in children and youth. Many believed that these also could be useful means to ‘Americanise’ their country’s large immigrant population.² The YMCA had similar, although not

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identical, objectives for the games and sports that it brought to China, the Philippines, Brazil and elsewhere during the 1890s and early 1900s. Within two years following YMCA representative David Willard Lyon's arrival in China in 1895 the first YMCA building was being erected there; track and basketball were two of the most popular Western sports that were introduced. Basketball and track also had attained considerable popularity in Manila by 1914, when an estimated half of all public school children were said to be engaged in some form of physical education activity.³

Several insightful accounts have been written about the bringing of Western sports and physical education to China,⁴ and a few have been written about their emergence in the Philippines.⁵ However, with the exception of Félix Rey Huertas González's *Deporte e Identidad: Puerto Rico y su Presencia Deportiva Internacional* (2006), Emilio Huyke's *Los Deportes en Puerto Rico* (1968) and books about baseball,⁶ as José Barbosa Muñoz has pointed out, it can be difficult to find detailed information regarding the introduction of American sports to the island of Puerto Rico.⁷ This article endeavours to help fill this void. Its focus is the period from 1898, when the United States gained possession of Puerto Rico, to 1950, when President Harry S. Truman signed Public Act 600, which allowed Puerto Ricans to draft their own constitution.

'Manifest Destiny' and America's 'colonisation' of Puerto Rico

Americans had begun moving westward across the continent well before the United States gained independence from Great Britain in 1783. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803, which ended France's claim to the region, opened an immense territory (more than 800,000 square miles) that extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the border with Canada. That same year President Thomas Jefferson authorised Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to lead an expedition to the Pacific Coast. A penchant for geographical expansion having been launched, in 1811 John Quincy Adams (who would become the sixth president of the United States) wrote: 'The whole continent of North America appears to be destined by Divine Providence to be peopled by one nation'. Territorial proclivities were strengthened when President James Monroe stated in his 1823 message to the Congress of the United States that further efforts by European governments to colonise the Western Hemisphere would be seen as an act of aggression.⁸

Although not all Americans approved of the idea, as the century progressed the concept of 'Manifest Destiny' (a term that appeared in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in 1839)⁹ became more appealing. Following the American Civil War (1861–65), urbanisation and industrialisation grew rapidly and greater interest in commercial expansionism ensued.¹⁰ By 1880 the United States had acquired Hawaii, Alaska and the Midway Islands. In 1885 historian John Fiske declared in an article published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*: 'The work which the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land on the earth's surface that is not already the seat of an old civilization shall become English in its language, in its religion, in its political habits and traditions.'¹¹ Such views were given support by articles regarding 'social Darwinism' that were appearing in many American publications and by beliefs that those of Anglo-Saxon descent were destined to bring the United States to a position of power.¹²

Europeans had 'discovered' the small Caribbean island that the Taino Indians called Boriquén ('Land of the Brave Lord') in 1493 during Christopher Columbus's second voyage to the New World.¹³ In 1508 Ponce de Leon, who had arrived with 50

soldiers in the harbour that he called Puerto Rico ('Rich Port'),¹⁴ was appointed by the Spanish Crown as the island's first governor. Several centuries of struggles with French, English and Dutch pirates ensued. The invasion of Spain by France in 1808 – part of the Napoleonic Wars, which lasted until 1815 – made the situation more difficult.¹⁵ Without adequate resources to develop the island's economic potential, in 1815 Spain issued a decree (*Real Cédula de Gracia*) that opened Puerto Rico to all countries and allowed 'non-Spanish immigration to the island'. The United States quickly took advantage of these developments and became the island's major trading partner.¹⁶

This brought certain advantages to the Puerto Ricans, but by the late 1800s some were becoming increasingly concerned about the United States' expanding role in the Caribbean. An editorial in *La Democracia* in 1894, for example, declared: 'The American nation is a dangerous neighbor, especially for Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.'¹⁷ Concerns became a reality following the short Spanish-American War of 1898. The Treaty of Paris (10 December 1898) ceded Puerto Rico as well as the Philippines and Guam to the United States, and Puerto Rico became a 'colony'.

Since before the war Puerto Ricans had been coming to the American mainland. The numbers increased markedly after the enactment of the Jones-Shaforth Act of 1917, which made them citizens of the United States. Many settled in New York City.¹⁸ When Puerto Rico began entering the Central American and Caribbean Games, the *New York Times* would carry brief announcements regarding its participation.¹⁹ By then it was typical for newspapers in Puerto Rico to include considerable information about a range of sporting events both on the island and in the United States. In addition to baseball teams and boxers, other athletes from the mainland arrived on the island and engaged in a variety of competitions. One of many instances worthy of note was the 1949 visit of the University of Pennsylvania's track and field squad, which competed against the Puerto Rican team that was preparing for participation in the Sixth Central American and Caribbean Games that would take place in Guatemala in early 1950.²⁰ From the beginning the United States had seized upon education as the major means for instilling American culture. John Eaton, former United States Commissioner of Education, quickly was brought to the island by military governor Brigadier General Guy V. Henry. With Victor Clark Eaton designed *las Leyes Escolares* (school laws).²¹ These established for the first time free public schools and brought about many other changes, one of which was that pupils were to be taught hygiene. According to Juan José Osuna (dean emeritus of the College of Education, University of Puerto Rico), the two major priorities of the *Leyes Escolares* were: (1) evaluate the existing system and (2) secure teachers who could speak English – an important step in bringing the island's curriculum into line with developments that were occurring in the United States. A major duty of the first 'supervisors' (American and English nationals who were residing on the island) was to instruct teachers and pupils in the English language. To help advance the desired changes the government also sent Puerto Rican teachers and a select number of students to the United States to 'study the English language and American school methods'.²²

The 1899 *Leyes Escolares* were successfully implemented by Martin Brumbaugh, who became Commissioner of Education for Puerto Rico in 1900. Teachers were brought from the mainland; education was centralised; the curriculum was reorganised; religious instruction was eliminated; and coeducation (formerly non-existent) was initiated. Training courses for teachers were begun at high schools in San Juan, Mayaguez and elsewhere; and a normal school was established at Rio

Piedras. Following the founding of the University of Puerto Rico in 1903 such courses would become part of its curriculum. (For almost 40 years – until 1942 – the official language of the University of Puerto Rico was English.)²³ Sports, recreations and ‘field days’ were formerly established during the 1907–12 administration of Commissioner of Education Edwin G. Dexter, who had stated in his address at the 1908 Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples that one of his goals was to establish ‘children’s playgrounds in the municipalities’ of the island of Puerto Rico.²⁴

The Department of Education and the Puerto Rico Teachers Association soon initiated a monthly bilingual magazine, *The Puerto Rico School Review/La Revista Escolar de Puerto Rico* (articles in English often used the term ‘Porto Rico’). Physical education, games and sports were among the topics to which it gave continuing attention. According to Osuna, by 1920 almost 45% of the island’s children ages five to 18 were in school; by 1940 the number had grown considerably. However, the majority of those who lived in rural areas still had ‘not gone beyond the third grade’.²⁵ According to Knowlton Mixer, slightly over 47% of grades one to eight used English as the language of instruction; 25% used Spanish; the rest used both languages. At high schools English was the primary language of instruction. Nonetheless, Mixer contends, many students had a poor grasp of English and there were thousands of children who could ‘find no place in the schools’.²⁶ (In 1948 Spanish would be restored as the primary language of instruction in schools, with English becoming the second language.)²⁷

In his book *Universidad de Puerto Rico: De Control Político a Crisis Permanente, 1903–1952*, Pablo Navarro Rivera describes the ‘repudiation’ that many Puerto Ricans had regarding the imposition of a different language. The rapid changes also were criticised by Osuna, who maintains that ‘instead of transplanting the America system, the approach should have been to establish a system of public schools, based on local psychology, adapted to local needs’. That way ‘a system of public schools embracing American ideals of education and yet adapted to a Latin American civilization’ would have emerged. Osuna also spoke of the importance that had been placed upon ‘patriotic exercises’ such as saluting the flag of the United States and swearing ‘allegiance to the great Republic which it represented’, and observed that American songs became popular with students as soon as they were sung in the schools.²⁸

If the imposition of the English language, a new curriculum, saluting the flag and American songs proved important in bringing Puerto Ricans into contact with certain aspects of the United States, what role did games and sports perform? As José C. Barbosa Muñiz points out, ‘extracurricular activities introduced into the schools with the American occupation’ previously had been unknown. However, within a short time these would have a significant role in transforming various aspects of the traditional culture.²⁹ González does likewise in *Deporte e Identidad*, which includes a reference to an article that had appeared in the 1902 *San Juan News* that commented upon the surprising ‘Americanization’ influence that the game of baseball was having on the island’s people.³⁰

Sports and recreation on the island of Puerto Rico before 1898 and the introduction of American sports

In 1898, when General Nelson A. Miles landed with 16,000 American troops on the south coast at Guanica, the typical pastimes of the Puerto Rican upper class had been

outings, classical and guitar music and dancing. Some men also engaged in fishing, hunting or fencing – a useful skill for duels of honour and prestige. In what little free time they had unskilled and illiterate labourers (who formed the bulk of the population) held parties, played the guitar, *cuarto*, and *guiro* and enjoyed *la bomba*, *seis chorreao* and other dances. Cockfighting was widely popular – and would remain so in spite of attempts to abolish it. In 1938 cockpits were said to be ‘found in every city and town’.³¹ Horse racing, enjoyed by both the wealthy and the poor, was thought to have been part of the festival season as early as 1707. It, too, continued to be well patronised. Matters relating to horse racing became a regular part of the ‘*Acontecimientos Deportivos*’ (‘sports happenings’) section of the popular newspaper *El Mundo*. In 1938, the *38th Annual Report of the Governor of Puerto Rico* listed three important race tracks in operation.³²

According to Eduardo Valero (president of the Puerto Rico Professional Baseball Hall of Fame), the first baseball game on the island of Puerto Rico had been played in 1896 by the sons and nephews of a Spanish Army officer who had been stationed in Cuba.³³ The American presence greatly extended its popularity. Before long teams were being formed at public and private schools, the University of Puerto Rico and University of Rio Piedras. Puerto Rican teams began engaging in inter-island competitions before the First World War. During the 1920s promoters brought in teams from the United States, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. The first of many major league baseball teams to come from the United States to the island for its spring training was the Cincinnati ‘Reds’ in 1936. The Puerto Rico Winter League,³⁴ formed as part of the 1938 National Semi-Professional Baseball Congress, consisted of six teams: the San Juan Senators (Senadores), Ponce Lions (Leones), Mayaguez Indians (Indios), Caguas Criollos, Humacao Oriental Grays (Grises Orientales) and Guayama Witches (Brujos). The league would have a significant role in developing the skills of many mainland as well as local players.³⁵ *El Mundo* and other publications often included extensive reports about National and American league baseball teams as well as Puerto Rican teams. However, it was not until after African American James Roosevelt (‘Jackie’) Robinson broke the ‘color-barrier’ in the United States in 1947 that black Puerto Ricans would have opportunities to play on the major league teams and their affiliates.³⁶ Such developments are set forth in Thomas Van Hyning’s *Puerto Rico’s Winter League: A History of Major League Baseball’s Launching Pad* (1995) and several other books.³⁷

The founding of the University of Puerto Rico had helped to foster the growth of athletics. Teams soon were organised in baseball and other sports, and an athletic field and other facilities were built.³⁸ At the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, which opened in 1911 at Mayaguez, students had similar opportunities. Enthusiasms had become so great by 1925 that the college set aside \$3.50 per student to support the athletic programme. Following its founding in 1912, the Polytechnic Institute at San German also constructed athletic facilities where students could engage in baseball, basketball, volleyball, tennis and other physical activities.³⁹

Sporting activities begun at high schools in San Juan, Ponce, and other towns also would grow. According to Francisco Faberelle (instructor of physical culture in the San Juan School District), the first insular interscholastic athletic meet had been held in 1905. The principle contenders were San Juan’s Central High School, Ponce High School and the University of Puerto Rico (then known as the Normal School of Rio Piedras). Meets that involved baseball, basketball and track were held regularly

before the outbreak of the First World War.⁴⁰ According to Osuna, by 1913 there were 44 school teams in baseball, 18 in track and two in basketball. By 1914–15, the numbers had grown to 73 in baseball, 39 in track, and 58 in basketball.⁴¹ As was typical in the United States, sporting events engaged in by females usually would be only of the intramural type.

School-based sports grow and physical education becomes a part of the curriculum

The position of supervisor of physical education was initiated in 1913–14 and a course of study in ‘physical training’ was developed for use by the teachers.⁴² According to Pedro Aran this ‘good start’ did not last as the position soon was eliminated from the budget. Some teachers continued their efforts, but the work was described as ‘not satisfactory’ and physical training began to decline.⁴³ In 1921 the Puerto Rican Legislature restored the supervisor of physical education position. Events that were occurring in the United States surely were factors. In 1916 New York had enacted the first state law making physical education a required part of the curriculum and appointed Thomas Storey, MD, as the first state supervisor of physical education. Many other states soon would do likewise.⁴⁴ In 1922, at the request of the Commissioner of Education of Puerto Rico, a representative of the United States Children’s Bureau⁴⁵ was brought to the island and a study of local conditions was launched. In consultation with local teachers, Martha Travilla Speakman (a member of the Children’s Bureau staff) prepared a *Brief Manual of Games for Organized Play* to help fill the schools’ needs. Special teachers were assigned to various districts to teach callisthenics, games and sports;⁴⁶ a summer course in physical training (open to women as well as men) was created;⁴⁷ and the University of Puerto Rico began to offer extension classes.⁴⁸

Although support given to physical education had declined, interest in school-based sports certainly had not ceased. When the Eleventh Annual Track and Field Meet of the Schools of Puerto Rico was held at Ponce, the Island’s second largest municipality, in 1922, 27 schools participated.⁴⁹ Because teams from the larger schools (i.e. San Juan High School, Ponce High School) regularly predominated, smaller schools began to lose interest; therefore it was decided to create four competitive categories. In 1924 30 schools took part in interscholastic track meets.⁵⁰

By 1926 109 school athletic associations had been organised. According to Edith M. Irvine-Rivera, basketball tournaments held at the small towns of Naguabo and San Lorenzo, track meets held at Yauco and Ponce and similar events had helped increase interest. (She also records the active participation of 80 baseball teams, 124 basketball teams, and ten volleyball teams throughout the island.)⁵¹ Following a pattern that had emerged during the 1920s in the United States, during the years 1930 to 1940 health education would replace physiology and hygiene and ‘physical training’ would take on the designation ‘physical education’.⁵² To foster interest among residents, in 1926 a physical culture exhibition was held jointly with an agricultural, industrial, and academic exhibition at Caguas. That same year another physical education exhibition held in connection with the Seventh Annual School Exhibit was attended by delegates from Puerto Rico’s Senate and House of Representatives.⁵³

American physical educators – men as well as women – were becoming increasingly concerned about dichotomies that existed between educationally-oriented sports for all students and competitive contests that involved only the

most talented athletes. Addressing the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Society of Directors of Physical Education in Colleges in 1921, Edgar Fauver, MD (director at Wesleyan University) spoke for many of his contemporaries when he declared:

I can find no place for intercollegiate athletics, as at present conducted in most colleges, in a physical education program. . . . Physical education considers the individual and through a wise selection of activities, gymnastics, and more especially athletic sports, endeavors to give him health, neuro-muscular training, and physical strength.

By contrast the aim of intercollegiate athletics was ‘the winning of games’. To try to ensure the continuance of broad-based programmes for females, Mabel Lee and other women launched the ‘Every Girl in a Sport – A Sport for Every Girl’ movement in the United States.⁵⁴

A similar problem regarding such matters seems to have been growing in Puerto Rico. Writing for the *Puerto Rico School Review*/*La Revista Escolar de Puerto Rico* in May 1926, Antonio Gordian (athletic instructor for the Ponce District) noted that many people in Puerto Rico had become ‘so fanatic that they pay considerably more attention to athletic activities than to all other activities put together’. Champion athletes were idolised and the word ‘amateur’ was largely ‘unknown to the great majority of our people’.⁵⁵ In an effort to maintain an educational emphasis the *Puerto Rico School Review* decided to remind readers that it was important that any boy or girl who participated in an athletic event was a student.⁵⁶ By late 1929 the island’s five sectional athletic leagues included 22 high schools and 54 elementary schools.⁵⁷ According to the *Report of the Puerto Rico Commissioner of Education* for the years 1929–1930, the major efforts of the Department of Physical Education had been ‘the organization of athletic associations, the holding of athletic meets, the construction of athletic fields’, the advancement of ‘those sports in which many can take part instead of a privileged few’, and the promotion of boys’ and girls’ Scout troops.⁵⁸

In a 1929 article entitled ‘Girls Also Have Their Share in Physical Education’, Julio Fiol Negrón maintained that whereas formerly success had been measured by those boys’ teams that succeeded in annual athletic meets, interest in ‘participation for all, the girls with the same rights as the boys’ was on the rise in Puerto Rico. He seemed pleased to state that in a society where women traditionally had been seen as delicate, light-skinned, romantic and highly sensitive, a new programme ‘in which all girls have a chance to participate’ was building the foundations for an ‘ideal future womanhood’. (Three photographs of girls engaging in games accompanied Negrón’s article.) Imported sports and other activities would continue to modify traditional beliefs regarding what was appropriate for females. A 1931 article dealing with ‘urgent needs’ of the University of Puerto Rico cited as one of these ‘needs’ a new building that would serve as an auditorium and gymnasium to accommodate women as well as men.⁵⁹

However, for most people the power of an agonistic contest was – and remains – far more appealing than do games and sports for the general student. Writing about ‘Island Sports and Sportsmen’ in his 1938 book *Puerto Rico and Its People*, Trumbull White observed:

Pessimists declare that the idealized concepts of sport and fair play in Puerto Rico are not inviolate. They aver that umpires get beaten up somewhat oftener than is the custom farther north; that games sometimes end in rioting . . . and that between rival college teams the townspeople and the student body alike sometimes break through the barrier

over an unpopular ruling and make the visiting team, as well as their own townsmen umpires, take flight. . . . They just can't stand defeat, it is alleged.⁶⁰

The YMCA was one of the organisations that opposed such attitudes and continued to strive to emphasise the 'fair play' attitude regarding competition.

The role of the YMCA and other groups

In a *Report* dated 23 June 1909, George F. Tibbitts (the YMCA's secretary for the West Indies) and Cameron Beck (associate secretary for the YMCA in Puerto Rico) had noted that plans had been drafted for a YMCA building at Guanica. It was to include a library, reading room, educational class rooms, gymnasium and shower baths. Additionally, the mayor of Hatillo had offered the Y a lot upon which to build.⁶¹ By 1914 the YMCA had opened a building in San Juan and created opportunities for basketball, volleyball and tennis. In 1916 110 boys and young men participated in the Y's first track meet.⁶²

In the 1915–16 *Report of the Physical Director of the San Juan Young Men's Christian Association* A.F. Grimm stated that support from the Acting Governor of Puerto Rico, a judge of the Supreme Court, a judge of the District Court, the best surgeon in Puerto Rico and other notables was bringing prestige to the Y's work. Since the leader's training class had been initiated, 15 young men had received certificates and three of them had gone on to direct athletics for the Boys' Club of the Presbyterian Church and the Blanche Kellogg Institute, a Congregational school.⁶³ The introduction of basketball and volleyball, Grimm believed (or at least hoped), was increasing the community's interest in the work of the YMCA. Five teams had participated in its basketball league during 1915–16, and YMCA members had coached boys from Central High School. A group of American ladies had requested use of the Y's gymnasium for exercises and had asked to learn about basketball. Girls from the Presbyterian Church also had been introduced to the game. Although at the time it was not usual for Puerto Rican women to 'participate in any forms of athletics', the Y had taught basketball to 12 'lady teachers' from Acosta Grammar School and coached two of that school's girls' teams. Basketball would become an especially important sport for girls and women. The form that they played was the modified version that females usually played in the United States.⁶⁴ Additionally, two groups of girls had been taught volleyball by some of the Y's businessmen, and others were playing the game in various parts of the city. Some had become so enthused that they were expressing hope that a YWCA soon would be built.⁶⁵ Grimm was far less enthusiastic when referring to baseball. Sunday was 'the big sporting day' in Latin American countries and Sunday was baseball's 'big day' on the island of Puerto Rico. However, because the YMCA had 'a firm stand not to participate in any sport conducted on Sunday' it decided not to continue baseball.⁶⁶ Gerald Gems includes this important point in the chapter dealing with Puerto Rico of his book *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Imperialism* (2006).⁶⁷ He also makes another significant point – one that Grimm alluded to when he stated in the 1915–16 *Report* that the San Juan YMCA's membership was of 'white, of Spanish, or Spanish-Indian origin'. (Black membership was prohibited even though black Puerto Ricans had contributed money for the construction of the building. Apparently the physical director of the San Juan YMCA, W.G. Coxhead, returned the application fees that black Puerto Ricans had paid.) As Gems states, 'For Puerto Ricans, class carried more weight than the color of one's skin. For Americans, skin color determined class.'⁶⁸

Grimm had been hopeful that offering 'special contests and demonstrations' throughout the island would promote greater interest in athletics, and that this would lead to bringing more young men into the YMCA and interesting them in Christian leadership.⁶⁹ To help enhance such interest ten acres had been obtained at El Yunque National Forest on the Mameyes River and efforts were under way to build a boys' camp. The 1928 *Annual Report of the General Secretary, San Juan YMCA* indicated the membership at year's end was: boys, 132; young men, 259; and businessmen, 88. Another 28 were listed as either 'non-resident' or 'limited'. The fact that this total was 30 persons less than what membership had been in 1927 was attributed largely to effects brought about by a cyclone.⁷⁰ On 26 September 1932 another major storm destroyed the camp at El Yunque and inflicted a great deal of damage upon the Y's building in San Juan.⁷¹ The Great Depression now was well under way and the YMCA's situation was made especially difficult by the financial failure of the Banco Territorial Agrícola, where all of its funds had been deposited.⁷²

The YMCA's early influence with the masses seems to have been limited. Writing for the 'Department of Physical Education' section of *the Puerto Rico School Review* in 1927, Frank Campos (who had trained with the YMCA in Chicago) stated: 'I hope that some day the San Juan YMCA, the Knights of Columbus and other agencies promoting physical education in Porto Rico will be in a position to carry physical activities to boys and men outside of the building where very little of our work is being conducted now-a-days.'⁷³ By 1940 the work of the YMCA (which also introduced the game of softball to the island) had grown considerably.

Contributions of the Playground Association of America and other mainland organisations

The YMCA was not the only United States organisation that sought to promote play and athletics in foreign countries.⁷⁴ The Playground Association of America, founded in 1906, also was quite active. As of 1909 the Playground Association of Puerto Rico had only one playground – in Ponce. In an effort to increase the number, the Commissioner of Education for Puerto Rico sought the support of local school boards and municipalities throughout the island. The General Superintendent of Schools was dispatched to visit towns, inspect possible sites for playgrounds and advise local authorities regarding proper types of apparatus. Henry S. Curtis, a pioneer in playground work, was brought from the mainland to give several illustrated lectures. Interest seems to have increased. Before long a total of 57 acres of land in 52 towns had been set aside for playgrounds and more than \$20,000 had been expended for apparatus.⁷⁵ Even so, at many schools play space remained very limited. In the hope of helping teachers make better use of the recess period, Claude S. Field (supervisor of schools for the town of Arroyo) described a number of games that could be used, linking these to the neuromuscular, physiological, social and other benefits that could be derived.⁷⁶ Prompted by the United States Children's Bureau having made recreation an important part of the 1921–22 Children's Year, a 20-minute play period had been made obligatory in Puerto Rico for 'every class from the first to the sixth grade'.⁷⁷ Soon *The Playground* (the Playground Association of America's journal) enthusiastically was reporting that 'play ha[d] been introduced as a regular part of the program at nearly one hundred schools' on the island. By 1922 eight instructors had been added and more land for playgrounds and athletic fields had been donated.⁷⁸ The Puerto Rican Commissioner of Education and the island's district superintendents gave their support; regular training classes in organised play

were held weekly for teachers in San Juan and Santurce; and demonstration classes were made available at teachers' institutes throughout the island. The activities ranged from simple games for little children to more complicated ones for older children. To help foster these developments there had been events like the Play Day at Utuado, which, it was claimed, had been attended by more than one hundred teachers and 'all the boys and girls from the high schools'.⁷⁹ By 1926 there were 102 playgrounds at urban schools and 106 playgrounds at rural schools. In early 1924 *The Puerto Rico School Review* had noted that the Girl Scouts of America were being organised on the island by Ethel B. Sawyer.⁸⁰ Within four months three Girl Scout troops had been started in San Juan and one each in Utuado, Ponce and Rio Grande.⁸¹ A number of 'prominent women' added their support, and by 1929 there were 21 troops (comprising about 500 girls and 32 leaders) on the island.⁸² Although sports received no attention in articles dealing with the Girl Scouts, trips, hiking and Red Cross work such as that which they had contributed following a September 1928 hurricane did. According to the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1929–30*, promotion of boys' and girls' scout troops, the organisation of athletic associations, the holding of athletic meets and the construction of athletic fields had been major goals.⁸³ It also was in 1930 that Puerto Rico first participated in the Central American Games.

The Central American and Caribbean Games and other events

In 2010 the Central American and Caribbean Games,⁸⁴ the world's oldest regional games, were held at Mayaguez. They had been held twice before in Puerto Rico – at San Juan in 1966 and at Ponce in 1993. When the first Central American Games (soon renamed Central American and Caribbean Games) were held at Mexico City in 1926 only Mexico, Cuba and Guatemala had participated. Puerto Rico began its participation at the second games, which were held at Havana, Cuba, in 1930. Félix Rey Huertas González provides a useful overview of Puerto Rico's engagement in these games in his aptly titled book *Deporte e Identidad: Puerto Rico y su Presencia Deportiva Internacional (1930–1950)*.⁸⁵

Having received an invitation to participate in the forthcoming games, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who was serving as governor of Puerto Rico, immediately set forth instructions for the creation of an athletic commission and funds were raised to send a delegation of Puerto Rican athletes to Havana. The Puerto Rican team won three silver medals – two in athletics and one in shooting. (The riflemen were members of the 65th Infantry, an all-volunteer Puerto Rican regiment of the United States Army.) During the opening ceremonies the 'symbols' of the team were those that reflected 'Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States'. Track athlete Juan Juarbe Juarbe carried the American flag.⁸⁶ An article on the website of the *Fundación Puertorriqueña de las Humanidades* entitled 'Sports and Identity Formation in Puerto Rico' speaks quite positively about the significance of Puerto Rico's entry into the Central American and Caribbean Games in 1930.⁸⁷

In his recent book *La Era de Oro del Atlétismo Puertorriqueño, 1930–1960* José Barbosa Muñiz provides valuable information regarding the Havana Games and other developments that brought Puerto Rican athletes into the world arena.⁸⁸ A major figure in these developments was George V. Keelan (associate professor of education at the Rio Piedras branch of the University of Puerto Rico), who had come to the island in 1908. At the 1938 games, which were held at Panama City, Puerto

Rico received first place ranking by winning 11 gold, seven silver and six bronze medals. Their successes received extensive attention in *El Mundo*, which now often noted the successes of the female athletes.⁸⁹ The catalyst had been Rebekah Colberg, who in 1932 had begun a 14-year career as Puerto Rico's women's tennis champion and would become known as 'The Mother of Women's Sports in Puerto Rico'. At the 1938 Central American and Caribbean Games⁹⁰ – the first that included competitions for women – she won gold medals in the discus and javelin.

Changes in traditional attitudes regarding women were becoming more rapid in several countries. A two-column article sub-titled 'Latin American Girls' Part in the Panama Olympics Seen as Step to Equality', published in the *New York Times* in 1938, included statements like 'the Olympic Games have broadened the scope of [women's] activities until they include . . . almost every sport of the men except weightlifting, boxing, and wrestling'.⁹¹ At the Barranquilla, Colombia, games in 1946 Colberg would win a gold medal in softball. An accomplished 'all-around athlete', she also played on field hockey and lacrosse teams while studying for a master's degree in the United States at Columbia University and was a member of the undefeated women's basketball team at the University of Mexico, where she had gone to study medicine.⁹² The 27 February 1938 *New York Times* article also had included the statement: 'Practically every daily newspaper in Latin America and a majority of the weekly magazines devote much space to sport today.'⁹³ This certainly was the case in Puerto Rico, where *La Democracia*, *El Mundo* and other publications often devoted several pages to horse racing, baseball, boxing and many other sports. Formerly illegal, both amateur and professional boxing had been legalised in 1927. There ensued what Huyke has referred to as *La Era del Oro del Boxeo* in Puerto Rico. *El Mundo* became filled with announcements and reports of matches at the Victory Garden Stadium and other arenas.⁹⁴ In 1936 bantamweight Sixto Escobar became the first Puerto Rican to win a professional world championship. In recognition of this and his other accomplishments, a large statue was erected in his home town of Barceloneta and a stadium in San Juan's Muñoz Rivera Park was named in his honour. Bantamweight boxer Juan Venegas won a bronze medal at the London Olympics in 1948, the first time that Puerto Rico entered Olympic competition. Three officials and nine athletes, one of whom was pole vaulter José Barbosa Muñiz, participated. Since then Puerto Rico has won five more Olympic medals – all in boxing. At the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, which the United States boycotted, three Puerto Rican boxers participated.⁹⁵ Two hundred and nine athletes from Puerto Rico participated in the 15th Pan American Games, which were held in Rio de Janeiro in July 2007; they won three gold, six silver, and thirteen bronze medals.⁹⁶

The national Olympic committee for Puerto Rico had been established in 1948. Its first president, Germán Rieckehoff Sampayo, was born in Puerto Rico of German immigrant parents. An accomplished athlete and swimmer while a youth, Rieckehoff had become interested in the Olympics while studying at the University of Puerto Rico, from which received a law degree. He also completed a bachelor's degree at the University of Minnesota. In 1942 he took a Puerto Rican basketball squad to Spain for a series of contests with el Real Madrid (founded in 1932 as a division of the Real Madrid football club) and other teams.⁹⁷ Puerto Rico's major basketball league, *Baloncesto Superior Nacional*, was founded in 1932 as the *Federation Insular de Baloncesto* (Island Basketball Federation). Several of its players have gone on to play in the United States with the National Basketball Association (NBA) and with various European teams. At the 2008 FIBA World Olympic Qualifying Tournament

at Athens, the Puerto Rican men's basketball team lost to Germany by a score of 96–82 for the third place standing.⁹⁸ A win would have made the team eligible for the Beijing Olympics.

What had things been like on the eve of and following America's entry into the Second World War?

In 1940 the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, in cooperation with the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration, had compiled an extensive *Guide to Puerto Rico*. In addition to a short chapter dealing with 'Sports and Recreation', the opening 'General Information' section contains brief comments about baseball, basketball and other sports that had been brought to the island after the Spanish-American War. Amateur basketball was being played at schools, the YMCA, the University of Puerto Rico, at the Casa de España⁹⁹ (said to be 'the social center of the Spanish colony') and on private courts throughout the island.¹⁰⁰ Referred to as a major 'center of youth activities in San Juan', the YMCA (now a three storey concrete building with swimming pool, tennis and basketball courts, gymnasium and recreation room) also served as headquarters for the Boy Scouts of Puerto Rico.¹⁰¹

Volleyball could be played at the YMCA, at schools and at the Casa de España. For tennis there were facilities at the YMCA, Casa de España, the Yacht Club, the Berwind Club in Mayagüez (the third largest city on the island), the Country Club in Condado, the Union Club in Miramar and at private clubs. Golf could be played at the Berwind Country Club and El Morro Military Reservation as well as at private clubs and luxury hotels. Although Puerto Rican Juan 'Chi Chi' Rodríguez became a world champion during the 1960s, the game never gained much popularity with most of the island's population. During the Second World War American football sometimes was played by mainland troops stationed on the island; however, this game also never gained much favour although simple games of 'touch football' sometimes were played by university students and on vacant lots and the streets. Soccer football, which recently has been attracting more attention, also was not being widely played¹⁰² – a situation quite different from what could be found in most South American countries.

As threats of world war became imminent, the United States had decided to establish a Caribbean Defense Command with three sections: Panama, Puerto Rico and Trinidad. Puerto Rico was selected to serve as the major location for an airbase to protect Atlantic shipping and the Panama Canal.¹⁰³ By 1941 sports were so well established in Puerto Rico that the baseball, softball and track teams that would be formed at Fort Brooke, Fort Buchanan, Borinquen Field and other bases on the island were likely to be composed more often of Puerto Rican servicemen than of servicemen from the mainland.¹⁰⁴ To enlarge the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station, built in 1943 at Ceibo, land was purchased on the small island of Vieques, a short distance from the east coast of Puerto Rico. Even though the original purpose never was fully implemented, this troubled a number of individuals. In 1947, Rieckehoff decided to found an association of Viequenses to fight the US Navy's presence on the island. It also was in 1947 that the United States granted Puerto Ricans the right to elect their own governor. Three years later the Truman administration approved a referendum that enabled Puerto Ricans to draft its own constitution. The Constitution of Puerto Rico, which was approved by a constitutional convention in

1952 then ratified by the Congress of the United States and approved by President Harry S. Truman, made Puerto Rico a Commonwealth; many Puerto Ricans preferred the term *Estado Libre Asociado* (Free Associated State). However, citizenship, foreign affairs, commerce, military defence and many other aspects of life remained under the legislative control of the United States Congress.¹⁰⁵

Following the Second World War the predilection for American sports continued to grow. During the island's baseball season the sporting section of the widely circulated newspaper *El Mundo* was regularly filled with headlines about Puerto Rican teams. As much, if not more, attention would be given to baseball on the mainland when the season began there. By 1950 information about high school 'field days', tennis matches, volleyball tournaments, softball tournaments and other sporting events was appearing even more regularly; and with increasingly frequency there were references to female as well as male participants.¹⁰⁶ It was reported on 13 January 1950, for example, that a baseball game between women was to take place the following day.¹⁰⁷

In the opinion of at least one reporter the interest of sporting enthusiasts recently had been further increased by another 'first occurrence . . . in the sporting history of Puerto Rico' – a match between a soccer team from Norway and a selected group of local players.¹⁰⁸ Shortly thereafter selections were under way at the YMCA's courts for the men's volleyball team that would represent Puerto Rico at the forthcoming Central American and Caribbean Games, which were scheduled to take place at Guatemala City from 28 February to 12 March 1950.¹⁰⁹

Concluding observations

There can be no doubt that sports introduced by Americans have been of considerable consequence in bringing Puerto Rico into wider global affairs and enabling its people to graphically express many of their abilities. However, as Raymond Carr points out, 'for many Puerto Ricans assimilation goes no deeper than a growing acceptance of the values of a consumer society supported by easy credit, or addiction to baseball and basketball as national sports'.¹¹⁰ Although 'radical *independentistas*' (those Puerto Ricans who want independence from the United States) might agree that the replacing of 'lethargic and conformist Catholicism' by teachers from the mainland had done 'much for Puerto Rico', Carr contends that most have been of the opinion that the teachers were largely 'agents of Americanization'.¹¹¹ Other Puerto Ricans are of a somewhat different persuasion, and what the relationship of Puerto Rico should be to the United States is still a matter of disagreement. Some individuals would prefer to keep the status of a Commonwealth; others are in favour of the island becoming a state within the United States, which would confer upon Puerto Ricans the right to vote in federal elections and other benefits. A small minority want total independence for Puerto Rico and would be willing to undergo the financial burdens of becoming a new nation.¹¹²

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Notes

1. Smith, *American Empire*, 31.
2. See for example, Hardy, *How Boston Played*; Park, "'Boys' Clubs Are Better Than Policemen's Clubs'".
3. Johnson, *History of YMCA Physical Education*, 145–9;160–1.
4. These include but by no means are limited to: Xu, *Olympic Dreams*; Morris, *Marrow of the Nation*; Brownell, *Training the Body for China*.
5. Olivar, *History of Physical Education in the Philippines*; Ylanan and Ylanan, *History and Development of Physical Education in the Philippines*.
6. Huertas González, *Deporte e Identidad*. Ch. 1 of Van Hyning, *Puerto Rico's Winter League* offers a useful historical account. Books such as Molina, *El Equipo del Siglo* are concerned mostly with individual players and/or teams.
7. Barbosa Muñiz, *American Influence in Puerto Rico on Sports and Recreation*. A slightly modified form of this account is published as 'Sports and Recreation' in Bender, *The American Presence in Puerto Rico*, 313–35.
8. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifest_Destiny
9. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 20.
10. See for example, Gardner et al., *Creation of the American Empire*, vol. 1, 191–203.
11. Cited in Wagenheim and Wagenheim, *The Puerto Ricans*, 77–8.
12. Gardner et al., *Creation of the American Empire*, 220–21; Madgic et al., *The American Experience*, 346–8.
13. Columbus called it San Juan de Bautista in honour of St. John the Baptist.
14. The names subsequently were changed: San Juan became applied to the city; Puerto Rico to the island.
15. The Peninsular War, part of the long Napoleonic Wars, pitted France against the allied powers of Spain, the United Kingdom, and Portugal for control of the Iberian Peninsula.
16. Anderson, 'Nineteenth Century Historical Background'.
17. Wagenheim and Wagenheim, *The Puerto Ricans*, 84–5.
18. See for example, Acosta Belén et al., '*Adios Boriquen Querida*'.
19. For example, '18,000 Attend Opening of Games in San Salvador', *New York Times*, 17 March 1935; 'Honor Puerto Ricans', *New York Times*, 28 Feb.1938.
20. 'Seleccionado Preolimpico Contra Penn Esta Noche', *El Mundo*, 23 June 1949; 'Penn Derroto a Puerto Rico en Atletismo', *El Mundo*, 26 June 1949; 'Agasajaron a Atletes de Penn en Mayaguez', *El Mundo*, 27 June 1949.
21. López Yustos, *Historia Documental de la Educación en Puerto Rico*, 103–16.
22. Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 128–35; 143–45. Matters relating to education are put into broader contexts in Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*.
23. Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 152–69.
24. *Ibid.*, 129–35; Dexter, 'Education in Porto Rico', 160. Dexter also noted that action was under way to erect an 'out-door gymnasium' in San Juan.
25. Osuna, *History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 486–91.
26. Mixer, *Porto Rico*, 233–48.
27. Carr, *Puerto Rico*, 284.
28. Navarro Rivera, *Universidad de Puerto Rico*; Osuna, *History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 152–69.
29. Barbosa Muñiz, *American Influence in Puerto Rico on Sports and Recreation*.
30. Huertas Gonzales, *Deporte e Identidad*, 29–30.
31. White, *Puerto Rico and Its People*, ch. 23. See also Puerto Rico Reconstruction Association, *Puerto Rico*.
32. See, for example, *El Mundo* during the 1920s; *38th Annual Report of the Governor of Puerto Rico*.
33. Eduardo Valero, 'Foreword', in Van Hyning, *Puerto Rico's Winter League*. The game was played between the Borinquens and the Almendares. Valero states that baseball was thought to have been brought to Cuba during the 1860s by American sailors and by Cubans who had studied in the United States.
34. Originally called the Puerto Rico Semi-Pro League.
35. Valero, 'Forward', 1–2.

36. Since 1947 a considerable number of Puerto Rican-born players such as Orlando Cepeda and Roberto Clemente have had very successful careers with major league teams in the United States.
37. Van Hyning, *Puerto Rico's Winter League*; Córdova, *Beisbol de Corazón*. Puerto Rico currently has the second highest number of individuals of any Latin American country playing in major league baseball. The Dominican Republic is first.
38. White, *Puerto Rico and Its People*, 138.
39. Huertas Gonzales, *Deporte e Identidad*, 33–7.
40. Francisco Faberelle, 'Physical Culture Up to the Present Time', *La Revista Escolar de Puerto Rico/Puerto Rico School Review* 10, no. 4 (1925), 29–30 (hereafter *Puerto Rico School Review*).
41. Osuna, *History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 240.
42. *Ibid.*, 147. See also Bender, *The American Presence in Puerto Rico*, 212–13.
43. Pedro P. Aran, 'Report on Physical Education', *Puerto Rico School Review* 10, no. 1 (1925): 34–5.
44. Van Dalen and Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education*, 439–41.
45. Concerns about the health of children and the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children had led to the creation in 1912 of the United States Children's Bureau. See Means, *A History of Health Education in the United States*, 85–91.
46. Aran, 'Report on Physical Education'. The author refers to the growing number of states that had passed laws making physical training compulsory in public schools.
47. Faberelle, 'Physical Culture Up to the Present Time'.
48. 'Courses Offered by the University of Porto Rico to Train Teachers in Service', *Puerto Rico School Review* 14, no. 3 (1929), 31.
49. 'Interscholastic Athletic Meet', *Puerto Rico School Review* 6, no. 8 (1922), 18.
50. 'Interscholastic Track Meets', *Puerto Rico School Review* 8, no. 8 (1924): 30–1 (Class AA: University of Puerto Rico; Ponce High School; Central High School; Mayaguez High School. Class BB: Arecibo; Bayamon; Fajardo; Mayaguez; Ponce; San Juan. Class A: 14 schools; Class B; six schools.
51. Edith M. Irvine-Rivera, 'Physical Education in the Public Schools of Porto Rico', *Puerto Rico School Review* 11, no. 1 (1926), 17–18. Current websites that describe Naguabo, Ponce and other Puerto Rican towns and cities, and their history, often include a section dealing with sports. See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naguabo,_Puerto_Rico and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ponce,_Puerto_Rico#Sports
52. Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico*, 478.
53. Irvine-Rivera, 'Physical Education in the Public Schools of Porto Rico'.
54. Fauver, 'The Place of Intercollegiate Athletics'. Regarding Mabel Lee and the 'A Sport for Every Girl/Every Girl in a Sport' ideology see Hult, 'The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women'.
55. Antonio Gordian, 'Physical Education', *Puerto Rico School Review* 10, no. 9 (May 1926), 45.
56. 'Sports Department', *Puerto Rico School Review* 8, no. 1 (Sept. 1923), 36.
57. 'Ligas Seccionales', *Puerto Rico School Review* 14, no. 3 (1929), 24–5. See also, 'Los Juegos Atléticos Interscholares', *Puerto Rico School Review* 13, no. 5 (Jan. 1929), 27; 48; and 'Un Programa para las Actividades Atléticas de las Escuelas Superiores de Puerto Rico', *Puerto Rico School Review* 13, no. 7 (1929), 31–2.
58. 'Public School Relations: Report of the Commissioner of Education: 1929–30', *Puerto Rico School Review* 15, no. 3 (1930), 18–19; 40.
59. Julio Fiol Negrón, 'Girls Also Have Their Share of Physical Education', *Puerto Rico School Review* 13, no. 9 (1929), 19; 44; 'University of Porto Rico: Some Urgent Problems and Needs', *Puerto Rico School Review* 15, no. 7 (1931), 31–2.
60. White, *Puerto Rico and Its People*, 280.
61. [YMCA] Puerto Rico Report dated 23 June 1909, located in Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota (hereafter Kautz Family YMCA Archives).
62. Gems, *The Athletic Crusade*, 101–2.
63. [A.F. Grimm], Report of the Physical Director of the San Juan Young Men's Christian Association for the Year October 1, 1915 to September 30, 1916, Kautz Family YMCA Archives. A prominent San Juan jeweller had donated the silver cup that was awarded to the men's volleyball champions.

64. For example, in earlier years the court was divided into three then two zones, the unsupported assumption being that traversing the full length of the court could be too exhausting for females. For valuable historical insights regarding basketball and other emerging sports in Puerto Rico see, Huyke, *Los Deportes en Puerto Rico*.
65. [Grimm], Report of the Physical Director of the San Juan YMCA, 1915 to 1916, Kautz Family YMCA Archives.
66. Ibid.
67. Gems, *The Athletic Crusade*, 101–2.
68. Ibid.
69. [Grimm], Report of the Physical Director of the San Juan YMCA, 1915 to 1916.
70. Annual Report of the General Secretary YMCA to the Board of Directors, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1928, Kautz Family YMCA Archives.
71. Letter from L. Sánchez Morales (President of the San Juan YMCA) to F. S. Harmon (General Secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA), 8 Oct. 1932, Kautz Family YMCA Archives.
72. Letter from Manuel Bueno (General Secretary of the San Juan YMCA) to Frank Slack (International Committee of the YMCA), 29 Sept. 1932, Kautz Family YMCA Archives.
73. Frank Campos, 'Physical Education in Porto Rico', *Puerto Rico School Review* 11, no. 6 (1927), 35; 45.
74. The Y's earlier accomplishments have been summarised in articles such as Fisher, 'The Work of the Young Men's Christian Association'.
75. 'Public School Playgrounds in Porto Rico', *The Playground* 5 (1912), 385–6.
76. Claude S. Field, 'Recess', *Puerto Rico School Review* 6, no. 10 (1922), 26–32.
77. 'Play in Porto Rico', *The Playground* 17 (1923), 360.
78. 'Recreation in Porto Rico', *The Playground* 16 (1922), 283.
79. Martha Travilla Speakman, 'Recreation in Porto Rico', *The Playground* 17 (1923), 186.
80. 'The Girl Scouts of America', *Puerto Rico School Review* 8, no. 6 (1924), 8.
81. 'What the Girl Scouts Have Done in Eight Months', *Puerto Rico School Review* 8, no. 9 (1924) 15; 'Niñas Eschuchas', *Puerto Rico School Review* 11, no. 3 (1926), 39–40.
82. Generosa Fernandez de Net, 'The Girl Scout Movement in Porto Rico', *Puerto Rico School Review* 14, no. 4 (1929), 19.
83. 'Public School Relations: Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1929–30', *Puerto Rico School Review* 15, no. 3 (1930), 18–19.
84. As more countries entered into competition the name was changed in 1935 from the Central American Games to the Central American and Caribbean Games.
85. Huertas Gonzáles, *Deporte e Identidad*.
86. Jamaica (a British colony) did likewise with the British flag.
87. <http://www.encyclopediar.org/ing/article.cfm?ref=09021302>. See also Huertas Gonzáles, *Deporte e Identidad*, 43–4.
88. Barbosa Muñiz, *La Era de Oro del Atletismo*.
89. For example, 'Nuestro Conjunto Femenino se Apuntó También la Victoria sobre Panamá was the subtitle of 'Puerto Rico Vencio a Mejico Ayer en Volibol', *El Mundo*, 10 Feb. 1938. Three days earlier it had published an extensive, and very laudatory, article entitled 'Rebekah Colberg, la Muchacha que Quiso Jugar con un Rey': *El Mundo*, 7 Feb. 1938.
90. Yamila Azize Vargas, 'Saltando Obstáculos: Notas Sobre la Historia de la Mujer Puertorriqueña en el Deporte', in Amarillis Cottó, *La Mujer Puertorriqueña*, 219–24.
91. 'Senoritas Freed By Sports', *New York Times*, 27 Feb. 1938.
92. Barbosa Muñiz, *La Era de Oro del Atletismo*, 35–7; See also: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebekah_Colberg. (Accessed 20 August 2009).
93. 'Senoritas Freed By Sports'.
94. For example, 'Koli-Kolo se gana a Routis, a Joe Scalfaro y a Eddie Shea', *El Mundo*, 11 March 1930.
95. Martínez-Rousset, *50 Anos de Olimpismo*, 45–6; 133–49.
96. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico at the 2007 Pan American Games.
97. See Santana, *El Juguete Sagrado*.
98. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FIBA_World_Olympic_Qualifying_Tournament.

99. Opened in 1933, the Casa de España, claimed to be a 'replica of a Spanish *Cortijo* or country estate in Andalucía, had been designed by Pedro A. De Castro.
100. Puerto Rico Reconstruction Association, *Puerto Rico: A Guide*, 118; 215.
101. *Ibid.*, 214.
102. Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: A Profile*, 225; *passim*.
103. Conn et al., *Guarding the United States*, 329–31.
104. Park, "'Forget About That Pile of Papers'".
105. See for example Morris, *Puerto Rico*; Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island*; Hernández Sánchez, *Puerto Rico, La Chilla del Tío Sam*.
106. For example, 'Empezo Justa la Liga Militar de Softball', *El Mundo*, 28 June 1949; 'Continúa Esta Noche Torneo Voleo Baymón', *El Mundo*, 30 June 1949; 'Central High Celebra Hoy 'Field Day'', *El Mundo*, 8 April 1949.
107. 'Juego Béisbal Feminino el 14 en San Sabastián', *El Mundo*, 13 Jan. 1950.
108. 'Hay Juego Internacional de Fútbol esta Noche Aquí', *El Mundo*, 4 Jan. 1950.
109. 'Total 84 Jugadores de Volibol Lucharán Puesto para Selección', *El Mundo*, 16 Jan. 1950.
110. Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, xii.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island*; Sánchez, *Puerto Rico, La Chilla del Tío Sam*.

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