ANYTHING BUT RINGERS:

Historical Sketches of the Soccer Hotbeds
That Produced the 1930 U.S. World Cup Team

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FOREWORD

Ten weeks is an incredibly short time in which to take a research paper from conception to completion. One can only hope to be as thorough as possible, though there will inevitably be details that get overlooked and bits of useful information that fall through the cracks. This particular paper stemmed first from unrelated research I had started to do over spring break to prepare to produce World Cup previews for the website where I work. As I read about the 1930 U.S. World Cup team that took third in Uruguay, I learned that the decade leading up to this performance was a long-forgotten golden era for professional soccer in the United States.

Some authors asserted that this American accomplishment was merely a byproduct of bringing in British players to fill out the roster. Others argued that the trip to the semifinals in South America was a more organic growth process during the 1920s that allowed a generation of talent – both immigrant and native-born – to blossom. These conflicting viewpoints prompted a desire to investigate the nodal points of soccer interest during this period to see if I could extrapolate any common elements that fueled one of the most overlooked periods in American soccer history. What I found was a web of interlinked clubs, competitions, and communities that fostered a general upward trajectory for the sport of soccer from the period following the Civil War to its zenith at the onset of the Great Depression.

The topic is far larger than any 25 pages can cover. Over the past two and a half months, the specific thesis of this paper required constant calibration as I narrowed the focus of this research. I had to make tough decisions on where to focus these ten weeks of study.
In the end, I decided to allow the communities themselves to take the reins of the story and drive the narrative of soccer’s early development in the United States. Several appendices offer further background into the empirical census data of these communities and the players on the 1930 World Cup team that moved from hotbed to hotbed honing their craft in one of the strongest professional soccer leagues in the world during the period. As any scholar understands, though, the research is never really completed; merely the articulation of the research in its present state, which is what this paper aims to capture.

Over the next year, I aim to turn this research into a larger thesis that more fully fleshes out the correlations between immigration, industrialization, and individualism that are at the heart of soccer’s development in the United States in the latter decades of the 1800s and first three decades of the 20th century. Beginning with a trip to Argentina to study and conduct further research over the summer, I aim with this expanded space to show how these American accomplishments during the 1920s were perceived not just by domestic audiences but also the global community for which soccer was fast developing into its lingua franca. In a way, I expect that there are strong indicators out there which might argue for this period as a prototype for the globalization that has become the standard in the modern sport.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No paper, especially one composed in ten weeks’ time, can be written without the assistance of others. During the spring term, several people have been willing to offer their time and expertise to guide my efforts. Ellen Herman, the professor leading the History 407 seminar for which the following research was conducted, was instrumental as a sounding board during the organizational process as well as providing valuable commentary on early drafts of the paper. Carlos Aguirre, another UO professor in the history department, was also generous with his time and provided critical advice both on the subject itself as well as general suggestions for conducting research on soccer history. I have also benefitted from the ability to use several writers and editors with whom I have worked in the past to help brainstorm and discuss the subject, chief among them Marco España and Greg Renkey. I would also like to thank Brad Lerch and Indigo Ronlov for providing the space to study this term, and my wife Melanie Bigalke for her patience and companionship during the process.

No paper is produced without material upon which to draw inferences. This study required several key forms of primary material to clarify the symbiosis between communities and soccer. The Bureau of the Census, by recording the demographic details of the United States on a decennial basis, allow for a better understanding of the composition of communities that comprise the soccer hotbeds of this period. The work of (mostly anonymous) journalists, recording the details of this period for both contemporary and future audiences, shows how sport and other cultural phenomena impact the broader development of societies as demographics shift. The empirical census data provides far-sighted longitude to the study; the anecdotal preservation of society’s pulse in the form of
newspaper coverage provides the near-sighted focus on the individual details that shape each community.

Finally, no research exists in a vacuum, and I would be remiss not to acknowledge the scholarship that has come before. The books and articles of Colin Jose, the official historian for the National Soccer Hall of Fame from 1997 to 2007, offered a useful guide for directing further research into both primary and secondary sources. His successor at the Hall of Fame, Roger Allaway, has also produced a valuable corpus of material on this period of the sport’s history. The books produced by David Wangerin and Filip Bondy offer a nuanced view of American soccer history and helped provide additional insight on a broader scale. Regional articles – such as those by Brian Bunk on Holyoke, Massachusetts; Daniel Kungl on Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; and Steven Apostolov on the state of Massachusetts – offered greater clarity on individual hotbeds of the sport. This paper is indebted to the work of all these academics in illuminating various facets of the history.
ANYTHING BUT RINGERS:

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE SOCCER HOTBEDS THAT PRODUCED THE 1930 U.S. WORLD CUP TEAM
At the inaugural FIFA World Cup in 1930, the United States secured the best-ever finish in the history of its participation in the tournament. Largely forgotten to history, the success of the American squad in Uruguay has for the most part been brushed over as a fluke—a case of importing English and Scottish ringers to take on the world at its own game. What this gets correct is the presumption that the United States cared about soccer at this point in its sporting history; what it gets wrong is the real provenance of each of these players. While six players that started all three of the Americans’ games in Uruguay were born in Great Britain, their paths to the United States illustrate the greater pattern of immigration and industrialization that reshaped the country in the first three decades of the 20th century and played an integral role in the development of the 1930 U.S. World Cup roster.

Four of the six immigrants on the World Cup roster crossed the Atlantic Ocean as children or teenagers, and only one had any prior professional experience before his arrival in the United States. All six would star in the American Soccer League, which during the 1920s would challenge other newly developed leagues in football and hockey for prime position opposite baseball as the spectator sport of choice in the winter. The ASL would be the prime contributor of players to the World Cup roster, fostering a unique style of play that was largely disregarded prior to the tournament but would draw attention as American victories piled up.

Far from being ringers, even the foreign-born players in the U.S. squad were representative of the American demographic in this period, both nationally and within the communities in which they developed into soccer stars. To better understand how immigration really impacted the 16-man roster that traveled to Uruguay in July 1930 requires a look at the four regions in which soccer developed over the first three decades of the 20th century: New England, Pennsylvania, the New York metropolitan area, and the
Midwest. The rise and fall of the sport in these communities is the story of economic boom and bust and the assimilation of immigrants into American society, and the communities in which the game flourished offer outsized examples of these phenomena. In looking at the four regions that were the foci for the American soccer community at the time of the 1930 World Cup, we can see how these factors played a role in the maturation of each player that would challenge for the first world championship in international soccer.

19th-Century Precedents

The seeds of soccer in the United States were first planted during the Civil War, in the capital city of America’s former colonizer. When the Football Association was formed in London on October 26, 1863 at Freeman’s Tavern in Lincoln Inn’s Field, the agreement opened the door for the widespread dissemination of the game. The negotiations that would lead to a unified law code for Association football (Association being the root of the word “soccer”) would allow for clubs within and between cities to finally meet without disputing over rules. The codification of a common set of rules would facilitate the growth in popularity that would lead to the development of soccer as a spectator sport in every nation where it was transplanted.

Various versions of football grew in popularity over the three decades leading up to the formation of the FA in 1863, as industrialization in England increased the pace of urban development and necessitated the creation of leisure activities to occupy the rapidly expanding working class. Modification of village versions of football that in some cases date back as early as the 14th century, the rules in the various regions of Britain were based on these different regional precedents. With two main factions – one group supporting the game
that essentially resembled what we today know as soccer; the other supporting a tackling game involving handling the ball which would become Rugby football – these disparities were the greatest impediment toward more uniform competition between clubs. The 1863 formation of the FA would irrevocably finalize the schism between the two versions of the sport and pave the way for the development of both sports as well as the later development of American football and other variants.

In cities like Manchester – which would grow over the course of the 19th century from a modest city of 84,000 people into the sixth-largest metropolitan area in Europe by 1900 – soccer provided a vital means of bringing together the diverse migrants pouring into the urban heartlands of the Industrial Revolution from across Britain and Ireland and uniting them in one community. Once rules were standardized, the sport spread further afield into provincial areas and translated to the urban classes regardless of their birthplaces. Within two decades of the formation of the English FA, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales would all form their own national associations to organize the growing number of clubs within their borders, and regional associations also developed to provide opportunities for competition.

Even before the FA’s momentous formation, though, soccer had started to become popular in the city where the first salvos of the American Revolution were sparked. The earliest documented evidence of organized soccer in the United States predates the formation of the FA by one year, when Oneida Football Club was formed in Boston in 1862. Playing a version of football uniquely developed in Boston as an amalgamation of Association and Rugby rules, Oneida FC developed in the same fashion as British clubs of that era such as 1879 and 1882 FA Cup champions Old Etonians, drawing its members from the alumni of the elite schools of the metropolitan area.
Variants of football were also being transplanted into universities along the Atlantic seaboard of the U.S., with the first-ever intercollegiate football game between Princeton and Rutgers on November 6, 1869 resembling modern soccer more than the American version of football as it is played today.\(^7\) But as post-Civil War industries fueled immigration from Europe and American universities adapted their unique form of football in a fashion resembling Rugby rather than Association rules, the growth of soccer followed the industrial pattern of the sport’s birthplace and moved from campuses to factories and into the communities that would fuel the sport’s growth in the early 20th century.

Kearny, New Jersey – an industrial town of 11,000 on the Passaic and Hackensack Rivers across from Newark and Jersey City – would play a pivotal role in the growth of the national game. There in 1884, the brothers that owned the Clark Thread Company convened a meeting at the Hose House on their factory property to form the American Football Association. Modeled after the English FA formed 21 years earlier, it was the first attempt at creating a national soccer federation in the United States.\(^8\) The formation of the AFA also marked the first time a national association overseeing soccer had been created outside Great Britain.\(^9\) Two decades after the sport had first been introduced to the country, the first roots that would bear the fruit of 1930 had been planted on American soil.

**NEW ENGLAND: FALL RIVER AND THE IMPACT OF TEXTILES**

Oneida Football Club’s 1862 foundation gives New England the distinction of being the earliest of the four soccer hotbeds to develop in the United States. High concentrations of English and Scottish immigrants were especially influential in this early development. Clubs and competitions sprouted up both within Boston and throughout Massachusetts in
the final decades of the 19th century; by 1889, the sport had reached across the state when the first inter-city matches were held between clubs from Holyoke and Springfield.\textsuperscript{10} The proliferation of organized clubs and competitions was representative of the large immigrant demographic. Belying the myth that immigrant populations were predisposed to assimilate rapidly to American culture, European newcomers to the United States were far more likely to participate in and follow sports familiar from the lands they had left behind.\textsuperscript{11}

The sport would take strongest root in the New England textile regions of southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. At the heart of both the textile industry and soccer’s growth in the region would be the “Spindle City”, Fall River, which had blossomed in the aftermath of the Civil War to become the epicenter of New England’s textile industry. By 1920, when Fall River United was among the charter members of the league, the city could boast nearly four million spindles and 89,000 looms operating at 101 cotton mills. That year, the industry produced nearly $150 million in total value of product and paid out $31 million in wages to a workforce of 29,000.\textsuperscript{12}

The rise of New England’s textile industry required a steady supply of laborers to operate the spindles and looms, and immigrants swelled the populations of Fall River and the other mill cities of New England. Between 1870 and 1910, no population center in the United States would be able to boast a higher percentage of foreign-born immigrants than Fall River, and the other textile-mill cities had concentrations of immigrant influence nearly as large; foreign-born Americans and their children comprised over 80 percent of the population in many cities of this textile region.\textsuperscript{13}

Soccer flourished in this environment. The close proximity of Fall River to other immigrant-rich textile cities such as New Bedford, Providence, Pawtucket, and Tiverton along the border between Massachusetts and Rhode Island led to inter-city competition in
the 1880s and the formation of the Bristol County League in 1886. The sport would continue
to grow over the next three decades, leading to the development of a larger Southern New
England League in 1914.\textsuperscript{14} The confluence of clubs and general interest in the sport led not
just to a high level of competition but also broad spectator interest. As early as 1888, the
American Cup championship in Fall River on March 3 attracted over 2,000 observers for the
match against the Kearny Rangers from New Jersey. Interest would not be restricted to the
cities of the respective clubs; the 6-1 victory for the home team was reported on the front
page of the \textit{New York Times} the following day.\textsuperscript{15}

Beyond expanding the foreign influence in the demographic composition of the
populace, industrialization impacted the growth of soccer in New England. By 1904, the Fore
River Shipyards in Quincy, Massachusetts had formed a company team that effectively
operated as a quasi-professional operation. Over the next decade, the team would serve as a
pipeline that enticed Scottish players and their families to immigrate to the United States
specifically to play soccer. With the financial backing of Bethlehem Steel, which owned the
Fore River plant in Quincy, the team constructed a soccer-specific field that would draw
15,000 spectators to a Labor Day match in 1918.\textsuperscript{16} And, while they would fail to secure a spot
in the ASL, Fore River remained among the teams engaged in importing talent in the early
1920s.\textsuperscript{17} The club would thus serve as one of the earliest prototypes for the global
marketplace for soccer talent that has evolved over the succeeding century.

In similar fashion, businesses like Farr Alpaca in Holyoke and J&P Coats in Pawtucket
– both of which were charter members of the ASL in 1921 – would begin sponsoring clubs
during this period. The fiscal association between the textile industry and soccer led to the
recruitment of employees for their athletic rather than factory skills, which would lead to the
expulsion of the Western New England League from the U.S. Football Association in 1916.\textsuperscript{18}
The infusion of money to the sport led New England to become the first test case on the subject of professionalism, as the USFA struggled to justify amateurism in the wake of increased financial outlay from industrial concerns. Its ultimate capitulation would come too late for the Western New England League’s survival, but the need for a professional league still remained.

By 1920, immigration had tapered off to the textile regions. But while the industry had already reached its apex in the cities of New England that would come to host ASL teams, money was still flowing into the local economies and foreign-born citizens still comprised at least one-third of the total population of each municipality. As important as the foreign-born population would be, they also directly impacted an even larger demographic of first-generation Americans born to immigrant parents.19

Fall River would give birth to one of the most successful professional clubs of the 1920s, offering inspiration for the four American-born stars that would make the 1930 World Cup squad from this region. Prior to the formation of the ASL, the Fall River Rovers had been the city’s predominant team, winning the 1917 National Challenge Cup in the middle of a three-year run of reaching the finals.20 They would be replaced by Fall River United for the inaugural season of professional play; they would finish seventh of the eight teams in the final standings after loaning out many of their players through the season in the spirit of competitive balance.21 But it wasn’t until the 1922-1923 season that Fall River took its place as the premier team in the new professional endeavor.

The turnaround came with the purchase of the club by Sam Mark at the tail end of the 1921-1922 season. A native of Fall River, Mark – a sports promoter who had previously been successful promoting basketball in Massachusetts – bought his hometown club and quickly set about creating an environment more conducive to success.22 Renaming the team the
Marksmen in vainglorious self-promotion, Mark took advantage of fan interest by constructing 15,000-seat Mark’s Stadium. The venue, built across the Rhode Island state line in nearby Tiverton to circumvent state blue laws proscribing the hosting of spectator sports on Sundays, immediately became the premier stadium dedicated to soccer in the country.23

The success of the Marksmen, both on the field and financially, led to the creation of clubs in nearby cities hoping to take advantage of fan interest. The vanguard of this movement, despite creating rivals to Fall River, was actually based in that city. New Bedford and Providence, two other clubs that would play an outsized role in the decade of the ASL’s relevance, were the creations of Fall River ownership looking to compete with the Marksmen.24 Just as it had been the epicenter of the textile industry, so too would Fall River serve as the catalyst for the success of New England soccer leading up to 1930.

Two of the most prominent American-born stars of the tournament epitomized the demographic boom of Fall River. Billy Gonsalves was born in Portsmouth, Rhode Island on August 10, 1908 to Portuguese parents that had immigrated to the United States from the island of Madeira two years earlier. The family would soon migrate to Fall River, where Gonsalves would live until earning a contract with the Boston Wonder Workers of the ASL in 1927.25 Bert Patenaude, the son of French-Canadian immigrants, would spend his entire childhood in Fall River after being born in the city on November 4, 1909.26

In total the region would produce five of the U.S. national team’s 16 players that went to Uruguay. One, Andy Auld, was born in Stevenston, Scotland on January 26, 1900, crossing the Atlantic to start a new life in the United States as a 22-year-old in 1922. He had played junior soccer for Ardeer Thistle and Parkhead before immigrating, but until joining Providence in 1924 Auld had no prior professional experience.27 Far from being a ringer
developed in the Scottish leagues, Auld would play his entire pro career leading up to the 1930 World Cup in Providence and would live in New England until his death in 1977.  

Of the last two players from New England to make the World Cup roster in 1930, one would make his mark in the ASL while the other had migrated to a non-league team in Philadelphia prior to the World Cup. Arnie Oliver, born in New Bedford on May 22, 1907, would first rise to prominence as an amateur player in the city. After signing with Shawsheen for the 1925-26 season, Oliver would bounce between ASL cities in New England until the dissolution of the professional league in 1931. James Gentle, born three years earlier in Brookline, Massachusetts, would become a multi-sport star at the University of Pennsylvania. He would score a goal as an amateur in his only ASL appearance for Boston in 1925, eventually eschewing New England to sign with the Philadelphia Field Club. Oliver represented the journeyman athlete, Gentle the erudite throwback to a time when athletics were affiliated with universities.

Between the superstars Patenaude and Gonsalves, the immigrant Auld, and the benchwarmers Gentle and Oliver, the New England representation on the 1930 roster demonstrates the diverse growth of the game in the region. The representative sample also shows the prominence of first-generation American citizens in this region and the impact of their foreign-born parents on the continued popularity of the sport throughout the 1920s.

**Pennsylvania: The Long Shadow of Bethlehem Steel**

As in New England, the growth of soccer in Pennsylvania during the first decades of the 20th century was fueled by industrialization. One club would come to dominate the sport in Pennsylvania for two decades, but even before the World Cup in 1930 the Depression
exposed this overdependence on industrial patronage. The fortunes of the Bethlehem Steel club in the 1910s and 1920s would mirror the fortunes of its eponymous benefactor during this period, as the city and its club became for a period synonymous around the globe with the highest quality of play in the United States before Depression economics doomed the team to obsolescence.

Founded in 1899 as a public corporation after the restructuring of the Bethlehem Iron Company, Bethlehem Steel would come under the control of Charles M. Schwab two years later. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation, would prove instrumental in the maintenance of the factory as an independent firm; his purchase of the majority of company stock in 1901 prevented its sale to British armaments firm Vickers Sons and Maxim Limited, and he would prevent its absorption into U.S. Steel after the purchase. Updated equipment, the expansion of the factory, and Bethlehem Steel’s increasing involvement in producing armaments for the U.S. military over the next decade would escalate the population growth in Bethlehem.

At the turn of the century in 1900, the town was home to 7,293 citizens. Another 5,000 people arrived in the town over the next decade; within 20 years, the steel mill would contribute to a sevenfold growth in the population. Unlike New England, however, much of this population growth involved migration of U.S. citizens. Even at the apex of immigrant influence in the city between 1920 and 1930, the combination of foreign-born and first-generation citizens never constituted a majority of the Bethlehem population.

Despite comprising a lower percentage of the Bethlehem community than in the textile cities of New England, the foreign-born population nevertheless had an impact on the growth of leisure activities in the city. Immigrants in Pennsylvania had a similar experience to their counterparts in other areas of the country, slowly acculturating to American norms
while continuing to maintain ethnic traditions from their homelands. Soccer was one of the foremost traditions retained after crossing the Atlantic, and during the 1910s the sport was at the forefront of Bethlehem’s transformation into one of the premier athletic communities of the period.

The first media appearance of a team fielding Bethlehem Steel employees comes in October 1908, when newspaper accounts about a match between clubs from Bethlehem and nearby Reading were quick to note the prevalence of players from the plant. But leisure time was still a relative luxury for steel workers in Bethlehem, and the combination of rising quotas and prohibitions on unionization led to a three-month strike from February to May 1910. In the aftermath of the sometimes-violent labor dispute, Schwab would turn to sport as a means of restoring morale among the disenfranchised workforce. By 1912, the city’s top soccer club was directly sponsored and funded by Bethlehem Steel as part of a broader athletic program within the company.

Within months, the local press had taken to calling the team the “Steel Workers”, an unambiguous nickname for the club that clearly tied it to its source of funding. These players, however, were steel workers in name only. From the outset, “management has left no stone unturned to get the team into the best condition possible.” Recruiting experienced European players especially from Scotland and Ireland, the club provided full-time wages – ostensibly employing them as factory workers but arranging their schedules to provide daily afternoon training opportunities.

In the early years, competitive success led to widespread support in terms of attendance. During World War I, Bethlehem Steel was one of the top two teams in the nation as they reached the final of the National Challenge Cup six straight seasons from 1913 to 1918. Success on the field would be followed by success at the turnstile, as Schwab approved
construction of a 10,000-seat stadium in 1918 to take advantage of the sport’s boom. During its first decade of existence from 1912 to 1922, Bethlehem Steel attracted between 3,000 and 12,000 spectators to its contests.\(^{41}\)

Immigration, though, would prove to be a mixed blessing for Bethlehem Steel and the Pennsylvania soccer community. As foreign populations continued to move into the Lehigh Valley, athletic contests increasingly became a means of exhibiting ethnic pride. The popularity of ethnic fraternal organizations in the area fostered the creation of soccer teams representing each community. Initially this did not siphon off interest; but as the demographics of the city shifted increasingly toward Americanized populations in the 1920s and ethnic groups turned to other sports for sources of competitive pride, soccer was overtaken by baseball in popularity.\(^{42}\) Bethlehem Steel’s fortunes started to wane as both participatory and spectator interests shifted toward other sports.

The club was already feeling the effects of declining interest in the early 1920s. Bethlehem Steel would not officially field a team in the American Soccer League when it commenced play in 1921-1922; a combination of reduction in industrial output from wartime levels and declining attendance forced the club to move operations to Philadelphia in hopes of attracting bigger gate receipts.\(^{43}\) Playing as the Philadelphia Field Club, essentially the same roster from the previous year would take the inaugural ASL championship ahead of New York.\(^{44}\)

The following season, the Steel Workers returned to Bethlehem, with another club entering the ASL to represent Philadelphia. Their return was facilitated by league negotiations that provided for more favorable attendance revenue sharing, defusing the main issue that had caused Bethlehem Steel to play the previous season in Philadelphia.\(^{45}\) Their return to Bethlehem would prove inauspicious, as the attendance “was not one in
which the officials had cause to rave about and to be perfectly frank it is believed that the local management was forced to dig to make ends meet.” Though they would finish runner-up in the league in 1923, 1924, and 1925, the high quality of play was not enough to bring back fans to Steel Field.

Three main factors would lead to the club’s demise by 1930. The first was increasing disinterest within the community. Though 58 nationalities were represented among the 10,000 workers at the Bethlehem Steel plant, the combination of ethnic soccer teams and growing passion for other sports in the Lehigh Valley continued to siphon away potential spectators from Steel Field. Bethlehem Steel would return to Philadelphia to play out the second half of the 1927-1928 season in an attempt to reduce its losses, and local organizations started a campaign the summer after the season attempting to raise $15,000 to keep the club solvent.

Second was the increasing disharmony within the ASL that culminated in a schism between the United States Football Association and the league. Bethlehem Steel would help spark this rift when, against league wishes, they entered the National Challenge Cup in September 1928. The competition, which had sparked the club’s rise to prominence in its early years, offered an additional revenue stream but threatened another. The ASL would expel Bethlehem Steel along with fellow transgressors Newark and the New York Giants, but in cooperation with the USFA the trio spearheaded the formation a rival eight-team league. Parallel leagues, however, divided a fan base that in many cities was already being diluted by the rise of other sporting interests.

The Soccer War finally came to a close on October 8, 1929, and the two leagues were reorganized into one circuit once again. Three weeks later, though, the stock market crashed on Black Tuesday, and the last factor leading to Bethlehem Steel’s demise would
come into full play. The payroll at the factory, which numbered over 64,000 workers in the final year of the 1920s, would be reduced to just 30,000 employees within the next three years.\textsuperscript{52} As production plummeted during the Great Depression, the management of Bethlehem Steel could no longer justify the welfare capitalism that was propping up its soccer club. They would lose their final two games at New Bedford and in Brooklyn against the Hakoah All-Stars before disbanding in April 1930.\textsuperscript{53}

Despite its history of success, the defunct Bethlehem Steel club was unable to boast any players on the 1930 World Cup roster. Although two players – inside right Johnny Jaap and center forward Archie Stark, the most prolific goal scorer in American Soccer League history with 253 goals from 1921 to 1931 – were projected to reach the team during the club’s final season, neither would make the trip to Uruguay.\textsuperscript{54}

Instead, it was Philadelphia that tenuously represented the state on the U.S. team in 1930 after the Glasgow-born Stark turned down an opportunity to play for his adopted country. The player who would benefit most from Stark’s absence was Bert Patenaude, the Fall River native that would score the first hat trick in World Cup history.\textsuperscript{55} Patenaude, who spent most of his career in New England, had actually played the first eight games of his career in Philadelphia in 1928, scoring six goals for the club before moving back to Fall River.\textsuperscript{56}

Perhaps it was only appropriate that Philadelphia rather than Bethlehem would be represented at the World Cup; at one match in 1894, more than 3,000 spectators had come out to see a match between the local club and a team from New York.\textsuperscript{57} While Bethlehem might have captured trophies, Philadelphia actually drew fans to matches. Another New England export, James Gentle, was playing for the Philadelphia Field Club after his collegiate career at the University of Pennsylvania when he was selected for the World Cup.\textsuperscript{58} And Bart
McGhee, the Scottish immigrant who moved to the United States as a teenager, had crossed paths with Patenaude in Philadelphia during the 1928-1929 campaign.59

Only one player actually born in Pennsylvania would make the World Cup roster. Mike Bookie, the inside forward that did not see action in Uruguay, was born in Pittsburgh on September 12, 1904. Though he was raised in a hotbed of the game, Bookie would never play for any of the professional teams in his home state. Moving first to New England, where he played nine ASL games with Boston and New Bedford from 1924 to 1926, he then migrated westward where he became a mainstay for Cleveland Slavia.60 For a region that had played an outsized role in the game’s national popularity during the previous two decades, the factors leading to the demise of its most popular franchise led to Pennsylvania’s disproportionate lack of representation in South America.

**NEW JERSEY/NEW YORK: THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL GAME**

Such successes at the turnstiles as the March 1894 matchup between Philadelphia and New York led six baseball owners of the National League to meet in the latter city that August to form a winter soccer league.61 A combination of poor scheduling, lack of competitive balance, government allegations of illegal employment of foreign players, and the threat of a rival baseball league led the owners to cease operations less than one month into its season.62 Ticket prices were 25 cents per game, reasonable enough for the era; the fact that games were often scheduled on weekdays, when the target audience was still working, prevented the league from drawing more than 100 fans to most games.63 But the fact that attempting to form a professional league was considered viable at that point in American sports history tells much about soccer's popularity in the greater metropolitan
area around New York City. As the entry point to the United States for so many immigrants arriving from Europe in the last decades of the 19th century and at the start of the 1900s, the melting pot of New York and New Jersey served as a key breeding ground for the development of American soccer.

The sport had first appeared in the state at the landmark 1869 match between Princeton and Rutgers, though college football would evolve away from the kicking game during the remainder of the 19th century. Instead of universities, it was the formation of clubs such as Paterson FC in 1880 and the ONT team in Kearny in 1883 that kept the sport alive and thriving in the immigrant textile communities of the West Hudson. Courted by American divisions of Scottish companies such as Clark Thread Company (headquartered in Paisley) and linoleum producers Michael Nairn & Company (based in Kirkcaldy), soccer spread with the influx of British immigrants coming to Kearny. Other New Jersey towns, especially Harrison to the south and Paterson to the north of Kearny, similarly grew thanks to subsidiaries of British corporations.

It was this influx of British immigrants that led the Clark brothers to initiate the creation of the American Football Association and the American Cup in 1884. ONT would dominate the early years of AFA competition, winning each of the first three national titles and the 1885 American FA Cup. Kearny also played host to the first game played by an American team against foreign competition, with the ONT club hosting a team from Canada in November 1885 in front of more than 3,000 spectators. A rematch the following year drew 2,000 ardent supporters despite rainy conditions.

Teams from the West Hudson and the New York metropolitan area continued to dominate the American Cup through the first two decades of the 20th century, and two teams from Brooklyn would contest the first final of the National Challenge Cup after the USFA’s
formation in 1914. The proliferation of teams in the region would foster another effort at forming a league had taken root in the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area. With college football forced to confront the dangerous nature of the game, soccer was portrayed as offering a safe, popular alternative to the gridiron game. The popularity of soccer was especially evident among Scottish communities, as clubs with monikers such as the New York Thistles and Bronx Rangers sprouted up in New York.

Ethnicity played a major role in the development of the sport. Beyond the Scottish connection, there was also a strong connection between soccer and the Jewish community in New York. The link between soccer fanaticism and muscular Judaism during this period was an analogue of similar movements such as that pioneered by the Hakoah club of Vienna. The ideology would arrive in the New York area thanks to the rapid rise in the American Jewish population, which experienced a threefold increase between 1906 and 1916.

In 1926, the link between soccer and Judaism led to the congregation of the largest crowd to witness a soccer match to that point in American history. 46,000 came to the Polo Grounds on May 1, 1926 to witness the match between Vienna Hakoah, which had claimed the Austrian championship the year before, and a roster selected from the best players on the New York Giants and Indiana Flooring. The record-breaking crowd eclipsed the previous record, set a week earlier in Hakoah’s first game of their American tour, by more than 20,000 people. A year later, Hakoah would once again draw more than 40,000 spectators to the Polo Grounds. They would remain the largest soccer crowds in American history for the next four decades until the rise of the New York Cosmos in the North American Soccer League.
The game’s popularity in New York and New Jersey during the mid-1920s would attract the investment of one of the most important owners in ASL history. Charles Stoneham, the president of the National Exhibition Company that already owned the New York Giants baseball franchise, stepped in to purchase the Indiana Flooring team in 1927 with the intention of bringing the same sort of entrepreneurial spirit to the ASL that Sam Mark had introduced to Fall River five years earlier. “All soccer needs in this country to make it as popular as in Europe and as good a drawing card is to stage the games in a modern, well-appointed stadium and present well-balanced teams with high-class players,” Stoneham would claim soon after purchasing the club he would rename the New York Nationals.77 Within a year, Stoneham would start proposing reforms to the league that included stronger affiliations with baseball ownership, scheduling changes, the creation of a Midwestern league – and, most ominously, a break from affiliation with the USFA.

Stoneham’s proposed overhaul poured fuel on a volatile situation. Until 1925, the ASL and USFA had been at odds with one another over rules disputes and the details of ASL participation in the U.S. Open Cup.78 The disproportionate import of Stoneham’s suggestions, which prompted ASL withdrawal from the Open Cup, caused the region to serve a central role in the “Soccer War” in the late 1920s that marked the beginning of the ASL’s demise as a solvent professional operation. The New York Giants and Newark would both be ejected from the ASL along with Bethlehem Steel for joining the National Challenge Cup in 1928, precipitating the dissolution of cohesion in the national organization.

Within a month of the ASL’s ruling against the three renegade teams, the Southern New York State Association withdrew en masse from the USFA after it accused the national governing body of infringing on territorial rights with its creation of a rival soccer league.79 At the height of the conflict, nine different clubs would operate between the two leagues in
the New York/New Jersey area, flooding the area with more professional soccer than it could sustain.\textsuperscript{80} Several clubs would dissolve after the schism was brought to an end in October 1929, though the damage had largely been done by the factionalism that divided the fan base too thin to sustain success.

But the plethora of opportunities in the area would also make it an especially valuable part of the development of many players on the 1930 World Cup roster. Team captain Tom Florie and starting goalkeeper Jimmy Douglas were both born in New Jersey – Florie in Harrison and Douglas in Kearny.\textsuperscript{81} The two would appear in more matches for the United States during the 1920s and 1930s than any other player from the period, underscoring the technical proficiency of players developed in this area of the country.

Beyond the development of these native-born Americans, though, New York and New Jersey would be instrumental in the broader development of the players that represented the United States in 1930. More players on the roster would play part of their careers in this mid-Atlantic region than any other area of the country, as 10 of the 16 players that would travel to Uruguay played at some point for one of the ASL clubs in the metropolitan area.

\textbf{MIDWEST: ST. LOUIS AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF SOCCER}

Outside of the footprint of the American Soccer League, another locus of soccer's growth developed separately on the banks of the Mississippi River. A large Irish-American population was instrumental to the growth of soccer in St. Louis and other parts of the Midwest, though the impact of immigration is diluted by the fact that this demographic was largely the native-born progeny of past generations of Irish immigrants.\textsuperscript{82} Instead it was the influence of the Catholic Church, which began to promote the sport as healthy recreation for
its parishioners around 1886. Roman Catholic populations in the United States had grown from 6.2 million to 15.7 million people in the period from 1890 to 1916, allowing for this influence to quickly expand the popularity of the sport. In St. Louis and other Midwestern cities, the decrease in the ratio of foreign-born to native-born populations indicate that this growth was due in large part to migrations that had taken place to the region after the Civil War and the successive generations born of Catholic ancestry.

As a result, the sport became popular relatively quickly among largely native-born groups. Attendance at one 1897 match was as high as 6,000. The popularity of soccer also seemed to have implicit endorsement from some politicians; one piece of legislation in 1897 attempted to prohibit “Rugby football” (and ostensibly the gridiron game that at that point resembled Rugby more than modern American football) in the city of St. Louis due to an increase in injuries and fatalities. The legislation would ultimately fail, but the concern for safety that prompted its introduction was a key rationale in the development of soccer in the city. The sport of soccer became a source of pride, as teams in the community sought resolutely to field teams composed exclusively of American-born talent.

In an environment separate from the other hotbeds in the United States – not to mention being far removed from transatlantic contact with Britain and continental Europe – soccer developed unique rules indigenous to the Midwest. City leagues played 30-minute halves rather than the 45 minutes that were the global standard, and the allowance for injury substitutions became standard policy decades before the practice was accepted under FIFA rules. The emphasis on dribbling rather than passing, speed and stamina as well as skill, became the standard.

Teams from the region, as a result, largely competed solely against one another in the city league founded in 1903. The city’s first powerhouse club, St. Leo’s from the parish of
the same name, would win the league for ten straight years from 1905 to 1914 yet never competed in any of the major national competitions.90 The first notable contest between a team from St. Louis and a top team from the east was the Midwestern trip in 1916 by Bethlehem Steel billed “as competition for the national title.” Playing 45-minute halves, an all-star selection of the city’s best players ended the Steel Workers’ 19-game winning streak in their first contest of a two-game series, erasing a 1-0 deficit to steal a 3-1 victory in front of 7,500 fans. In the second contest against the Ben Millers, Bethlehem was forced to come from behind to secure a 2-2 draw.91

The Ben Millers would serve as the vanguard for St. Louis’ entry into the national soccer scene. The club traveled eastward in 1917, playing a rematch against Bethlehem Steel at Steel Field and making trips to Newark and Philadelphia.92 They would also become the first team from the city to win the National Challenge Cup, defeating Fore River from Massachusetts in front of 12,000 partisan supporters at the Federal League baseball park in St. Louis in May 1920.93 The respective rosters reflected the divergent paths on which the game had developed in the Midwest and New England; the Ben Millers fielded a team entirely composed of native-born players, while Fore River’s starting lineup was comprised of ten Scotsmen and one Englishman.94 As a result, the match was perceived at the time as a referendum on the soccer skills of Americans versus their European counterparts.

The popularity of soccer in St. Louis would expand outward into the rest of the industrializing Midwest in the 1920s. The National Soccer League of Chicago was created in 1920 to consolidate growing interest in the Illinois city; its teams would be largely comprised of clubs affiliated with the ethnic organizations of the Central European populations predominant in the city.95 The game would also grow in the factories of Detroit and the ethnic
communities of Cleveland to the extent that discussions were opened for the formation of an intercity league in 1926.96

By the time of the 1930 World Cup, soccer had developed in the Midwest to the extent that four of the 16 players selected to the roster were playing outside of the American Soccer League at the time of the tournament. The Ben Millers would be represented by two players on the World Cup roster. Raphael Tracey, born in Gillespie, Illinois and raised in St. Louis, started all three matches in defense for the Americans in Uruguay. His teammate with the Ben Millers, St. Louis-born Frank Vaughn, would remain on the bench during the tournament. Neither would play in the ASL during their careers.97

Alex Wood, a Scottish immigrant who moved to Indiana with his family at age 14, was a key contributor to the Holley Carbeurators squad in Detroit at the time of his selection.98 Pittsburgh-born Mike Bookie, after a short stint in the ASL, moved to Cleveland and was a member of the Slavia club in the season prior to the World Cup.99 The selections are representative of the spreading influence of the sport in this region of the United States and the increased talent level in the 1920s.

Dependence on sponsorship would leave many of these clubs changing names from year to year; the preeminent team from the city during the 1930s started its six-year run in the U.S. Open Cup final as Stix, Baer & Fuller, won the 1935 national championship as Central Breweries, and finished its run in 1937 as Shamrocks.100 But while the names might have changed, the clubs themselves remained largely the same from season to season. Contrast this with the teams of the ASL, which shifted from the industrial sponsorship identification of teams with names like Indiana Flooring and J&P Coats to identification with cities for branding purposes.
While clubs in St. Louis might have changed sponsorship from year to year, the relative stability of the St. Louis hotbed kept high-level soccer anchored in the community long after the ASL faded into a conglomerate of semi-professional organizations. World Cup stars such as Billy Gonsalves and Bert Patenaude, rather than remaining in their hometown of Fall River, would feature for St. Louis and Chicago teams after 1930. Whereas even iconic teams like Bethlehem Steel and the Fall River Marksmen faced fiscal crises that forced them to attempt relocation to larger cities to remain solvent, fluidity in sponsorship allowed clubs in St. Louis to remain secure in the communities that supported them. The combination of early native interest in the sport and insulation from the internecine squabbles that pitted the ASL against the USFA in the east allowed soccer to remain a viable spectator sport long after the dissolution of the ASL in the east

**CONCLUSIONS: THE 1930 WORLD CUP AND BEYOND**

The 1930 World Cup in Uruguay was hardly the spectacle that has developed in the 21st century. Only 13 teams made the journey to Montevideo for the tournament, with several European powerhouses absent from the competition. Yet the United States was still considered a strong enough team to earn a top seed in the draw for group stage opponents. After holding both Belgium and Paraguay scoreless in their three-team group, the Americans were considered “serious contenders to take the world’s honors homeward” by the South American press.

Of course, the U.S. team would not make it to the final. Whereas it was the physical conditioning of the Americans that was noted by South Americans upon their arrival in Montevideo and again in the previews leading up to the semifinal, it was the Argentine team
that would turn the match at the Centenario into a hard-tackling affair. Jimmy Douglas would suffer a knee injury in goal early in the match, and two other players would be hobbled in the first half of play. Gamely holding on to limit the deficit to one goal at the intermission, the Americans could not prevent the Argentinians from running away with a 6-1 victory on several late goals.

The hotbeds in New England, Pennsylvania, the New York metropolitan area, and the Midwest all developed in idiosyncratic ways, but they would be equally instrumental in the development of soccer to an extent that would allow the U.S. national team to develop enough skill to be considered equal competition for Argentina leading up to the semifinal. The diversity of the 16 players on the roster is indicative of the broader patterns of immigration in the regions where each played. While the sport would decline as immigrant communities assimilated further into American culture with each successive generation, the perpetuation of popularity in certain regions such as St. Louis shows that soccer was not inherently viewed as a foreign sport in the period.

Ultimately the failure of soccer to maintain an upward trajectory in the 1930s outside the Midwest is due more to the manner in which the sport developed in the regions falling under the footprint of the American Soccer League than a substantive decline in demographics of immigrant influence. The lack of cohesion between leagues and the national association and the preponderance of industrial sponsorship that dried up in many regions after the onset of the Great Depression would relegate the American Soccer League to forgotten status. The foreignization of soccer after World War II would create an environment conducive to the obfuscation of the true composition of the 1930 World Cup roster and the perpetuation of the myth of foreign ringers on the American roster.
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18 Bunk, 289-290.


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45 Fred S. Nonnemacher, "City to Have Big League Soccer This Season," *Globe* (Bethlehem, PA), August 11, 1922.
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82 Wangerin, 28.

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84 Census, “No. 84—Religious Organizations” (1912), 129; Census, “No. 50—Religious Organizations Reported” (1921), 80.


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91 “Beth. Loses and Draws with St. Louis Teams,” Globe (South Bethlehem, PA), December 26, 1916.
92 “Bethlehem Wins from St. Louis Soccer Team,” *Globe* (South Bethlehem, PA), April 9, 1917; “Disston Defeats the Ben Millers,” *Globe* (South Bethlehem, PA), April 10, 1917.


94 “Fore River Players All Foreign Born,” *Globe* (Bethlehem, PA), June 24, 1920.

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98 Jose, 463-464.

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APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The data contained in the following charts and tables was compiled from the 1912, 1921, and 1931 editions of the Statistical Abstract of the United States printed annually by the Bureau of the Census.*

The charts for each region contain three adjacent stacked bar graphs for each city and region; from left to right, these lines represent the combined total of foreign-born and first-generation Americans residing in each municipality as recorded in the 1910, 1920, and 1930 Census respectively. Following the charts are tabulations of municipal, regional, and national population for each decade.

- New England: Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island
- Mid-Atlantic: Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey
- Midwest: St. Louis and Other Professional Cities

* The specific pages utilized from the abstracts to compile the data are as follows:
New England: Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island

New England had the highest concentration of immigrant and first-generation populations of any region in the United States during the first three decades of the 20th century. This concentration led to the proliferation of professional teams in the American Soccer League, though high immigrant populations alone were not enough to ensure the success of a franchise.

Holyoke, with the second-highest concentration of immigrant influence of the cities to host an ASL franchise, did not survive beyond the inaugural season. Springfield was ejected midway through the 1926-1927 season, its first in the league, due to financial difficulties. These examples illustrate that the soccer hotbed centered on the Massachusetts-Rhode Island border did not necessarily extend to western Massachusetts or into Connecticut, where Bridgeport failed to maintain a team for a full season.
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**Mid-Atlantic: Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey**

The census data registers the two soccer hotbeds of Pennsylvania and the New York/New Jersey area as a conglomerated region. What is instantly apparent is the fact that Pennsylvania, at least in the cities that hosted ASL clubs, had an immigrant influence far reduced from that in the cities of New York and New Jersey. The failure of Bethlehem Steel to maintain interest despite its storied history – and the fact that it skipped between Bethlehem and Philadelphia during its time in the league – shows the impact of this lower foreign-born and first-generation demographic. Both Pennsylvania cities, while remaining about the national averages for foreign demographic composition, fell below the regional tri-state averages.

In New York and New Jersey, in contrast, all four cities (with Brooklyn and the Bronx incorporated into the New York City statistics) had immigrant populations that more closely mimic the data of New England cities. This increased immigrant influence saw ASL clubs in this region pull in higher attendance numbers for soccer than in Pennsylvania. This is also where the naturalized immigrant players of the 1930 World Cup team were most likely to reside.
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<td>286,636</td>
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**Midwest: St. Louis and Other Professional Cities**

Though the Midwestern states did not host American Soccer League games and franchises, their players were nevertheless interlinked with the sport’s hotbeds further east. Clubs from St. Louis and other Midwestern cities would regularly compete in and advance deep into the bracket of the National Challenge Cup. They were often matched up against ASL teams in those matches, and teams from this region proved that top-flight soccer was played beyond the Atlantic seaboard during this period.

While St. Louis was the epicenter of the sport’s development in the Midwest, there is precedence for a professional league starting to form at this time period in the same region. In 1926, four Midwestern cities – St. Louis as well as Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit – started talks on organizing a professional league that would serve as the western counterpart to the ASL on the east coast. There is far less information about this league than the ASL, though teams from three of these cities (Chicago being the exception) would provide four of the 16 players that went to Uruguay in 1930 for the first FIFA World Cup.

![Foreign Demographic in Soccer Cities of Midwest](chart.png)
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>NATIVE: Foreign Parentage</th>
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<tr>
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APPENDIX B: BIOGRAPHIES AND STATISTICS OF 1930 ROSTER

The following pages contain short biographies and statistical information for the 16 players on the 1930 U.S. World Cup roster. In addition, for the 14 players who played at some point in the American Soccer League, those professional statistics are also provided. This data has been compiled from several sources both primary and secondary. The most valuable secondary sources for this purpose were The American Soccer League 1921-1931: The Golden Years of American Soccer by Colin Jose, from which ASL player statistics and some biographical information is utilized, and The Encyclopedia of American Soccer History compiled by Roger Allaway, Colin Jose, and David Litterer. All primary and secondary sources for the biographical sketches can be found in the endnotes.

- Andy Auld..........................................................................................................................38
- Mike Bookie.......................................................................................................................39
- Jim Brown.........................................................................................................................40
- Jimmy Douglas....................................................................................................................41
- Tom Florie...........................................................................................................................42
- Jimmy Gallagher.................................................................................................................44
- James Gentle......................................................................................................................45
- Billy Gonsalves..................................................................................................................46
- Bart McGhee.......................................................................................................................48
- George Moorhouse.............................................................................................................49
- Arnie Oliver.........................................................................................................................50
- Bert Patenaude....................................................................................................................50
- Philip Slone........................................................................................................................52
- Raphael Tracey...................................................................................................................53
- Frank Vaughn......................................................................................................................53
- Alexander Wood..................................................................................................................54
ANDY AULD

Andy “Dasher” Auld, a starting wing half for the U.S. team in Uruguay, was born in Stevenston, Scotland on January 26, 1900. He was one of just two players on the World Cup roster to move to the United States after his 20th birthday, crossing the Atlantic in 1922. Prior to his immigration, Auld had played on the junior teams for Ardeer Thistle and Parkhead but had no prior professional experience.

Two years after arriving in the United States, Auld would join the Providence Clamdiggers. In six full seasons prior to being selected for the starting eleven representing the U.S., Auld would make 271 appearances for Providence and score 32 goals.

After the tournament, Auld played the fall campaign for Providence before moving to Fall River for the spring season of 1931. With the ASL about to devolve from a professional operation, he moved on quickly to Pawtucket after playing just 10 games for Fall River. He would remain with the Rangers through the rest of his professional career, playing with the team into the semi-pro era of the ASL.

In total, he would play 336 career games in the ASL. After retiring from competitive play, Auld lived the rest of his life in the United States. He would remain in New England, where he would live the next four decades of his life before passing away on December 6,
1977 in Johnston, Rhode Island. He was elected posthumously into the National Soccer Hall of Fame in 1986.

**MIKE BOOKIE**

Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on September 4, 1904, Mike Bookie would drift northward when he first turned professional in 1924. He would find it hard to crack the roster of the Boston Wonder Workers that season, playing just five games and scoring one goal. He would find it even more difficult to gain a position with New Bedford, getting off the bench just four times in 1925-26 for the Whalers.

The majority of his career would be spent in Cleveland, where the inside forward moved in 1929 and starred for Cleveland Slavia and Cleveland Magyar in the city’s top league. He would return to Pittsburgh at the end of his career. Post-retirement, he would die one month after his 40th birthday at Camp Eglin, Florida on October 12, 1944.

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<td>1924-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Bedford</td>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavia/Magyar</td>
<td>1929-30+</td>
<td>?</td>
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</table>
The youngest player on the 1930 World Cup roster, Jim Brown was born in Kilmarnock, Sotland on December 31, 1908. He would immigrate to the United States to live with his father in New Jersey an 18-year-old in 1927. He had been playing professional soccer for just three months when he was chosen to represent his new country, though he had played eight ASL games on amateur trials during the 1928-1929 season.

Brown would suit up for all three of the U.S. games at the 1930 World Cup. He would play for another year and a half in the ASL before accepting an offer to join Manchester United in the English First Division. Following three seasons in Manchester, Brown bounced around England for two more seasons before returning to the United States after World War II.

Upon returning to America, Brown spent many years as a high school soccer coach in Connecticut. His son also represented the United States on the soccer pitch, earning a cap in a World Cup qualifier against Mexico in 1957. He lived to see the U.S. host the World Cup, passing away on November 10, 1994.
Jimmy Douglas, the “guardian of the citadel, equal to the best in this glorious land,” appeared in more matches than any other player in the early history of the U.S. men’s national team. Born in Kearny, New Jersey on January 12, 1898, the grandson of one of the original members of the ONT club in the city, Douglas would grow up to become the first great goalkeeper for the Americans.

He would first play in the American Soccer League as a 24-year-old in 1922, playing 14 games as an amateur for nearby Harrison. He was touted as a “simon pure” for eschewing pay, which kept him eligible for selection to the 1924 Olympic squad that defeated Estonia 1-0 in the preliminary round before losing to eventual champions Uruguay in Paris. He also earned starts for the U.S. national team against Poland and Ireland in 1924 and against Canada in 1925.

At the time of his selection to the 1930 World Cup team, he was playing for the New York Nationals and had already played 176 games in goal for seven different ASL teams as well as five international matches. He would hold Belgium scoreless in front of 20,000 spectators on July 13 in Montevideo for the first shutout in World Cup history, and repeated the feat four days later against Paraguay to win Group 4 and claim a spot in the semifinals.
But Douglas suffered a knee injury early in the match against Argentina, and unable to move effectively he was shelled for six goals in defeat.20

Douglas would retire after playing seven games with the New York Americans in the 1931 fall season, his career trajectory mirroring the rise and fall of the ASL. He would return to his native New Jersey upon retirement, living in Point Pleasant until his death on March 5, 1972.21

**TOM FLORIE**

Tom Florie, the captain of the 1930 U.S. World Cup team, was born in Harrison, New Jersey on September 6, 1897.22 The son of Italian immigrants, Florie learned the sport from a young age on the local sandlots of Harrison as a youth.23 Skilled on the wing and also capable of playing at inside forward, Florie would get his first chance at ASL action with hometown Harrison FC, playing three games as an amateur for the local team in 1921-1922.

Flore signed his first professional contract in 1924 to play with the expansion Providence Clamdiggers. He would spend five seasons with Providence, scoring 72 goals for the club, before moving to New

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<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>1926-27</td>
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<td>New Bedford</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fall River</td>
<td>1931S</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Bedford</td>
<td>1931F</td>
<td>19</td>
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</table>
Bedford during the 1928-1929 season. He would also play his first international for the United States during this period, earning a selection to the American squad for the 1925 friendly against Canada.²⁴

Florie was a mainstay of the 1930 and 1934 U.S. World Cup teams, playing every minute of the five matches the Americans would play in the two tournaments. In total, he would earn eight international caps during his long career.²⁵ Florie continued playing for over a decade after the demise of the original ASL. He won the U.S. Open Cup twice during his career, in 1932 and 1941, before finally retiring from the game in his mid-40s. After spending much of his career in New England, he settled in North Providence, Rhode Island, where he lived until his death on April 26, 1966.²⁶
JIMMY GALLAGHER

Born on June 7, 1901 in Kirkintilloch, Scotland, Jimmy Gallagher spent just 12 years in his birthplace before moving with his mother to the United States in 1913.27

He would first play in Pawtucket for J&P Coats, getting into one match in the inaugural 1921-1922 season before featuring in 24 the following year. It wasn’t until 1925, however, that he really broke into the league. He would start on the right side of the pitch for the Indiana Flooring franchise through two rebrandings and nine seasons.28 By the season before the World Cup, he had blossomed into one of the top players in the league – and had lived in the United States for 17 years.

After starting all three games at the 1930 World Cup, Gallagher remained with the former Indiana Flooring franchise Charles Stoneham had purchased in 1927 until the demise of the original ASL. He would move westward to Cleveland, playing with Slavia at the time of the 1934 World Cup. He would be selected for the trip to Italy, playing in the qualifying match against Mexico but sitting on the bench during the team’s 7-1 loss to Italy
in Rome on May 27. He played several more years in Cleveland after the World Cup and continued to live in the city until his death on October 7, 1971.

**JAMES GENTLE**

James Gentle was born in Brookline, Massachusetts on July 21, 1904, though he would make his biggest mark further south. After high school Gentle would move to Philadelphia, where he featured in football, soccer and track for the Quakers of the University of Pennsylvania. He would graduate from Penn with a B.S. in Economics from the Wharton School of Business. He would score a goal in his only ASL appearance, playing in an amateur tryout for the Boston Wonder Workers. Instead of remaining in the league, though, he eventually returned to Pennsylvania to play for the Philadelphia Field Club.

He would fail to reach the field during the 1930 World Cup, sitting on the bench during all three games of the tournament. He would continue to play with the Philadelphia Field Club after returning from Uruguay, and would later play on the 1932 and 1936 U.S. Olympic field hockey team, winning a bronze medal at the Los Angeles games in the first of his two appearances.

In 1935 Gentle would take over the head coaching duties of the Haverford College soccer team. After a winless season in his first year at the helm, he would lead the Red and Black to two MAC championships and a 39-26-3 record over six seasons. A member of the Army Reserve from 1931 onward, he would be called to fight for the Allied forces in Italy during World War II. He would return to Pennsylvania after the war, working for the Mutual Life Insurance Company and remaining active in alumni affairs at his alma mater and the greater Philadelphia community until his death on May 22, 1986.
**Billy Gonsalves**

Christened Adelino by immigrant parents from the Portuguese island of Madeira, Billy Gonsalves was born across the Rhode Island state line from Fall River in Portsmouth on August 10, 1908. He would grow up in Fall River, developing his skills as an inside right forward in the city’s amateur ranks, before earning his first contract in the ASL as a 19-year-old with the Boston Wonder Workers in 1927.

Gonsalves showed promise in his two seasons with Boston before returning home to play for the Fall River Marksmen in the fall of 1929. In the fall and spring seasons before the 1930 World Cup, Gonsalves would score 43 goals in 60 matches.

Though he played every minute for the U.S. in Uruguay, Gonsalves would fail to get on the score sheet. His size and speed nevertheless opened up space on the pitch; Fall River *Herald News* sports editor Frank McGrath would report after the team’s return home that Bert Patenaude would call Gonsalves “the outstanding player on the United States team.” He would also play for the

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United States in the 1934 World Cup in Italy, earning six national-team appearances during his career.

In some ways Gonsalves was born too late to truly enjoy the fruits of the ASL’s heyday, though he would go on after the 1930 World Cup to become perhaps the preeminent American player of the early 20th century. Turning down several opportunities to play overseas after the World Cup, Gonsalves remained the foremost ambassador for the flagging sport in the United States.\(^{41}\)

In 1931, Gonsalves would score three goals to lead the New York Yankees club to a 4-3 victory in a friendly against Scottish powerhouse Glasgow Celtic. Despite the marquee opponent and two homegrown World Cup stars featuring for the Yankees, the evenly-matched showdown drew just 8,000 to Fenway Park in Boston.\(^{42}\) He would also win the second of six consecutive U.S. Open Cup titles with the Yankees that season, taking a third with New Bedford in his final ASL season.

Gonsalves would make his way to the Midwest, playing for the Stix, Baer & Fuller club in St. Louis (and its later iterations as sponsorship changed). He would win eight U.S. Open Cup titles in total, scoring twice in the 1935 final to complete the streak of six straight.\(^{43}\) He would later play in Chicago before returning to the east coast during World War II. Gonsalves would play 20 seasons in total at the top level of the sport, retiring in 1947. Settling down in another soccer hotbed, Kearny, New Jersey, Gonsalves would live another three decades before passing away on July 17, 1977.\(^{44}\)
**Bart McGhee**

Bart McGhee, another of the six British-born players on the 1930 U.S. World Cup squad, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland on April 30, 1899. He would follow his father – a former professional player and manager in the Scottish League who had played internationally for Scotland – to the United States as a young teenager sometime in the early 1910s.

Prior to the formation of the American Soccer League, McGhee spent the first five years of his career from 1917 to 1921 with teams in New York and Philadelphia. His ASL career was almost exclusively spent in New York City, a midseason move to Philadelphia in 1929 the only time he played professionally for a team outside the New York metropolitan area. He would never play professionally outside of the United States.

McGhee would feature for the American side that reached the semifinals of the first World Cup in 1930. Against Belgium he would tally two goals to pace the Americans to a 3-0 victory in Group 4. The goals would position him as the second-leading scorer for the U.S. behind Bert Patenaude. After the World Cup McGhee returned to the United States, finishing

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</table>
his career in 1931 with the New York Giants. He would eventually relocate to Philadelphia, where he lived until his death on January 26, 1979.

**George Moorhouse**

The only English-born player on the 1930 U.S. World Cup roster, George Moorhouse was born in Liverpool on April 4, 1901. He is also the only player on the squad to have previously played professionally overseas before immigrating to the United States, featuring in two games for English Third Division side Tranmere Rovers after unsuccessfully trying to earn a contract with Leeds United.

Moorhouse would make his way to the United States via Canada in 1923, beginning his ASL career with the Brooklyn Wanderers before becoming a longtime fixture on the left side for the New York Giants club. By the time of the World Cup, despite usually playing from more defensive positions, he had scored 34 goals in his first seven seasons. He had also already played in one match for the United States before his selection to the World Cup squad, playing at left half in the 1926 match against Canada.
Moorhouse would feature for the Americans in Uruguay and would later captain the U.S. four years later at the 1934 World Cup in Italy. Playing until 1937 in the successor to the ASL, Moorhouse would retire to Long Island. There, on October 12, 1943, he would pass away at the age of 42.52

**ARNIE OLIVER**

Arnie Oliver was born in Fall River, Massachusetts on April 22, 1907, and would spend the entirety of his career and life in the New England soccer hotbed.53 His first notable success in the game came in 1926, when he was part of the New Bedford Defenders team that won the U.S. Amateur Cup that season.54 By the time he officially became a professional in the ASL with Hartford in 1927, Oliver had already played in six matches for Shawsheen and New Bedford as an amateur.

Oliver would not manage to get off the bench at the 1930 World Cup, and he would never make it into an international match during his career. He returned to New England after the trip to Uruguay, playing for Fall River and Providence before the collapse of the American Soccer League in 1931. He would return to New Bedford after his playing days, remaining in the city until his death on October 16, 1993.55

**BERT PATENAUDE**
Until Landon Donovan scored his fifth career World Cup goal in South Africa in 2010, Bert Patenaude held the record for the most goals for the United States in World Cup history. The striker, born to French-Canadian immigrant parents on November 4, 1909 in Fall River, Massachusetts, still holds the record as the first player ever to score a hat trick in World Cup history when he connected three times against Paraguay on July 17, 1930.56

Patenaude was given his first opportunity in the American Soccer League with Philadelphia in the 1928-1929 season. Though he would notch six goals to start the season, he returned home to New England after just eight games. He suited up for J&P Coats for one match before joining the Fall River Marksmen. He remained with his hometown club through the World Cup, scoring 53 goals in 52 matches in the fall and spring campaigns before the momentous trip to Uruguay.57

In addition to his hat trick against Paraguay, Patenaude had already scored a goal in the contest against Belgium four days earlier. The four goals would be matched by Aldo “Buff” Donelli four years later in Italy, but the two men would not be equaled or surpassed for more than seven decades.58 Landon Donovan scored three times in 2010 to add to the two goals he scored at the 2002 World Cup, breaking the record set by the early pioneers of the U.S. national team.59 Donovan, though, would also need three World Cups and 12
appearances to reach the record where Patenaude (three matches in 1930) and Donelli (two matches in 1934) each achieved their mark in their only World Cup.

After the fall of the ASL, Patenaude would play in Philadelphia and St. Louis through the 1930s. He returned to the Fall River area after his retirement, passing away on his 65th birthday in the city in 1974.

**Philip Slone**

Philip Slone was the only player on the U.S. World Cup roster born in New York City, entering the world on January 20, 1907. Like James Gentle he would help launch his soccer career from the collegiate level, playing for St. John’s University before joining the New York Giants of the ASL in the season before the World Cup.

Slone would not make it on to the pitch for the U.S. in any of the three World Cup matches, though he would earn playing time in a post-tournament friendly against Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. After returning to New York, Slone played his entire professional career through the mid-1930s in the metropolitan area for the New York Giants, Hakoah, and Brookhatten. Slone would move later in life to Florida, where he passed away in West Palm Beach on November 4, 2003 – the only member of the first World Cup roster to witness the American trip to the quarterfinals in 2002.
Raphael Tracey was one of just two players on the 16-man World Cup roster that never played professionally in the American Soccer League. Born in Gillespie, Illinois on February 6, 1904, Tracey spent most of his childhood in St. Louis. He would start playing top-level soccer in 1925, joining the team sponsored by Vesper Buick before transferring to the Ben Millers soon thereafter. Capable of playing anywhere on the pitch, Tracey started his career as a forward but offered the American squad rare versatility.

With the Ben Millers, Tracey developed into one of the top midfielders in the country. He was a linchpin of the squad that advanced to the 1926 U.S. Open Cup final before losing to Bethlehem Steel, though he would play out of position at halfback in the championship match. Tracey would suit up for the U.S. in all three of its games at the 1930 World Cup before returning home to St. Louis, where he played for several more years into the 1930s before retiring from the game. He continued to spend the remainder of his life in the city where he had grown up, eventually passing away a month after his 71st birthday on March 6, 1975.

Frank Vaughn

The other player on the U.S. World Cup roster in 1930 to never play in the
American Soccer League, Frank Vaughn spent the majority of his life in St. Louis. The fullback was born in the city on February 18, 1902 and would star for the hometown Ben Millers throughout the 1920s.63

Vaughn would feature for the Ben Millers, joining the club as an 18-year-old. His first experience on the international stage came in 1920, when he was part of the traveling squad the Ben Millers took on a tour of Scandinavia.64 After more than a decade in professional soccer, Vaughn passed away on July 9, 1959.

**ALEXANDER WOOD**

Alexander Wood was the last of the 1930 U.S. World Cup participants from Scotland. But like almost all of the others, his immigration was not predicated on the game of soccer. Born in Lochgelly on June 12, 1907, Wood showed enough early promise as a fullback to be selected to play for Scotland in a schoolboy international against Wales as a 13-year-old.65 A few months later, his family would cross the Atlantic and settle in the Midwest after his 14th birthday in 1921.66

Wood quickly caught on with the Chicago Bricklayers, where he got his start playing in the well-developed Midwestern circuit before relocating to Detroit to play for Holley Carbeurators in 1929. He would feature on the team that reached the Western final against Cleveland Bruell but missed out on the opportunity to play for the U.S. Open Cup against Fall River.67 Wood would not play in the ASL until after his three appearances for the U.S. at the World Cup, starting for Brooklyn during the 1930 and 1931 seasons before accepting an offer to play in England.

Wood spent three seasons with Leicester City from 1933 to 1936, making his way into 52 matches, before moving around the English leagues with Nottingham Forest, Colchester
United, and Chelmsford. After retiring from soccer in 1939, Wood returned to the United States. He would move close to his family in the Midwest, spending the next five decades in and around Gary, Indiana until his death in the city on July 20, 1987.

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<td>1928</td>
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