

Americanizing the Beautiful Game: The Rise of Mainstream American Soccer, 1960-2005

By

PATRICK H. SALKELD

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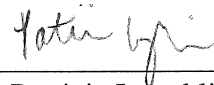
THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Patrick Holden Salkeld for the Master of Arts in History was submitted to the graduate college on April 26, 2017 and approved by the undersigned committee.

COMMITTEE APPROVALS:



Katrina Lacher, Ph.D.
Committee Chair
Assistant Professor of History



Patricia Loughlin, Ph.D.
Member
Professor of History



Marc Goulding, Ph.D.
Member
Assistant Professor of History

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the rise of mainstream soccer in the United States from 1960 to 2005 with a national, a regional (Oklahoma), and then a local (Edmond, OK) focus. It argues between 1960 to 2005 conservative-leaning capitalists and politicians redefined mainstream soccer as a commercial investment aimed not to truly popularize the international sport in the United States, but to Americanize it with the mindset of producing capital for them. For example: Alan Rothenberg, a lawyer who conducted the soccer tournament in the 1984 Olympics and coordinated the 1994 World Cup in the United States, established the most recent professional soccer league, Major League Soccer, as a single-entity to promote more revenue earning for the investors. Between 2002 and 2005, MLS considered Edmond, Oklahoma, as a potential new location for an expansion team with a desire to promote soccer in the area and capitalize on the strong youth presence of the sport. Even though the attempt failed, the Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education approved funding to the University of Central Oklahoma for renovations to the school's football field Wantland Stadium, which the school needed for the possible expansion club.

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Terminology and Abbreviations

Terminology

For the purposes of this thesis, the following terms will be used interchangeably: association football, football, and soccer; and American football and gridiron football to prevent confusion.

Abbreviations

ASL	American Soccer League
ISL	International Soccer League
FIFA	Federation Internationale de Football Association
USA	United Soccer Association
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
MISL	Major Indoor Soccer League
USL	United Soccer League
MLS	Major League Soccer
NASL	North American Soccer League
UCO	University of Central Oklahoma
USSFA	United States Soccer Football Association (1945-1974)
USSF	United States Soccer Federation or US Soccer (1974-Present)
LA84	1984 Los Angeles Olympics
IOC	International Olympic Committee

Preface

This thesis represents a culmination of twenty-one years of passion. At age four, I started to play soccer for the Sharks, a mini-kicker team in the Great Teays Soccer League of Putnam County, West Virginia. It sparked a life-long love, and I played in Florida, North Carolina, and Oklahoma. Over fourteen years, I sustained numerous injuries, including several concussions. I finally succumbed to the inevitable realization that I would never play at the professional level, so I turned to history and pursued a career as a historian.

I changed my focus—from ancient history to the American Civil War and Abraham Lincoln to military history—many times during my undergraduate education until summer 2014, the end of my junior year. I enrolled in Dr. Katrina Lacher’s Social/Cultural History of the United States since 1865, in which we read Dr. Warren Goldstein’s *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* and Dr. Randy Roberts’ *Joe Louis: Hard Times Man*. These monographs opened my eyes to the world of sports history. Previously, I never knew historians legitimately studied sports. I immediately felt relief and satisfaction after I officially chose soccer history as my focus.

I found the inspiration for this thesis while perusing the vertical files at the Edmond Historical Society & Museum where I worked part-time as a work-study student. The soccer folder contained a program published by the *Edmond Sun*, a local newspaper, for a 2003 Major League Soccer exhibition match between the Columbus Crew and the Kansas City Wizards at the University of Central Oklahoma’s Wantland Stadium. It served as the main inspiration and basis for this entire thesis.

Chapter 1 – “Making Soccer History”: Introduction

“America is starting to realize what the beautiful game is about.”

-President Barack Obama (2009-2017), February 2, 2015¹

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Baseball evolved into America’s favorite pastime; however, since the 1960s, gridiron football overtook it as the most popular sport in the United States and evolved into part of the national identity, culture, and mythos. Yet, it originated from association football (soccer) and rugby, two distinctly British sports. Soccer largely remained a popular regional sport from its start in the 1860s. Its hotbeds could be found in the North East, the West Coast, and the Midwest. During the 1920 to 1930s, the United States experienced the “Golden Age” of soccer. The sport fell out of mainstream view, but remained regionally popular. Thirty years later, the ethos of soccer in the United States changed. Businessmen “Americanized,” as the title states, the sport in two ways. To acclimate the audience in the US to this new sport (to them), the investors changed the rules to make the game more entertaining. They also applied the same system of operations as seen in the National Football League, the American Football League, Major League Baseball, and the National Basketball Association to the new soccer leagues in hopes it might achieve the same level of success. From 1960 with the establishment of the International Soccer League (ISL) to 2005 with the failure of Major League Soccer (MLS) to expand into Edmond, Oklahoma, US capitalists redefined mainstream soccer as a commercial investment that aimed not to truly popularize the international sport in the United States, but to Americanize it with the mindset of producing capital for themselves.

¹ Barack Obama, “President Obama Honors the 2014 NHL Champion Los Angeles Kings and the 2014 MLS Cup Champion LA Galaxy,” White House Briefing Room Live Events video, 51:15. February 2, 2015.

What is American Soccer?

What is American soccer? To some, American soccer is MLS and the United States Men's and Women's National Teams. These fans likely started following the sport after the 1994 World Cup when the majority of the United States witnessed it for the first time. To others, American soccer is more of a grassroots and international sport. They watch their children play in youth leagues, in high school, and in college, but also local clubs lower in the American soccer pyramid (primarily those below Division 3). Also, they might often prefer to watch games in international leagues, such as the English Premier League, La Liga MX, or the Bundesliga, on television to MLS because they see the latter as inferior quality. The majority of Americans fail to acknowledge or even know about the existence of leagues below MLS, the second North American Soccer League, and the United Soccer League (USL), but regional soccer has continuously survived since the 1800s.

Nonetheless, fans need to educate themselves on the long history of soccer in the United States, and once they do, they will see its tremendous background. To answer the question posed earlier, American soccer is all forms of the sport—youth, amateur, semiprofessional, professional, men's, women's, and non-USSF affiliated clubs—but the mainstream version promoted by the media outlets (Fox Soccer, NBC, and ESPN) gains the most attention, which allows the United States Soccer Federation (USSF) and MLS administrators the opportunity to disseminate misinformation to benefit the commercial leagues.² One misconception is the short history of professional soccer in the United States.³ It actually stretches over one hundred years with continuous operation even during the perceived “non-existence” between 1984 with the

² Hereafter, the terms the United States Soccer Federation, USSF, and US Soccer will be used interchangeably.

³ This misconception is the single biggest piece of propaganda espoused by the league and the federation.

collapse of the North American Soccer League (NASL) and 1996 with the establishment of MLS.⁴

Brief History of Soccer in the United States – Origins to 1960

Since the late 1800s, soccer existed in the United States in some form or another. Some people theorize an early form of the sport existed in Native American culture as Pasuckuakohowog, and a separate form immigrated with the Pilgrims.⁵ Americans played it before the formation of the English Football Association (FA) in London during 1863, but it remained a largely northeastern collegiate pastime. Though, amateur teams quickly organized with one of the first in Boston called the Oneida Football Club.⁶ In 1912, a writer for the *1911-1912 Spalding's Official Association "Soccer" Football Guide* suggested the creation of an American governing body on soccer, so a group of individuals founded the American Amateur Foot Ball Association in 1913, recognized by FIFA that same year.⁷ It later became the United States Football Association (now the United States Soccer Federation). After 1863, the game

⁴ Chris Kessell, "Who Killed the American Open Pyramid?" *ProRelForUSA*, September 10, 2015, <http://prorelforusa.blogspot.com/2015/09/who-killed-american-open-pyramid.html>. Both indoor and outdoor soccer have a long history of professionalization in the United States, but this thesis only discusses professional outdoor soccer.

⁵ Sam Foulds and Paul Harris, *America's Soccer Heritage: A History of the Game* (Manhattan Beach, California: Soccer For Americans, 1979), 5-9; David Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 17-8. Hereafter abbreviated to Wangerin, *Football World*.

⁶ John A. Fernley, "Soccer Progress and Prospects," in *1923-1924 Spalding's Official Soccer Football Guide* edited by Thomas W. Cahill (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1924), 36; Aviation Training Division Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, *The Naval Aviation Physical Training Manuals: Soccer* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1943), 5; Foulds and Harris, *America's Soccer Heritage*, 11-6.

⁷ E. L. Mockler, "The A.A.F.A and the F.I.F.A.," in *1912-1913 Spalding's Official Association "Soccer" Football Guide* edited by Thomas W. Cahill (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1912), 27; Roger Allaway, "The Forgotten Thomas W. Cahill," *Society for American Soccer History*, June 15, 2015, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/the-forgotten-thomas-w-cahill/>.

spread from the upper English class to the working class.⁸ In search of better economic opportunities, these workers immigrated to the United States. As a result, soccer implanted into American culture from generation to generation, even though US-born Americans denigrated it. American soccer reached a peak during the 1920s and early 1930s with the American Soccer League (ASL). Like international society as a whole, the Great Depression devastated professional soccer in the country. In 1933, the ASL II formed, but it only found regional popularity compared to its predecessor's national and international notoriety. It became "the longest running professional league in US history" due to its tremendous popularity, even if attendances at games averaged in the low thousands.⁹

Technically, soccer "made it" in American culture, but no one paid notice because it operated outside of the mainstream purview. This lack of knowledge led businessmen, like Bill Cox, to wonder "why soccer hasn't caught on here [in America]." ¹⁰ They consistently viewed the sport from a business perspective and desired to place it on the same level as American football, baseball, and basketball, the three most popular sports in the country, as a successful commercial property, which translated into a "sport that has caught on" or found popularity with the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant demographics.

The narrative of this thesis starts in 1960, but as C.P. Hurditch wrote in 1904, "Association foot ball [soccer] is by no manner of means a new game in this country."¹¹ His

⁸ Roger Allaway, *Rangers, Rovers and Spindles: Soccer, Immigration and Textiles in New England and New Jersey* (Haworth, NJ: St. Johann Press, 2005), xii-xiii.

⁹ David Litterer, "American Soccer League II," *American Soccer History Archives*, last updated January 27, 2006, <http://www.northamericansoccerarchives.com/asl2.html>. Hereafter, it will be abbreviated to *ASHA*.

¹⁰ Wangerin, *Football World*, 122.

¹¹ C. P. Hurditch, "Association Foot Ball," in *1904-1905 Season Association Foot Ball Guide* edited by Jerome Flannery (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1904), 7.

words still apply over one hundred years later. Many Americans mistake 1994 or other years within the past three decades as the start of soccer in this country. The sport's history remains largely unexplored and unpublished so the general public, including many American soccer fans, fail to understand its long complicated existence within the United States. This problem partially falls on to the shoulders of the United States Soccer Federation (USSF or US Soccer) because, as this thesis explores, since 1993 it affiliated itself almost inseparably with MLS and allowed the league to dictate the progression of professional soccer in the United States. As a result, US Soccer retreated from its authority and governance of developing the sport and preserving the history of American soccer; and this move allowed MLS to also take control of the dissemination of history. To combat this historical amnesia, the Society for American Soccer Historians (SASH) and scholars who study the sport regularly publicize the history over social media. The following section details the American soccer historiography in addition to the rise of sport history as an academic field and areas in need of further research.

Historiography

“Making Soccer History.” World Cup USA 94, Inc., used this motto as the tagline for the 1994 World Cup.¹² They sought to make soccer history by hosting the best tournament to date and helped the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) achieve its goal to establish a market in the United States. Because the sport gained a wider fan base in the US, its rich history piqued the curiosity of an increasing number of fans. In 1994 World Cup's

This author intentionally used this spelling of the word football to retain authenticity with C. P. Hurditch's work.

¹² This historiographical section represents a condensed summary of the original, which will be submitted with the manuscript for publication. Only the works about American soccer most influential to this thesis will be referenced, but the information about the sport history field will be kept due to its significance about the status of American soccer historiography.

aftermath, fans from all upbringings delved into the subject and discovered a far-reaching past that sat waiting to be unearthed and revealed to the world, especially those who considered it feminine, un-American, an intruder into or an enemy of American society. This historiographical essay argues that the academically trained historians of American soccer focus on the beginnings and early history of the sport; while journalists, athletes, and other scholars generally write the sport in the post-1994 World Cup era.¹³

Sport history scholarship in the United States gained relative mainstream attention in the 1970s with the birth of social and cultural history, although Allen Guttman in his article “Who’s on First? Or, Books on the History of American Sports” suggested it originated in 1801 with Joseph Strutt’s *Sports and the Pastimes of the People of England*.¹⁴ Frederic L. Paxon, a student of Frederick Jackson Turner, published an article titled “The Rise of Sport” in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (now the *Journal of American History*) in 1917.¹⁵ He became “the first professional American historian” to enumerate the importance of sport to history.¹⁶ Yet, many in academia thought a focus in sports might damage their careers and reputations. Instead, they chose from the accepted fields of study diplomacy, military, or politics in general.

At first, sport history coincided with physical education because this discipline first studied sports before historians acknowledged “the history of sports.”¹⁷ The difference between

¹³ The “other scholar” category includes amateur historians with little to no professional instruction in the discipline.

¹⁴ Allen Guttman, “Who’s On First? Or, Books on the History of American Sports,” *The Journal of American History* 66 (September 1979): 348.

¹⁵ Mark Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in *Routledge Companion to Sports History* ed. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (New York: Routledge, 2010), 600; Steven A. Riess, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to American Sport History* edited by Steven A. Riess. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2014, 1.

¹⁶ Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in Pope and Nauright, 600; Riess, “Introduction,” 1.

¹⁷ Martin Polley, *Sports History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), ix; Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in Pope and Nauright, 601.

sports historians and historians of sport lies in “the differences in ends rather than means.”¹⁸

Historians of sport focus on “how American sport illuminates larger issues,” whereas sport historians study how larger issues affect sport; they also first wrote about other topics and then transitioned into sport studies because of the “influence of the ‘new social history.’”¹⁹ Allen Guttman is America’s leading historian of sport, but focused on American studies. Scholars called his *From Ritual to Record* the “seminal work in sports history.”²⁰ Over time, the history of sport grew “into a fully-fledged discipline with its own degrees, professional support networks, publications, societies, and career paths.”²¹ In 1972, sport historians founded the North American Society for Sport History (NASSH) and allowed historians of sport to join.²²

Historians have widely covered the three major American sports baseball, American football, and basketball, but not soccer. Dave Zirin, although a journalist for *The Nation* and not a professional in this discipline, wrote *A People’s History of Sports in the United States: 250*

Those who studied physical education called themselves sport historians.

¹⁸ Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in Pope and Nauright, 608.

¹⁹ Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in Pope and Nauright, 608; Roberta Park, “Sport Historiography? An Overview Through the Eyes of a Physical Educator,” in *Making Sport History: Disciplines, Identities, and the Historiography of Sport* ed. Pascal Delheye (New York: Routledge, 2014), 39-40.

Three types of sport history writing exist, according to Martin Polley a lecturer at the University of Southampton—“Type 1,” a daily recap; “Type 2,” a narrative; “Type 3,” an analysis.¹⁹ In order to complete these projects, scholars must access usually atypical sources such as film, ephemeral items like souvenir programs, and statistics along with normal ones like artifacts, oral interviews, and when possible secondary sources. Depending on the focus of the work, they also should utilize records from clubs and leagues.

²⁰ Park, “Sport Historiography? An Overview Through the Eyes of a Physical Educator,” in Pascal Delheye, 40.

²¹ Polley, *Sports History*, ix.

²² Marvin H. Eyler, “NASSH Official Business – Annual Review,” *NASSH*, 1973, http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/NASSH_Proceedings/NP1973/NP1973zf.pdf; Dyreson, “The United States of America,” in Pope and Nauright, 605.

It advocated studying, researching, and writing the history of sport. They held its first conference in 1974 at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada. The organization also produces the *Journal of Sport History* “three times a year” and the *NAASH Proceedings* in the months after the convention ends.

Years of Politics, Protest, People, and Play. It represents this lack of representation because he only discussed soccer in relation to the 1999 Women’s World Cup. He completely leaves out any mention of men’s soccer, including the 1994 World Cup and Major League Soccer. Richard O. Davies, author of *Sports in American Life*, included some American soccer history in the book, albeit only developments in the past twenty years. Elliot J. Gorn and Warren Goldstein left out any discussion of soccer in their recent work *Sports in American History*.

Writing about American soccer history started in the early 1900s. C. P. Hurditch, who contributed a chapter titled “Association Foot Ball” in the *1904-1905 Association Football Guide*, affirmed the problem that at publication, “statistics are lacking.”²³ Yet, he adequately—to the best of his ability—detailed the history of the pastime up to the date of publication in 1905. The entire guide also included in depth instructions on how to play.²⁴ The *Spalding’s Athletic Library* books on “association foot ball” spanned from 1905 to 1924. After the first, the company renamed them the “Official Soccer Football Guide.”²⁵ With the dearth of sources for this time period, the Spalding’s guides for each sport remain important works for sport, cultural, and social historians to study in order to gain a glimpse into the modern origins of popular pastimes.

In the 1940s, the United States Navy published several “Naval Aviation Physical Training Manuals” to help sailors maintain fitness. They compiled information on various sports like American football, soccer, swimming, wrestling, boxing, and basketball. In the edition on soccer, the author dedicated the first chapter to the history of the sport and the second to “the value of” it to the military leaving the rest to define the instructions and descriptions about

²³ C. P. Hurditch, “Association Foot Ball,” in Flannery, 7.

²⁴ Jerome Flannery, ed., *1904-1905 Season Association Foot Ball Guide*, (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1904), 27-52.

²⁵ “Online Resources – Spalding Guides,” *Society for American Soccer History*, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/resources/>.

positions, strategies, and fundamentals. It also noted, with which thousands of future fans and writers agree, the Navy chose soccer primarily because its “adaptability” made it easy to change while “the game remains the same,” and “little practice of fundamentals is necessary in order to enjoy playing the game.”

Starting in the 1960s, as soccer entered mainstream America, more people wrote about the history of the sport. Most works during this period lacked sources and repeated the same content. Due to their lack of knowledge, they primarily discussed its origins in England and what they knew about contemporary (post-1945) history. Between 1980 and 1993, authors produced little scholarly work on soccer. During this period, no professional outdoor league existed—the North American Soccer League (NASL) collapsed in 1983. Youth soccer participation soared, so the focus transitioned from history to manuals for coaching youth soccer, such as *Franz Beckenbauer’s Soccer Power* written by the player.²⁶ Publications changed, according to Roger Allaway, in 1989 “when the Society for American Soccer History (SASH) came along, American soccer was taking off” as a result of the United States in 1988 winning the bid to host the 1994 World Cup for the first time.²⁷

Sam Foulds worked for US Soccer as the official historian from 1972 to 1994.²⁸ He founded the Society of American Soccer History (SASH) on June 10, 1993, in Oneonta, New

²⁶ The UCO Chambers Library contains ninety-nine books about soccer in its main collection, but the majority focuses on soccer training and tactics or the physiological aspects of the sport.

²⁷ “Spotlight on Roger Allaway,” *Society for American Soccer History*, May 6, 2015, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/spotlight-on-roger-allaway/>.

Colin Jose published his first book, *The United States and World Cup Soccer Competition* in 1994.

²⁸ Foulds and Harris, *America’s Soccer Heritage*, back cover; Roger Allaway, “The Historical Sam T.N. Foulds,” *Society for American Soccer History*, May 4, 2015, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/the-historical-sam-t-n-foulds/>.

York.²⁹ At this time, many amateurs wrote mainly about the NASL and lacked knowledge about earlier history or only contributed vague generalities.³⁰ In order to enlighten the country, the organization focused (and continues to focus) principally on the early history of football in America. Foulds actively answered questions about the sport and collected primary sources, which he later donated to the Museum.³¹ He used these resources to co-write *America's Soccer Heritage: A History of the Game* with Paul Harris, an American Youth Soccer Organization officiating director and soccer book publisher. Together, they aimed “to settle, once and for all, the argument over America’s soccer heritage.”³²

As the 1994 FIFA World Cup tournament neared in June and July 1994, the ‘94 World Cup USA, Inc. and other authors capitalized on the growing excitement and published “how to play guides” and previews of the upcoming tournament. John Sugden, a professor of the sociology of sport at the University of Brighton, and Alan Tomlinson, a professor of leisure studies at the University of Brighton, published their collection of essays, *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities, and The USA World Cup*, the same year as the tournament, but before its kick-off.³³ In Sugden’s solo chapter, “USA and the World Cup: American Nativism and the Rejection of the People’s Game,” he discussed the atmosphere in America regarding the sport and why it failed to become one of the big three sports in the country. He argued that society only has room for a few sports within its culture, and as a result, America

²⁹ Roger Allaway, “The Historical Sam T.N. Foulds,” *Society for American Soccer History*, May 4, 2015, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/the-historical-sam-t-n-foulds/>; “Spotlight on Roger Allaway.”

³⁰ “Spotlight on Roger Allaway.”

³¹ Allaway, “The Historical Sam T.N. Foulds.”

His collection consisted of thirty-seven large archival storage boxes, plus three smaller ones.

³² Foulds and Harris, *America's Soccer Heritage*, iii.

³³ School of Sport and Service Management, “About Us – Prof John Sugden,” University of Brighton, <http://about.brighton.ac.uk/sasm/about-us/contacting-staff/academic-staff/js207/>; Alan Tomlinson, “Alan Tomlinson,” http://alantomlinson.typepad.com/alan_tomlinson/.

chose sports that it represented its uniqueness because it needed to create a national identity of its own.³⁴ With the upcoming World Cup, they explained some of the controversies it created for the United States, such as political problems if either Iran or Iraq qualified to participate, or the fact that Americans largely disliked soccer yet FIFA awarded their nation the opportunity to host arguably the world's most viewed tournament.³⁵

Brian D. Bunk primarily writes about boxing and topics regarding gender, race, and nationality in Spain; however, he also focuses on American soccer. He runs a monthly podcast called "Soccer History USA."³⁶ In these audio episodes, he discusses various topics in the sport during its beginning within the country, such as "Selling Pelé," an episode which provided information for this thesis.

The most notable soccer historians and members of SASH—Roger Allaway, Colin Jose, David Litterer, and David Wangerin—never received formal training as historians.³⁷ Yet, thousands of American fans read their work and praise them. Allaway, a journalist, published two books *Rangers, Rovers, and Spindles: Soccer, Immigration and Textiles in New England and New Jersey* (2005) and *Corner Offices and Corner Kicks: How Big Business Created America's Two Greatest Soccer Dynasties, Bethlehem Steel and the New York Cosmos* (2009). Colin Jose

³⁴ John Sugden, "USA and the World Cup: American Nativism and the Rejection of the People's Game" in *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities, and the USA World Cup* ed. John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (Aldershot, UK: Arena, 1994), 220.

³⁵ Sugden and Tomlinson, "Soccer Culture, National Identity, and the World Cup," in *Hosts and Champions*, 5-6, 8-10.

³⁶ Brian D. Bunk, "About," *Soccer History USA*, <http://soccerhistoryusa.org/about/>.

³⁷ Allaway worked as a copyeditor for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Before he worked for the National Soccer Hall of Fame in New York and the Soccer Hall of Fame in Ontario, Jose earned a living as an electrician and quality-control supervisor at a factory while he wrote and researched soccer in his spare time. Litterer works at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in the Campus Recreation Department. Wangerin (who is sometimes referred to as Dave) coached high school soccer in Wisconsin and wrote for *When Saturday Comes* before he published his books.

worked for both the National Soccer Hall of Fame and Museum in New York and The Soccer Hall of Fame in Vaughn, Ontario as an archivist and a historian.³⁸ The NSHFM also honored him with the Colin Jose Media Award because of his prolific writing career.³⁹ Outside of scholars, the majority of fans fail to realize the long history of the sport, but Jose's *American Soccer League, 1921-1931: The Golden Years of American Soccer* allowed them to learn about its best era. He wrote the first complete study on the topic—the first professional competition in the United States.

David Litterer regularly updates *The American Soccer History Archives*.⁴⁰ He fervently compiled all statistics pertaining to the sport from 1894-2010—amateur/collegiate, indoor, professional, and women's and men's—along with a breakdown of information for each year since 1909.⁴¹ The website also consists of essays written by various soccer fans and SASH members.⁴² Any scholar studying American soccer history must access Litterer's wealth of information because of its quality and quantity.

³⁸ Michael Smith, "About Colin and the CSH Website," *Canadian Soccer History: The Colin Jose Project*, <http://www.canadiansoccerhistory.com/index.html#aboutwebsite>; "Spotlight on Roger Allaway."

He wrote several books about Canadian soccer: *On Side: 125 Years of Soccer in Ontario* (2001), *Canada 1885-1995* (1995), *The Story of Soccer in Canada* (1982), and *Keeping Score: The Encyclopedia of Canadian Soccer* (1998).

³⁹ "Colin Jose Media Award," *US Soccer*, <http://www.ussoccer.com/about/hall-of-fame/colin-jose-media-award>.

⁴⁰ Litterer last edited the website on April 12, 2015.

⁴¹ Litterer, *ASHA*, last edited April 12, 2015, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/>.

He also directs readers to Wikipedia for current season statistics on some of the leagues like Major League Soccer, the second North American Soccer League formed in 2011, and the Women's leagues.

⁴² An essay written by Rory Miller titled, "Soccer and the American Presidency," inspired this author to research Ronald Reagan's involvement in the 1986 and 1994 World Cup Bids.

Dave Wangerin published three books total on soccer, but only two of them about the US.⁴³ Colin Jose called Wangerin's *Soccer in a Football World: The Story of America's Forgotten Game* "one of the finest books ever written on the history of soccer in the US"⁴⁴ Wangerin started as a high school soccer coach but transitioned into a highly acclaimed historian. This work remains one of the most comprehensive studies of the sport's long existence in the United States. When writing *Soccer in a Football World*, he discovered numerous anecdotes and intriguing tales about American soccer and compiled them into *Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes*.⁴⁵ As one reviewer wrote, "The best thing about this book is that it contains information you will not find anywhere else."⁴⁶ Even though both his works remain groundbreaking and highly influential, his failure to cite sources and include a bibliography undermines the scholarly nature of each. Sadly, Wangerin passed away in 2012 and the field lost a contributor too soon.⁴⁷ Many others soon started to write because of a new innovation in technology that allowed authors from various academic backgrounds to contribute their own scholarship.

With the rise of self-publishing venues like Amazon's CreateSpace and Lulu Books and a more democratic publishing process with other presses, more soccer fans entered the field of soccer history. For example: Nathan Nipper, a former television writer, teaches American history

⁴³ Wangerin's first book, *The Fussball Book: German Football Since the Bundesliga* (1993), details the history of German football since the formation of Bundesliga, the German football league, in 1963.

⁴⁴ Dillon Young, "David Wangerin, US Soccer Historian, Passes Away," *IMS Soccer News*, July 3, 2012, <http://www.insidemnsoccer.com/2012/07/03/david-wangerin-us-soccer-historian-passes-away/>.

⁴⁵ David Wangerin, *Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), viii-ix.

⁴⁶ "Wangerin's *Distant Corners* is Pure Gold," *International Soccer Network*, June 5, 2011, <http://isnsoccer.com/news/2011/06/05/wangerins-distant-corners-is-pure-gold/>.

⁴⁷ Young, "David Wangerin, US Soccer Historian, Passes Away."

in high school and avidly follows the sport in his spare time.⁴⁸ He admittedly snubbed Major League Soccer for years, but in 2013, he decided to follow his local MLS team, FC Dallas, for a year; as a result, he compiled his experience into a memoir, *Dallas 'Til I Cry: Learning to Love Major League Soccer*. While these historians (trained and untrained) typically focused on the early years up to the 1994 World Cup or in the post-2010 World Cup era, journalists generally fixated on the sport in the aftermath of this historical tournament.

Possibly because they write about current news, reporters tended to write monographs about contemporary American soccer. In 2010, Beau Dure published *Long-Range Goals: The Success Story of Major League Soccer*.⁴⁹ He successfully argued that soccer made it in the United States and “has even started to thrive,” contrary to what many believe.⁵⁰ A well-written work besides the lengthy direct quotes, he accessed numerous other monographs, news articles, oral interviews, and a few articles from Major League Soccer (MLS). He talked to various people within MLS’s administration, but he also lacked important documentation from its archives. Like Dure’s monograph on MLS, Ian Plenderleith’s work remains one of the few narrative-driven histories of the NASL.⁵¹ An American journalist who lives in England, he compiled a history of it called *Rock ‘N’ Roll Soccer: The Short Life and Fast Times of the North American Soccer League*. In it, he argued that the league “introduced the idea that a soccer game

⁴⁸ “Nathan Nipper,” *Nathan Nipper*, <http://www.nathannipper.com>.

⁴⁹ Dure previously wrote for *USA Today*, but now writes full-time for his own blog titled *SportsMyriad, Etc.* and monographs on men’s and women’s soccer and the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC).

⁵⁰ Beau Dure, *Long-Range Goals: The Success Story of Major League Soccer* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 2010), xxii.

⁵¹ Clive Toye, an administrator in NASL, wrote *A Kick in the Grass: The Slow Rise and Quick Demise of NASL* in 2006.

could be an event and a spectacle, not just two teams meeting to compete for points.”⁵² He based the work primarily on the memories and words of those working and competing in NASL. This narrative stems partially from personal experience because he spent his early years and high school days during the league’s existence.

American soccer players, like athletes of other sports, detail their lives both on and off the field in memoirs. These books should be important troves of information for historians. Like soldiers, they provide insight into their everyday lives both on and off the field. In the memoirs, their objectives differ. Some wish to raise awareness about a problem in society or a disease (Robbie Rogers, Hope Solo, Michelle Akers, and Tim Howard), while others simply want to celebrate how they developed into professionals (Claudio Reyna, Brandi Chastain, and Mia Hamm).⁵³ Their unique position as household names allowed them to access more readers. While non-sports historians might scoff at what information famous players might contribute, their lives provide necessary scholarship related to race, class, socioeconomics, and social/cultural attitudes, just like the works of non-historian scholars.

Gary Hopkins’s *Star-Spangled Soccer: The Selling, Marketing and Management of Soccer in the USA* differs from almost all histories of American soccer because it dealt solely with the business and financial aspects of it, specifically the marketing impact of the 1994 World

⁵² Ian Plenderleith, *Rock ‘N’ Roll Soccer: The Short Life and Fast Times of the North American Soccer League* (London: Icon Books, Ltd., 2014), 6.

⁵³ Their books are the following: Michelle Akers and Gregg Lewis, *The Game and the Glory: An Autobiography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 2000); Robbie Rogers and Eric Marcus, *Coming Out to Play* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014); Hope Solo and Ann Killion, *Solo: A Memoir of Hope* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2013); Brandi Chastain and Gloria Averbuch, *It’s Not About the Bra: Play Hard, Play Fair, and Put the Fun Back into Competitive Sports* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004); Mia Hamm and Aaron Heifetz, *Go for the Goal: A Champion’s Guide to Winning in Soccer and Life* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2000); and Claudio Reyna and Mike Woitallia, *More Than Goals: The Journey from Backyard Games to World Cup Competition* (Champaign, IL : Human Kinetics, 2004).

Cup on the sport in the United States. It remains a key monograph for researchers and fans because the financial aspect offers information about the viability of sports within a specific culture.

Andrei Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, two professors of political science, co-authored *Offside: Soccer & American Exceptionalism* in 2001. Like other monographs in this paper, it remains highly influential. They argued “that hegemonic sports and cultures are very ‘sticky’ and ‘path dependent’ and cannot be acquired through intellect but only through emotion and identity, which is what ultimately sustains them in a historically lasting way.”⁵⁴ These scholars wrote the first in-depth work on why soccer failed to become America’s sport like and created the theory of “sport space.”

Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zimbalist disagree with the “sport space” theory in their book *National Pastime: How Americans Play Baseball and the Rest of the World Plays Soccer*. They analyzed baseball and soccer to see the similarities between their developments as national pastimes and discovered that the sports developed by chance and through the traditions of their respective societies, but it occurred randomly, which meant, “baseball could have evolved more like soccer, or soccer could have evolved like baseball.”⁵⁵ This book remains unique because of their knowledge of economics.

A librarian, Dennis J. Seese, wrote *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association*, the only history regarding the United Soccer Association (USA), the league that merged with the National Professional Soccer League

⁵⁴ Andrei S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, *Offside: Soccer & American Exceptionalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), xii.

⁵⁵ Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zimbalist, *National Pastime: How Americans Play Baseball and the Rest of the World Plays Soccer* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, Institution Press, 2005), xii.

(NPSL) to form NASL. This highly influential work, published by Rowman & Littlefield, represents the only scholarly work about the USA and the National Premier Soccer League (NPSL), which only lasted one year. It is the most recent academic monograph published about American men's soccer history.

With the victory of the United States Women's National Team in 1991 World Cup (the first female version), it gained arguably a stronger fan base than the men that continuously grows and strengthens. It also resulted in numerous publications. In 2001, Jere Longman contributed a monograph called *The Girls of Summer: The U.S. Women's Soccer Team and How It Changed the World*, one of the field's first comprehensive studies.⁵⁶ Clemente Lisi, a *New York Post* reporter, wrote another seminal work titled *The U.S. Women's Soccer Team: An American Success Story* that added to Longman's book and also utilized memoirs from members of the 1999 Women's World Cup—Mia Hamm and Brandi Chastain, which debuted after his predecessor's monograph.

As shown in this analysis, plenty of scholarship remains untouched. Authors also concentrate on the regions where its observers clearly see its influence. Because so many writers focus on the ongoing, current events or the early twentieth century, a gap of knowledge and compiled work exists particularly during the period from 1931 to 2010. Women's soccer expanded in this era and remains a burgeoning research topic with exemplary importance regarding gender, class, Title IX, and equality, especially financial. With Robbie Rogers and other openly gay players like Abby Wambach and Megan Rapinoe, homosexuality in the sport will evolve into a new area within the field. Soccer's popularity fails to engross academia. Even

⁵⁶ Along with his articles for the *New York Times*, Longman's other publications include: *Among the Heroes: United Flight 93 and the Passengers and Crew Who Fought Back*, *The Hurricanes: One High School Team's Homecoming After Katrina*, and *If Football's a Religion: Why Don't We Have a Prayer?*

with increasing TV viewers and live spectators, history departments must enlighten college students about sport history, show them it exists, and reveal the abundance of topics within it. Its future constantly broadens, but it simply needs devoted attention.

This thesis specifically focuses on professional men's soccer due to the masculinized nature of theories, such as nationalism, nativism, colonialism, and imperialism, discussed throughout this work. Also from 1960 to 2005, the commercialization of American soccer leagues featured male-dominated ownership and administration. The role of women in professional men's soccer needs a book of its own to adequately cover the topic, and this work presents the framework necessary to do so in the future.

Outline of Chapters

Soccer's arrival during the 1960s stemmed from the consumerism of the 1950s with a mix of the rising counterculture and the conservative movements. Businessmen, whether they understood the sport or not, witnessed the profits it generated overseas and wanted to replicate them in the United States in similar fashions as the commercial American pastimes of gridiron football, baseball, and basketball. Their perpetuation of a nativist-integration of soccer into American culture focused on altering the international aspects of soccer to fit the American values of the suburban white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants who occupied the highest rung of the economic and social echelons.

Chapter two details the history of soccer in the United States from 1960 to 1982. This history includes the International Soccer League (ISL, 1960-1965), the 1966 World Cup, the formation of the United Soccer Association (USA), the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL), and the merging of these two leagues that created the NASL in 1968. Pelé's career with

the New York Cosmos will only briefly be discussed in this chapter because of the amount of work already written about him. This narrative employs new archival material from the Henry Kissinger Papers at Yale University and the Mark H. McCormack Papers at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. In addition, this chapter looks at the history of the NASL's Tulsa Roughnecks, the first professional soccer team in Oklahoma. This thesis examines part of soccer's history in Oklahoma partially due to the location of the university at which this author completed this work, but also because of the dearth of scholarship written about the sport in Oklahoma. As this author discovered, it features a more extensive and nuanced existence than one might believe for a gridiron football-obsessed state and needs further exploration than briefly touched upon here.

Chapter three also uses archival material untouched by other scholars and writers of American soccer history. The Ronald Reagan Library contained over 400 pages of documents (some of these duplicates) related to the 1994 World Cup bid. This chapter examines the former president's role in the US Soccer bid for the 1986 and 1994 World Cups. Only a few scholars noted it in their work, and these mentions briefly explain it in a single sentence. It follows the period 1983 to 1988 and includes information about Team America (a club created by the federation and the league to compete both internationally and in NASL), the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the collapse of NASL in 1984, and FIFA's decision to award the United States with the 1994 World Cup hosting rights.

The tournament offered soccer a new level of mainstream popularity in the US and generated more educational interest. Yet, in 2010, the National Soccer Hall of Fame and Museum in New York, which held the US Soccer archives, closed permanently because of insufficient funding and visitors. The museum employees moved the archival material from New

York to the EuroSport Headquarters in Hillsborough, North Carolina, and left the storage boxes unpacked. Its collection contains all of the official documentation for the 1994 World Cup. US Soccer's disorganization regarding the archives and inability to unpack the materials prevents researchers from accessing the warehouse. Due to these problems, chapter four approaches the information and argument differently than the rest of the thesis. To work around the lack of sources, the author proposes a new theory about why US-born Americans called soccer a foreign sport and the threat they believed it posed to the country's society and culture. This chapter also briefly looks at ways US Soccer promoted the 1994 World Cup to the American people through the use of promotional materials such as t-shirts, books, programs, stamps and other souvenirs.

Chapter five examines the early history of Major League Soccer. The general public and fans pay little attention to the origins of the league. Conflicts of interest surround its formation since its founder, Alan Rothenberg the organizer of the 1984 Olympics' soccer, also held the position of US Soccer president and chairman of the World Cup USA '94 Organizing Committee. This chapter focuses solely on its economic structure and how US lawyers set it up to benefit the owners including restrictions on off-field competition, player autonomy, and a single-entity operating model. These factors affected the league's financial growth for the first decade of its existence from 1993 to 2005.

In chapter six, the thesis continues the narrative with a discussion of the aftermath following the collapse of two MLS teams, the Tampa Bay Mutiny and the Miami Fusion. A call from a sports marketing firm in Oklahoma City to the league's administration prompted a search for two expansion teams. The University of Central Oklahoma located in Edmond, Oklahoma, a suburb just north of OKC, received national attention and a financial boost to its football stadium renovations as MLS considered it as a potential home for a new soccer franchise. Since 1960,

soccer faced innumerable issues in the US. Its biggest concern, the US-born audience oblivious to wonders of the beautiful game, presented American businessmen with a seemingly unconquerable task—popularizing soccer into mainstream United States culture.

Chapter 2 – History of Soccer in the United States, 1960-1982

“More significant, though, was the breathtakingly naïve assumption that soccer was merely a commodity whose success in North America required little more than marketing.”⁵⁷

- David Wangerin, *Distant Corners: American Soccer’s History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes*

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The rise of mainstream (or commercial) American soccer occurred during the height of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. It coincided with the counterculture and conservative movements of the 60s, 70s, and 80s and found tremendous popularity with white suburban families. Capitalists, conservative politicians, and lawyers like William “Bill” Cox, Henry Kissinger, Alan Rothenberg, and Ronald Reagan (the next chapter discusses his role) brought soccer into the mainstream purview when they invested billions over time into it as business ventures with the International Soccer League (ISL, 1960-65), the United Soccer Association (USA, 1967), the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL, 1967), and the North American Soccer League (NASL, 1968-1984).⁵⁸ They also advocated hosting a FIFA World Cup in the United States. Yet, the majority lacked the same knowledge and passion for the sport as seen in the rest of the world, so they largely pursued soccer as purely a revenue stream. In other words, these men considered the teams corporate properties, commercial stakes, or as

⁵⁷ Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 206.

⁵⁸ This chapter provides an overview of the ISL, the NPSL, the USA, and the NASL. For more information about these leagues, see George Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism: The United States Football Association in a Global Context, 1950-74” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2015); Dennis J. Seese, *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015); and Ian Plenderleith, *Rock’N’Roll Soccer: The Short Life and Fast Times of the North American Soccer League* (London: Icon Books, Ltd., 2014). Scholars have yet to write a monograph about the NPSL.

the late David Wangerin wrote in the quote above, commodities, which they thought “required little more than marketing.”⁵⁹

International Soccer League

In 1960, Bill Cox, a sports and money enthusiast, started “the first modern attempt to create a major soccer league in the United States” in the form of a tournament staged in New York to drum up the sport’s popularity in America.⁶⁰ He named it the International Soccer League (ISL). Cox, a Yale University dropout turned-businessman, found his beginnings in Wall Street in 1929 then turned to entrepreneurial ventures, such as dealing art, “before devoting himself to the lumber industry.”⁶¹ Once he earned a decent fortune, he entered the sports business buying the New York Yankees in 1941, which only played one season due to World War II, of the American Football League (AFL). Two years later, he helped purchase the Philadelphia Phillies, but his tenure as a Major League Baseball (MLB) owner lasted only a few months because “rumors swirled that Cox had gambled on games in which the Phillies played” and Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the legendary MLB commissioner, banned him from the league as a result.⁶² Fifteen years later, he attended the 1958 World Cup in Sweden and it “was enough to rekindle his interest in football.”⁶³

Cox found a partner in Erno Schwarcz, a former Hungarian international and current business manager of the American Soccer League (ASL), who spoke to the United States Soccer

⁵⁹ Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 206.

⁶⁰ Litterer, “International Soccer League II,” *ASHA*, last updated June 5, 1998, <http://www.northamericansoccerarchives.com/isl2.html>; “The International Soccer League: Importing Foreign Leagues,” *United States National Soccer Team Players*, February 12, 2008, <http://ussoccerplayers.com/history/usa/importing-foreign-leagues>.

⁶¹ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 61.

⁶² Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 62.

⁶³ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 64.

Federation Association (USSFA) and promised them “high-class players, much needed publicity, and ‘large sums of money’” in July 1958.⁶⁴ During the 1959 United States Soccer Federation Convention, the USSFA cooperated with the two men and affirmed the project’s legitimacy to FIFA.⁶⁵ New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner joined in support with his remarks at the October 28, 1959, public announcement, “New York is a great sports town and the games will be an important development in our national program to bring about better understanding between the people of our land and those of foreign nations” a sentiment echoed two decades later by Henry Kissinger and former President Ronald Reagan.⁶⁶ Seven months later, the first ISL season kicked off and provided more publicity to the sport than profits for Cox and ASL.

International teams competed against each other and the lone American team at the “Polo Grounds in Manhattan and Roosevelt Stadium in Jersey City, New Jersey.”⁶⁷ The Americans consisted entirely of foreigners, which no one minded as Cox said, “After all, the New York Rangers’ hockey team doesn’t have an American among its regulars.”⁶⁸ Both sections of the 1960 season featured six teams. Section one consisted of Kilmarnock (Scotland), Burnley (England), Olympic Gymnaste Club Nice (France), the New York Americans (USA), Bayern Munich (West Germany), and Glenavon (North Ireland); and Section two featured Bangu (Brazil), Red Star Belgrade (Yugoslavia), Sampdoria (Italy), Sporting Club Lisbon (Portugal),

⁶⁴ Quoted in Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 64; Foulds and Harris, *America’s Soccer Heritage*, 89.

⁶⁵ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 64-5; Foulds and Harris, 89.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 65-6.

⁶⁷ “They Even Cheered Technique: The International Soccer League, Part One,” *Pitch Invasion*, November 4, 2011, <http://pitchinvasion.net/they-even-cheered-technique-the-1960-international-soccer-league-part-one/>.

⁶⁸ “They Even Cheered Technique: The International Soccer League, Part One.”

Norrkoping (Sweden), and Rapid Vienna (Austria).⁶⁹ Cox hoped to appeal to nationalistic instincts of the ethnic diversity of New York with the team arrangement, and the “*New York Times* reported the results...by using...the respective nationalities.”⁷⁰ Sam Foulds and Paul Harris, in their landmark work *America’s Soccer Heritage* published in 1979, suggested it also “was to provide a testing ground for determining if soccer ‘had a grass roots’ appeal for the American sporting public,” but commercialism largely appeared as stronger influences to hosting the ISL.⁷¹ They each played one game against each other in a round-robin format and the top team in the standing played in the American Cup, a final championship match between the section one and section two teams.⁷² Kilmarnock advanced to play Bangu with the latter earning the 1960 title.⁷³ The series ended successfully as “the first American league to feature regularly on national network television,” and attendance slowly rose as the tournament progressed.⁷⁴

Cox expanded the second series to eight teams per section with most of the 1960 teams returning. The New York Americans featured actual American players in addition to a Canadian team called the Montreal Concordia, which competed in both 1961 sections. He also listened to fan input and added more double-headers and Sunday night games instead of Saturday. They even accommodated parking and transportation concerns by running special “soccer trains to the Polo Grounds on game day.” Cox understood he needed to meet the fans requests to successfully

⁶⁹ Litterer, “International Soccer League II,” “The International Soccer League: Importing Foreign Leagues.”

⁷⁰ “In Lieu of Giants: The International Soccer League, Part Two,” *Pitch Invasion*, November 7, 2011, <http://pitchinvasion.net/in-lieu-of-giants-the-international-soccer-league-part-two/>; Foulds and Harris, 89.

⁷¹ Foulds and Harris, 89.

⁷² “They Even Cheered Technique: The International Soccer League, Part One.”

⁷³ “In Lieu of Giants: The International Soccer League, Part Two.”

⁷⁴ “In Lieu of Giants: The International Soccer League, Part Two.”

market and promote soccer in the United States. Yet, he also needed to cooperate with FIFA, the American Soccer League, and the United States Soccer Football Association.⁷⁵

The success prompted conflict with the USSFA because it never received any publicity during the International Soccer League's inaugural season giving Cox all of the recognition.⁷⁶ He wanted to set up the ISL as its own league under the federation instead of a partnership with the ASL, but the former rejected the proposal.⁷⁷ Yet, it protected Cox's investment when a new law "forbade private promoters from organizing tournaments" because of the international body's "suspicion of commercial interests."⁷⁸ In turn, Cox provided assistance to the USSFA to help develop the game in the United States.⁷⁹ The American Soccer League's officials then allowed him to operate his tournament without any interruption in the summer.⁸⁰ USSFA President Jack Flamhaft responded with a condemnation of the situation, "It is an investment and they are in it to make a dollar. They are no more interested in this game as a sport than I am in Greek dancing or something of that nature."⁸¹ Without a financial source, soccer would fail in the United States on a national level. Flamhaft, and his successor J. Eugene Ringsdorf, understood their predicament and, in September 1961, they received permission to continue the ISL; however contradictorily, the USSFA kept the ISL at arm's length and refused to recognize it officially as they deemed it a hindrance to the sport's growth especially because no American players participated and Cox only "import[ed] foreign teams."⁸²

⁷⁵ "In Lieu of Giants: The International Soccer League, Part Two," *Pitch Invasion*.

⁷⁶ Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 68.

⁷⁷ Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 68-9.

⁷⁸ Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 71.

⁷⁹ Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 71.

⁸⁰ Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 72.

⁸¹ Quoted in Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 72.

⁸² Kioussis, "Exceptions and Exceptionalism," 73, 75-6.

After 1963, attendance slowly diminished for the ISL as the tensions between the USSFA, the ASL, and Bill Cox grew. He sued the ASL for breaking their agreement and playing games during the summer, but lost the case and then appealed to FIFA “to take his business outside the jurisdiction of USSFA.”⁸³ The international body rejected it as well.⁸⁴ As Dr. George Kioussis discussed in his dissertation, the feud between the USSFA and the ISL (Bill Cox) demonstrated the battle “between Old World norms and New World realities” of “sport for sport’s sake” and commercialism (or American mainstream standards).⁸⁵ This topic remains a point of contention in the American soccer community and plagued both the North American Soccer League (NASL), the successor to the ISL, and Major League Soccer (MLS) in the coming decades. A year after the ISL ended in 1965, the quadrennial FIFA World Cup captivated an international audience, and even Americans tuned in to catch the action.

1966 World Cup

Before 1966, few people around the globe watched the World Cup live on their televisions. Broadcast companies showed game highlights hours later to give fans an opportunity to see the tournament when left without the ability to attend in person. In England, fans enjoyed a “blanket free-to-air television coverage of the World Cup.”⁸⁶ Before 1954 in Switzerland, fans

⁸³ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 73, 75-6.

⁸⁴ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 80-1.

⁸⁵ Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism,” 81.

⁸⁶ John Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup: A Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 18.

For more information about the 1966 World Cup, see John Hughson’s *England and the 1966 World Cup: A Cultural History*, Roger Hutchinson’s *’66: The Real Story of England’s 1966 World Cup Triumph*, and Martin Atherton’s *The Theft of the Jules Rimet Trophy: The Hidden History of the 1966 World Cup*.

never saw a live broadcast of a World Cup finals series.⁸⁷ The amount of live coverage gradually increased from 1954 to 1958, but “live television [for the 1962 World Cup in Chile] was not possible” and it forced fans to only see highlights.⁸⁸ As a result, FIFA signed a contract with the European Broadcasting Union to receive revenue from the 1962 and 1966 tournaments.⁸⁹

BBC aired fifty hours and Independent Television (ITV) aired sixteen hours of the 1966 World Cup. The former predicted it “would attract a record international audience of 400 million.”⁹⁰ The media coverage “was at an all-time high.”⁹¹ In *Armchair Nation*, Joe Moran stated the final received the “biggest audience in British television history: more than 32 million.”⁹² Yet, he also called it an underestimated number because rating systems fail to accurately count collective public viewership, and such massive crowds gathered in these locations to see the final that many people remembered empty roads and cities like ghost towns.⁹³ Its popularity continued, and further instilled, the belief that “the public had the right to experience live broadcasting of key sporting events.”⁹⁴

Millions tuned their televisions to the 1966 World Cup final between West Germany and England attended by “97,000 people, including Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh.”⁹⁵ Factories in Spain closed for the day; cars sat abandoned in “the Brenner Pass on the Austro-Italian border” as their owners watched in nearby bars and cafes.⁹⁶ Even in Moscow, people

⁸⁷ Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 18.

⁸⁸ Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 18.

⁸⁹ Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 19.

⁹⁰ Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 20.

⁹¹ Chuck Cascio, *Soccer U.S.A* (New York: Robert B. Luce Washington, 1975), 41.

⁹² Joe Moran, *Armchair Nation: An Intimate History of Britain in Front of the TV* (London: Profile Books, 2013), 295.

⁹³ Moran, 295; Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 19.

⁹⁴ Hughson, *England and the 1966 World Cup*, 19.

⁹⁵ Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 164; Cascio, *Soccer USA*, 39.

⁹⁶ Emmett Smith, “The Booting Game,” *The Rotarian*, September 1967, 27.

gathered to watch the games and left the streets deserted.⁹⁷ For earlier matches, in the United States, they showed game highlights on ABC's Wide World of Sports. American media raved about the amount of revenue produced, which reportedly amounted to seven million dollars, 500,000 of it from the championship match.⁹⁸ The potential profits excited several corporate executives, including Lamar Hunt founder of the American Football League and owner of the Kansas City Chiefs. Hunt said, "The first meaningful image I had was the 1966 World Cup final. I was able to see the game on the international level, and I was attracted by the crowds and their enthusiasm."⁹⁹ This atmosphere led to a revival of American soccer in actual league format, not truly seen at the coming levels since the 1920s and 1930s during the Golden Age of Soccer.

Formation of the USA and the NPSL

"Bucks. That's what did it," Chuck Cascio wrote in his book *Soccer USA*.¹⁰⁰ The crowds at Wembley and the profits FIFA and England acquired filled American businessmen with "thoughts of millions of green bucks."¹⁰¹ The 1966 tournament grossed seven million dollars with the final's ticket sales at \$573,454.¹⁰² Yet, as Dennis Seese noted in his book *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association*, the idea for what became the United Soccer Association formally started on March 20, 1966.¹⁰³ This misconception instilled itself into the mythos of American soccer history. Not only one, but three investor groups met on that day to coordinate "a coast-to-coast professional soccer league" with

⁹⁷ Smith, "The Booting Game," 27.

⁹⁸ Plenderleith, *Rock 'N' Roll Soccer*, 19; Cascio, *Soccer U.S.A.*, 57.

⁹⁹ Quoted in Sweet, *Lamar Hunt*, 112.

¹⁰⁰ Cascio, 56.

¹⁰¹ Cascio, 56.

¹⁰² Cascio, 57.

¹⁰³ Dennis J. Seese, *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 12.

the USSFA, Canadian Association and FIFA.¹⁰⁴ Jack Kent Cooke, owner of the Washington Redskins, Los Angeles Lakers, and the Los Angeles Kings, led one Los Angeles group seeking a franchise, while Richard “Dick” Millen, “a lawyer from Los Angeles...affiliated with the National Soccer League” headed another.¹⁰⁵ Two months later, one of the groups led by Robert Herman, Jr. of St. Louis and Bill Cox (of the former ISL) announced the formation of the North American Professional Soccer League (NAPSL); it only needed the sanction of the [USSFA to] begin competition in the fall of 1967.¹⁰⁶ As Seese wrote, “This is the only time the name ‘North American Professional Soccer League’ appears on record.”¹⁰⁷ The USSFA appointed a “three-man committee to review the proposals” and then during a meeting in June, asked them to explain their future contributions to American soccer before they sanctioned a league.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the organization failed to pick one group, so they suggested a merger, which the investors rejected.¹⁰⁹ USSFA turned to FIFA who suggested a “sanctioning individual clubs according to their merits,” which could be interpreted as a promotion-and-relegation-style decision, and to choose what “would be in everybody’s best interest.”¹¹⁰

On June 17, 1966, Millen announced the ten-team National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) and the first season to start in April 1967 “with the players initially recruited mostly

¹⁰⁴ “New Pro Soccer League Reported in the Making,” *The New York Times*, March 21, 1966, 43.

¹⁰⁵ Dave Brady, “Football, Baseball Owners Show Interest in Major League Soccer,” *The Washington Post*, March 20, 1966, C3; Seese, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Deane McGowen, “Plans for Nationwide 11-Team Pro Soccer League Formulated Here,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 1966, 54.

¹⁰⁷ Seese, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Seese, 21.

¹⁰⁹ Seese, 21.

¹¹⁰ Seese, 21.

from Europe.”¹¹¹ Yet, according to Seese, Steve Holroyd, and Wangerin, some confusion exists because some sources say Millen, Cox, and Hermann (President of NPSL) combined their groups “before the USSFA convention” while others suggest after the conference in August.¹¹² Nonetheless, the USSFA told them all “in return for its sanction, it wanted four percent of the gate receipts, ten percent of any television money, and a twenty-five thousand dollar franchise fee from each club.”¹¹³ Frank Woods, the USSFA president, explained the “requested money is earmarked all for junior soccer, little leagues and clinics’ so that a base of fans and native-born players for the new league could be developed.”¹¹⁴ Only Cooke’s group agreed to these requirements and his North American Soccer League received the sanction, while the NPSL henceforth gained the moniker “outlaw league” because it operated outside of the USSFA’s authority and sanctioning, which meant anyone—players, coaches, administrators, etc.—associated with it also navigated outside of FIFA’s regulations and therefore risked their careers to play in the NPSL.¹¹⁵ As Dan Herbst wrote in *Soccer Digest*, “Common sense would play a small role in the governing of professional soccer in North America.”¹¹⁶ The English Football Association relayed to all of its players the punishment, a possible permanent or five-year

¹¹¹ “Pro Soccer League Set in U.S., Canada: Team in Baltimore NFL Owners Involved,” *The Washington Post*, June 17, 1966, E3; Seese, 21-22.

The article is dated June 16; however, the newspaper issue was printed on June 17, also the date Seese stated as the NPSL announcement.

¹¹² Seese, 22.

¹¹³ Steve Holroyd and Litterer, “The Year in American Soccer – 1966,” *ASHA*, last updated February 17, 2008, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/year/1966.html>.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Seese, 23.

This 1966 sanction fee allocation resembles the “expansion fee” requested by Major League Soccer; however, the MLS fee goes directly to the league as a “buy-in” requirement to help diminish the current owners’ loss of the revenue share and not into the development of American soccer.

¹¹⁵ Seese, 22; “Two Groups Join in New Soccer Setup,” *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1966, C2; Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 175.

¹¹⁶ Dan Herbst, “The NASL: The Chaos of the Early Years,” *Soccer Digest*, January 1986, 49.

suspension from soccer; however, Rous later dismissed all concerns with playing in it.¹¹⁷ This circumstance increased the already tense relationship between the USSFA and Cox, which now included the NPSL, but will not feature in this thesis.¹¹⁸ The NPSL continued with the plan to start in April 1967, but in September 1966, Hermann and Cooke met to discuss a merger of NASL and NPSL, which ultimately Hermann nixed.¹¹⁹ A month later, Hermann announced the NPSL agreed upon a television contract with CBS.¹²⁰ As with the theme of this thesis, without televised games how might a league survive as a commercial-mainstream entity, which Hermann, Cooke, and Cox all considered them, without incoming revenue to maintain it? Americans also determined something's popularity by the box-office receipts or revenue, mainstream equaled high profits while low profits meant a failure.¹²¹

After the NPSL signed its television deal, the NASL investors made a hasty decision to start its inaugural season in 1967 alongside the NPSL and to achieve the goal, import entire teams from Europe and South America and “assign one to each city based on that city’s ethnic composition” for twelve games to complete the first season.¹²² The NASL hoped to instantly attract the attention of the ethnic communities by placing familiarly sounding names in the stadiums. Three months before kick off (June 4, 1967), Dick Walsh, the NASL’s commissioner, announced it changed its name to the United Soccer Association (USA) to make sure fans could

¹¹⁷ “New League Off Limit to English,” *The Washington Post*, August 25, 1966, C6; Shav Glick, “Pro Soccer Teams Gird For \$ War,” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1967, 12.

¹¹⁸ Both Seese and Wangerin discuss the increased tension between the USSFA, Cox, and the NPSL in their books.

¹¹⁹ Seese, 28-29.

¹²⁰ Seese, 30-31.

¹²¹ Smith, “The Booting Game,” 29.

¹²² Seese, 33, 37.

differentiate between it and the NPSL without any difficulty in addition to reminding fans “the league is sanctioned” by the official soccer governance in the United States.¹²³

Los Angeles Wolves

On August 17, Jack Kent Cooke chose the name for his new sports team—the Los Angeles Zorros, which in Spanish means foxes.¹²⁴ Unfortunately for him, the NPSL also established a team in the area and called it the Los Angeles Toros, which in Spanish means bulls, owned by Dan Reeves (also the owner of the Los Angeles Rams) and Clarence Martin (owner of the Los Angeles Blades with Reeves).¹²⁵ *The Los Angeles Times* mocked the names with quips like, “The Toros should not be confused with the Zorros...Or should they?”¹²⁶ In a Christmas article, one reporter suggested, “To soccer fans—a guide explaining the difference between Zorros and Toros.”¹²⁷ Another wrote, “Their methods of operation, unlike their names, are completely different.”¹²⁸ Both teams called the Los Angeles Coliseum home.¹²⁹ Martin dissuaded any concerns that he and Reeves “[had]...delusions of grandeur,” but it might seem all investors at the time held much too high of expectations because of their actions.¹³⁰ In March 1967, Cooke set Club America, a professional Mexican team still around today, to represent the Los Angeles

¹²³ “NASL Becomes USA: Pro Soccer League Adopts New Name,” *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1967, D3.

¹²⁴ “Kent Picks Zorros,” *The Washington Post*, August 17, 1966, D4; “Cooke Selects ‘Zorros’ For His Soccer Club,” *The Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1966, B3.

For more information about Jack Kent Cooke, see Adrian Havill, *The Last Mogul: The Unauthorized Biography of Jack Kent Cooke* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992). It only briefly mentions Cooke’s venture as a soccer team owner.

¹²⁵ “Toros to Pour On Foreign Flavor,” *The Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 1966, B3.

¹²⁶ “Toros to Pour On Foreign Flavor,” B3.

¹²⁷ John Hall, “Filling the Sox,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1966, A3

¹²⁸ Shav Glick, “Pro Soccer Teams Gird For \$ War,” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1967, 12.

¹²⁹ Glick, “Pro Soccer Teams Gird For \$ War,” 12.

¹³⁰ Shav Glick, “Pro Soccer Must Develop Heroes,” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 1967, C2.

Americans, the name he gave the club after “confusion caused by the similarity.”¹³¹ Yet, the inability to complete a contract with Club America forced him to rename the team a third time, two months before the first game on June 4, 1967, to the Los Angeles Wolves as he and the Wolverhampton Wanderers, an English team, agreed to terms on April 6.¹³²

With the Wolves came a new figure in American soccer, one who people erroneously refer to as “the godfather of American soccer.”¹³³ In 1967, when Cooke bought the franchise, Alan Rothenberg worked for him, but one day, “Cooke opened the door to his young attorney’s office without knocking and surprised Rothenberg by telling him, ‘You’re in charge of the soccer team now.’”¹³⁴ He sent Rothenberg “to England and told [him] to buy an entire team of players.”¹³⁵ The lawyer entered the soccer community for the first time and experienced his first game in 1967.¹³⁶ He later played a minor role as the owner of the Los Angeles Aztecs (1977-

¹³¹ Glick, “Pro Soccer Teams Gird For \$ War,” 12; “Zorros Change Official Name to Americans,” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1967, C3.

¹³² “By Any Other Name They’re Still Cooke’s,” *The Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1967, B7; Seese, 41.

¹³³ Terry Lefton, “Champions: Alan Rothenberg, Catalyst for Soccer in U.S.,” *SportsBusiness Daily*, April 4, 2011, <http://www.sportsbusinessdaily.com/Journal/Issues/2011/04/04/People-and-Pop-Culture/Rothenberg.aspx>.

Numerous men have received the nickname of “Godfather of American Soccer:” Steve Ross, Alan Rothenberg, Chuck Blazer, Bruce Arena, Lamar Hunt; however, soccer historians Roger Allaway and the late David Wangerin referred to Thomas Cahill as a founding father of soccer in the United States because he founded the American Amateur Football Association, which became the United States Football Association in 1913, now the United States Soccer Federation (or US Soccer). For more information about Cahill, see Roger Allaway, “The Forgotten Thomas W. Cahill,” *Society for American Soccer History*, June 15, 2015, <http://www.ussoccerhistory.org/the-forgotten-thomas-w-cahill/> or “Bullets: Thomas William Cahill, 1863-1951” in David Wangerin, *Distant Corners: American Soccer’s History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 58-100.

¹³⁴ Lefton, “Champions: Alan Rothenberg, Catalyst for Soccer in U.S.”

¹³⁵ Gary Hopkins, *Star-Spangled Soccer: The Selling, Marketing and Management of Soccer in the USA* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 23.

¹³⁶ Lefton, “Champions: Alan Rothenberg, Catalyst for Soccer in U.S.”

1980) and a more significant role in the 1980s with the 1984 LA Olympics and the 1990s with the 1994 World Cup, which will be discussed in chapters four and six.

At the end of the season, the Wolves and Washington Whips (represented by Aberdeen of Scotland) topped the Western and Eastern Division standings, respectively, and played each other in the first United Soccer Association Championship game on July 14, 1967.¹³⁷ They played in the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, in front of a shockingly small crowd for a title match; yet, the 17,824 attendees and the organizers brought a “Super Bowl”-like feel to the game.¹³⁸ The match, often referred to as “one of the all-time great games of soccer,” ended in overtime with the Wolves prevailing over the Whips 6-5.¹³⁹ According to the Wolves’ owner, Cooke, “Everyone who saw our final game as well as the World Cup Final, either in person or on television, voted our game even more exciting than the England-West Germany thriller.”¹⁴⁰

In a letter to the editor published in *The Rotarian*, the Rotary International official magazine, Cooke wrote, “We anticipate that the groundwork so expensively laid in our debut in 1967 will start making itself felt in 1968 and will continue to win more fans in the ensuing years.”¹⁴¹ He confidently believed “soccer will be one of the U.S.’s great major sports of the future.”¹⁴² Yet, the entire league failed to provide a long-term plan for its continuation the next year with doubts about the quality of play with all-American (or close to) rosters compared to the 1967 foreign teams; some even considered re-importing European and South American teams for

¹³⁷ Holroyd, “The Year in American Soccer – 1967,” *ASHA*, last updated August 15, 2008, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/year/1967.html>; Seese, 83-87.

¹³⁸ Seese, 84-85.

¹³⁹ Jack Kent Cooke, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Rotarian*, November 1967, 55.

¹⁴⁰ Cooke, “Letter to the Editor,” 55.

¹⁴¹ Cooke, “Letter to the Editor,” 55.

¹⁴² Cooke, “Letter to the Editor,” 55.

1968.¹⁴³ In December 1967, a fourth league in eight years started and altered the mainstream soccer landscape.

The North American Soccer League (NASL), 1968-1974

As the NPSL 1967 season closed, USA officials started discussions and meetings with the “outlaw” administrators about a possible partnership between the leagues.¹⁴⁴ They then merged and adopted the name first given to the United Soccer Association, the North American Soccer League (NASL) on December 7, 1967.¹⁴⁵ Neither the NPSL nor the USA garnered the attendance and revenue the administrations expected. The NPSL averaged 5,100 fans per game while the USA saw a little more at 7,850 per game.¹⁴⁶ Much like the NASL in the coming decades, they resorted to “gimmickry to attract supporters.”¹⁴⁷

After the 1968 season, the NASL nearly disbanded, as Woosnam became the commissioner in January 1969.¹⁴⁸ Ten teams met in Atlanta to discuss the upcoming 1969 season, and when it concluded, only five “decided to continue:” the Kansas City Spurs, the Baltimore Bays, the Dallas Tornado, the Atlanta Chiefs, and the St. Louis Stars.¹⁴⁹ In 1969, they tried a hybrid-league in which international teams played temporarily under the names of American clubs then the contracted players finished the season as the foreign players returned

¹⁴³ Seese, 87-88.

¹⁴⁴ Seese, 225-26.

¹⁴⁵ Seese, 226.

¹⁴⁶ Dan Herbst, “The NASL: The Chaos of the Early Years,” *Soccer Digest*, January 1986, 50, United Soccer History Archives, awaiting digitization.

¹⁴⁷ Holroyd and Litterer, “1967.”

¹⁴⁸ Phil Woosnam to President Jimmy Carter, letter, February 20, 1979, 2, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

¹⁴⁹ Herbst, “The NASL: The Chaos of the Early Years,” 50.

home.¹⁵⁰ The NASL's history almost ended in the 1970 offseason.¹⁵¹ Before the 1970 season, the Baltimore Bays collapsed, but two teams, the Rochester Lancers and the Washington Darts, left the American Soccer League to move up a division, which brought the participants to six.¹⁵²

The NASL found little success over the next two years, but the 1972 season showed the impact of the sport on the country. The Dallas Tornado, a team founded in 1967 by Lamar Hunt for the USA, transferred to the NASL in 1968.¹⁵³ Without any true passion for soccer, he followed his father's lifelong advice and looked "at this as being a business proposition."¹⁵⁴ He hired Bob Kap, a journalist and former official in Canada, to coach the Tornado, and Kap persuaded him to "recruit young upcoming players in Europe" and "take them on a world tour" to help build team chemistry for the 1968 NASL season.¹⁵⁵ The team traveled to Spain, Morocco, Turkey, Cyprus, Persia (Iran), Pakistan, India, Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Saigon, Taiwan, Japan, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Tahiti in seven months and faced obstacles like the Vietnam War, the bombing of the Flight BEA CY284 (their original flight, but a delay forced them to luckily miss it), and riots in India.¹⁵⁶ Ultimately, the World Tour failed to adequately prepare the team for several reasons: too few players, an exhausting schedule, poor playing conditions (field and climate), and "no

¹⁵⁰ Wangerin, *Football World*, 143.

¹⁵¹ Phil Woosnam to President Jimmy Carter, letter, February 20, 1979, 2, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

¹⁵² Herbst, "The NASL: The Chaos of the Early Years," 51.

¹⁵³ Fons Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968* (Czech Republic: Koppenhol Uiteverij BV/A.L. Stoffels, 2016), 20.

Dundee United from the Scottish Football League represented them.

¹⁵⁴ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 21.

¹⁵⁵ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 20-1.

¹⁵⁶ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 142-43; Neil Jones, "The Forgotten Story of ... Dallas Tornado's 1967-68 World Tour," *The Guardian*, January 9, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/blog/2014/jan/09/forgotten-story-of-dallas-tornado>.

medical staff at all.”¹⁵⁷ They performed badly during the 1968 season.¹⁵⁸ Hunt also provided little funding and organization effort for the tour, and as Fons Stoffels wrote, “Financing the tour was peanuts and more money could have been spent on the players’ physical coaching...and more money could have been allocated to [the] physical well-being of the players.”¹⁵⁹

The Tornado gradually evolved into a better team and in 1972 acquired one of its most notable players, Kyle Rote, Jr., just a few months after it won its only NASL Final, the championship game.¹⁶⁰ Hunt and head coach Ron Newman drafted him during the NASL’s first college draft, an Americanization attempt to appeal to local fans.¹⁶¹ Kyle Rote, Jr., the son of the famous college and professional American football player Kyle Rote, first attended Oklahoma State University on a football scholarship.¹⁶² He played basketball, baseball, and American football at Highland Park High School in Dallas, Texas, but also in the off-season to stay in shape, he played soccer for a team he helped form called the Blank Bandits.¹⁶³ His best friend, Hank Davis, sparked Rote’s interest when they watched the 1966 World Cup shown at Southern Methodist University’s Moody Coliseum.¹⁶⁴ During a practice at OSU, he broke his leg, which

¹⁵⁷ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 133-34.

¹⁵⁸ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 133-34.

¹⁵⁹ Stoffels, *The Amazing World Tour of the Dallas Tornado 1967-1968*, 134.

¹⁶⁰ Holroyd, “The Year in American Soccer – 1972,” *ASHA*, last updated May 30, 2008, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/year/1972.html>.

¹⁶¹ Holroyd, “The Year in American Soccer – 1972.”

¹⁶² Michael Lewis, “The Forgotten Story of...Kyle Rote Jr, America’s First Soccer Superstar,” *The Guardian*, February 24, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/feb/24/the-forgotten-story-of-kyle-rote-jr-americas-first-soccer-superstar>; Gwilym S. Brown, “Learning the Game by Rote,” *Sports Illustrated*, August 6, 1973, <http://www.si.com/vault/1973/08/06/615690/learning-the-game-by-rote>.

¹⁶³ Lewis, “The Forgotten Story of...Kyle Rote Jr, America’s First Soccer Superstar;” Brown, “Learning the Game by Rote.”

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Levine, “Throwback Thursday: Kyle Rote Jr. Becomes First American Soccer Star,” *NASL*, August 27, 2015, <http://www.nasl.com/news/2015/08/27/throwback-thursday--kyle-rote-jr-becomes-first-american-soccer-star>.

effectively ended his American football career.¹⁶⁵ After receiving his dad's approval, he then transferred to the University of the South (also known as Sewanee), one of the few colleges in the southern United States with a varsity soccer program at the time.¹⁶⁶ Rote never played in 1972, and the reason remains obscure; some attribute it to choosing to finish college and getting married before he relocated to Dallas, while others say, "He was such a raw talent that he was kept on the reserve team."¹⁶⁷

The next season, Rote evolved into "America's first soccer superstar" and "Soccer's Great American Hope," a nickname given to him by *Sports Illustrated*.¹⁶⁸ The NASL promoted him as "a home-grown American star the equal of European and South American soccer heroes" and capitalized on both his skill and surname.¹⁶⁹ Because the original forwards never arrived in Dallas, it forced Newman to start him in the first game during which he scored "a diving header from about ten yards" and assisted a teammate to help the Tornado beat the Toronto Metros "before... a season high crowd of 19,342 at Texas Stadium."¹⁷⁰ It averaged 7,696 fans that season, doubled from 1971.¹⁷¹ Dallas finished the season on top of the Southern Division with the best 1973 record of eleven wins, four ties, and four losses, but it ended up losing the final to

¹⁶⁵ Lewis, "The Forgotten Story of... Kyle Rote Jr, America's First Soccer Superstar."

¹⁶⁶ Lewis, "The Forgotten Story of... Kyle Rote Jr, America's First Soccer Superstar."

¹⁶⁷ Lewis, "The Forgotten Story of... Kyle Rote Jr, America's First Soccer Superstar;" Holroyd, "1972;" Zander Hollander, ed., *The American Encyclopedia of Soccer* (New York: Everest House Publishers, 1980), 295.

¹⁶⁸ Lewis, "The Forgotten Story of... Kyle Rote Jr, America's First Soccer Superstar;" Brown, "Learning the Game by Rote;" Jamie Rainbow, "Kyle Rote Jr: 'Soccer's Great American Hope,'" *World Soccer*, March 9, 2014, <http://www.worldsoccer.com/blogs/kyle-rote-jr-349917>.

¹⁶⁹ Roger Allaway, Colin Jose, and David Litterer, *The Encyclopedia of American Soccer History* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001), 247.

¹⁷⁰ Lewis, "The Forgotten Story of... Kyle Rote Jr, America's First Soccer Superstar."

¹⁷¹ Herbst, "The NASL: The Chaos of the Early Years," 51.

the Philadelphia Atoms, the team's inaugural season.¹⁷² Yet, Rote became the only American NASL player to earn the scoring championship with “10 goals and 10 assists, which amounted to 30 points” and the 1973 Rookie of the Year award.¹⁷³ Even with his talent, Kyle Rote, Jr., paled in comparison to Edson Arantes do Nascimento, or more commonly known by his mononym Pelé, who joined the North American Soccer League two years later after a contract with the International Management Group (IMG) and Mark McCormack, its founder.

“Commercially Exploiting” Pelé in the United States: IMG & Warner Communications

Pelé's professional career started in 1956 when he tried out for Santos FC.¹⁷⁴ He played eighteen years with the club from age sixteen to thirty-four. During his international career, he helped the Brazilian National Team win three World Cups in 1958, 1962, and 1970, the only player so far to achieve this accomplishment. Mere months after his last international tournament in 1970 and 1971, two separate groups, Mark McCormack, founder of the International Management Group (IMG), and the New York Cosmos administration (Warner Communications), courted the Brazilian to join in a partnership with them. Both of them saw financial potential, not only for themselves, but also for Pelé and the United States.

Mark McCormack started IMG in 1960 when Arnold Palmer signed a contract with him. A decade later, IMG operated out of “London, New York, Los Angeles, Cleveland [the main

¹⁷² Holroyd, “The Year in American Soccer – 1973,” *ASHA*, last updated February 8, 2005, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1973.html>.

¹⁷³ Levine, “Throwback Thursday: Kyle Rote Jr. Becomes First American Soccer Star.”

¹⁷⁴ This thesis will only briefly detail Pelé's prolific soccer career. For more information, Pelé is the subject of numerous books such as Pelé with Orlando Duarte and Alex Bellos, *Pelé: The Autobiography* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2007), Pelé and Brian Winter, *Why Soccer Matters* (New York: Celebra Hardcover, 2014), or watch the 2016 film *Pelé: Birth of a Legend*.

headquarters] and [Tokyo,] Japan with affiliated offices in Australia and New Zealand.”¹⁷⁵ One theory suggests the idea to represent Pelé originated in the London office partly because in a letter to Pelé dated September 17, 1970, McCormack wrote, “We are keenly interested in a possible affiliation with you, especially with regard to promotional possibilities in the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth.”¹⁷⁶ In July 1970, right after the 1970 World Cup in which Brazil won its third title, McCormack wrote to Pelé. He wanted to help Pelé spread his marketability “outside of Brazil where he is not being commercially exploited at all” and “the money that we would make would be new money for him and could be substantial.”¹⁷⁷ In short, he considered Pelé under marketed.

As they learned, communicating and interacting with Pelé evolved into a hassle with few payoffs. IMG representatives wrote letters to various people, such as João Havelange, with contacts in Brazil. IMG representatives “met with him in New York, Los Angeles, and Paris.”¹⁷⁸ On July 2, McCormack even spoke with him on the jet way of a Montreal airport during a chance meeting in which McCormack noticed men clothed in Santos attire waiting to board their

¹⁷⁵ McCormack, Mark H., “Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Mr. Nacimiento, September 17, 1970,” Box M3773, *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*. Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, found on <https://www.isenberg.umass.edu/resources/search?cid=1957&tids=all&keys=pele>.

¹⁷⁶ Brian Bunk, “Selling Pelé,” *Soccer History USA* (podcast), posted December 9, 2014, <http://soccerhistoryusa.org/podcast/selling-pele/>; McCormack, Mark H., “Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Mr. Nacimiento, September 17, 1970,” Box M3773, *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*. Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, found on <https://www.isenberg.umass.edu/resources/search?cid=1957&tids=all&keys=pele>.

¹⁷⁷ McCormack, Mark H., “Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Jean Manzon, October 22, 1971,” *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

¹⁷⁸ McCormack, Mark H., “Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Jean Manzon, October 22, 1971,” *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

flight, and when he asked for Pelé, the men pointed in Pelé's direction.¹⁷⁹ None of the meetings or money spent "on interpreters, telephone calls, travels, telexes and the like" helped their cause.¹⁸⁰

During a taxi ride, McCormack met and spoke with a woman who roomed with a fellow Pan Am Norwegian stewardess named Eva.¹⁸¹ The two women traveled to Brazil for an international flight attendant beauty contest sponsored by Varig Airlines, and while there for the competition, Eva met Jean Manzon, a filmmaker represented by IMG, who in turn introduced her to Pelé.¹⁸² In an episode titled "Selling Pelé" for his podcast, *Soccer History USA*, Dr. Brian Bunk called it "a typically 1970s seeming story."¹⁸³ Manzon drove her to Pelé's residence, and she spent several days with the superstar athlete. Each day when she returned to her hotel room, she handwrote a recount of the day's events. Through her interactions with Pelé, she helped IMG negotiate a contract even though no one with Pelé knew her identity, and they all assumed she "was a representative of McCormack."¹⁸⁴

After two years of relative silence, McCormack finally received correspondence from him in a letter dated March 29, 1972.¹⁸⁵ He and Pelé agreed to a contract, which "will continue through December 31, 1977," but Pelé "has the right to terminate...within 30 days following the

¹⁷⁹ Bunk, "Selling Pelé;" McCormack, Mark H., "Letter from Mark H. McCormack to W. E. Phillips, July 27, 1971," *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

¹⁸⁰ McCormack, Mark H., "Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Jean Manzon, October 22, 1971," *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

¹⁸¹ Bunk, "Selling Pelé."

¹⁸² Bunk, "Selling Pelé."

¹⁸³ Bunk, "Selling Pelé."

¹⁸⁴ Bunk, "Selling Pelé."

¹⁸⁵ McCormack, Mark H., "Letter from Mark H. McCormack to Edson Arantes de Nascimenot [sic], April 13, 1972," *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

date of December 31, 1973” if IMG fails to earn Pelé less than \$150,000.¹⁸⁶ Sadly, all of the work, effort, and money McCormack spent to sign the Brazilian superstar offered little in return to either party. No sources show evidence of “any major deals” between IMG and other companies related to the Pelé contract.¹⁸⁷

Three items factored into the failed business dealings between McCormack and Pelé: lack of interest from Pelé, existing contracts, and the undeveloped state of soccer in the United States.¹⁸⁸ Shortly after the 1970 World Cup, Pelé and his wife welcomed their first son, Edson, so he likely wanted to spend more time at home and rest. His adventures with Santos and the Brazilian National Team, from which he retired in 1971, offered him plenty of travel time during his career. Off the field, Pelé also “opened a new business office and enrolled to earn a university degree.”¹⁸⁹ Yet, his business proved a hindrance to IMG. His partners in Brazil either lacked experience or knowledge “about negotiations or how the process worked” because when McCormack pitched ideas (such as a book about Pelé, a series of articles written by Pelé and Paul Gardner, and clothing lines) to Pelé, he learned Pelé’s people already negotiated the same deals on the side, but failed to include McCormack.¹⁹⁰ The issue might have been that sports marketing simply needed more development in Brazil.¹⁹¹ When McCormack suggested opportunities not already in process, Pelé rejected them because he “refused to endorse alcohol or tobacco and would not attend cocktail parties, receptions, meet and greets, or visits to sponsor

¹⁸⁶ McCormack, Mark H., “Letter from Pelé to Mark H. McCormack,” Box M3773, *Mark H. McCormack Papers (MS 700)*. Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, found on <https://www.isenberg.umass.edu/resources/search?cid=1957&tids=all&keys=pele>.

¹⁸⁷ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁸⁸ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁸⁹ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹⁰ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹¹ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

facilities.”¹⁹² If he made a personal appearance, it cost \$10,000 dollars per day not including travel, food, and hotel accommodations for him and two others.¹⁹³

In the early 1970s, soccer in the United States also lacked the popularity seen in the latter half of the decade. The NASL nearly folded, and when it and McCormack tried to negotiate appearances for Pelé, the money proved too little to accommodate Pelé’s requirements. For instance, the Atlanta Apollos (originally the Atlanta Chiefs under different management) approached him with an opportunity to help with soccer clinics and to appear in exhibition games, but only offered \$5,500 in addition to one third of the gate sales, which only amounted to about \$1,000.¹⁹⁴ McCormack’s deal with Pelé had all the makings of a profitable association because of their international nature. Yet no evidence exists to suggest they signed “any major deals,” and as Bunk recounted, it “was a story about bad timing.”¹⁹⁵

On December 10, 1970, Steve Ross president of Warner Communications, and the Ertegun brothers, Ahmet and Nesuhi, co-founders of Atlantic Records bought by Warner Communications in 1967, founded the New York Cosmos and hired Clive Toye, a former sportswriter and former general manager of the Baltimore Bays one of the founding teams of the NPSL and later the NASL.¹⁹⁶ Toye crafted the team’s name the New York Cosmos after two teachers suggested the word Cosmos in a naming competition. He then designed the colors of the club the exact colors of the Brazilian National Team.¹⁹⁷ Two months before the Cosmos started

¹⁹² Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹³ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹⁴ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹⁵ Bunk, “Selling Pelé.”

¹⁹⁶ Gavin Newsham, *Once in a Lifetime: The Incredible Story of the New York Cosmos* (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 20-23.

¹⁹⁷ Clive Toye, *A Kick in the Grass* (Haworth, NJ: St. Johann Press, 2006), 49.

its inaugural season, Toye and several American soccer officials met with Pelé after an exhibition game between Santos and Chelsea in Jamaica.¹⁹⁸

For five years, the New York Cosmos executives tried to recruit him to play for the team. Pelé eventually “hired a pro economist to run his business,” but as the Brazilian soon learned, his finances needed dire help in 1974.¹⁹⁹ He owned a small six percent share in Fiolax, “a limited company based in Santo Andre which made rubber parts for car manufacturers,” and for the second time, it gave him difficulties because “he signed a note guaranteeing a bank loan for the company as well as its liabilities.”²⁰⁰ When Fiolax failed to pay its bank loan, “the bank held [him] liable,” and it cost him one million dollars in addition to another million in fines, which the Brazil government “leveled for improprieties and [a breach of import regulations for raw materials.”²⁰¹ He turned to Professor Julio Mazzei, his long-time confidant and friend, for advice, and Mazzei reminded him of the Cosmos contract, which Pelé ultimately chose over lucrative offers from Juventus (Italy), Real Madrid (Spain), AC Milan (Italy), and Club América (Mexico). This financial shortage proved the deciding factor for him to join the New York Cosmos, which Ross wanted and the NASL desperately needed as the June 23, 1975 *Sports Illustrated* cover featuring Pelé implied, “U.S. Soccer Finds a Savior.”²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Newsham, 27; Pelé with Orlando Duarte and Alex Bellos, *Pelé: The Autobiography* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 214.

¹⁹⁹ Pelé with Duarte and Bellos, 213.

Pelé suffered financial problems a decade earlier as well.

²⁰⁰ Pelé with Duarte and Bellos, 158, 213.

²⁰¹ Bunk, “Selling Pelé;” Pelé with Duarte and Bellos, 213.

²⁰² In Jerry Kirshenbaum’s “Curtain Call for a Legend,” Pelé denied he signed with the Cosmos because of money (21). MLS attempted to bring its own “Pelé-effect” when it changed the roster rules to allow the LA Galaxy to sign David Beckham in 2006.

This thesis only briefly discusses how the New York Cosmos signed Pelé and his career with the club. To read more, see Ian Plenderleith’s *Rock’N’Roll Soccer: The Short Life and Fast Times of the North American Soccer League*, Gavin Newsham’s *Once in a Lifetime: The Incredible Story*

At first, he indeed evolved into a savior for American soccer, but it turned into a double-edged sword for the league. On one hand, due to his career with the Cosmos, the NASL transitioned from a low-quality league to an internationally-renown league. With the Cosmos, his global fame attracted enumerable offers “for [him] to paly exhibitions, endorse sport shirts, stage clinics—everything but kick field goals for the Jets.”²⁰³ The Cosmos found success when (in McCormack’s words) Warner Communications “commercially exploited” Pelé compared to Mark McCormack and IMG; nevertheless, it failed to help Ross recoup his investment. Yet, his presence “was not so much promoting U.S. soccer as exposing it” because the owners searched for the best players to help their teams compete against the Cosmos when Pelé, Giorgio Chinaglia, and Franz Beckenbauer played for the club.²⁰⁴ They also thought the star players might improve their chances at turning a profit. In comparison, the international players overshadowed the American talent, including Kyle Rote, Jr., “soccer’s first American superstar.”²⁰⁵ The league attempted to balance the rosters with stipulations that each team must start a certain number of American (and Canadian) players to attract more US-born people to the game.

In a column for the horror-comic *Creepy*, Joe Brancatelli wrote an article titled *Superman versus Soccer*.²⁰⁶ He posed an intriguing thought: “You have to wonder—as I did that August night in the New Jersey swamps—why Warner pumped up soccer and ignored the comics, one of the few truly American contributions to the world’s culture.”²⁰⁷ The article teems with American

of the New York Cosmos (New York: Grove Press, 2006) or the film of the same name, and Clive Toye’s *A Kick in the Grass* (Haworth, NJ: St. Johann Press, 2006).

²⁰³ Jerry Kirshenbaum, “Curtain Call for a Legend,” *Sports Illustrated*, June 23, 1975, 21.

²⁰⁴ Kirshenbaum, “Curtain Call for a Legend,” 19.

²⁰⁵ Kirshenbaum, “Curtain Call for a Legend,” 20.

²⁰⁶ Joe Brancatelli, “Superman versus Soccer,” *Creepy* 94, January 1978, 13.

²⁰⁷ Brancatelli, “Superman versus Soccer,” 13.

Exceptionalism and subtle xenophobia, as suggested by the title, which appears to substitute Superman as an ultra-American icon (which he is) in place of explicitly stating “America versus Soccer.” As a comic enthusiast, Brancatelli asserted his disdain for Warner Communications as he blames the company for “let[ting] DC Comics...and the industry fall apart” when it jumped “on the Batman craze and ran when the bubble burst.”²⁰⁸ He recognized “that Warner, all by itself, has made soccer an American pastime” (even though it later brought about the NASL’s demise) and wondered if Warner “had spent as much time and money on Superman and Batman and Captain Marvel as it has spent on Pelé and Chinaglia and Beckenbauer” might comics “be as profitable?”²⁰⁹ It might surprise Brancatelli to know that Warner Communications never profited from the soccer investment, but it certainly catapulted soccer’s popularity into the mainstream and its reputation with white, suburban youth.²¹⁰

Soccer in Oklahoma and the Tulsa Roughnecks

A year after Pelé’s retirement from the Cosmos in 1978, professional mainstream soccer arrived in Oklahoma for the first time. History left behind little evidence about soccer in the state before 1978 aside from a tremendous rise in youth soccer; however, Oklahomans played the sport in the Oklahoma Soccer League (abbreviated to OSL by the author), which might have existed only in 1912.²¹¹ Only a few mentions of this league and one regionally notable team from

²⁰⁸ Brancatelli, “Superman versus Soccer,” 13.

²⁰⁹ Brancatelli, “Superman versus Soccer,” 13.

²¹⁰ Plenderleith, 372.

²¹¹ “Be A Good Game: The Soccer Contest at League Park Tomorrow, Tom Powell’s Team Versus a Crack Team from Oklahoma,” *The Topeka Daily State Journal*, December 28, 1912. Edmond, Oklahoma’s soccer history will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Coalton appeared in newspaper articles and the 1912-1913 *Spalding's Guide*.²¹² “Composed almost entirely of coal miners,” reporters referred to the team as “the ‘never defeated’ Henrietta Eleven” because during the 1912 season, it lost none of its fourteen matches.²¹³ For more competition, twenty-six men traveled to Kansas and “played a series of games at Kansas City, Leavenworth, and Topeka” in December 1912.²¹⁴ Due to the amateur status of the team, they “paid their own expenses for the trip just for the sake of getting a few games which certainly speaks well for the future success of the only game.”²¹⁵ Oddly, before the 1960s, newspapers in the state rarely reported on soccer locally; instead they published articles about national or international events.

Sixty-six years later, NASL expanded to twenty-four new teams in unlikely locations including Tulsa, Oklahoma.²¹⁶ Phil Woosnam, the NASL commissioner, attributed the growth of the NASL as affirmation of an “increase in popularity on the professional level” whereas it might confirm more corporate interest rather than supporter interest.²¹⁷ In 1975, Herman Warden “Ward” Lay, Jr., purchased a NASL franchise, the San Antonio Thunder, which due to its “large ethnic population seemed like [an] ideal location;” however, before the 1977 season, he relocated

²¹² After extensive research in the Oklahoma History Center and other newspaper databases, mentions of the Oklahoma Soccer League could only be found in the *Topeka Daily State Journal*, one mention of a game in the *Henryetta Free-Lance* and in Edward Cartmell, Secretary, “Soccer Foot Ball in Kansas City, Mo.” in *Spalding's Official Association “Soccer” Foot Ball Guide* edited by Thomas W. Cahill (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1913), 271.

²¹³ Cartmell, “Soccer Foot Ball in Kansas City, Mo.” in *Spalding's Official Association “Soccer” Foot Ball Guide*, 271.

²¹⁴ Cartmell, “Soccer Foot Ball in Kansas City, Mo.” in *Spalding's Official Association “Soccer” Foot Ball Guide*, 271.

²¹⁵ Cartmell, “Soccer Foot Ball in Kansas City, Mo.” in *Spalding's Official Association “Soccer” Foot Ball Guide*, 271.

²¹⁶ Foulds and Harris, 119; Plenderleith, *Rock 'N' Roll Soccer*, 155, 360.

²¹⁷ Phil Woosnam to President Jimmy Carter, letter, February 20, 1979, 1, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

it to Halawa, Hawaii, where the club competed in Aloha Stadium, and renamed it Team Hawaii because of the San Antonio residents' failure to support the team.²¹⁸ Unfortunately for him though, Honolulu presented similar issues as it proved inefficient financially to host a team in Hawaii due to the constant airfare expenses. As Don Droege, a Rochester Lancers defender said, "It took you forever to get there. You played one game and then you had to come back again."²¹⁹ Several other reasons also led to the franchise's relocation, game day temperature, lack of supporters, and no local ownership so Lay paid all costs.²²⁰

A year later Tom Keeter, president of the Rainbo Baking Company, and Fred Latham, Jr., a local grocery store owner, purchased Team Hawaii from Lay, who "retained fifty-one per cent" but "turned its operation over to Keeter," and moved it to the Midwest where the club became the Tulsa Roughnecks and played at the University of Tulsa's Skelly Stadium, which became known as the worst field in the league.²²¹ Keeter earlier tried to bring soccer to the city when it unsuccessfully "attempted to bring the Dallas Tornado and the St. Louis Stars to Skelly Stadium for an exhibition game" in 1976.²²² A year later, the Chicago Sting "playe[ed] a group of Oklahoma all-stars at LaFortune Stadium" and a man named Jerry Daughtery "started the

²¹⁸ Plenderleith, 215; Holroyd, "The Year in American Soccer – 1975," *ASHA*, last updated January 31, 2010, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/year/1975.html>.

²¹⁹ Quoted in Plenderleith, 214.

²²⁰ Plenderleith, 216-17.

²²¹ "Roughnecks Hit Peaks, Valleys in Tulsa," *Tulsa World*, September 4, 1984, B-5 found in "Soccer in Tulsa" vertical file, archives, research division, Tulsa City-County Public Library; Staff Reports, "Thomas 'Tom' Keeter (Obituary)," *Tulsa World*, October 20, 2016, http://www.tulsaworld.com/obituaries/localobituaries/thomas-tom-keeter/article_312a3afa-2ee6-57da-ac19-315d418eb6b4.html; "Fred Gilford Latham, Jr.," *Heath-Griffith Funeral Home*, July 26, 2011, <http://www.heathgriffithfuneralhome.com/services.asp?page=odetail&id=42658&locid=81>; "Skelly Voted NASL's Worst Field," *Tulsa World*, July 7, 1984, C-3 found in "Soccer in Tulsa" vertical file, archives, research division, Tulsa City-County Public Library.

²²² "Club History: Roughnecks Find Home in Tulsa," *Tulsa Roughnecks 1979 Media Guide* found in USRufnex, "Major League Soccer in Tulsa – One Question Quiz," *Tulsa Now Forum*, September 26, 2007, page 3 of 4, <http://www.tulsanow.org/forum/index.php?topic=7652.30>.

original groundwork,” but it “came to a dead end due to the lack of soccer knowledge of all concerned: “Keeter...Tom Seymour, a local attorney and president of Green Country Soccer, and Phil Hughes, president of the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Tulsa.”²²³ That same year, Lay, Woosnam, the Roughnecks general manager Noel Lemon, and the coach Bill Foulkes visited Tulsa and “proclaimed it an absolute natural for NASL soccer.”²²⁴

On April 1, 1978, the Tulsa Roughnecks played its inaugural game against the Detroit Express in which “only 5,872 turned out to see the home team lose 2-1.”²²⁵ Similar to the situation in Hawaii, the players needed “to sell the professional game from scratch.”²²⁶ Gradually, the popularity of the team and the sport itself grew exponentially within the city. The fan base failed to help the team stay successful financially though. Carl Moore, the father of future USMNT star Joe-Max Moore, and three others bought the Roughnecks in October 1980.²²⁷ The club’s administration moved into his office building in 1978 and “borrowed from [him] and never paid it back.”²²⁸ Four years later, he told the *Daily Oklahoman*, “He [had] been broken financially.”²²⁹ He lost two million dollars, and his losses resembled the league as a whole, but the NASL nearly lost much more when it fought with FIFA between 1981 and 1982 over the league’s Americanization.

Fight with FIFA

²²³ “Club History: Roughnecks Find Home in Tulsa.”

²²⁴ “Club History: Roughnecks Find Home in Tulsa.”

²²⁵ “History: Team Brought the World’s Game to Tulsa,” *Tulsa Roughnecks FC*, <http://www.roughnecksfc.com/history>.

²²⁶ Plenderleith, 225.

²²⁷ “Pro Soccer Too Costly, Says Tulsan,” *Daily Oklahoman*, January 23, 1984, <http://newsok.com/article/2054966>.

²²⁸ “Pro Soccer Too Costly, Says Tulsan.”

²²⁹ “Pro Soccer Too Costly, Says Tulsan.”

On October 4, 1978, NASL appointed the controversial Dr. Henry Kissinger, as the honorary Chairman of NASL Board of Directors.²³⁰ Previously, he served as an independent consultant and assisted Toye with bringing Pelé to the United States when he wrote a letter to the Brazilian government to tell them of the “great opportunity for Brazil to help develop the game.”²³¹ Kissinger joined the NASL because of his passion for soccer since his childhood in Germany. It frustrated his father because he viewed soccer as a negative influence on his son’s life, especially his academic studies. He told his son, “If you continue along this line, you will come to a no good end.”²³² As an adolescent, Kissinger “hid soccer magazines under his studies” and played on a local team from age six to fifteen as a goalkeeper until he broke his hand then as “an inside-right and then midfield.”²³³ He closely followed Spielvereinigung (SpVgg) Greuther Fürth, the club in his hometown, and his family “banned him from attending Fürth fixtures” because of his obsession.²³⁴ The Nazi legislation later “barred [him and other Jews]...from watching their beloved Spielvereinigung,” but he “used to sneak out to catch the local soccer team play even though, as a Jew, you ran the risk of getting beaten up if you were there and they recognized you.”²³⁵ When he took the honorary position, he set his prime objectives “to get the

²³⁰ “NASL News Release, October 4, 1978,” North American Soccer League [2 of 3], 1978–1980. Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/555935>.

In the future, this author hopes to write more about Henry Kissinger’s involvement in American soccer.

²³¹ “NASL News Release, October 4, 1978,” North American Soccer League [2 of 3], 1978–1980. Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/555935>; Toye, *A Kick in the Grass*, 87.

²³² Jim Trecker to Edie, letter, March 27, 1979, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²³³ Niall Ferguson, *Kissinger Volume 1 1923-1968: The Idealist* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015), 54.

²³⁴ Ferguson, 54.

²³⁵ Ferguson, 68.

Cup here” and to improve the United States National Team to “[be] a ‘competitive’ team...in world soccer.”²³⁶ Kissinger told reporters “he believes the United States is about four years away from fielding a national team...eligible for international competition [and] by 1986...should be among the best teams in the world;” however, Toye applauded the politician’s way with words but saw his perceived lack in knowledge of the game.²³⁷ Yet, in 1979, Woosnam, Kissinger, and other NASL officials started “working on a program which will accelerate” the National Team’s quality; yet, it also proposed rules changes to how the league would play soccer to attract more spectators.²³⁸

The league’s administration Americanized numerous rules and used gimmicks often seen in the halftime shows of professional basketball, baseball, and American football. NASL wanted to change one significant rule, offside, but it required FIFA’s approval first. Offside, the soccer version at least, remains one of the most difficult rules to understand, especially for spectators not as knowledgeable about the game. According to the FIFA Laws of the Game, a player is in an offside position if he is nearer to his opponents’ goal line than both the ball and the second-last opponent, but the referee only punishes the player if:

²³⁶ Jim Trecker to Edie, letter, March 27, 1979, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²³⁷ “Kissinger Gains NASL Post,” *Ocean County Times-Observer*, October 5, 1978, B2, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>; Toye, 149.

²³⁸ Phil Woosnam to President Jimmy Carter, letter, February 20, 1979, 2, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

at the moment the ball touches or is played by one of his team, he is, in the opinion of the referee involved in active play by interfering with play, interfering with an opponent, or gaining an advantage by being in that position.²³⁹

The NASL viewed the offside rule as a hindrance to the entertainment factor because they wanted to create high-scoring, fast-paced games to entice spectators. Helmut Kaser, the FIFA Secretary, considered the league “entirely profit motivated.”²⁴⁰ Because the rule designates the last defender as the control factor for offside, the line constantly moves, which created the need for a sideline referee to track the movement, but NASL’s thirty-five-yard line created a permanent offside area. First in 1972, with FIFA’s approval, the league tried a modification with “an offside line in line with the penalty area, but it was a fiasco because defenders played so deep that play became entrenched in the penalty area and goals per game decreased.”²⁴¹ A year later, once again with FIFA’s imprimatur as a temporary experiment, NASL instituted a 35-yard offside line out from the goal.²⁴² Under this modification, “attacking players could only be offside in the final 35 yards of the field”—for perspective, a regulation size field measured 130 yards long and 100 yards wide; however, each NASL field often differed in size.²⁴³

Partially due to the lack of oversight from US Soccer and the league’s administration and investors’ disregard for FIFA, the NASL continued the experiment despite the international organization only approving it for five years.²⁴⁴ In 1980, FIFA requested a report from NASL

²³⁹ FIFA, *FIFA Laws of the Game 2015/2016* (Zurich: FIFA, 2015), 36, http://www.fifa.com/mm/Document/FootballDevelopment/Refereeing/02/36/01/11/LawsofthegamewebEN_Neutral.pdf.

²⁴⁰ Brian Belton, *East End Heroes, Stateside Kings: The Story of West Ham United’s Three Claret, Blue and Black Pioneers* (London: John Blake Publishing, 2008), 237.

²⁴¹ Plenderleith, 247.

²⁴² Plenderleith, 247; Roger Allaway, “The 35-Yard Line,” *Big Soccer*, August 4, 2013, <http://www.bigsoccer.com/blog/2013/08/05/the-35-yard-line>.

²⁴³ Plenderleith, 248.

²⁴⁴ Plenderleith, 251.

about the league's decision to Americanize the game with a "35 yard offside line."²⁴⁵ NASL implemented the 35 yard offside line in 1973 because the American football stadia featured "playing surfaces limited to 58-60 yards creating a shortage of space and producing an excessive amount of physical contact" compounded by the influx of English players in NASL, which "[resulted] in an increase in the use of offside tactics, congestion of players in the midfield and tight marking of skill players by extremely physical defenders."²⁴⁶

In American football, one might go so far to say this "congestion of players" defines the game. A quarterback demonstrates his prowess by finding space to throw the ball to a wide receiver. At the same time, runningbacks must force themselves into "congested" space at the end zone to break through the defensive line for a touchdown. Yet why do Americans hypocritically seem to dislike this aspect of soccer? It appears partially as an excuse prompted by the league. The NASL administration faced a problem rarely seen in American sports at the time, players of diverse backgrounds, such as temperament, language, "interpretation of the laws of the game," and variations in the code of conduct, and decided to largely avoid the problem of diversity and the unique factors that make soccer an international sport rather than find a way to retain its integrity.²⁴⁷ With the implementation of the 35-yard offside rule, Woosnam bypassed

²⁴⁵ Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²⁴⁶ "Report on the Use of the 35 Yard Offside Line by the North American Soccer League, Submitted to the United States Soccer Federation, February, 1980" included in Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, 1, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²⁴⁷ "Report on the Use of the 35 Yard Offside Line by the North American Soccer League, Submitted to the United States Soccer Federation, February, 1980" included in Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, 1-2, North American

this problem of diversity. While players must assimilate into the rules and expectations of any league to which they transfer, the administration must also accept the multi-ethnic heritages and accommodate them, something the American officials seemed unwilling to understand.

Surprisingly, the NASL coaches with “experience in the” English and Dutch leagues “were the strongest in voicing their opinion in support of the” new rule to “[curb]...physical contact and the use of offside tactics” and provided a list of advantages and disadvantages of the proposed alteration.²⁴⁸ In sum, they stated the advantages as a “more attractive and entertaining game for spectators, more space for the skillful players to demonstrate their skill, and the decrease in use of offside tactics, congestion in midfield, and stoppages in the game” whereas the thirty-five yard line would disadvantage players because it “[increased the] workload experienced by midfield players until teams have learned how to redistribute the workload and control the pace of the game, and North American teams suffered in international competition.”²⁴⁹ The NASL administration suggested implementing the rule as an official change in the sport internationally likely because it reduced another disadvantage for American players; however, only in countries where the “style of play, code of conduct of the players, quality of officiating and/or acceptance of the decisions of referees, does not create the problems apparent elsewhere.” They stated the “overall effect has enabled players to experience greater satisfactions

Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²⁴⁸ “Report on the Use of the 35 Yard Offside Line by the North American Soccer League, Submitted to the United States Soccer Federation, February, 1980” included in Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, 4, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²⁴⁹ “Report on the Use of the 35 Yard Offside Line by the North American Soccer League, Submitted to the United States Soccer Federation, February, 1980” included in Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, 6-7, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

and less frustration from the game, and provide better entertainment [for] the spectators”—the latter a key aspect and of utmost importance in popularizing soccer in the United States because from their perspective, more entertainment equaled more attendance and more profit.²⁵⁰ The businessmen disregarded any notion of international conformity. They wanted to change rules for the league to succeed financially, but at the same time, it hindered US performance in potential World Cups because none of the American-born players would fare well against non-US teams who used the normal offside regulation. Despite the perceived success, this experiment created unnecessary tension.

To the consternation of the NASL and the USSF, this Americanization triggered a power struggle between the organizations and FIFA. In December 1981, the international body informed the USSF that the NASL needed to conform to the rules after the league refused in 1976 and 1978 to do so with its federation’s support.²⁵¹ Woosnam even submitted more alterations for FIFA’s consideration and suggested the NASL exist solely as an “experimental league for the changes football needed to survive” as it threatened his organization.²⁵² Eventually, right before the start of the 1981 season on March 28, NASL capitulated and abandoned the thirty-five yard offside rule in addition to the number of substitutions allowed in a

²⁵⁰ “Report on the Use of the 35 Yard Offside Line by the North American Soccer League, Submitted to the United States Soccer Federation, February, 1980” included in Phil Woosnam to NASL Owners, General Managers, and Coaches, letter, February 29, 1980, 9, North American Soccer League [1 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/556981>.

²⁵¹ Fred Lief, “The North American Soccer League and the U.S. Soccer,” *United Press International (UPI)*, April 15, 1981, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1981/04/15/The-North-American-Soccer-League-and-the-US-Soccer/3870356158800/>; Alex Yannis, “N.A.S.L. Has Deadline to Change 2 Rules,” *The New York Times*, February 22, 1981, <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/02/22/sports/nasl-has-deadline-to-change-2-rules.html>.

²⁵² Jeff Powell, “U.S. Raiders Ready,” *Daily Mail*, March 15, 1981, North American Soccer League [2 of 3], 1978–1980, Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/555935>.

game, which the teams used three “instead of the conventional two...[that] has helped to get more Americans into the game,” but it became a temporary decision.²⁵³ On April 10, it readopted the rules based on a March 23 letter from FIFA President João Havelange, which the administrators interpreted as permission to continue the experiment; however, he denied.²⁵⁴ This quick change opens up the question, why did the NASL wait to mention this letter eighteen days later rather than in the days leading up to the new season? The entire situation “is a very minor thing except for the principle of accepting the authority of a world organization;” American businessmen despise national regulations, which enhanced their frustration with the threat from “unelected law-makers in faraway mountain countries.”²⁵⁵ They desired to change anything necessary to augment the entertainment value of American soccer, even if it meant “telling FIFA to basically go fuck itself” and let it suspend the league and expel US Soccer from all international competition, which potentially meant the USMNT might never qualify for another World Cup after 1950.²⁵⁶

The USSF withdrew its support for the NASL’s experiment and refused to “pass on all of the NASL’s requests” as per its discretion once FIFA threatened expulsion because US Soccer represents “two other professional leagues (the American Soccer League and Major Indoor Soccer League) plus nearly one million participants,” so Woosnam’s continuing disobedience

²⁵³ Rich Lorenz, “Rebellious NASL,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1981, 3.

²⁵⁴ “In Another Confusing Turn in its Current Rules Dispute,” *United Press International (UPI)*, April 14, 1981, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1981/04/14/In-another-confusing-turn-in-its-current-rules-dispute/4005620873274/>.

²⁵⁵ Jerry Kirshenbaum, “Scorecard,” *Sports Illustrated*, April 13, 1981, <http://www.si.com/vault/1981/04/13/106776094/scorecard>; Plenderleith, 266.

²⁵⁶ Plenderleith, 267.

“[jeopardized] all (110) [of] our affiliates, including the NASL.”²⁵⁷ The national federation petitioned FIFA for an extension through the 1981 season, but both it and the NASL refused; the former wanted immediate conformity, while the latter desired autonomy to make any changes at any time and for FIFA to visit the United States to witness the success of the substitutions and thirty-five yard line.²⁵⁸ Ultimately, FIFA ruled against any study of these two rules, and once and for all, the NASL ended them without any further attempts of reinstatement.²⁵⁹

From the International Soccer League to the North American Soccer League, the various businessmen who invested in these mainstream leagues focused primarily on the potential profits from owning and operating teams. Few, if any, understood soccer in itself—as other soccer historians agree—and chose people with a business-related “understanding of North American sports” for their administration and ownerships.²⁶⁰ This trend continued as will be discussed in chapter six about the formation of Major League Soccer. In addition, none of them expected each other to spend millions on a player, so it surprised many owners when the New York Cosmos signed Pelé for four and a half million. No longer could they offer meager salaries to players when they needed to compete with the Cosmos because his skill forced the owners to locate the highest quality players and appease them with exorbitant deals, from an American perspective

²⁵⁷ Fred Lief, “Like Lawyers Arguing Over Fine Print, the North American...,” *United Press International (UPI)*, April 16, 1981, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1981/04/16/Like-lawyers-arguing-over-fine-print-the-North-American/5324356245200/>.

²⁵⁸ Kurt Lamm to Phil Woosnam, letter, March 9, 1981, North American Soccer League [2 of 3], 1978–1980. Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/555935>; Phil Woosnam to Kurt Lamm, letter, March 12, 1981, 1, North American Soccer League [2 of 3], 1978–1980. Henry A. Kissinger Papers, Part II (MS 1981). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/555935>.

²⁵⁹ Belton, *East End Heroes, Stateside Kings*, 240.

²⁶⁰ Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 205-7.

for a non-NBA, MLB, or NFL player, for them to move to the United States. As Sir Stanley Rous, the President of FIFA from 1961-74 and a Rotarian, wrote in 1967:

During the next five years soccer will become a major sport in the United States if well directed and properly controlled. This responsibility rests with the governing body of soccer, the United States Soccer Football Association [United States Soccer Federation since 1974] who must organize coaching schemes in every state to develop ‘home-grown’ players, increase the international program at all levels—association, league, club, youth, college, and schoolboy. In fact, they must plan a comprehensive scheme for all who wish to play and watch for recreation or entertainment.²⁶¹

US Soccer dropped its responsibilities and allowed the league administrators to do what they wished and disregarded the game’s development. If these owners failed to rake in the money they expected, they relocated the franchises to a new city on a whim, even after only one season when the cities likely needed longer to adjust to the “foreign” sport. Yet, in the coming years, these attempted tactics and rule changes to lure the uninitiated to the stadiums proved a hindrance to growing the popularity of soccer in the United States on a mainstream and international level just as US Soccer assumed its responsibilities once again when it, the NASL, and the Federal government worked to host the 1986 FIFA World Cup.

²⁶¹ Sir Stanley Rous, “Your Letters – ‘The Booting Game Scores’,” *The Rotarian*, November 1967, 2, 55.

Chapter 3 – How the United States Received the 1994 World Cup Bid

“As soon as FIFA feels the U.S. can draw the kinds of crowds needed to cover the costs of hosting the games, the U.S. will be the host country. When that happens, since the host country automatically qualifies as one of the 16 finalists, see how people react. You can bet your last nickel that the U.S. will get the games as soon as FIFA feels it’s ready for them.”²⁶²

- Dennis Viollett, British coach of the NASL’s Washington Diplomats

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Soccer’s long history in the United States remains overlooked by many historians, but especially fans and critics because they fail to see its deep entrenchment for over three hundred years. In the post-World War II era, conservative Republicans rose to power, which oddly, coincided with the revival of soccer, a sport that they considered dangerous to the United States culture.²⁶³ During the Cold War, Americans viewed immigrants and Communists with disdain, but Ronald Reagan and the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles helped the United States Soccer Federation (USSF or US Soccer) generate sufficient interest in soccer, a sport considered foreign and un-American, using nationalism and patriotism for the Federation International de Football Association (FIFA) to give the United States the opportunity to host the 1994 World Cup.

Nearly forty years after the founding of the English Football Association (FA) in 1862, every European country administered a national league and the teams competed against each other.²⁶⁴ With the game now breaching borders, they needed an overarching governance in order to “resolve disputes...and organize regular international competition.”²⁶⁵ On May 21, 1904, a group of representatives “from Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and

²⁶² Dennis Viollet, quoted in Cascio, *Soccer U.S.A.*, 31.

²⁶³ John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, July 1994), 9-10.

²⁶⁴ Bill Murray, *The World’s Game: A History of Soccer* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 31.

²⁶⁵ Murray, *The World’s Game*, 36.

Switzerland” gathered together in Paris.²⁶⁶ They formed the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA).²⁶⁷ They established a constitution, which unified soccer.²⁶⁸ Because of World War I, the organization failed to implement its new tournament, the World Cup. It later debuted in 1930 hosted by Uruguay, also the first ever winner, and then Italy held the second in 1934. Almost a year after the 1938 edition in France, German forces invaded Poland and FIFA cancelled the next two—1942 and 1946—because of World War II. The competition resumed in 1950, in which the Americans beat the British.

In 1964, Barry Goldwater, the conservative movement’s leader, lost the presidential election to Lyndon B. Johnson, and Ronald Reagan replaced him. The former actor gained traction with the Republicans and widespread support from likeminded Americans. After a successful stint as the governor of California from 1967 to 1975, he campaigned against Gerald Ford (1974-1977) and Jimmy Carter, the incumbent on the next ballot, in 1976. Four years later, the people elected Reagan as the President of the United States of America with the slogan, *Let’s Make America Great Again* and he later considered hosting the FIFA World Cup as one avenue to achieve his aspirations.²⁶⁹

1986 World Cup Bid

²⁶⁶ “The Story of FIFA,” *FIFA*, 3:11, November 20, 2014, <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/videos/y=2014/m=11/video=the-story-of-fifa-2477121.html>.

²⁶⁷ Murray, *The World’s Game*, 36.

²⁶⁸ “The Story of FIFA,” *FIFA*, 3:11, November 20, 2014, <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/videos/y=2014/m=11/video=the-story-of-fifa-2477121.html>; Murray, *The World’s Game*, 36.

²⁶⁹ Hedrick Smith, “Reagan is Promising a Crusade to Make Nation ‘Great Again,’” *New York Times*, July 15, 1980, A1.

In 1983, FIFA faced a conundrum. Originally, on June 9, 1974, its Executive Committee “agreed unanimously to approve” Colombia as the hosts of the 1986 World Cup.²⁷⁰ Eight years later, the Latin American country relinquished its rights.²⁷¹ It made promises to fulfill the contractual requirements (hotels, transportation, and stadiums), but its poor, unsatisfactory economic circumstances prevented these from coming to fruition.²⁷² Some in the organization considered it to be in the nation’s best interest anyways because the tournament might lead to high inflation and place it in even more dire predicaments.²⁷³ FIFA remained firm in its request for it to stay “in the Americas.”²⁷⁴ Another country waited for its chance to achieve glory.

NASL administrators reached for this opportunity as a way to kick-start its rebirth.²⁷⁵ It needed something in order to regain popularity. When they approached US Soccer President Gene Edwards, they grimaced at his refusal to submit an application for the 1986 World Cup.²⁷⁶ Luckily, his vice president Werner Fricker proceeded with their proposal.²⁷⁷ They researched various venues and gathered numerous financial records in order to compile the application. They suggested facilities like Giants Stadium, Yale Bowl, JFK Stadium, the Orange Bowl, RFK

²⁷⁰ “About FIFA – Matches and Tournaments – Men’s Competitions -- FIFA World Cup Host Announcement Decision Fact Sheet,” *FIFA*, <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/official-documents/matches-tournaments/index.html#docMenCompetitions>, 3.

²⁷¹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation, and Tourism of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives*, 98th Cong. 30 (1983) (written statement of Gene Edwards, President, United States Soccer Federation).

Hereafter, this source will be cited as *Hosting the 1986 World Cup*, 98th Cong. 13 (1983) (person’s name).

²⁷² John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the Peoples’ Game?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 1998), 106.

²⁷³ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 107.

²⁷⁴ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 31 (1983) (Edwards).

²⁷⁵ Wangerin, *Football World*, 214.

²⁷⁶ Wangerin, *Football World*, 214.

²⁷⁷ Wangerin, *Football World*, 214.

Stadium, the Rose Bowl, Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, and Soldier Field.²⁷⁸ Those in favor of the bid started to “form a [national] organizing committee and... would be prepared to create committees in each of the cities, in which the games would be played.”²⁷⁹ With the full support of leaders in the locations across the country, they only needed the federal government and FIFA to approve their proposal.²⁸⁰

The United States, Mexico, and Canada all pursued the tournament.²⁸¹ Even though the “FIFA World Cup Organizing Committee” rejected “the applications of Canada and the United States,” the Federation “pressed its application with the FIFA Executive Committee.”²⁸² The first group thought “distances would cause some problems with conducting” the Cup in the United States.²⁸³ The organization also misperceived soccer’s existence and relationship with the government because they thought the government and the football associations must be intertwined.²⁸⁴ Thus, US Soccer sought the support of the federal government in 1983 and received it when Reagan offered his assistance on March 17.²⁸⁵ It later appointed the President as the Honorary Chairman of the United States World Cup Organizing Committee.²⁸⁶ This request culminated in the “House Joint Resolution 219, a resolution to support the hosting of the World

²⁷⁸ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 55 (1983) (United States Soccer Federation ‘Terms of Reference’).

Hereafter, this source will be cited as *Hosting the 1986 World Cup*, 98th Cong. 13 (1983) (USSF).

²⁷⁹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 5-6 (1983) (statement of Henry Kissinger, Honorary Chairman of the North American Soccer League).

²⁸⁰ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 9 (1983) (Kissinger).

²⁸¹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 1 (1983) (statement of James J. Florio).

²⁸² *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 2 (1983) (Florio).

²⁸³ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 9 (1983) (Kissinger).

²⁸⁴ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 26 (1983) (statement of Werner Fricker, Executive Vice President, U.S. Soccer Federation).

²⁸⁵ Letter, Ronald Reagan to Gene Edwards, March 17, 1983, RE020 – 488069, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

²⁸⁶ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 1-2 (1983) (Florio).

Cup Soccer Championship in the United States in 1986,” which led to a Congressional hearing with the Committee on Energy and Commerce on March 24, 1983.²⁸⁷ It wanted to hear “about the current level of interest in the game,” the requirements to host the tournament, and its “effects...on the U.S. tourism industry and professional soccer.”²⁸⁸

Henry Kissinger offered his support as “honorary chairman of the North American Soccer League.”²⁸⁹ As a key member of the Republican Party, it provided an invaluable connection between politics and sport. According to him, “over 1 billion people” watched the 1982 FIFA World Cup Final between Italy and West Germany, and in his opinion, “almost no other event” would allow people to see the United States via the television “in an atmosphere of good will and excitement.”²⁹⁰ He hoped “one, it would popularize...and accelerate...progress in [soccer]...two, bring hundreds of thousands of visitors...to see the best side of American life...[and] three, have considerable economic benefits.”²⁹¹ Kissinger thought bridging this gap in the global sport might help to improve international relations, which at the time presented itself as a major concern in politics because of the Cold War and problems in the Middle East.²⁹² USSF projected it might produce profits ranging from \$43,975,000 to \$54,375,000.²⁹³ Even with this financial optimism and the potential for better diplomacy, the United States still continued to put forth a lower amount of interest in professional soccer than the rest of the world.

²⁸⁷ H.J. Res. 343, 100th Congress (1987); *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 1 (1983) (Florio).

²⁸⁸ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 2 (1983) (Florio).

With the small amount of public knowledge about the sport and the tournament in the American public as a whole, this request is understandable. If USSF could successfully educate the government, then they in turn could advocate soccer to the average American.

²⁸⁹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 5 (1983) (Florio).

²⁹⁰ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 5 (1983) (Kissinger).

²⁹¹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 5 (1983) (Kissinger).

Kissinger later referred to it as a “nonpolitical” view on page 9.

²⁹² *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 7-8 (1983) (Kissinger).

²⁹³ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 55 (1983) (USSF).

Both Kissinger and Pelé, another witness at the hearing, recognized the sport's enormous growth. They saw that the United States "had more youngsters in organized soccer leagues than in...baseball" and collegiate soccer "had grown to the point where more colleges played soccer, than football."²⁹⁴ Pelé reported, "Never in the history of American sports has a sport grown so quickly; today over 4 million [participate]...as opposed to 500,000 ten years ago."²⁹⁵ He "believed and trust in the future of the game in the United States" because of how many youth played soccer here, and even brazenly stated, "All the American people now are in support of soccer."²⁹⁶ Frankz Beckenbauer, a former player with the New York Cosmos (current in 1983) and German National Team, echoed his teammate's statements on the evolution of the sport. His on-field experience showed him the rise in American soccer because the clubs included more of them on the pitch as their skill increased.²⁹⁷ He saw it as a sign and already witnessed that "all what you need to host the World Cup is here in this country."²⁹⁸

The United States seemed perfect for the tournament, especially because of its designation as the 1984 Summer Olympics host and its annual "Big Event approach to major sporting occasions;" however, FIFA hardly appeared to consider these factors.²⁹⁹ Ultimately, on May 20, 1983, it chose Mexico as the new, official site largely without offering Canada and

²⁹⁴ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 8 (1983) (Kissinger).

²⁹⁵ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 12-3 (1983) (statement of Edson Arantes do Nascimento [Pelé], international soccer consultant to Warner Communications).

²⁹⁶ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 10-1 (1983) (Pelé).

²⁹⁷ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 17 (1983) (statement of Franz Beckenbauer, international soccer consultant to Warner Communications).

Beckenbauer told the Committee that originally the league required each club to have at least three or four "North American citizens" on the field because it wanted to promote American skill and players; yet, he stated, "These players were on the field strictly because of the rule and not ability" (17).

²⁹⁸ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 14-5 (1983) (Beckenbauer).

²⁹⁹ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 55 (1983) (USSF).

America any reasons as to why.³⁰⁰ The country previously hosted in 1970 with only minimal results.³⁰¹ Unfortunately, this failure almost forfeited the USSF because of the cost to conduct this bid.³⁰² Even the appeal of a new, fairly untapped soccer market failed to entertain the sport's executives, so the Americans needed to better prepare for future opportunities and improve its National Team.

With the 1986 competition in three years, the country needed more dedication and success, especially after it lost the ability to host, in order to help its quest for further opportunities. Early in 1983, USSF and NASL created Team America, a club made up of the best U.S. soccer players “who will play year round in NASL competition and international games to sharpen their skills for World Cup '86.”³⁰³ They wanted to appeal to the nationalism of the United States through a gathering with the president to help overcome the *nativisti/masculinist sport* ideology (discussed further in the next chapter) that plagued the country and prevented soccer from achieving mainstream status. The club served two purposes: strengthen the talent for matches against other national teams and increase the popularity of the country's failing league.³⁰⁴

Team America

³⁰⁰ Nick Holt, *The Mammoth Book of the World Cup: From the Closest Games to the Best Players* (London: Constable and Robinson, Ltd., 2014), 435; Press Release, “President Reagan to Serve as Honorary Chairman of U.S. World Cup Committee,” United States Soccer Federation, May 9, 1983, RE020 – 488069, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁰¹ Holt, *The Mammoth Book of the World Cup*, 435.

³⁰² Wangerin, *Football World*, 224.

³⁰³ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 13 (1983) (Pelé).

³⁰⁴ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 13 (1983) (Pelé).

On May 4, 1983, Team America, a new soccer club in the North American Soccer League, met Ronald Reagan to show his support for the sport in the United States. Soccer players dressed in red, white, and blue athletic clothing gathered on the White House Lawn. He hoped to watch them participate in the 1986 World Cup and to even bring the international tournament to the country as a host for the first time. Robert Lifton, the team's owner, gave the President his own jacket and pants—identical to the players' uniforms except for the words "Commander in Chief, Team America"—and a soccer ball. While showing him the equipment, the businessman remarked, "And when we win the World Cup, we would like you to hold on to that." Unfortunately, they failed to qualify for the 1986 World Cup. The team lost to Costa Rica on May 31, 1985, and their dreams to compete at the grandest level in sport fell apart until four years later in the 1990 World Cup.³⁰⁵ Lifton used the rising nationalism and patriotism after Regan's election and the president's publicly proclaimed support to their advantage because he wanted his team to be an icon for the country. This decision echoed Beckenbauer's words during the Committee Hearing on the 1986 World Cup:

Without a strong National Team program, the evolution of soccer in this country cannot take the next big step. And until there is public awareness and an outcry for their National Team, it cannot get the support and attention it needs to become strong.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ Ronald Reagan, "Remarks on Greeting Members of Team America, All-Star Soccer Players," May 4, 1983. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://presidency.uscb.edu/ws/?pid-41273>; Karel Stokkermans and Sergio Henrique Jarreta, "World Cup 1986 Qualifying," *Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation* (RSSF), January 3, 2000, <http://www.rsssf.com/tables/86q.html>.

³⁰⁶ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 17 (1983) (Beckenbauer).

They further cemented this philosophy when Lifton claimed Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) Stadium in Washington, D.C., as the club's home field, a notoriously poor location because of investment troubles.³⁰⁷

Over time, the club proved Werner Fricker, the vice president of US Soccer, wrong when he said, "Team America truly is a first step where soccer in the United States has brought everybody aboard...to allow the American soccer player...develop more rapidly."³⁰⁸ The team disbanded after its inaugural season.³⁰⁹ It played in the Southern Division against the Tulsa Roughnecks, the Fort Lauderdale Strikers, and the Tampa Bay Rowdies, and at the year's conclusion, it ranked fourth with "a 10-20 record...and thirty goals."³¹⁰ From the beginning, problems plagued the experiment; players on other teams refused to transfer to it.³¹¹ For this reason, it never featured any star players; none existed in the United States anyway.³¹² As a result, attendance dropped below what Lifton needed for revenue. It averaged about 13,000 per game; 50,108 saw them play, but "most...came to see the Beach Boys, who performed after the match."³¹³ The USSF even failed to arrange international friendlies for Team America, one of its key purposes.³¹⁴ In the end, the owner lost an estimated "\$750,000 in ten months."³¹⁵ Spectators

³⁰⁷ Pablo Maurer, "Team America: Why the United States National Team Failed as a Club," *MLS Soccer*, November 18, 2015, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/post/2015/11/18/team-america-why-united-states-national-team-failed-club-word>.

³⁰⁸ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 27 (1983) (Fricker).

³⁰⁹ Plenderleith, *Rock 'N' Roll Soccer*, 313.

³¹⁰ Colin Jose, *North American Soccer League Encyclopedia* (Haworth, NJ: St. Johann Press, 2003), 392; Gregory G. Reck and Bruce Allen Dick, *American Soccer: History, Culture, Class* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), 123.

³¹¹ Reck and Dick, 123.

³¹² J. Hutcherson, "NASL: The Last Commissioner, Howard Samuels," *US Soccer Players*, <http://ussoccerplayers.com/nasl-the-last-commissione>.

³¹³ Maurer, "Team America."

The average varies depending on the author; however, scholars usually place it between 10,000-13,000.

³¹⁴ Maurer, "Team America."

need flair, goals, and victories in order for the sport to retain them, and in July 1984, international teams fulfilled that criterion.

1984 Olympics in Los Angeles

After NASL's disappointment, soccer fans looked forward to the country's upcoming opportunity to watch the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles and the international teams that would compete. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded the city the games in 1978, but the decision met frustration and disgust from the citizens because of the "horrendous fiscal news from Montreal, where taxpayers are still feeling the \$1-billion hangover of the 1976 Olympics."³¹⁶ For the first time in history, the I.O.C. "signed an agreement with a private committee" rather than the typical decision to contract a government.³¹⁷ A group of 62 top businessmen and civil leaders formed the "Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC)" in order to prevent the people from bearing the cost.³¹⁸ The chairman, Peter Ueberroth, stated, "There will not be one cent of government funds or taxpayers' money spent on the promotion...and we aim to provide a blueprint for future Games."³¹⁹ At the conclusion, they created a foundation called the LA84 Foundation and donated the remaining money to the development of youth sports. The organization saved millions by housing the athletes in the University of California-Los Angeles and University of Southern California dorms, and instead of constructing new stadiums it renovated the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum and the Rose

³¹⁵ Maurer, "Team America."

³¹⁶ Norman Giller, *The 1984 Olympic Handbook* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983), 5.

³¹⁷ Bill Henry and Patricia Henry Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games* (Sherman Oaks, CA: Alfred Publishing Co., Inc., 1984), 428.

³¹⁸ Giller, *The 1984 Olympic Handbook*, 5.

³¹⁹ Giller, *The 1984 Olympic Handbook*, 5.

Bowl.³²⁰ Just as they found financial gains behind the scenes, the tournament saw success on the field as well.

In 1979, President Jimmy Carter threatened to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow and to “have [the competition] moved, postponed or cancelled” after “the Soviet Union moved into Afghanistan.”³²¹ The Russians fought with the country’s government against the US-backed Mujahedeen, who wanted a strict Islamic government. The IOC refused to grant his request because it disagreed that holding the tournament there neither “meant acceptance or approval of...the Soviet government” nor “guaranteed that the situation would improve.”³²² The United States enforced its ban and gave “special gold medals” to the athletes who qualified for the Olympic team in order to not waste their hard work.³²³ As expected, the Soviets and East Germans dominated the 1980 Summer Olympics with “80...and 40 gold medals” respectively.³²⁴ In contrast, four years later, the US Americans topped the rankings with eighty-three medals after the Soviet Union boycotted the tournament.

Los Angeles became the first city in the United States to host the Olympics multiple years. The first time, in 1932, the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) decided not to coordinate soccer into the games because of its seemingly poor appeal to the citizens, the only time in history where the host excluded it since its inception in 1900.³²⁵ Yet, in 1984, the LAOOC made the decision to include the sport seeing how it gained rapid popularity amongst

³²⁰ Henry and Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, 452.

³²¹ Henry and Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, 427.

³²² Henry and Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, 427.

³²³ Henry and Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, 428.

³²⁴ Henry and Yeomans, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, 428.

³²⁵ United States Olympic Committee, “Soccer,” *The Official United States Olympic Committee First Day Cover Collection*, envelope sold by USPS, December 10, 1979, United Soccer History Archives, awaiting digitization; David Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book of the Summer Olympics: Sydney 2000 Edition* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2000), 492.

the youth. Alan Rothenberg, a lawyer in LA, organized this portion of the Olympics.³²⁶ With his guidance, professionals participated for the first time.³²⁷ Unlike the rest of the sports, the LAOOC forced the teams to play several rounds outside of the city at Harvard Stadium in Boston, the Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium in Annapolis, and Stanford Stadium, along with some at the Rose Bowl where they conducted the final two.³²⁸ The USMNT failed to move past the first round; however, 78,265 people attended a match on July 29, 1984, between it and Costa Rica, one of the “largest crowds ever to see a soccer game in the United States,” up to that day.³²⁹ Almost two weeks later on August 10 and 11, the bronze (Yugoslavia vs. Italy) and gold medal (France vs. Brazil) games took place and set new attendance records with 100,374 and 101,799 spectators, which completely shocked the entire globe.³³⁰ Unlike the sport’s successful performance in the Olympics, the American soccer league continued its fall.

During the prestigious sporting event, the United States fielded thirteen players from NASL and four non-professionals (three collegiate and one indoor soccer player).³³¹ Unfortunately, the team played mediocly, and it reflected poorly on the league. Even though soccer excelled in the international tournament, the national competition dimmed in comparison. Already leaning towards demise, it needed to return profits to the club owners. The league as a

³²⁶ Wangerin, *Football World*, 224.

³²⁷ Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book of the Summer Olympics*, 500.

³²⁸ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad: Los Angeles, 1984* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, 1984), 237, accessed from the LA84 Foundation Archives.

³²⁹ Dick Schaap, *The 1984 Olympic Games: Sarajevo/Los Angeles* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1984), 121, accessed from the LA84 Foundation Archives.

Only three players from Team America made the United States National Team roster for the 1984 Olympics.

³³⁰ Schaap, *The 1984 Olympic Games*, 265; Schaap, *The 1984 Olympic Games*, 276.

On August 2, 2014, a game between Manchester United and Real Madrid at Michigan Stadium in Ann Arbor, Michigan, home to the University of Michigan American football team, eclipsed the attendance record set in 1984 with a total of 109,318 people.

³³¹ Schaap, *The 1984 Olympic Games*, 324.

whole “lost between \$20-25 million dollars in 1983.”³³² Attendance dwindled continuously. Critics and supporters offered numerous reasons for its collapse—“the hasty expansion, the rush for network television, a failure to develop native talent, [poor] marketing,” unbudgeted spending, and not hosting the 1986 World Cup.³³³ Some attributed it to administrators’ “little intimate knowledge of the sport” because they primarily viewed it as a moneymaker due to its international popularity.³³⁴ Others considered the Cold War atmosphere the predominant culprit.³³⁵ In this era, the United States celebrated American Exceptionalism and largely viewed soccer as “un-American.” One journalist wrote, “Hating soccer is more American than mom’s apple pie, driving a pickup or spending Saturday afternoon channel surfing with the remote control.”³³⁶ Nearly twenty years after its inception, the North American Soccer League met its end in April 1985; during its history, it threatened to take apart the “big three” (American football, basketball, and baseball).³³⁷ Its misfortune produced hope and intrigue within thousands of Americans because it generated a fan base and it also later provided an example for future leagues.³³⁸

1994 World Cup Bid

³³² Hutcherson, “NASL: The Last Commissioner, Howard Samuels.”

³³³ Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 237-9.

The increased popularity of indoor soccer also detracted attendance from NASL, which had competed with the Major Indoor Soccer League (MISL).

³³⁴ Paul Gardner, “On the Decline and Demise of Professional Soccer,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1985, S-2.

³³⁵ Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*, 235-240.

³³⁶ Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*, 10.

³³⁷ Alex Yannis, “Scouting: Follow the Leaders,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1985, A-20; Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*, 220.

³³⁸ Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 239-40.

Four years after the failed 1986 bid, another opportunity arose for the United States to host the tournament. Much changed in the four years between the applications. The LAOOC produced tremendous profit from the 1984 Summer Olympics and proved America could hold a successful more globalized, international tournament, but on the other hand, its professional outdoor league collapsed, so it failed to present a soccer-viable country with the exception of its popularity to the youth. The USSF spent six months researching and compiling information and created the organization, World Cup USA 1994, but once again it needed the federal government behind it because without it, FIFA would refuse to even consider the possibility.³³⁹

On August 20, 1987, Congress passed a joint resolution “to recognize the efforts of the United States Soccer Federation in bringing the World Cup to the United States in 1994.”³⁴⁰ Henry Kissinger suggested President Reagan, who participated in the previous attempt, write to João Havelange, the FIFA President, about the country’s desire.³⁴¹ Reagan obliged, and in response to his personal note, the Brazilian told Werner Fricker, the USSF President, that he wished to meet at the White House.³⁴² Unfortunately, they struggled to arrange a date and missed numerous opportunities until November 18, 1987.³⁴³ They staged a photo with Havelange, who

³³⁹ United States Soccer Federation, “Abstract of the United States Soccer Federation Application to be Designated Host of the 1994 World Cup,” 2, Media Relations Box 49 1-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁴⁰ Joint Resolution, Pub. L. No. 100-112, 101 Stat. 734 (1987).

³⁴¹ Rory Miller, “#5 Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, Soccer Fan,” in *The 100 Most Influential People in American Soccer History* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014). Miller failed to include page numbers in his book.

³⁴² Letter, Ronald Reagan to João Havelange, n.d., Media Relations Box 49 7-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States; Letter, Werner Fricker to Ronald Reagan, September 28, 1987, Media Relations Box 49 7-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁴³ Letter, Ladonna Y. Lee to Kenneth Duberstein, April 10, 1987, RE020 – 488069, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States; Letter, Eddie Mahe, Jr. to Frederick J. Ryan, Jr., March 20, 1987, RE020 – 488069, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States; Letter, Werner Fricker to Frederick J. Ryan, Jr., March

also gave Reagan an official soccer ball, FIFA pendant, and medal, and ate dinner together along with Joseph Blatter, the General Secretary of FIFA, and Fricker.³⁴⁴

US Soccer received widespread support from elected officials (Congress, governors, mayors), hardworking adults, and “grade school soccer players.”³⁴⁵ According to a Gallup poll, “92 percent of Americans believe soccer is on the rise in the United States.”³⁴⁶ One might argue it represented the entire country. This backing helped the organizations claim—“soccer would be positioned to achieve full potential at all levels from youth to professional.”³⁴⁷ While many wanted the sport to improve its status here, most focused on the economic benefits and its “tremendous impetus...to tourism because the games would bring people from all nations in friendly competition and permit these people to experience, first hand, the American way of life.”³⁴⁸ FIFA, especially, focused on this new market for the sport and the possibly financial gains.

During April 1988, members of the governing organization visited the United States in order to investigate the country’s resources and ability to conduct a soccer-specific international

24, 1987, RE020 – 488069, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁴⁴ Rory Miller, “Soccer and the American Presidency,” *ASHA*, June 12, 2010, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/presidents.html>; Photo with Dr. João Havelange, November 18, 1987, case file 559219, Presidential Briefing Papers Box 87-11-19-1987, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁴⁵ United States Soccer Federation, “Abstract of the United States Soccer Federation Application to be Designated Host of the 1994 World Cup,” 2.

³⁴⁶ United States Soccer Federation, “Abstract of the United States Soccer Federation Application to be Designated Host of the 1994 World Cup,” 5.

³⁴⁷ United States Soccer Federation, “Abstract of the United States Soccer Federation Application to be Designated Host of the 1994 World Cup,” 5.

³⁴⁸ United States Soccer Federation, “Abstract of the United States Soccer Federation Application to be Designated Host of the 1994 World Cup,” 8.

One might ask, however, how can foreigners truly experience the “American way of life” in a month without working, voting, and surviving American politics and society? One could argue that these people would only see a highly limited view because they would fail to see the struggles of thousands of Americans.

event. They toured twenty-five hopeful cities, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Foxborough, Washington, D.C., Kansas City, and Miami, and paid close attention to the existing stadiums in these locations.³⁴⁹ The owners of the stadia understood, if selected, they would need to renovate the facilities in order to conform to FIFA's requirements, such as "knocking out walls and seating" to meet the necessary field dimensions of "70-yards by 110-yards."³⁵⁰ They impressed the representatives and even considered the country, "the front-runner" in the bid.³⁵¹

Over a year passed since the United States started the process to bid for the 1994 World Cup, and in June 1988, US Soccer requested one last, additional action from the president.³⁵² They wanted him to record a videotaped message, once again, to confirm his "full support."³⁵³ On July 1, 1988, a commercial crew filmed it for \$500.³⁵⁴ Reagan thanked the FIFA Executive Committee for considering their application and further argued his country's qualifications when he mentioned the success of the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.³⁵⁵ His words resounded

³⁴⁹ Terry Bigham, "FIFA Officials Arrive, Inspect Cotton Bowl," *The Dallas Morning News*, April 14, 1988, Media Relations Box 49 1-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States; "World Cup Site Inspections Start Amid U.S. Optimism," (unknown newspaper), April 12, 1988, Media Relations Box 49 1-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

None of the newspaper clippings included the page numbers, and some failed to include the newspaper title.

³⁵⁰ "Delegation Impressed by USA Sites," *USA Today*, April 18, 1988, Media Relations Box 49 1-1-88, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁵¹ "Delegation Impressed by USA Sites," *USA Today*, April 18, 1988.

³⁵² Request for Scheduling Recommendation: For the President to provide videotaped message to be shown in Zurich during the final bidding to host soccer's World Cup 1994, June 15, 1988, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁵³ Letter, Rey Post to John Peschong, June 24, 1988, 1, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States; "Taping: Message on Hosting Soccer's World Cup 1994," 4, Dolan Series I World Cup 1994 07-01-1988, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, United States.

³⁵⁴ Letter, Rey Post to John Peschong, June 24, 1988, 2.

³⁵⁵ "Taping: Message on Hosting Soccer's World Cup 1994," 1-4.

with feelings of nationalism, patriotism, and a desire to continue the path to making American great again.

Three days later, the deciding members watched his dispatch after the USSF conducted a “twenty minute presentation.”³⁵⁶ The FIFA leaders then voted for the United States, Brazil, or Morocco. The selection lasted only one round, and Havelange announced the winning tally. It awarded the United States of America the bid for the 1994 World Cup.³⁵⁷ The 1984 Summer Olympics performance impressed FIFA and proved the country could indeed conduct a prolific tournament on a global scale. Two caveats presented themselves now—it needed to produce a successful World Cup, and it needed to establish a Division 1 professional outdoor league.³⁵⁸ Nearly five years of preparation and hard work on behalf of Ronald Reagan, the United States Soccer Federation, the defunct North American Soccer League administration, and thousands of American soccer fans culminated in this historic event. It chose one of the best days to declare this news when the country exuded national pride as people celebrated the 212th year of independence on July 4, 1988. FIFA hoped the media would capitalize on this announcement and generate more excitement across the states, but it received little attention and fanfare.

Even though Ronald Reagan played a limited, behind-the-scenes role in process for the United States to host the 1994 World Cup, his support offered the United States Soccer Federation the ability to submit its application to FIFA. As evidenced by his interaction with Pelé on October 14, 1982, when he asked if they held the World Cup every four years, he knew little about soccer, but he understood the economic and diplomatic benefits of it to the country he

³⁵⁶ Letter, Rey Post to John Peschong, June 24, 1988, 2.

³⁵⁷ “About FIFA – Matches and Tournaments – Men’s Competitions -- FIFA World Cup Host Announcement Decision Fact Sheet,” *FIFA*, <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/official-documents/matches-tournaments/index.html#docMenCompetitions>, 2.

The committee voted as follows: “Brazil 2 votes, Morocco 7 votes, USA 10 votes.”

³⁵⁸ Dure, 2.

served.³⁵⁹ Reagan wanted to change the political and social direction of the United States and return it to greatness just as many wanted the sport's popularity to increase and to be seen as a great pastime once again like in the decades before World War I while also taking it to brand new levels, possibly the most successful World Cup in history and a monetarily viable professional outdoor league.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1981-1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982-1991), 1317.

³⁶⁰ *Hosting the 1986 Soccer World Cup*, 98th Cong. 25 (1983) (Beckenbauer).

Chapter 4 – “The White Businessman’s Burden”: Nativist/Masculinist Sport

“The history of American soccer is not exactly the history of America. However, the United States is a nation of immigrants, and soccer was a pastime of many of these people. It was a game that provided diversion, and sometime unpleasantness, for large numbers of people who had come in search of something different. As is true today, most played without giving much thought to the future or to the past of the game. Soccer provided momentary joy or accomplishment and playing the game was most important.”

-Sam Foulds, 1979, in *America’s Soccer Heritage: A History of the Game*

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Few in FIFA understood the dynamics of the United States sporting community and the country’s culture to realize the arduous task that faced the World Cup USA ‘94 Organizing Committee. FIFA expected it to prevail with a task others failed to accomplish in the past. These two factors posed the question: how does one popularize a sport demonized by much of the general public and several politicians? Organize it with provisions they understand and diminish the “foreign” aspect of it. Here, the term “foreign” consists of two meanings: (1) unfamiliarity with the rules and (2) not native. From 1960 to 2000, businessmen attempted to mainstream it with Americanized rules to increase the entertainment factor and make it less complicated for fans to follow during the games. Nonetheless, many Americans failed to see its appeal.³⁶¹

“A lot of Americans don’t understand the passion of the game,” said Paul Harris, a soccer writer and former director of officiating for the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO).³⁶² “So you have got to do something that people can’t ignore. I had to isolate myself fully in the World Cup.” Instead of watching the 1994 World Cup matches inside of his house, Harris ordered a “specially designed perch” to put on top of his roof. He set up what he called a

³⁶¹ This author uses the term “American” to only refer to the people living within the United States of America. This usage should not be applied generally to everyone within North, Central, and South America.

³⁶² “Paul E. Harris Jr., 76, Formerly of Chatham,” *Chatham Courier*, March 9, 2012, http://www.newjerseyhills.com/chatham_courier/obituaries/paul-e-harris-jr-formerly-of-chatham/article_a7d0485e-68db-11e1-b96e-0019bb2963f4.html.

“World Cup Nest” complete with a “TV set, sleeping bag, writing desk, and extra clothes.” When not watching the games, he “[slept] on the perch, [wrote] about soccer, and [ate] his meals.” Thousands in the US emulated his fandom in their own unique ways, but thousands equally voiced their disdain for the sport they called un-American or anti-American.³⁶³ Why did they despise soccer and refer to it as the antithesis of American identity? To understand this belief, one must understand the origins of the United States as a British colony and the formation of the American culture through nationalism, Exceptionalism, white racial superiority (and the difficulty to define whiteness), and the twentieth century struggle between capitalism and communism. In this chapter through a brief overview of American soccer history, I argue that US Americans denigrated soccer out of an intrinsic postcolonial fear of a reignited relationship between the colonized and the colonizer, so they labeled it as an immigrant (or foreign) sport to follow the country’s ingrained nativism and as a gendered-inferior sport since they considered gridiron football more masculine; the theory developed here is referred to as *nativist/masculinist sport*.

The Simplest Game: Technical Differences Between American Sports and Soccer

“The Simplest Game,” as Paul Gardner, the notable football journalist who pioneered the publication *Soccer America* to massive popularity, called soccer in his book of the same name, “[is] the title of one of the earliest sets of soccer rules, drawn up by J. C. Thring of Uppingham School in 1862.”³⁶⁴ To play, one only needs a ball, two objects (or more depending on the type,

³⁶³ “Soccer’s Such a High For This Guy, He Takes to Camping on His Roof,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1994, http://articles.latimes.com/1994-06-23/news/cb-7327_1_soccer-referee.

³⁶⁴ Paul Gardner, *The Simplest Game: The Intelligent Fan’s Guide to the World of Soccer*, 2nd ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1994), xi.

This piece of information can be found in the epigraph.

for instance four rocks) to resemble goals, and multiple players (twenty-two for a regulation game). The rules, also, remain relatively short and easy to comprehend except for the offside rule (see Chapter 3 for more information). Each of these factors contrasts with the convoluted rules and equipment necessary for professional American football (henceforth referred to as such and interchangeably gridiron football) and baseball, and regarding the rules, basketball.³⁶⁵ Although, recreationally, one can play all four easily if one has a ball, a bat, a glove, bases, goals, and boundaries. The padding needed for American football and the helmet for baseball technically are optional if players understand the safety issues without them. Why then did Americans during the 1960s-1990s find soccer incomprehensible? It rebelled against American sports because the rules made it illegal to touch the ball with one's hands, which makes the game inherently more difficult to play because one of the defining characteristics of mankind is the ability to use one's hands.³⁶⁶ Technicalities aside, the histories of both soccer and the United States proved the greatest obstacles to establishing it within American culture due to the country's pervading nationalism and Exceptionalism.

“Sport Space”

“Sport space,” the theory that each country only contains enough room in its sporting community to appeal to the general populace. In 1990, Andrei Markovits applied this theory to

³⁶⁵ Americans despise commercial regulations as inhibiting businesses and the economy, yet created their sports with numerous rules, and the American sports model evolved into a system that more closely resembled socialism. In contrast, the British made soccer simple with few rules and necessary equipment, and it operates with more of a focus on the free/open market without salary caps, franchise relocations, and revenue sharing.

³⁶⁶ For more information about the popularity of American football, basketball, and baseball, and the rule differences between basketball and soccer, see Michael Mandelbaum, *The Meaning of Sports: Why Americans Watch Baseball, Football, and Basketball and What They See When They Do* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

the non-acceptance of soccer as one of the “big three and one-half” professional sports in the United States.³⁶⁷ Due to the period in which soccer arrived in the country (this chapter goes into more detail about this period later), baseball, American football, basketball and hockey (the one-half) already filled up the US’s sporting capacity before soccer gained popularity.³⁶⁸ A hole remains in his theory though. As Ivan Waddington and Martin Roderick noted in their article “American Exceptionalism: Soccer and American Football,” other countries witnessed the same phenomenon. Cricket and rugby evolved into the top sports in New Zealand and South Africa, while cricket and field hockey controlled Sri Lanka and India.³⁶⁹ Markovits correctly detailed the relationship between the US history narrative and soccer, but failed to complete his theory.

In 1994, John Sugden used Markovits’ “sport space” or “crowding out of soccer” theory in his chapter “USA and the World Cup: American Nativism and the Rejection of the People’s Game” for *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup*. He, like Markovits, also applied the “soccer is an immigrant sport” reasoning. Sugden, with Alan Tomlinson, four years later in *FIFA and the Contest for World Football* reiterated Markovits’ argument. They reaffirmed the effectiveness of it as well:

The fullness of the sport space in the USA is not undermined by the success of the event [the 1994 World Cup]. For the event was in many ways, whatever its profile in the Summer of 1994, marginal to that space. Even when the established sports space of the USA was disrupted and so rendered theoretically vulnerable by strikes in major sports, in the immediate wake of the World Cup in the autumn/winter of 1994/95, this could not be seized as an opportunity to establish professional soccer, for the public and the sponsors remained skeptical about the place of soccer within the canon of US Sports culture.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Andrei S. Markovits, “The Other ‘American Exceptionalism’: Why Is There No Soccer in the United States?” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (1990).

³⁶⁸ Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 6.

³⁶⁹ Ivan Waddington and Martin Roderick, “American Exceptionalism: Soccer and American Football,” *The Sports Historian* 16 (May 1996): 33-4.

³⁷⁰ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 219.

Alan Rothenberg, who held the three titles of US Soccer president, World Cup Organizing Committee chairman, and MLS president, chose to also delay to “dampen enthusiasm” and not lose fans because of lower soccer quality right after the tournament.³⁷¹ While speculative, without this delay the sport might have overtaken the sport space. This foreign attribute certainly hindered soccer; however, it along with “sport space” remain too simplistic to adequately explain the lesser popularity of soccer in the US.

Any activity or recreation, however marginalized, attracts some level of popularity. Mainstream society continually degraded soccer and anyone who played it, but started to embrace the sport in the last half of the twentieth century with tremendous youth support. The “sport space” theory maintains an American mindset that anything considered popular must “make it” commercially in US sport culture, meaning the profits reflect the popularity even though the non-professional popularity of baseball and gridiron football established the sports as mainstays in the United States before the professionalization of them. Ticket counts and attendance simply evolved into a way to quantify the popularity. When professionalizing soccer in the United States, the investors and officials organize it within the American sports model instead of the accepted and successful international model for it. They also implemented a “top-down” rather than “bottom-up” approach. In the post-1945 era, only the American Professional Soccer League started with the grassroots movement albeit with the same American model of shared revenue and financial mobility, but with time, it might have succeeded. As shown in this chapter and the next, soccer maintained a strong audience when it entered the United States, but it existed outside of the largest demographic, the “ethnic” American, which therefore meant it lacked popularity. The rest of this chapter details key periods in US history that created the tense

³⁷¹ Phil West, *The United States of Soccer: MLS and the Rise of American Soccer Fandom* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2016), 13.

relatively-symbiotic relationship between soccer's existence in the country and the prevailing *nativist/masculinist sport* attitudes of US-born Americans.

Nationalism and anti-Catholicism

Two nationalism theorists Benedict Anderson and Lawrence M. Friedman influenced the theory proposed in this chapter. Anderson explains the basis of a nation with a term he coined, "imagined communities." He defined a nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" because these nations drew invisible boundaries within their geography and remain independent of rule from others.³⁷² Besides the physical geography and print culture they share, only an ideology connects the people of a nation. It relies on a mutual "deep, horizontal comradeship."³⁷³ Friedman expands on Anderson's theory of the nation with his postulation on how these nations formed. He describes the "traditional family model," in which exists "a clear line of authority."³⁷⁴ Everyone in the household listens to the patriarchal leader or serfs forced to work for a lord and live on his land because they owed him money or they exchanged the labor for his protection.³⁷⁵ In other words, people based their identity on a "vertical society."³⁷⁶ As history progressed and societies later industrialized, the need for serfdom (or feudalism) ended. No longer bound by the lord's restraints, they gained the freedom to physically move from one place to another. It allowed

³⁷² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso Books, 2006), 6-7.

³⁷³ Anderson, 7.

³⁷⁴ Lawrence M. Friedman, *The Horizontal Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 5.

³⁷⁵ Friedman, 5.

³⁷⁶ Friedman, 5.

Over the past one hundred fifty years, with the origins of women's rights and the women's liberation movement, this model has been challenged to make the family and society equal regarding gender.

them to form new relationships, or “the horizontal societies.”³⁷⁷ Instead of identifying with whomever one worked, people now assumed identities “on a plane of equality (real or apparent, [i.e. imaginary])—relationships with peers, with like-minded people.”³⁷⁸ Friedman places no limit on the size of these horizontal societies or how or about what they form; however, they must “allow...the freedom of individuals to affiliate with larger [or other or additional] groups.”³⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the intensity of these relationships often causes tension with other horizontal societies as the need to maintain the well-being of one’s own group overpowers that of another, or as the French General Charles de Gaulle stated, “Nationalism is when hate for people other than your own comes first.”³⁸⁰ Yet, the main difference between nationalism and the nativism, which will be discussed in this chapter, remains the ethnocentric view of native or ethnic Americans, also known as the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs).³⁸¹

When Protestant Europeans arrived in what became the United States, they sought the freedom of religious expression and worship. In Europe, they suffered oppression due to the Catholic predominance after the split with the Holy Roman Church during the Protestant Reformation. In England, Catholics and Protestants struggled for power for decades, but the Protestants eventually prevailed with the establishment of the Anglican Church and created a deep-set British anti-Catholicism. As Puritans split with the Church of England, they immigrated to the New World to create a society of religious homogeneity based on strict conformance to Protestant Christianity, which became the accepted religion in the colonies and laid the

³⁷⁷ Friedman, 5.

³⁷⁸ Friedman, 5.

³⁷⁹ Friedman, 6-8.

³⁸⁰ Romain Gray, “To Mon General,” *Life*, May 9, 1969, 29; Patrick Salkeld, “Colin Kaepernick’s National Anthem Protest: Patriotism vs. Nationalism,” *Patrick Salkeld – Historian* (blog), October 17, 2016, https://patricksalkeldhistorian.wordpress.com/category/blog/#_edn3.

³⁸¹ The lower-case of native is purposeful to show the difference between the indigenous peoples of the United States and the whites who considered themselves “ethnic” Americans.

foundation for the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant predominance, instead of Catholicism, as they encountered the indigenous peoples.³⁸²

Native Americans, “Ethnic” American Sports, and Colonialism

American soccer historiography presents another problem, which must be dealt with in this chapter. When referring to gridiron football, baseball, and basketball, Markovits and Sugden, call them and the populations that play them “indigenous” or “native.”³⁸³ They also used the more appropriate, yet still problematic, term “native-born.” To more accurately describe the difference between indigenous (Native American) and American, the terms US-born Americans and domestic sports will be used for any sport or person of non-indigenous descent after 1776. Yes, those sports remain unique to the United States, but scholars should refrain from calling them “native” or “indigenous.” This terminology perpetuates the socially constructed superiority of the “white” population to the indigenous peoples who lived in North and South America before the arrival of Europeans. In the same manner, it establishes a superiority of US-born citizens over non-US born citizens when referring to the soccer clubs, leagues, and their players that consisted of immigrants and their descendants as “ethnic.” The United States population represents a “melting pot” of diverse ethnicities, even though an American nationality exists. This terminology confusion results from the dual-status of the US as both a colonial and post-colonial nation.

Between the 1500s and 1776, Europeans explored and colonized the now United States region. They displaced the indigenous peoples and fought numerous skirmishes and wars with

³⁸² Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Rise and Fall of Anglo-America* (Harvard University Press, 2004), 13-14.

³⁸³ Markovits, 54; Sugden, 249. On page 240, Sugden refers to “indigenous social forces” as the reason soccer “was crowded out” in addition to the “émigré community.”

them to gain control of more land. This desire forced the British and the French into the French and Indian War, which further substantiated the deep-seated anti-Catholic rhetoric in American discourse from their British heritage.³⁸⁴ After the British and colonist victory, the colonists desired “to settle the Catholic-occupied trans-Allegheny West.”³⁸⁵ They considered themselves superior to the Catholics. The British hindered the colonists’ expression of it when they made it illegal for the colonists to settle this region.³⁸⁶ This political barrier encouraged the “American ethnic” of being “*white*, in contrast to the Natives and black slaves; they were *Protestant and English* (in speech and surname), unlike the “papist” French and Spanish; and they were *liberal democrats*, in contrast to the British.”³⁸⁷ The British government originally allowed companies to settle in the Americas, but it later revoked this autonomy and assumed “royal” control, which strengthened after the French and Indian War when the empire needed to pay its debts. This loss of agency forced the American-British to become royal (colonial) subjects under monarchy representation appointed by the king. The essence of American nationalism originated during the late-eighteenth century as the colonies fought for independence from the British crown. This revolution changed the new entity’s status from colonial to post-colonial and offered them the ability to generate their own identity.

During the nineteenth century, Americans desired to differentiate themselves from their British roots because of the oppression they faced under the monarchy before the Revolution and the post-nationhood invasion of the United States, which resulted in the 1814 burning of the White House. They wanted taxation with representation in the British Parliament. When the British rejected that proposal, the desire for independence led to the creation of an “imagined

³⁸⁴ Kaufmann, 13-14.

³⁸⁵ Kaufmann, 15.

³⁸⁶ Kaufmann, 15-16.

³⁸⁷ Kaufmann, 16.

community” within the colonies. Even though large distances separated the various colonists, they ascribed to the same prospective future. Through the fight for independence, notable authors like Thomas Jefferson detailed the values of being an American, specifically “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.” The written discourse of the Revolution helped establish the ideology of Exceptionalism as a new nation. This liberation created an identity based on freedom from a monarch government. During the War of 1812, many Americans feared that if they lost, the British might recolonize the states and place them under worse oppression than they previously experienced in retribution for their previous rebellion. For this reason, scholars must consider post-colonial theory when discussing the US disgust for soccer.

Post-Colonialism, Muscular “Protestantism”

British colonialism, vastly different in the Thirteen Colonies than in Nigeria, in which they oppressed non-whites, evolved into a hated form of heritage from which the US wished to extricate itself. It became the first colony of a Western empire to gain independence from its colonizer. While not inherently post-colonial because its white, Western population continues to oppress non-white minority demographics (blacks, Native Americans, etc.), scholars should refer to the United States as post-colonial in regards to sports, which transitioned into a form of resistance for Americans and the final aspect of complete independence. Sports represented part of their identity as a sovereign nation separate from Great Britain. In their seminal work *Sport and Postcolonialism*, editors John Bale and Mike Cronin listed seven categories of postcolonial sport:

- (1) Pre-colonial body cultures that survived colonialism and were never sportized;
- (2) Indigenous body-cultures that were transformed into modern sports;
- (3) Body-cultures that were ‘invented’ by a former colony;
- (4) Colonial sports that were modified by former colonies into distinctly ‘national sports’;
- (5) Sports that have

been diffused by Empire and adopted, without rule changes, in colonized countries; (6) Sports initially introduced during colonization but that have been (been said to have) adopted ‘regional styles’ of their own; and (7) hybrid sportoids.³⁸⁸

Only categories three, four, and five pertain to this work. In Nigeria during the twentieth century, the indigenous peoples kept the same codified football rules created by the British (category five), but reinterpreted soccer’s connotations in Nigerian culture to break the bonds of colonialism and forge their own nationalism with it. The Nigerian elite formed all-African athletic clubs to spread their ideas of nationalism to the masses.³⁸⁹ In contrast, the Americans chose alternate routes.

During the Victorian Era, the British formulated a new movement called “Muscular Christianity.”³⁹⁰ Under this cultural phenomenon, men grew physically, religiously, and mentally through a combination of sports and religion.³⁹¹ As men left the fields and agricultural work for factory jobs, their masculinity and virility supposedly decreased, so they needed some way to maintain both and to remain religiously moral. Sports evolved into a way to become stronger while interacting with nature and God. In the United States, upper-class Americans viewed the Victorian “stifling of sexual desire” as a loss of virility and manliness.³⁹² Yet, it meant social class ruin if they participated in the same recreational activities as the working-class. They then defined their new “masculinity” as playing sports that involved strict control of their bodies with

³⁸⁸ John Bale and Mike Cronin, “Introduction,” in *Sport and Postcolonialism* ed. by John Bale and Mike Cronin, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 4.

³⁸⁹ For more information about this subject, see Patrick Salkeld, unpublished manuscript, “Football in Nigeria: Altering the Bonds of Colonialism.”

³⁹⁰ Elliot J. Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Springfield, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 88.

³⁹¹ Gorn and Goldstein, 88.

³⁹² Gorn and Goldstein, 94.

appropriate levels of brute violence. Activities like boxing and blood-sports (animal fighting) promoted too much virility identified with the working-class.

Wealthy Americans considered rugby to be too physical and soon established a new version of the games in colleges, even though they preferred rugby to association football because it allowed more violence and in effect more masculine expression. They modified the British rules of rugby to create American football (category four) and then invented baseball (category three). To still maintain some violent behavior, these institutions decided upon “socially sanctioned violence as expressed in violently aggressive ‘body contact’” while exerting some control by not over-contacting.³⁹³ Many Americans falsely believe the misconception about American football’s uniqueness to the United States.³⁹⁴ Baseball, also widely believed to be uniquely American, evolved from similar games like rounders and base-ball played on the British Isle.³⁹⁵ The players exhibited masculinity with how hard they hit the ball and how fast they ran, but the stop and start aspect of the game offered them control. Yet, to create a mythos and to further the country’s Exceptionalism, the general public and those in positions of authority conveniently erased, or hid, this knowledge to affirm the uniqueness of the sports. US society crafted baseball and gridiron football into the official American sports, and it considered anything else (cricket, rugby, or soccer) un-American. If one participated in these activities, it meant that person failed to assimilate.

Nativism, Immigration, Industrialization

³⁹³ Waddington and Roderick, 39.

³⁹⁴ For more information, see Christopher Rowley, *The Shared Origins of Football, Rugby, and Soccer* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

³⁹⁵ For more information regarding baseball’s origins, see David Block’s *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

Americans considered this “uniqueness” a separation between them and the millions of Europeans who later immigrated across the Atlantic Ocean during eighteenth century. They viewed these new peoples negatively, and nativist anti-immigrant attitudes evolved into a prominent ideology within the urban centers where these immigrants found homes. US-born Americans considered themselves more superior and “whiter” than hyphenated Americans (those of foreign birth or origin) because they referred to their culture as chosen by God, which therefore meant they partially based their skin color on country of birth even if a person immigrated from Ireland, Germany, Russia, or another nation primarily consisting of white-skinned people. Even though some immigrants gained citizenship, their “inferiority” still remained because of their ancestral origin. Josiah Strong, a Christian minister during the mid-nineteenth century, echoed these beliefs when he wrote in *The New Era: Or, the Coming of the Kingdom*, “Is it not reasonable to believe that this race is destined to dispossess many weaker ones, assimilate others, and mould the remainder, until, in a very true and important sense, it has Anglo-Saxonized mankind?”³⁹⁶ He added further, “The importance to mankind and to the coming Kingdom of guarding against the deterioration of the Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States by immigration. There is now being injected into the veins of the nation a large amount of inferior blood every day of every year.”³⁹⁷ These Americans who viewed society through this lens failed to qualify as “native Americans” themselves because their ancestors arrived from Europe and entered the Americas then subsequently forced the established indigenous peoples off their land. These hypocritical natives formed political parties, such as the Whig Party and the Know Nothing Party, in response to the ensuing arrivals and fought to restrict or wholly stop

³⁹⁶ Josiah Strong, *The New Era: Or, The Coming Kingdom* (New York: The Baker & Taylor Company, 1893), 79-80.

³⁹⁷ Strong, 80.

further immigration because they feared the newcomers would cause job loss for US-born Americans and the dilution of American society. As they assimilated, some immigrants maintained aspects of their home culture, such as sports—specifically cricket, boxing, and soccer. Roger Allaway, one of the fathers of American soccer history, discussed the inextricable link between the popularity of soccer, textile mills, and immigrants in his book *Rangers, Rovers and Spindles: Soccer, Immigration and Textiles in New England and New Jersey*. Fall River, Massachusetts, “was home to the largest percentage of foreign-born people of any American population center.”³⁹⁸ Immigrants from “Lancashire and the valley of Clyde” primarily brought soccer to the United States because the game spread from the “English upper classes into the British working classes” in these areas first during the 1870s.³⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the nativists noticed this trend and broadly labeled soccer a “European” sport.⁴⁰⁰

As these immigrants planted their roots, their descendants continued to spread soccer to future generations. The sport became ingrained into their society and spread to other areas in the United States, such as St. Louis, Missouri to which Irish- and German-Americans moved when the city “experienced an economic boom.”⁴⁰¹ Yet, soccer arrived there after these immigrants because “the Catholic Church viewed [it] as healthy for the body, mind and soul individually and collectively” and established teams and leagues for the new generations born in the state.⁴⁰² St. Louis evolved into one of the most prominent “hotbeds” of American soccer, and many players from there featured significantly in international competitions, most notably the 1950 World Cup in which the USMNT defeated the English National Team. Over the next forty years, soccer

³⁹⁸ Colin Jose, *American Soccer League, 1921-1931: The Golden Years of American Soccer* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1998), 9.

³⁹⁹ Allaway, *Rangers, Rovers and Spindles*, xii-xiii.

⁴⁰⁰ Allaway, *Rangers, Rovers, and Spindles*, xii.

⁴⁰¹ Reck and Dick, 54.

⁴⁰² Reck and Dick, 54.

evolved into a working-class sport enjoyed by those living in the urban centers of the United States a similar trend as witnessed around the rest of the world.

Perceived Communist Imperialism

The rhetoric, “soccer is a communist (or socialist) sport,” likely stems from the early twentieth century. In February 1917, a revolution referred to as the February Revolution broke out in Russia because of the First World War, an economic crisis, famine, and disillusionment with the tsar. Between March and September 1917, the Bolshevik Party grew in popularity and numbers. Vladimir Lenin, the party leader, returned in October from exile and led the October Revolution, in which they successfully overthrew the Russian government and formed a new administration based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and “sports...became instruments of the Communist Party.”⁴⁰³ It sparked a “Red Scare” in the United States out of fear that a similar event might occur and turn America into a socialist country.

Between the turn of the century and the Great Depression, soccer experienced its “Golden Years,” which coincided with the economic boom of the Roaring Twenties. On May 7, 1921, eight teams formed the “first truly professional soccer league in the United States” called the American Soccer League (ASL).⁴⁰⁴ It gained international status as European athletes relocated for high wages playing soccer in addition to factory jobs.⁴⁰⁵ Scottish reporters called the ASL, the “American Menace,” due to the “drain of top class soccer players from Scottish clubs.”⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Gabe Logan, “Playing for the People: Labor Sport Union Athletic Clubs in the Lake Superior/Iron Range 1927-1936,” *Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region* 4 (2016): 46.

⁴⁰⁴ Jose, *American Soccer League*, 9.

⁴⁰⁵ Jose, *American Soccer League*, 8, 10.

⁴⁰⁶ Jose, *American Soccer League*, 8.

This influx of international players also sparked a familiar concern, the game's "foreignness."⁴⁰⁷ Since the 1850s, immigrants largely formed the backbone of players in American sports, especially Irish-American in baseball; however, playing baseball and American football proved one's Americanization.⁴⁰⁸ The ASL administrators followed this mainstream idea that if one adopted more American activities, it situated them within the hierarchy and so "native" Americans might view them in a more positive light, so the ASL "continued its...[tinkering]" with the rules.⁴⁰⁹ During the ASL's decade of operation, 1921-1932, Americans excelled in the sport and even attended the inaugural FIFA World Cup in 1930, in which the USMNT reached third place out of thirteen teams, its highest achievement in international soccer.⁴¹⁰

At the same time, the United States Communist Party found success in organizing soccer leagues in New York, Chicago, and the Lake Superior Region. In 1927, it formed the Labor Sports Union (LSU) to help attract more American membership.⁴¹¹ By 1929, the LSU's membership grew from "twenty-five to 100" and relocated from "Detroit to New York City" where the majority of its support existed.⁴¹² Unlike the other amateur and professional leagues in the United States, it allowed gender and racial equality and included "women's baseball teams"

⁴⁰⁷ Maureen Shattery, "How the Communist Party (Almost) Killed Football in New York," *In Bed With Maradona*, May 17, 2015, <http://inbedwithmaradona.com/nyc/2015/5/17/how-the-communist-party-killed-football-in-new-york>.

⁴⁰⁸ Steven A. Riess, *Sport in Industrial America 1850-1920* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1995), 92-3.

⁴⁰⁹ Shattery, "How the Communist Party (Almost) Killed Football in New York."

⁴¹⁰ Jose, *American Soccer League*, 14.

For more information about the 1930 US World Cup team, see Zachary R. Bigalke, "Anything But Ringers: Early American Soccer Hotbeds and the 1930 US World Cup Team," *Soccer & Society* (published online December 21, 2016): 1-21.

⁴¹¹ Shattery, "How the Communist Party (Almost) Killed Football in New York;" Logan, "Playing for the People," 45.

⁴¹² Logan, "Playing for the People," 50.

and “full ‘negro’ teams” in its numbers.⁴¹³ While the ASL folded due to the Great Depression, fighting with the United States Football Association (USFA), which sparked the first “soccer war” in the United States, poor market and media coverage, and a lack of team-owned stadiums, the LSU continued and even saw the economic crisis as an opportunity to further supplant capitalist organizations.⁴¹⁴ These organizations later separated in the mid-1930s and failed to provide much benefit for the spread of Communism in the United States as President Franklin D. Roosevelt started the New Deal Programs and another global war started in 1939.⁴¹⁵ After the collapse of the ASL in 1932, most Americans viewed soccer, even more so, “as a foreign game...and eventually removed the US from a cultural interaction with the rest of the world” as the country entered another period of neutrality and isolationism.⁴¹⁶

In the post-1945 climate after World War II ended, the United States found itself face-to-face with the Communist Soviet Union—allies with a common enemy during the war, but now opponents fighting to extend their control across the globe. This Cold War transitioned American culture and society from its pre-1945 status to the current state seen today. The fifties issued upon society an increased consumer culture. The Allies won World War II, and the Americans celebrated a rise in affluence that allowed a wider range of citizens than ever to purchase goods; it blurred the lines between classes to hypothetically show the world no class disparities existed

⁴¹³ Logan, “Playing for the People,” 50-1.

⁴¹⁴ Logan, “Playing for the People,” 52.

See Zachary R. Bigalke, “Collaboration versus Confrontation: Comparing the Successes and Failures of Major League Soccer and the American Soccer League,” *Sport in American History*, March 9, 2017, <https://ussporthistory.com/2017/03/09/collaboration-versus-confrontation-comparing-the-successes-and-failures-of-major-league-soccer-and-the-american-soccer-league/>.

⁴¹⁵ Logan, “Playing for the People,” 60; Shattery, “How the Communist Party (Almost) Killed Football in New York.”

⁴¹⁶ Quoted in Gary Armstrong and James Rosbrook-Thompson, “Coming to America: Historical Ontologies and United States Soccer,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 17 (2010): 353.

in the United States. In their need to demonstrate the superiority of capitalism compared to communism, they falsely created an atmosphere of class equality, but it failed to account for the rising tension beneath the surface of American society.

A lifelong soccer enthusiast, Paul Harris' example represents a struggle lasting nearly three hundred years that featured prominently in the sixties, seventies, and eighties. "Born on June 8, 1935," Harris grew up in New Jersey, one of the best areas to learn about soccer due to its ethnic heritage, which he discovered in elementary school and played throughout high school and at Earlham College, a private college in Indiana from which he graduated in 1957.⁴¹⁷ He lived much of his adult life in California where he established "Soccer for Americans," a press that published youth soccer manuals and the noteworthy book, *America's Soccer Heritage: A History of the Game*, and worked with the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO).⁴¹⁸ Due to where he spent his childhood and the sixties counterculture movement, Harris rejected the norm of American society and enjoyed soccer. It reflected the underscored tension of the 1950s that erupted in the next decade.

Mainstream culture viewed white Americans who joined the sixties counterculture movement as people who "turned their back on America" because they protested the Vietnam War, the segregation and inhumane treatment of blacks and other minorities, and they became the New Left because they reinterpreted Marxist theory from an economic Communist ideology to a social communist ideology that called for social reform.⁴¹⁹ In sum, the New Left "was

⁴¹⁷ "Paul E. Harris Jr., 76, Formerly of Chatham," *Chatham Courier*, March 9, 2012, http://www.newjerseyhills.com/chatham_courier/obituaries/paul-e-harris-jr-formerly-of-chatham/article_a7d0485e-68db-11e1-b96e-0019bb2963f4.html.

⁴¹⁸ "Paul Harris Class of 1957: Induction Class of 1998," *Earlham College Hall of Fame*, http://www.goearlham.com/hof/h/Paul_Harris.

⁴¹⁹ Franklin Foer, "How Soccer Explains the American Culture Wars" in Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 239.

outraged by some of the aspects of present-day life which accompany our prosperity.”⁴²⁰ The children of the sixties adopted soccer for their offspring because of its malleability.⁴²¹ They thought of it as “a tabula rasa, a sport onto which a generation of parents could project their values,” and promoted a more egalitarian and less violent atmosphere than American football and baseball to “protect the child’s body and mind from damage.”⁴²² The New Left, although it “shed its youthful radical politics,” incorporated the same ideals into sport.⁴²³ As a result, soccer lacked the capitalistic “win at all costs” attitude and appeared more socialist or Communist.

Conservatives, then, viewed soccer as anti-American because of this adoption by members of the former New Left, or those they considered un-American. During the subsequent decades, soccer grew exponentially as a youth sport with millions of white adolescents participating in it much more than gridiron football and baseball. The Soviet Union and other Communist Eastern European countries also played soccer; Spartak Moscow, a Soviet team, enjoyed massive popularity and even opposed the police-run team called Dinamo Moscow. Had the Communists achieved a grassroots infiltration of the United States through youth sports? No but the media and conservatives still denigrated soccer as a Communist or socialist sport because they failed to understand its popularity and how Americans could possibly divert their sporting nationalism away from gridiron football and baseball. This mindset continued, but unbeknownst to the soccer-hating Americans, their fellow Americans duped them. Yet, not those with the Communist or foreign ideology they expected.

⁴²⁰ U.S. News & World Report, *Communism and the New Left: What They’re Up To Now* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. News & World Report, Inc., 1969), 37.

⁴²¹ Foer, 237-8.

⁴²² Foer, 237-8.

⁴²³ Foer, 239.

“White Businessman’s Burden” and Lingering Colonized Reminders

Throughout the past two hundred plus years, Americans feared the decline of the United States with the influx of immigrants. Who knew what ideology or connections they brought with them into the US borders. US-born citizens feared soccer might evolve into one of the tools used by foreigners to end the country as an independent nation or collapse the American identity. They then created a *nativist/masculinist sport* ideology to promote participation in gridiron football, baseball, and basketball as the ultimate form of assimilation and to demote soccer as an ethnic, inherently inferior sport. How many soccer players might work for the Kremlin with a mission to brainwash young children to adopt the Communist ideology? How many soccer players might work for Iran or other anti-West Middle Eastern countries with a mission to brainwash young children to adopt the same beliefs? During the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression, the US Communist Party used soccer to spread Marxism, true. Nonetheless, though, as often the largely ignored case, the strongest threat to American identity originated within the United States itself.

As detailed in the previous two chapters, Bill Cox, Lamar Hunt, Jack Kent Cooke, and other American businessmen established the professional soccer leagues in the US after 1945. They desired to make it into a popular sport and a financially profitable venture for themselves (above all) because soccer’s popularity, they determined, equaled commercial success; otherwise, it failed in the country. To achieve this goal, they needed to present an appealing product to society to convince them to embrace the sport and spend their hard-earned money on it, so they Americanized the rules. Soccer evolved into an imperialist tool to further American

capitalism not Communism.⁴²⁴ These men evolved into “FIFA compradors” or a person who interacted with FIFA to help the international, non-American organization economically exploit the US-American people. Popularizing soccer became the “white (American) businessman’s burden,” a spin-off of the original term “white man’s burden” in which Europeans and the US espoused improving the livelihood of indigenous peoples in Africa, Asia, and South America, but only as a façade of imperialism as they wanted to strip the resources from the indigenous people and establish imperial control.⁴²⁵

In 1988, FIFA acted much like the United States after 1945 with the Marshall Doctrine. The US sent Western Europe monetary aid with the expectation that they would use the funds to help the countries recover from World War II’s devastation as to not fall under the throes of Communism. The federal government underhandedly attached another expectation—the US would dictate how the Western Europeans used the funding, specifically with the intention to purchase American goods. FIFA dictated that to host the 1994 World Cup, US Soccer must establish a professional league. The investors, or “FIFA compradors,” told the public they wanted to develop soccer, but those businessmen wanted more money in their wallets, which in turn meant FIFA received more revenue as well.⁴²⁶ They found an easy to convince demographic in the former New Left and the white suburbanites. Even though the businessmen often conflicted with it, they also inevitably helped FIFA achieve “its biggest and final challenge” of

⁴²⁴ Concealed socialism might be a better term to describe soccer leagues and administration after 1993. This idea will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴²⁵ The Belgian Congo and the Philippine-American War represent the most flagrant examples of “the white man’s burden.” For more information about the Belgian Congo, see Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999).

⁴²⁶ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 218.

“penetrating the soccer-starved US sports market,” or in other words, its “final frontier.”⁴²⁷

Whether rightfully deserved or not, US-born American denigrated soccer for over one hundred years because of the constant reminder of British colonization even with Great Britain as the US’s closest ally. They developed gridiron football and baseball into the top sports in the “sport space” after they rejected British sports like cricket, rugby and association football and Victorian Era values of Muscular Christianity. Why then did Americans embrace soccer after the past one hundred fifty years?

FIFA, its president João Havelange and its general secretary Sepp Blatter, and the US-based businessmen engaged in two forms of imperialism: economic and psychological. When bidding to host a competition, sports officials persuade local and state officials to acquiesce and spend millions on the application.⁴²⁸ The 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles set a goal for each future tournament—“the alluring path to possible profits”—and “cities and countries now lined up for the honor of hosting games.”⁴²⁹ They hired marketing firms to calculate how much revenue they might see as a host, but the resulting studies “are promotional in nature” and “rather than looking at the economic results of the event and comparing them to preexisting trends, these studies make assumptions, or predictions.”⁴³⁰ In *Circus Maximus: The Economic Gamble Behind Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup*, Andrew Zimbalist referenced “two studies on the economic impact of hosting” the 1994 World Cup. For one, “the authors found the average income was \$712 million below trend, versus boosters’ claims of \$300 million gains,” and the other “found no statistically significant increase in employment in the nine cities that hosted [it],

⁴²⁷ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 203.

⁴²⁸ Andrew Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus: The Economic Gamble Behind Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015), 2.

⁴²⁹ Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus*, 1.

⁴³⁰ Zimbalist, 33-4.

no impact on the leisure and hospitality sectors, and a negative impact on the retail sector.”⁴³¹

Likewise, sports team owners woo city officials to let franchises call that locale home. They estimate the revenue a team might bring and discuss the positives of a sports team on a city, but normally it also costs taxpayers millions to help fund stadium construction. Unfortunately, the city’s residents see little payoff as the profits from the team primarily go to the owner’s pockets because the team operates as a corporation and not a local business. They dupe prospective cities in need of economic and social aid into spending money with bare minimal returns.

To make soccer appeal to fans, investors applied similar entertainment factors expected in the United States because the success of this tactics in gridiron football, baseball, and basketball. This familiar pattern allowed the businessmen to trick unsuspecting US-born Americans into watching a game they previously rejected—psychological imperialism. No matter how they present soccer and alter the rules, it remains the same game at its center. When the NASL modified the rules of soccer, the sport loosely took on the characteristics of postcolonial category six: “Sports initially introduced during colonization but that have been (been said to have) adopted ‘regional styles’ of their own.”⁴³² Even though the codified version entered the United States after decolonization, the roots of the game originated long before colonization. This author considers this Americanization to be a “regional style” since no other country tinkered with the rules like the United States. One could also equate it as a form of colonial resistance because of both the country’s and the sport’s British heritage.⁴³³ In the early 2000s, the need for Americanization slowly declined as Americans recognized soccer officials presented them with water-down versions of the sport. Their fandom drove them to watch

⁴³¹ Zimbalist, 39-40.

⁴³² Bale and Cronin, “Introduction,” 4.

⁴³³ Bale and Cronin, “Introduction,” 8.

international leagues and competitions, including the World Cup, and learn about the game.

Whether they recognized it or not, this education revealed the psychological imperialism to their consciousness. It then resulted in a neocolonial resistance as it forced US Soccer to apply the same codified rules of play used by all other football governances.

Nonetheless, soccer in the United States still represented a regional style and failed to reach a postcolonial category five sport—“Sports that have been diffused by Empire and adopted, without rule changes, in colonized countries”—because US Soccer and Major League Soccer refused to adopt the promotion and relegation system, which developed in Great Britain.⁴³⁴ They uses the American system of buying into a league rather than mobility through sporting merit. This situation brings up another aspect of postcolonialism because of the “Eurosnob” factor. US fans think of the American system as a way that makes “US Soccer unique,” and they refer to people who prefer promotion and relegation as “Eurosnoobs” since it represents a European-style of sport. In this denigration, one still sees the perpetual anti-colonial attitudes of the United States and the constructed belief of US-American superiority and whiteness over proto-British/European society.

All the businessmen’s efforts over the years to popularize soccer and imperialize Americans into embracing the sport culminated in one single event, the 1994 World Cup. From June to July 1994, various national soccer teams competed in the quadrennial FIFA World Cup, but for the first time in the tournament’s history, the United States hosted the competition. Ahead of the tournament, the World Cup Organizing Committee advertised the upcoming games and inserted it into every possible social, marketing, and retail outlet. It even “teamed up with the ALA [American Library Association] to develop [a] new READ poster featuring Andrew Shue,

⁴³⁴ Bale and Cronin, “Introduction,” 4.

the official World Cup USA '94 spokesperson. Carrying the message 'Use your head, READ,' the poster promotes reading and library usage. It was also designed to build awareness of the 1994 World Cup."⁴³⁵ The organization hoped to attract as much youth attention as possible, so it sold all sorts of World Cup USA '94-themed retail items like video games, t-shirts, official books, board games, soccer balls—and they largely included images of Striker, a soccer-playing dog as the official mascot. The tournament set attendance records for soccer games in the United States, and television ratings exceeded expectations as "live games on the ESPN cable channel attracted viewing figures equal to the rating for prime-time Wednesday Major League Baseball games."⁴³⁶ Most people recognize it as the best World Cup seen to date, and even Sepp Blatter remarked, "The 1994 World Cup produced a turnover of \$4 billion with 32 billion television viewers...The World Cup was a fabulous success."⁴³⁷ The 1994 World Cup demonstrated to FIFA, US Soccer, and to the rest of the world that Americans now capitulated to the international game. Now, could US Soccer hold on to this captivated audience with a professional Division 1 outdoor league?⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ "ALA and You," *American Libraries* 25 (July-August 1994): 690.

⁴³⁶ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 214.

⁴³⁷ Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 203.

⁴³⁸ Twenty-two years after the 1994 World Cup, these ideologies and theories continue to persist about American soccer. As the sport gains more popularity in the United States with the broadcasting of the English Premier League, these problems diminish in strength. More people come to accept it as a thriving and legitimate arena for male competition. Some right-wing conservatives, though, such as Ann Coulter, perpetuate these numerous stereotypes.

Chapter 5 – Major League Soccer, 1993-2000

“My first feeling is one of relief. The next is that we have a monumental task ahead, a big job to do.”⁴³⁹

-Werner Fricker, USSF President 1984-1990

~

Between 1984 and 1996 soccer existed only in regional professional competition in addition to adult amateur, indoor, and youth leagues. No mainstream leagues operated once the NASL collapsed due to the financial losses it suffered as a result of the teams trying to compete with the Cosmos. Like NASL, Major League Soccer (MLS) offered Americans a different version of the beautiful game. The administration left most of the original international rules intact, but devised new regulations to appeal to the uninitiated audience. Otherwise, how might Americans find this “foreign” sport entertaining? From a business standpoint, the league also adhered to the American-style of sports business and designed policies to prevent the same fate as its mainstream predecessor: “[a] short life and fast times” as Ian Plenderleith described. Soccer suffered the same fate within the United States that European countries faced during the early decades of the Cold War, Americanization and a transition to a consumer and commercial culture. Under the leadership of Alan Rothenberg, “foremost a lawyer and businessman,” US Soccer focused on the creation of a stable, long-term profitable business, not the long-term development of soccer in the United States.⁴⁴⁰

This chapter focuses specifically on the controversial origins of MLS and how it affected the first four years and the later expansions from 2000 to 2005 (the subject of chapter six).⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Michael Janofsky, “U.S. Awarded ’94 World Cup Tourney in Soccer,” *The New York Times*, July 5, 1988, <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/07/05/sports/us-awarded-94-world-cup-tourney-in-soccer.html>.

⁴⁴⁰ Hopkins, 23.

Chapter two discussed Alan Rothenberg’s background in more detail.

⁴⁴¹ To read more in depth studies see Beau Dure’s *Long Range Goals: The Success Story of Major League Soccer* (2010) and Phil West’s *The United States of Soccer: MLS and the Rise of*

MLS contains an intrinsic objective to value itself over the development of the game overall, which should be US Soccer's prime focus. The league touts itself as committed to development, but it largely fails as seen when national team coaches refuse to call up internationals in MLS (Sebastian Giovinco, Kaka) or a United States Men's National Team roster consisting mostly of MLS players performs poorly against opponents it should defeat resoundingly. As the top division (a meaningless designation without promotion and relegation), its formation and operation as first and foremost a self-interested business prevents it from achieving improved development of soccer in the United States.

The 1990 World Cup in Italy and the 1990 USSF Presidential Election

Like all matters of society and culture, sports exude political corruption and conflicts of interest (either imaginary or real because "the appearance of conflicts is just as important as any

American Soccer Fandom (2016). These two histories briefly discuss the formation and origins of Major League Soccer; however, as a journalist, West focused primarily on the positives and wrote a consensus history of the league to prop it up as a success story. This perspective contrasts the late historian David Wangerin's view in 2011 (a year after the publication of Dure's book), "Whether MLS can be classified as a success may still be a matter of debate, but it enters its sixteenth season in 2011 in far healthier shape than the NASL at its peak." West and Dure both actively cover MLS in the media; West even writes for the official MLS website. Journalists, like West, exude a loyal nationalism to MLS, withhold most criticism of it and US Soccer, and disregard most other forms of soccer in the United States; however, the controversies and negatives form part of its history that need remembered and acknowledged. The academic studies, albeit brief, in *FIFA and the Contest for World Football* by John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *Offside: Soccer & American Exceptionalism* by Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman, and *Soccer in a Football World* by David Wangerin discuss the problems with the formation of Major League Soccer in more detail than *Long Range Goals* and *The United States of Soccer*.

For more about the problems with American soccer journalism and the cult created by MLS and US Soccer, see Patrick Salkeld, "Jürgen Klinsmann: US Soccer's Diversion from USWNT and Chuck Blazer," *Sport in American History*, December 19, 2016, <https://ussporthistory.com/2016/12/19/jurgen-klinsmann-us-soccers-diversion-from-uswnt-and-chuck-blazer/>.

actual conflicts”) with the nonexistent league not immune.⁴⁴² On July 5, 1988, Werner Fricker, told journalists, “The USSF will begin developing plans for a national soccer league, one that will encompass in some way teams from existing semiprofessional indoor and outdoor leagues...it would operate at three levels, based on ability, to create ‘the ideal environment for America to develop highly skilled players.’”⁴⁴³ A 1988 USSF white paper revealed it “developed a plan for the reorganization of professional soccer in the United States...a first, second, and third division professional structure, with a system of promotion and relegation that will be unique to American professional sports,” which allowed “any community in America, provided it meets the proper standards, [to] field a team in the new professional league.”⁴⁴⁴ Fricker’s idea of a soccer pyramid followed the international rules of promotion and regulation, an unheralded idea in American sports due to the fact they follow the typical US model where teams in the lower half of the standings remain in the league and receive perks for poor performances instead of losing Division 1 status. As US Soccer planned the new structure for professional soccer and how to host the 1994 World Cup, international competitions continued and the United States Men’s National Team (USMNT) reached the World Cup for the first time in forty years (1950).

Remarkably, the USMNT qualified for the 1990 World Cup, which since 1988 this event evolved into a necessity for the country “to carry any credibility as a host [in 1994].”⁴⁴⁵ US Soccer also “borrowed half a million dollars to underwrite the national team” and the league-

⁴⁴² Roger Pielke, Jr., “US Soccer and Conflicts of Interest,” *Soccernomics*, May 12, 2016, <http://www.soccernomics-agency.com/?p=973>.

In his guest post on the blog *Soccernomics* (run by Stefan Syzmanski, Simon Kuper, and Ben Lyttleton), Roger Pielke, Jr. wrote about modern conflicts of interest in US Soccer in 2016, such as the murky relationship between Soccer United Marketing (SUM), MLS, and US Soccer.

⁴⁴³ Janofsky, “U.S. Awarded ’94 World Cup Tourney in Soccer.”

⁴⁴⁴ Kessell, “Who Killed the American Open Pyramid?”

⁴⁴⁵ Wangerin, *Football World*, 229.

requirement of the 1994 World Cup appeared a lost cause.⁴⁴⁶ They nearly failed, and the federation almost lost hope. In the final qualifying round, the 1989 CONCACAF Nations Cup, the Costa Rica National Team qualified for the final game automatically because of Mexico's disqualification for "fielding overage players in the 1989 World Youth Cup" (otherwise the two should have played each other), but its opponents still needed determining.⁴⁴⁷ The United States beat El Salvador, but then tied Guatemala and El Salvador.⁴⁴⁸ November 18, 1989, the USMNT's final game in the tournament, turned into a historic day for American soccer.⁴⁴⁹ The team played Trinidad and Tobago in Port of Spain and barely scratched by with a win because of Paul Caligiuri who scored "the second 'shot heard round the world,'" a term used only by American fans.⁴⁵⁰

Even though the USMNT lost every game against Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Austria in the 1990 World Cup, it represented both an achievement and an improvement from the past. US Soccer started a development program in 1988, which involved a number of American players signing a contract with the federation and enabled them to train with the national team or to be loaned to other clubs.⁴⁵¹ These contracts gave them the ability to focus solely on soccer and hired

⁴⁴⁶ Wangerin, *Football World*, 233-34.

⁴⁴⁷ Wangerin, *Football World*, 231; Litterer, "The Year in American Soccer – 1989," *ASHA*, last updated May 30, 2008, <http://homepages.oberlin.edu/~spectrum/year/1989.html#men>. CONCACAF stands for the Confederation of North, Central America and Caribbean Association Football.

⁴⁴⁸ Wangerin, *Football World*, 232-33; Litterer, "1989."

⁴⁴⁹ Wangerin, *Football World*, 234.

⁴⁵⁰ Wangerin, *Football World*, 233-34; Litterer, "1989."

⁴⁵¹ Alex Yannis, "Soccer; 14 Players Sign with U.S. Federation," *New York Times*, October 28, 1988; Wangerin, *Football World*, 230; Roger Allaway, "The Grant Program of 1988-94," *Big Soccer Blogs*, October 13, 2013, <http://www.bigsoccer.com/blog/2013/10/14/the-grant-program-of-1988-94>.

a full-time coach, Bob Gansler.⁴⁵² They expected the players to “supplement their incomes by playing for professional clubs” either internationally or in the United States with the Western Soccer Alliance (WSA) or the American Soccer League (ASL).⁴⁵³ Unlike the failed Team America, US Soccer actually acted on its idea of a full-time national team. In all, the federation signed thirty players to contracts until October 1994.⁴⁵⁴ This program laid the foundation for the United States to qualify for each World Cup since 1990, but success (even moderate) on the field failed to follow in the World Cup preparations. As Wangerin wrote, “The most immediately significant event that year took place at a hotel in Florida, two months after the team returned home from Italy.”⁴⁵⁵

In 1990, the progress on World Cup USA disappointed FIFA. Based on the 1984 Olympics success, the members expected a resounding effort in the preparations to make the football tournament unforgettable. Both FIFA and US Soccer needed to prove the international body’s made the correct decision in 1988 because “doubts were emerging in the minds of FIFA.”⁴⁵⁶ They witnessed Fricker and Paul Steihl, the two candidates for the 1990 US Soccer Presidential Election, “air their grievances and fight their campaign” while in Italy.⁴⁵⁷ The former also negotiated “a multimillion-dollar eight-year agreement” between US Soccer and “Soccer USA Partners, a British Sports Marketing Agency...to control all of their marketing, sponsorship, licensing, game day events and television broadcast rights.”⁴⁵⁸ This contract

⁴⁵² Ed Farnsworth, “The World Cup Drought: US Soccer, 1950-1990,” *The Philly Soccer Page*, April 10, 2014, <http://www.phillysoccerpage.net/2014/04/10/the-drought-us-soccer-1950-1990/>; Wangerin, *Football World*, 230.

⁴⁵³ Yannis, “Soccer; 14 Players Sign with U.S. Federation.”

⁴⁵⁴ Farnsworth, “The World Cup Drought;” Allaway, “The Grant Program of 1988-94.”

⁴⁵⁵ Wangerin, *Football World*, 240.

⁴⁵⁶ Hopkins, 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Hopkins, 19.

⁴⁵⁸ Hopkins, 19.

worried FIFA because it worked closely with “its marketing agents ISL [International Sport and Leisure]” and feared they might lose revenue as a result.⁴⁵⁹

Less than a month after Italy 1990 ended in July, US Soccer held one of the most controversial elections of all time.⁴⁶⁰ FIFA inserted itself into the voting process when it “encouraged Rothenberg...to challenge incumbent Fricker for the USSF presidency” and “unofficially threatened to take away the World Cup if Rothenberg wasn’t elected.”⁴⁶¹ In his book *Star Spangled Marketing*, Gary Hopkins called Rothenberg’s candidacy as “a hit-and-run campaign that would have made Washington Lobbyists blush” referring to how “votes were secured, promises made and ‘behind the scenes’ deals done” when he “hosted lavish cocktail receptions, schmoozed with delegates and charmed and cajoled all with promises of a new tomorrow.”⁴⁶² Fricker and Steihl supported each other, and together opposed Rothenberg, whom they called a newcomer and opportunist and tried to smear him with a “1986 newspaper article critical of the way the NBA’s Los Angeles Clippers were being run, all references to [him] (a member of the Clippers management group) had been underlined in red.”⁴⁶³ Ultimately, it seemed everyone but a few, desired a change and “had lost faith in the US Soccer.”⁴⁶⁴ Many of them believed they might lose the rights to the World Cup, a real possibility if Fricker remained

⁴⁵⁹ Hopkins, 19.

For more information about the corruption between ISL and FIFA, see: Jakob Staun, “The Fall of ISL,” *Play the Game*, June 2, 2006, <http://www.playthegame.org/news/news-articles/2006/the-fall-of-isl/>; Jens Weinreich, “In the Wake of the ISL Collapse,” November 30, 2005, http://www.playthegame.org/upload/jens_weinreich_-_in_the_wake_of_the_isl_collapse.pdf; and George Kioussis, “Exceptions and Exceptionalism: The United States Football Association in a Global Context, 1950-74” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2015).

⁴⁶⁰ Hopkins, 20.

⁴⁶¹ Associated Press, “From Obscurity to Respect: A Look at Rothenberg, the Man Who Put U.S. Soccer on the World Map,” *CNN*, August 20, 1998 via the Internet Archive: Wayback Machine.

⁴⁶² Hopkins, 20.

⁴⁶³ Hopkins, 20.

⁴⁶⁴ Hopkins, 21.

president.⁴⁶⁵ After FIFA “offer[ed] Steihl a World Cup job should he pull out of the election and...support Rothenberg,” he called Rothenberg “nothing more than a FIFA puppet and stooge.”⁴⁶⁶ On August 5, 1990, Alan Rothenberg received “59 percent of the popular vote, Fricker 29 percent and Steihl just 12 percent.”⁴⁶⁷ FIFA called the results “in the best interests of FIFA and US Soccer” because ultimately both organizations put their reputations on the line with World Cup USA.⁴⁶⁸ As Hopkins wrote, “US Soccer was being dragged kicking and screaming into the commercial, professional and, some would say, mercenary world of professional sports business” as it also worked to improve the on field quality of the United States Men’s National Team.⁴⁶⁹

A year before the World Cup, US Soccer hosted the 1993 US Cup in June, the second annual edition of the tournament held every year until it ended in 2000.⁴⁷⁰ It provided the USMNT with experience “against the best international teams” and exposure to the game for the American populace because as Bora Milutinovic, the head coach from 1991 to 1995, told reporters, “Americans want to win all the time, but I don’t care. Our problem is we don’t have too many games against the best teams. We could play Panama and Nicaragua and beat them, 7-0, all the time. That would mean nothing.”⁴⁷¹ In 1993, Brazil, England, and Germany traveled to the United States and played at various venues: the Yale Bowl (New Haven, Connecticut, which

⁴⁶⁵ Hopkins, 21.

⁴⁶⁶ Hopkins, 21.

FIFA revealed “its press secretary, Guido Tognonoi, had placed the mysterious call to Steihl.”

⁴⁶⁷ Hopkins, 22.

⁴⁶⁸ Hopkins, 22.

⁴⁶⁹ Hopkins, 23.

⁴⁷⁰ Wangerin, *Football World*, 250.

US Soccer started a women’s US Cup in 1995, and it ran until 2002.

⁴⁷¹ Filip Bondy, “Soccer; U.S. Cup Might Raise Americans’ Game,” *The New York Times*, March 4, 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/04/sports/soccer-us-cup-might-raise-americans-game.html>.

they “used as a grassy substitute” for Giants Stadium”), Foxboro Stadium (Foxborough, Boston, Massachusetts), RFK Stadium (Washington, D.C.), Soldier Field (Chicago, Illinois), and the Pontiac Silverdome (Detroit, Michigan), which later hosted some of the World Cup games.⁴⁷² US Soccer used the tournament as a way to gauge the future success of the World Cup. The 1993 US Cup “[dispelled]...any lingering doubts about American enthusiasm for football,” according to FIFA’s *Activity Report April 1992-March 1994*.⁴⁷³ Yet the difference in attendance between MLS and international games on American soil since 1996 suggests something else. Here, “American enthusiasm for football” better translates to “American enthusiasm for international football” because of strong nationalist and patriotic overtones and the higher quality in player skill when the USMNT, notable national teams like Brazil or Germany, or even clubs like Barcelona or Manchester United participate. Nonetheless, the commercial success continues to define the popularity of a sport regardless of its grassroots and regional popularity.

Missed Opportunity and Conflict of Interest: Alan Rothenberg, MLS, and US Soccer

When FIFA gave the United States the bid, it intended for this new league to be established as fast as possible and hoped for 1992 “to seed the ground for the World Cup.”⁴⁷⁴ FIFA also expected US Soccer to establish and operate the league before the 1994 World Cup or at least promote it during the tournament. It should either serve as a proponent to engage more potential ticket buyers for the cup or the cup should evolve into a visible way to increase sales for the new league. Ideally, the “3.5 million tickets sold...would have translated into packed

⁴⁷² Filip Bondy, “Soccer; To Practice for 1994, A U.S. Cup Next June,” *The New York Times*, November 27, 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/27/sports/soccer-to-practice-for-1994-a-us-cup-next-june.html?pagewanted=2>.

⁴⁷³ FIFA, *Activity Report, April 1992-March 1994*, 49th *FIFA Congress Chicago, 15-16 June 1994* (FIFA: Zurich, 1994), 12.

⁴⁷⁴ Hopkins, 75-6.

stadiums and waiting lists for season tickets.”⁴⁷⁵ US Soccer accomplished only part of both possible objectives. No one truly knew if the tournament might succeed.⁴⁷⁶ The apathy towards the sport and fear of losing a profit ultimately won the battle.

The entire process to establish the league lasted eight years. This struggle resulted from the NASL’s demise in 1984. Possible investors saw the massive amounts of money it lost and worried about how they might regain those millions from their own accounts should soccer prove not as profitable as they imagined. Thus far, it failed to remain mainstream long enough to capture the interest of corporations and fans to make it as viable as American football, baseball, or even basketball. Eventually though, US Soccer drummed up enough support for a new Division 1 outdoor league after it first heard three presentations from groups pleading their proposals.

In December 1993, US Soccer received three bids to consider for the Division 1 sanction from League One America, the American Professional Soccer League (APSL), and Major League Soccer.⁴⁷⁷ Jim Paglia crafted the idea of League One America, which barely resembled the global sport. A former player and coach for the Rochester Lancers of NASL, he considered the game quite dull to watch and wanted to completely reinvent it to appeal to American audiences, much like the NASL attempted but on a grander scale.⁴⁷⁸ He created Entertainment and Destination Enterprises Inc. (EDE) to “essentially create, develop and run” League One America with “players, marketing rights, the stadia, their surrounding complexes – all...under the EDE umbrella” and would “[disperse] players...to achieve competitive balance,” a format

⁴⁷⁵ Hopkins, 74.

⁴⁷⁶ Hopkins, 76.

⁴⁷⁷ For more information about the American Professional Soccer League, see David Litterer’s *ASHA* www.americansoccerhistoryarchives.com.

⁴⁷⁸ Dure, 4-5.

similar to MLS's structure.⁴⁷⁹ It also planned for a soccer stadium for each team, much like MLS's future soccer-specific-stadiums.⁴⁸⁰ To combat the Pelé effect, Paglia's proposal limited the rosters to "two players from outside of North America."⁴⁸¹ A *Chicago Tribune* article referred to the league as "an unusual blend of capitalism and communism."⁴⁸² At the basis, League One America featured entertainment as its number one priority, so he mixed attributes of the NASL (to a higher degree) and items he viewed needed innovation to escape the previous leagues' pitfalls. A doctor named Jay Kessler invented new soccer rules for Paglia, which featured:

[a] pitch divided colored chevrons, limiting certain players' movements within these zones. Players would also wear different colored shirts based on their positions to help distinguish the zones they were allowed to enter—red for defenders, blue for midfielders, yellow for forwards, white for strikers. In order to monitor whether a player had entered an unpermitted zone, eight officials would be present, and each player would wear an electronic signaling device that would set off a series of buzzers and lights in the high tech stadiums... a points based system, so long-range goals would be worth more... one for a striker to three for a defender, and a team could earn an extra half point if their player scored between the posts of the traditional-sized goal and a new, larger outer goal... [which] would make games more difficult for modern day goalkeepers. Instead of halves, games would be split into three 20-minute periods. Each team had to change some part of lineup between the first and second period; in the third period they could use the first period's lineup, the second period's lineup, or a completely new lineup altogether.⁴⁸³

How might FIFA react to such a league when twelve years ago it nearly sanctioned the NASL and US Soccer for Americanization? Its officials actually invited Paglia for a presentation, but

⁴⁷⁹ Jack Williams, "Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America: The Soccer Revolution That Never Was," *The Guardian*, March 2, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2016/mar/02/league-1-america-soccer-revolution-never-was>; Phil Hersh, "Businessman Proposes Soccer League as 'Legacy'," *Chicago Tribune*, October 3, 1993, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-10-03/sports/9310030401_1_jim-paglia-north-american-soccer-league-united-states-soccer-federation.

⁴⁸⁰ Williams, "Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America."

⁴⁸¹ Williams, "Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America."

⁴⁸² Hersh, "Businessman Proposes Soccer League as 'Legacy.'"

⁴⁸³ Williams, "Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America."

“some reports since have suggested that this was an attempt by FIFA to hurry the USSF into making [a] decision.”⁴⁸⁴ Paglia only needed approval from the USSF because he had “options in eight cities, two in negotiations, and two that were undecided [with] twelve corporate sponsors, and had all their financing in place.”⁴⁸⁵ Yet, it failed to receive the go ahead like the second bid from the American Professional Soccer League.

After the NASL collapsed in January 1985, four leagues formed in subsequent years to continue professional soccer.⁴⁸⁶ These leagues, the United Soccer League (USL, 1985), Western Soccer Alliance (WSA, 1985-1989), the American Soccer League III (ASL, 1988-1989) and the Lone Star Soccer Association (LSSA, 1987-1992), operated at a much smaller financial level and on a regional-based structure due to their existence as non-mainstream, or corporate, leagues in contrast to the NASL. Yet, professional soccer remained a mainstay in the United States, and as Clemente Lisi wrote, “In between the NASL’s collapse and the rise of MLS, there’s a long-forgotten, but very important contributor to the growth of American soccer in the early 1990s.”⁴⁸⁷ Sadly, the current soccer administration in this nation perpetuates a consciousness loss, or historical amnesia, to erase this narrative and prop MLS as the most important event in modern American history as the second professional league after the NASL. As stated throughout this thesis, anything not in the mainstream purview fails to be considered professional or popular, even if demonstrated as both during their short existence.

⁴⁸⁴ Williams, “Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America.”

⁴⁸⁵ Williams, “Three Points for a Goal? League 1 America.”

⁴⁸⁶ Litterer, “Western Soccer League/Alliance,” *ASHA*, last updated December 9, 1997, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/wsa.html>; Litterer, “United Soccer League,” *ASHA*, last updated December 21, 1995, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/usl-old.html>; Litterer, “Lone Star Soccer Alliance,” *ASHA*, last updated September 3, 2002, <http://homepages.sover.net/~spectrum/lssa.html>.

⁴⁸⁷ Clemente Lisi, “The Legacy of the APSL,” *United States National Soccer Team Players*, September 18, 2015, <https://ussoccerplayers.com/2015/09/the-legacy-of-the-apsl-american-professional-soccer-league-history.html>.

One similarity, though, ran through all of them: the closed-system model seen in all American sports, but not practiced in Europe where the football leagues operate with promotion and relegation. The United Soccer League existed for two years in 1984 and 1985 with teams in Florida, North Carolina, New York, Oklahoma, and Texas.⁴⁸⁸ The Carolina Gold, Dallas Americans, Jacksonville Tea Men, and Oklahoma City Stampede (Oklahoma City Slickers from 1982-1984) joined after the American Soccer League II collapsed in 1983, a professional league that formed in 1933 after the collapse of the original ASL (1921-1933).⁴⁸⁹ The USL's successor the Western Soccer Alliance formed in 1985 with teams located only on the West Coast (California, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, and parts of Canada).⁴⁹⁰ Two years later, the Lone Star Soccer Alliance organized, but only for semi-professional teams in the Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas region until 1992.⁴⁹¹ Clive Toye, a veteran NASL executive of the Baltimore Bays, the New York Cosmos, the Toronto Blizzard, and the league's interim president in 1984, started the beginning efforts to revive the American Soccer League for a third time in 1988.⁴⁹²

In 1988, the ASL III debuted with numerous national team players like Peter Vermes and Tab Ramos on its teams.⁴⁹³ It found relative success with a more meager financial operation, and

⁴⁸⁸ Litterer, "United Soccer League," *ASHA*, last updated December 21, 1995, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/usl-old.html>; *1985 United Soccer League Media Guide* in United Soccer History Archives, Patrick Salkeld.

⁴⁸⁹ Litterer, "United Soccer League;" Litterer, "American Soccer League II," *ASHA*, last updated January 27, 2006, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/asl2.html>.

⁴⁹⁰ Litterer, "Western Soccer League/Alliance;" AC, "ASL, WSL, & APSL," *Fun While It Lasted*, last updated April 2, 2012, <http://www.funwhileitlasted.net/soccer/aslpsl-galleries-1988-1995/>.

The Western Soccer Alliance changed its name to the Western Soccer League in 1989.

⁴⁹¹ Litterer, "Lone Star Soccer Alliance."

Much more research into this league and its teams needs conducted.

⁴⁹² Litterer, "Year in American Soccer – 1988," *ASHA*, last updated June 15, 2008, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1988.html>.

⁴⁹³ Litterer, "1988."

all of its teams returned for the next season.⁴⁹⁴ Likewise, in its third season, the WSA also succeeded and changed its name to the Western Soccer League to start its fourth season.⁴⁹⁵ The 1989 season proved a seminal moment because these two leagues announced a merger to create a national professional league to be called the American Professional Soccer League (APSL) for the first time since 1985.⁴⁹⁶ Many United States national team players who competed on the international scene from 1985 to 1994 played in the APSL. These two leagues (and their merger) laid the foundation for the USMNT's long-awaited forty-year rebirth in the 1990 World Cup as discussed earlier with the USSF's 1988 development program.

Both organizations originally started with the intention “to serve as the forerunner for a new professional league...and to be of benefit to the game of soccer” in addition to “the wise management of big-league soccer.”⁴⁹⁷ They preferred to establish the sport from the ground up as a grassroots movement.⁴⁹⁸ The timing proved impeccable as the USSF received the 1994 World Cup Bid with the stipulation it needed a Division 1 outdoor league and the federation itself announced its desire to create a “three-tiered national professional league system.”⁴⁹⁹ In 1990, the two leagues operated under the APSL-name, but as two separate divisions within it to ease the transition from separate entities into one when economically viable, but in 1989 and 1990, the top teams from both divisions competed against each other “in a national pro soccer

⁴⁹⁴ Litterer, “1988.”

⁴⁹⁵ Litterer, “1988.”

⁴⁹⁶ Clive Toye and Bill Sage, “Media Release – Western and American Soccer Leagues Announce Championship Game, Plan Merger,” April 16, 1989 found on AC, “ASL, WSL, & APSL.”

⁴⁹⁷ Toye and Sage, “Media Release.”

⁴⁹⁸ Wangerin, *Football World*, 228.

⁴⁹⁹ Toye and Sage, “Media Release.”

championship.”⁵⁰⁰ Although it followed the FIFA-mandated rules, it used a different scoring system of “six points for a win in regulation or overtime; four points for a win by shootout tie-breaker; and two points for a shootout loss...in addition, teams receive one point for each goal scored in regulation time (up to a maximum of three) regardless of whether they win or lose.”⁵⁰¹ The APSL needed to increase its professionalism with more financial backing and attendance as some teams folded from 1990 to 1992, but in 1993 it added teams from the Canadian Soccer League (1987-1992).⁵⁰² It struggled to reach the USSF-mandated levels of a “non-refundable \$2.5-million bond...and a million dollar budget” per team; however, it received Division 2 status in 1991.⁵⁰³ Yet, also in 1993, it submitted a bid to receive USSF’s approval as the newest Division 1 league, but it competed with another plan in addition to League One America.⁵⁰⁴

Shortly after Rothenberg’s election, the federation jumpstarted its preparations for the 1994 World Cup with a Division 1 outdoor league in the back of its mind. Originally, he appointed a committee to oversee the process, but then it “became his private project.”⁵⁰⁵ To continue the operations on a league, he pulled from Latham & Watkins another lawyer, Mark

⁵⁰⁰ Toye and Sage, “Media Release;” Litterer, “The Year in American Soccer – 1989,” *ASHA*, last updated May 30, 2008, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1989.html>.

⁵⁰¹ Richard L. Worsnop, “Soccer in America: Will the World Cup Spread Fever to the U.S.?” *CQ Researcher* 4 (April 22, 1994): 337-360, <http://library.cqpress.com/CQResearcher/document.php?id=cqresrr1994042205>.

⁵⁰² Litterer, “The Year in Soccer – 1990,” *ASHA*, last updated January 29, 2006, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1990.html>; Litterer, “The Year in American Soccer, 1991,” last updated March 8, 2014, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1991.html>; Litterer, “The Year in Soccer – 1992,” last updated May 30, 2008, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1992.html>; Litterer, “The Year in Soccer, 1993,” *ASHA*, last updated May 30, 2008, <http://homepages.erver.net/~spectrum/year/1993.html>; Paul McLeod, “Heat are Expected to Fold,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 1991, SBC12.

⁵⁰³ Paul McLeod, “Life After Heat,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 1991, SBC14; Wangerin, *Football World*, 266.

⁵⁰⁴ Wangerin, *Football World*, 267.

⁵⁰⁵ Ian Thomsen, “The U.S. Professional League: A Dream or a Disaster?” *The New York Times*, October 7, 1992, http://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/07/sports/07iht-worc_1.html?pagewanted=all.

Abbott, to draw up a business plan.⁵⁰⁶ Rothenberg understood the futility and inherent risks of FIFA's expectation to launch a new league in 1992, so he told them it needed to be revisited because no one knew if "the World Cup was on track and looking like it actually might succeed" since Fricker languished in the project.⁵⁰⁷ It turned into "a condition subsequent to the World Cup rather than preceding it," which they estimated to commence in spring 1995.⁵⁰⁸ Abbott developed a plan with input from Rothenberg and Sunil Gulati and called it Major League Professional Soccer, Inc. (MLPS).⁵⁰⁹

On December 6, 1993, the USSF Board of Directors heard the bids from Paglia, the APSL by William De La Pena the L.A. Salsa (APSL team) President, and the MLPS group of Rothenberg, Gulati, and Abbott.⁵¹⁰ Prior to the meeting, the latter attempted to persuade the APSL group to merge with them, but completely assimilate and drop all aspects of the APSL bid; however, the APSL group disliked Rothenberg's idea of a single-entity structure.⁵¹¹ None of the bids "had firm commitments from sponsors or other financial backers."⁵¹² As Cornelia Corbett, the APSL President of the Tampa Bay Rowdies commented, "All three proposals [were] nothing more than pieces of paper."⁵¹³ Corbett suggested "[giving] all three groups the weapon

⁵⁰⁶ Dure, 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Hopkins, 76.

⁵⁰⁸ Doug Sibor, "An Oral History of Major League Soccer's Frenzied First Season," *Complex* May 12, 2015, <http://www.complex.com/sports/2015/05/oral-history-major-league-soccer-first-season>.

⁵⁰⁹ "Sunil Gulati Testimony 10/4/2000 Part I," *MLS Antitrust Testimony*, 34-7 found on kenn.com blog, http://www.kenn.com/mlscase/20001004_gulati01.html.

⁵¹⁰ Julie Cart, "Rothenberg is Given OK to Start Outdoor Pro Soccer League in '95," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1993, http://articles.latimes.com/1993-12-06/sports/sp-64604_1_outdoor-soccer-league.

⁵¹¹ Dure, 7-8.

⁵¹² Phil Hersh, "OK for Pro Soccer League Stirs Up Heated Debate," *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1993, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-12-12/sports/9312120447_1_ussf-executive-vice-president-des-bordes-major-league-professional-soccer.

⁵¹³ Hersh, "OK for Pro Soccer League Stirs Up Heated Debate."

of temporary approval, and then see who could prove their viability, but Rothenberg disagreed and thought it “would create confusion in the marketplace and doom all three plans to failure,” and as Gary Hopkins wrote, “You either agreed with [Rothenberg’s] vision and methods or you did not—if you did not you were out.”⁵¹⁴

Yet, the question must be asked, “Why has the MLS been given preferred status when the APSL has been going for four years now?”⁵¹⁵ To put it simply: Alan Rothenberg, who helped with the MLS bid, also graced the throne of the American soccer community as the USSF president and the head of the World Cup USA ’94 Organizing Committee with the full backing of FIFA. Nearly every member on the Board of Directors worked for him either in USSF or World Cup ’94 “including two members of the U.S. men’s national team and two from the women’s, whose paychecks come directly from the USSF and Rothenberg.”⁵¹⁶ He excused himself from voting along with “four directors with APSL ties.”⁵¹⁷ Ultimately and unsurprisingly, the MLPS won the bid with “18-5” votes.⁵¹⁸ Rothenberg also announced MLPS would receive thirty percent of the 1994 World Cup surplus with another seven million to compensate himself for serving as the World Cup Organizing Committee’s Chairman and Chief Executive Officer.⁵¹⁹ He later also created more conflicts of interest, which he referred to as “a logical locus of U.S. soccer interests,” and “misuse of power” when he hired his law firm

⁵¹⁴ Hersh, “OK for Pro Soccer League Stirs Up Heated Debate;” Hopkins. 26.

⁵¹⁵ Elliot Almond, “Special Report/Soccer in America,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1994, 2, http://articles.latimes.com/1994-07-24/sports/sp-19417_1_major-league-soccer/2.

⁵¹⁶ Julie Cart, “Does Rothenberg Really Have to Be Involved With Everything?” *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 1993, http://articles.latimes.com/1993-12-07/sports/sp-64743_1_u-s-national-team.

⁵¹⁷ Hersh, “OK for Pro Soccer League Stirs Up Heated Debate.”

⁵¹⁸ Hersh, “OK for Pro Soccer League Stirs Up Heated Debate.”

⁵¹⁹ Cart, “Does Rothenberg Really Have to Be Involved With Everything?”; Quoted in Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 217.

The seven million equaled a three million dollar bonus and a four million dollar deferred-compensation package for back pay due to Rothenberg.

Latham & Watkins to “[do all the legal work for World Cup USA]” with “\$2.7 million [billed] between November 1990 and December 1994 [and] gave his son Bradford, then 20, a salary of \$107,321 from the World Cup payroll” in addition to a “licensing contract between the organization and his wife.”⁵²⁰ Rothenberg would serve as the MLS chairman, president, and the chief executive officer in addition to his position as the US Soccer president.⁵²¹ During the third week of December 1993, Rothenberg presented the winning MLPS bid to FIFA when its officials visited Las Vegas for the 1994 World Cup draw to decide the groups, in which each team later competed, during the first round of the tournament.⁵²² Havelange accepted the plan without haste as Rothenberg partially achieved one of the first goals: planning a professional league.

MLS Won the Bid – What Happened to the APSL?

In the midst of World Cup fever, the APSL suffered. One might think the opposite should occur and the league should see a substantial rise in popularity especially with several of the

⁵²⁰ Steve Berkowitz, “Rothenberg Switches Focus to MLS,” *The Washington Post*, July 19, 1994, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/sports/1994/07/19/rothenberg-switches-focus-to-mls/7a11145f-c55d-41a6-a73d-7448e3ead523/?utm_term=.5ac94b3f5b59; Dana Gelin, “Soccer Czar is Cashing in Too Much...Richie Parker’s First Game...U.S. Track Should Get Rid of Cassell...NHL Superstition...Second Sacker Remembered,” *Sports Illustrated*, December 2, 1996, <http://www.si.com/vault/1996/12/02/219737/soccer-czar-is-cashing-in-too-muchrichie-parkers-first-gameus-track-should-get-rid-of-cassell-nhl-superstitionsecond-sacker-remembered>; Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 221.

⁵²¹ Grahame L. Jones, “Rothenberg Leaves MLS Operations to New Commissioner Logan,” *Los Angeles Times* November 22, 1995, http://articles.latimes.com/1995-11-22/sports/sp-5943_1_mls-players.

Rothenberg gave Doug Logan, the first MLS Commissioner, the titles of MLS president and chief executive officer in 1995 before the league commenced its first season.

⁵²² Julie Cart, “Soccer’s Brain Trust Begins Tackling Issues,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1993, http://articles.latimes.com/1993-12-16/sports/sp-2321_1_world-cup.

national team players contracted to APSL teams.⁵²³ Nonetheless, the large corporation (MLS) forced the smaller business (APSL) out of the way. It also created two more significant concerns: one, the operation of the USSF as a non-profit organization with the prime objective of developing soccer in the United States at all levels. The other, without a multi-tiered structure of promotion and relegation, these leagues competed for the same objectives and space within the communities.

The *FIFA Statutes* define an association as “a football association recognized as such by FIFA. It is a member of FIFA, unless a different meaning is evident from the context” whereas it defines a league as “an organization that is subordinate to an association.”⁵²⁴ With Rothenberg at the helm of the USSF, World Cup USA '94, and Major League Soccer, the lines blurred between their functions with MLS assuming the prime focus. He later created the U.S. Soccer Foundation “into which the World Cup profits [would] be directed.”⁵²⁵ Rothenberg dictated every aspect of the federation, the World Cup preparations, the division sanctioning, and where to budget the money as long as the Board of Directors (his employees) approved. FIFA also gave him carte blanche. Everything predicated on the success of the tournament and the league for the federation because at the end of the day, all of the blame would remain with it if either the tournament, the league, or both failed or proved less successful than planned.

He chose the “Field of Dreams” style of development in which they create a league and hope fans fill the stands (which also meant inorganic rivalries instead of spontaneous ones). In contrast, Rothenberg and Abbott considered Toye and Sage’s bottom-up, grassroots movement

⁵²³ Earl Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1994, http://articles.latimes.com/1994-07-24/sports/sp-19422_1_world-cup.

⁵²⁴ “Definitions,” *FIFA Statutes*, April 2016, 4, http://resources.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/generic/02/78/29/07/fifastatutsweben_neutral.pdf.

⁵²⁵ Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America.”

approach with the APSL, the preference to establish teams and grow the league with the fan bases, to be “minor league.”⁵²⁶ Yet, the APSL already consisted of players and teams whereas MLS basically existed only as a figment of their imagination and started completely from scratch.⁵²⁷ It could acquire players on the national team and attract others from across the globe, but how would it pay them? Where would they play? Many questions still needed answering.

US Soccer fully supported MLS even at the cost of preexisting leagues with developing futures and the growth of the sport overall. When European leagues first formed, they focused on gentlemanly conduct and physical activity as way to improve moral training as a result of the changing values in the Victorian Era. Profit, while still a necessary factor to pay players, concerned them to a lesser degree while on-field performances mattered more because it proved their superior athleticism, teamwork, and overall abilities. It translated to the leagues implementing promotion and relegation to reward the successes or punish the failures. This system prevented the leagues from competing with each other because of their fixed positions, and instead, it intensified the fight between clubs to not end in the bottom. In contrast, American leagues move up and down the soccer pyramid, which keeps them in constant struggle with each other for television contracts, stadiums, and fan bases.

For five years (1990-1995), the APSL existed as the top outdoor league in the United States and “the only ones laying out money for U.S. pro soccer.”⁵²⁸ With APSL’s foundation, US Soccer potentially might have succeeded with its objective sooner if it assisted the league in its growth much like the help MLS received from the federation. It stood ready to “capitalize on new spectator interest as soon as the World Cup ended;” however, the tournament which brought

⁵²⁶ Dure, 8.

⁵²⁷ Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America.”

⁵²⁸ Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America.”

hope for the sport instead represented “a colossus that generated revenue that might be used to bury the APSL.”⁵²⁹ Ahead of the 1995 APSL season, the administration changed its name to the A-League.⁵³⁰ A year later, the league succumbed to the financial pressures from the MLS above it and the USISL below it, the loss of players to MLS, and competition from the USISL as it applied for Division 2 status.⁵³¹ The A-League folded with six teams transferring to the Select League, an organization within the United Systems of Independent Soccer Leagues (USISL), which then renamed itself, the A-League, and assumed the Division 2 level.⁵³² From 1990 to 1996, the USSF benefited from the APSL, which offered several national team players an opportunity to maintain match fitness, but then completely disregarded the league for Rothenberg to come in “with his league, backed by World Cup money... all under the auspicious of the U.S. Soccer Federation.”⁵³³

Dampen Enthusiasm

On July 24, 1995, Major League Soccer became a limited liability company.⁵³⁴ One debate continuously plagues American soccer (but also international soccer to an extent): What

⁵²⁹ Almond, “Special Report/Soccer in America;” Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America.”

⁵³⁰ Litterer, “The Year in American Soccer, 1995,” *ASHA*, last updated January 29, 2006, <http://www.northamericansoccerarchives.com/year/1995.html>.

⁵³¹ Litterer, “1995;” Litterer, “The Year in American Soccer, 1996,” *The Year in American Soccer*, last updated May 30, 2008, <http://www.northamericansoccerarchives.com/year/1996.html>.

⁵³² Litterer, “1996;” David Litterer, “United Soccer Leagues Statistical History, Part 3 (1997-1999),” *ASHA*, last updated February 13, 2010, <http://www.northamericansoccerarchives.com/usl3.html>.

For more information, see David Litterer’s complete “United Soccer Leagues Statistical History” on the *American Soccer History Archives*. The USISL evolved into the current United Soccer League, which includes the OKC Energy FC and the Tulsa Roughnecks, a rebirth of the NASL team.

⁵³³ Gustkey, “Special Report/Soccer in America.”

⁵³⁴ Hopkins, 75.

motivates the people within the game? Obviously a love of playing drives the players, but what drives the owners? For years, people questioned the convictions of Alan Rothenberg and the other MLS investors. Many people say developing the game motivates them to pour money into a league, but just as many others say their incentives equal the financial gains and little else.⁵³⁵ John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson wrote, “You don’t have to like sport to do that [host a sporting event]. It helps if you do, but the driving force behind USA ’94 was a combination of local pride, global posturing and personal ambition.”⁵³⁶ Rothenberg also made a statement with similar sentiments, “I don’t think you have to pay the game, coach the game, line fields to know the game. It might be better if you haven’t.”⁵³⁷ If true, why do teams hire coaches with previous playing and coaching experience? One might equate this statement to the situation in American politics in which Donald Trump won the 2016 Presidential Election. Rothenberg purposely [delayed] the launch of MLS because, “Frankly, we wanted to dampen enthusiasm. It sounds crazy, but you’d just come off of this summer in ’94...and we knew, starting a new league it wouldn’t look like that. So it was to calm everyone down between the euphoria and the launch of the league.”⁵³⁸ It also likely made it easier for Rothenberg and the rest of the USSF to leave 1995 as the year to complete sponsorship and television contracts, secure cities for teams, and begin to sign players instead of during the hullabaloo of the 1994 World Cup. Yet, the league might have seen more attendance if the inaugural season started in 1995. Still not enough though as the lure of profits drove these men to risk their millions in the already crowded “sports space” and establish soccer in the United States as their loyalties remained first and foremost with the

⁵³⁵ *Contest for World Football*, 218.

⁵³⁶ *Contest for World Football*, 219.

⁵³⁷ Quoted in Wangerin, *Football World*, 264.

⁵³⁸ West, 13.

business world; therefore, they carefully planned every detail of the Major League Soccer business model to accentuate their wallets and maximize their control.

Chapter five discussed American attitudes towards soccer from the 1960s to the 1990s (although, it continues to pervade today). One opinion, whether soccer is socialist or communist, remains hypocritical and contradictory in the United States because of the prevailing American sports model. European sports leagues allow each team to operate independently of each other while the league administration itself acts as an overseer. In contrast, the American sports model features salary caps, revenue sharing between all of the teams, and offers perks to teams who fail in the regular seasons and playoffs. The MLS administrators refer to these aspects as “maintaining parity,” or competitive balance, because all teams, according to the officials, receive an equal opportunity to succeed every season since the single-entity restricts the owners from competing with each other financially.

The NASL represented a change from this typical American model. The team owners spent money frivolously to compete with each other. To control this type of spending, Alan Rothenberg chose to implement a single-entity structure for Major League Soccer, which required “investors to buy into MLS as a whole, splitting profits (and sharing losses) with their rivals.”⁵³⁹ In 1996, they received “a management fee that ‘consisted of 100% of the first 1.24 million dollars, and 30% of the excess over 1.24 million, of local television broadcast and sponsorship revenues...50% of ticket revenues from home games...and 50% of stadium revenues from concessions and other sources.’”⁵⁴⁰ This structure forced them to care more about the future of the league rather than the individual franchise they adopted, for lack of a better

⁵³⁹ Wangerin, *Football World*, 265.

⁵⁴⁰ Quoted in Clifford Mendelsohn, “Fraser v. Major League Soccer: A New Window of Opportunity for the Single-Entity Defense in Professional Sports,” *Sports Law Journal* 69 (Spring 2003): 73.

word (they purchased the team, but the fees helped the league not the team). As David Wangerin wrote in *Soccer in a Football World* (an appropriate name considering soccer's diminished stature in America's football crazed atmosphere), Rothenberg "with the free market to thank for his wealth" chose socialism over capitalism for his newest soccer investment.⁵⁴¹

Fraser v. MLS

In the past, sports leagues failed to defend their single-entity status in court cases, so Rothenberg attempted the first ever-official single-entity structure in sport history.⁵⁴² Under the single-entity structure, players lost all autonomy and agency as Major League Soccer received control "over the U.S. professional soccer labor market while still protecting it against anti-trust laws;" it made MLS a monopsony, which means a market situation where there is only one buyer and a cartel because the investors agreed "to refrain from competition" and to cooperate with each other to "increase profitability."⁵⁴³ Instead of negotiating with the individual teams, players signed a Standard Player Agreement directly with the league, and so it governed every move the athletes made and dictated their lives, which meant the league could choose to transfer the player from California to Massachusetts with little notice.⁵⁴⁴ Upon signing the contract, the league examined "the competitive balance, the needs of the individual teams both on and off the field, and maintenance of a salary cap" before it decided the athlete's destination.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴¹ Wangerin, *Football World*, 265.

⁵⁴² Mendelsohn, "Fraser v. Major League Soccer," 70.

⁵⁴³ John Twomey and James Monks, "Monopsony and Salary Suppression: The Case of Major League Soccer in the United States," *The American Economist* 56 (Spring 2001): 21; Stefan Szymanski, *Money and Soccer: A Soccernomics Guide* (New York: Nation Books, 2015), 229.

⁵⁴⁴ Mendelsohn, "Fraser v. Major League Soccer," 73.

⁵⁴⁵ Mendelsohn, "Fraser v. Major League Soccer," 73.

With this organization, MLS existed “as a single corporation rather than as a group of individually owned teams.”⁵⁴⁶ This type of agreement prompted concerns of anti-trust violations within MLS; however, as an anti-trust lawyer and businessman, Rothenberg understood the fine details of anti-trust laws. His experience with the NASL as the Los Angeles Aztecs owner, the NBA as an executive of the Los Angeles Lakers and later the Los Angeles Clippers, and for his involvement in “various NBA and NHL lawsuits” taught him much about the stress players in these leagues caused the owners, so he deliberately organized MLS “to control player wages and restrict free movement” and to keep each investor “working together sitting around the same table” to prevent “a maverick owner outspending everyone one else or another deciding to downgrade the team to part-time or minor league status.”⁵⁴⁷

On February 13, 1997, eight players filed a lawsuit against Major League Soccer in what became known as *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*.⁵⁴⁸ Beau Dure, in his book, posed this question, “What did the players hope to gain by suing their own league out of existence?”⁵⁴⁹ While likely not his intention, it resembles a corporate-favoritism attitude that suggests the players should simply “put up and shut up” and revel in the knowledge MLS gave them contracts rather than try to improve their employment and economic prospects. In the suit, they claimed

MLS and its operators violated Sherman Act §1 by agreeing not to compete for players services; MLS monopolized or attempted to monopolize, or combined or conspired with USSF to monopolize, the market for the services of Division 1 professional soccer players in the U.S. in violation of Sherman Act §2; and the combination of MLS’s operators’ assets substantially lessened competition and tended to create a monopoly in violation of Clayton Act §7.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁶ Edward Mathias, “Big League Perestroika? The Implications of *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 148 (November 1999): 203.

⁵⁴⁷ Hopkins, 76-77.

⁵⁴⁸ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁴⁹ Dure, 91.

⁵⁵⁰ Matt Link, “MLS Scores Against Its Players: *Fraser v. Major League Soccer, LLC*,” *DePaul Journal of Sports Law & Contemporary Problems* 1 (Spring 2003): 77.

In response, MLS refuted this statement since “they were a single entity and could not, as a matter of law, violate section 1.”⁵⁵¹ It proceeded to the Massachusetts District Court in 1998, and the judge awarded summary judgment to MLS.⁵⁵² This judgment confirmed MLS’s single-entity status upheld section 1 of the Sherman Act and “that the creation of MLS ‘did not reduce competition in an existing market...’ since no other league held Division I sanctioning.”⁵⁵³ From September to December 2000, a jury deliberated about whether or not MLS violated section 2 of the Sherman Act regarding the monopolization of trade.⁵⁵⁴ During the trial, “the court dismissed the section 2 claims against the operator/investors.”⁵⁵⁵ The jury then determined its verdict after “answering only the first two questions” of a “15-question special verdict form.”⁵⁵⁶ It ruled against the eight players because they “failed to prove...that the relevant geographic market is the United States and that the relevant product is limited to Division I professional soccer players.”⁵⁵⁷ They appealed the decision to the United States Court of Appeals, First Circuit, which ultimately upheld the District Court’s ruling on March 20, 2002; however, it said, “MLS and its operator/investors comprise a hybrid arrangement, somewhere between a single company (with or without wholly owned subsidiaries) and a cooperative arrangement between existing competitors.”⁵⁵⁸ Nonetheless, this court case hurt both the players and the league since the latter spent an estimated millions on legal fees, which forced it to be less generous with finances.⁵⁵⁹ It

⁵⁵¹ Mendelsohn, “Fraser v. Major League Soccer,” 85.

⁵⁵² *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵³ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁴ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁵ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁶ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁷ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁸ *Fraser v. Major League Soccer*, 01 F.3d 1296 (1st Cir. 2002).

⁵⁵⁹ Dure, 111-15.

also set a precedent for other American sports leagues to consider transitioning to single-entity structure because they saw the benefits of more control over players.

A study titled “Monopsony and Salary Suppression: The Case of Major League Soccer in the United States” by economists John Twomey and James Monks discovered distinct wage differences between what MLS players earn and what both soccer players abroad and athletes in other American sports earn.⁵⁶⁰ They discovered, as of the 2011 publication date, MLS devotes only twenty-five percent of its budget to player salaries “compared to 50 to 60 percent in most other U.S. professional sports and professional soccer leagues abroad.”⁵⁶¹ Additionally, other notable sports economists such as Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zimbalist also studied MLS’s single-entity structure and operations in comparison to international soccer leagues. The prime difference between them lies in the fact that “European clubs do not appear to be profit maximizing agents but rather attempt to maximize team performance...even when such success demands the shrinking or altogether loss of profits.”⁵⁶² It displays the varying intentions. Americans determine success with profit whereas Europeans determine sporting success as trophies won. Businessmen in the United States coopted soccer to the country in hopes of conducting a global sport under the American economic ideology of making money and organizing the sport with an emphasis on league rather than club, which investors relocate to whatever city demonstrates a willingness to meet their demands (an inherent disruption to the growth of fans and change in attendance). As shown, this deliberately conservative corporate perspective hindered the players, but it also showed on the field and in the stands.

⁵⁶⁰ Twomey and Monks, “Monopsony and Salary Suppression,” 20.

⁵⁶¹ Twomey and Monks, “Monopsony and Salary Suppression,” 20.

⁵⁶² Twomey and Monks, “Monopsony and Salary Suppression,” 21.

In Major League Soccer's first four seasons, it struggled. It actively stayed in the red and hemorrhaged cash. Its decision to alter the game to better capture audiences, a tactic left over from the NASL, demonstrated the deafening importance of the entertainment-factor. The fans saw through the league's smokescreen. The Americanization attempts met failure in the long-term. Fans and players alike voiced their dislike of the league's tactics. The league alienated the people who enjoyed the international version of the sport in order to achieve more money at the gate; yet the experiment failed. No matter how much one changes the rules, the talent must shine on the field. MLS offered salaries much lower than other leagues, and therefore, it failed to attract highly skilled, or world-class, players as seen in the 1994 World Cup. After the tournament, a clear quality distinction between it and the new league became transparent. Attendance also slowly declined, and three teams "still had no owner-investors."⁵⁶³ In 2001, just five years after Major League Soccer's inaugural season, it "went out of business, they were preparing the documents, and that was it."⁵⁶⁴ Major League Soccer no longer existed "for at least a few hours."⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ Dure, 64.

⁵⁶⁴ Ryan Rosenblatt, "MLS Folded in 2001 and We Had No Idea," *Fox Soccer*, April 11, 2016, <http://www.foxsports.com/soccer/inside-mls/mls-folded-in-2001-and-we-had-no-idea-041116>.

⁵⁶⁵ Rosenblatt, "MLS Folded in 2001 and We Had No Idea."

Chapter 6 – “MLS in OKC” and UCO’s Wantland Stadium, 2001-2004

“From what I hear, people from Oklahoma City don’t seem to get along too much with people from Tulsa. The reality is that MLS wants a team in Oklahoma to be successful; they will be counting on fans from Tulsa and surrounding communities to attend the games in OKC, so if you want the team to be a financial success, you should welcome all the people of Oklahoma to become supporters of an MLS franchise.”

- User Iowa007 on the *MLS in OKC* discussion board, February 10, 2003⁵⁶⁶

~

The score stood deadlocked—both the Kansas City Wizards and the Columbus Crew needed one more goal to break the tie. With ten minutes left, it seemed the preseason match would end in a draw. Yet, in soccer, anything can happen. The magical duo of Dante Washington and Diego Walsh of the Crew struck for the second time that evening in the eighty-third minute. Walsh dribbled the ball down the field and into the opposing box, then passed it through the mass of players. Washington trapped the ball at his feet and then just barely shot it past the Wizards’ goalkeeper Tony Meola. Kansas City spent the last eleven minutes (the fourth referee added four minutes of stoppage time for injuries) trying unsuccessfully to equalize the score, like they did in the fifty-first minute, but the Crew refused to give up their lead again.⁵⁶⁷ The first Major League Soccer game at the University of Central Oklahoma’s Wantland Stadium ended as 9,223 fans in Edmond, Oklahoma, hoped this exhibition might lead to the city acquiring a professional soccer team.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Iowa007, “Discussion Board: Team Name,” *MLS in OKC*, February 10, 2003, 1, http://web.archive.org/web/20040801000000*/http://mlsinokc.com/ (accessed through Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine).

⁵⁶⁷ I reconstructed these last minutes of the match using Major League Soccer’s match tracker and recap.

“Crew Upends Wizards in Oklahoma Friendly,” *MLSNET*, March 29, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20030412154020/http://mlsnet.com/content/>.

⁵⁶⁸ “Crew Upends Wizards in Oklahoma Friendly.”

In an era of economic struggles, political strife, and nationwide fear, the United States of America needed to come together as a community in order to persevere and prevail through the numerous roadblocks impeding morale improvement. Sports, while temporarily suspended in 2001, rose to the podium as a way for Americans to sit together as spectators in solidarity and a tool of distraction to relieve their minds of the daily mind numbing problems facing them in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Locally, between the years 2002 to 2006, in Edmond, Oklahoma, soccer—a sport not widely familiar to the state because of football’s enormous popularity and the rivalry between the Oklahoma Sooners and the Oklahoma State Cowboys known as the Bedlam Series—proved a successful form of unity when Major League Soccer (MLS) attempted to place an expansion team on the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO) campus. Even though the city failed to bring a professional soccer team to the school, the suburban area witnessed long-term benefits from those few years. Suddenly, the nation knew about the relatively unknown community just north of the Oklahoma City-metropolitan area, college and high school teams played football games in a much-improved stadium, and the community strengthened its cohesive bonds while showing support for the young Division 1 league.

Towards the end of 2000 and the early months of 2001, the country’s economic strength weakened, but then started to slowly return.⁵⁶⁹ In 2001 and the upcoming seasons, Major League Soccer barely stayed afloat. Don Garber, the MLS commissioner, needed as much cooperation from the investors as he did the fans, but unfortunately, it seemed the latter refused to help as evidenced by the falling amount of spectators at each game.⁵⁷⁰ Less Americans felt secure

⁵⁶⁹ Larkin Warner, “Economic Forecast: State Economy,” *2003 Economic Preview: Edmond Economic Development Authority*, January 17, 2003, 1.

⁵⁷⁰ Hopkins, 123.

enough in their financial state to spend discretionary money on attending sporting events, especially soccer. Yet, soon, the nation saw a rise in patriotism.

On September 11, 2001, tragedy struck the United States. Al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked commercial flights and then flew the planes into the World Trade Centers in New York, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (although originally intended for another site in Washington, D.C., likely the Capitol).⁵⁷¹ In response to these attacks, sports officials from NASCAR, NBA, MLB, NFL, MLS, and even international organizations like UEFA postponed hundreds of games scheduled for that week out of respect for the victims.⁵⁷² Just days before, the Kansas City Wizards of MLS flew into Lima, Peru, to play a match during the Copa MercoNorte (a tournament between South American and North American teams).⁵⁷³ Many of the players disagreed with the choice, but they let the coaching staff decide to proceed with the game as a “distraction.”⁵⁷⁴ Tony Meola, the goalkeeper, “regretted...not standing up for what [he] believed in and playing in that game.”⁵⁷⁵ They remained in Peru until September 15 because of airport closures in the United States and “international flight security.”⁵⁷⁶ On September 13, 2001, Don Garber held a teleconference to address the issues

⁵⁷¹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2007), 188.

⁵⁷² Associated Press, “Cancelled Sports Events,” *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 14, 2001, 5D.

⁵⁷³ Grahame Jones, “MLS Cancels Rest of Regular Season; Soccer: Final 10 Games won’t be Played. Galaxy Opens Playoffs Sept. 23 Against New York/New Jersey at the Rose Bowl,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 2001, D-7.

⁵⁷⁴ Shawn Francis, “The Vault: The Untold Story of the Kansas City Wizards’ match the Day After 9/11,” *MLS Soccer*, September 11, 2014, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/news/article/2014/09/11/vault-untold-story-kansas-city-wizards-match-day-after>.

⁵⁷⁵ Francis, “The Vault.”

⁵⁷⁶ Francis, “The Vault.”

ahead of Major League Soccer due to 9/11.⁵⁷⁷ Instead of rescheduling the matches, the organization chose to end the regular season and proceed with the playoffs as planned on September 20.⁵⁷⁸ In response to the devastation, the expansive soccer community joined together and created the Soccer United Relief Fund (SURF).⁵⁷⁹ The charity accepted donations, sold merchandise, and held exhibition matches during October and November 2001, which gave fans the opportunity to watch teams from MLS and the Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA) play.⁵⁸⁰ It "raised more than \$500,000 for the relief, recovery and rebuilding in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania."⁵⁸¹ As the San Jose Earthquakes enjoyed their victory at the 2001 MLS Cup, rumors circulated about the possibility of the league losing two teams.⁵⁸²

On January 8, 2002, Garber announced the difficult decision to disband the Tampa Bay Mutiny and the Miami Fusion, which reduced MLS to ten teams.⁵⁸³ After many months of deliberating, he, the MLS Board of Directors, and Ken Horowitz (the former owner of the Miami Fusion) concluded that the "South Florida market was not capable ...of supporting an MLS

⁵⁷⁷ Don Garber, "MLS Teleconference: September 13, 2001," *MLS Soccer*, September 13, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20010917032707/http://www.mlsnet.com/content/01/mls0913teleconference.html>.

⁵⁷⁸ Chris Sheridan, "NFL, Others Call off Weekend Games," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 14, 2001, 1D.

⁵⁷⁹ Edmond Sun, *MLSOK: Bring It!* (Edmond, Oklahoma: Edmond Sun, 2003), 12, Soccer, Vertical Files, Research and Genealogy Center, Edmond Historical Society & Museum.

⁵⁸⁰ Soccer United Relief Fund, "Soccer Community Unites; Professional and Youth Leagues, Governing Bodies and Industry Leaders Create 'Soccer United Relief Fund' to Benefit September 11 Tragedies," *PR Newswire*, September 26, 2001, <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/soccer-community-unites-professional-and-youth-leagues-governing-bodies-and-industry-leaders-create-soccer-united-relief-fund-to-benefit-september-11-tragedies-72146327.html?SG1Ref>.

⁵⁸¹ Edmond Sun, *MLSOK*, 12; Soccer United Relief Fund, "Soccer Community Unites; Professional and Youth Leagues, Governing Bodies and Industry Leaders Create 'Soccer United Relief Fund' to Benefit September 11 Tragedies."

⁵⁸² Robert Wagman, "MLS Fans in Several Cities Wait Nervously for Contraction Decision," *SoccerTimes*, December 27, 2001, <http://www.soccertimes.com/wagman/2001/dec27.htm>.

⁵⁸³ "Fusion and Mutiny Fold," *BBC US Sport News*, January 9, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/other_sports/us_sport/1750024.stm.

team.”⁵⁸⁴ The league stood deep in debt of 250 million dollars and needed to earn some revenue rather than continue to spend without any profit.⁵⁸⁵ Additionally, it never found an owner to take control of the Mutiny, so it paid for the entire cost to run the team and forced losses of estimated two million dollars per year.⁵⁸⁶ Unfortunately, while the Fusion played matches in a soccer-specific stadium and excelled in the 2001 season, it lacked the fan base to generate enough revenue to cover the operation costs.⁵⁸⁷ Horowitz “bought the team for twenty million dollars in 1997,” then another five million to “renovate Lockhart Stadium for matches,” and continued to lose money.⁵⁸⁸ The loss of the two teams allowed MLS to further determine the requirements for future teams to be acquired—a soccer-specific stadium, an owner, and sufficient community support from fans in order to fill the stands. In Los Angeles, the Galaxy held two of the keys and started on the third, a facility that they eventually named the Home Depot Center.⁵⁸⁹ Barely six months later, the 2002 FIFA World Cup produced another revival of interest in soccer in communities where mainstream support for the sport seemed unattainable.

In mid July, a month after the United States lost to Germany in the World Cup quarterfinals, Mark Abbott, the Chief of Operations for MLS, received a message from

⁵⁸⁴ “MLS Contraction Quotebook: Don Garber,” *SoccerAmerica*, January 8, 2002, <http://www.socceramerica.com/article/11890/mls-contraction-quotebook-don-garber.html>.

⁵⁸⁵ “Fusion and Mutiny Fold.”

⁵⁸⁶ Dean Bailey, “Florida MLS Teams Fold,” *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 10, 2002, 2D; Rodney Page, “MLS Folds Mutiny,” *The St. Petersburg Times Online*, January 9, 2002, http://www.sptimes.com/2002/01/09/Sports/MLS_folds_Mutiny.shtml.

⁵⁸⁷ “MLS Contraction Quotebook: Don Garber.”

⁵⁸⁸ Jeff Rusnak, “Fusion Owner Looking for Way Out,” *The Sun Sentinel*, December 15, 2001, http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2001-12-15/sports/0112150073_1_five-mls-teams-ken-horowitz-fusion.

⁵⁸⁹ Jack Bell, “Soccer: Making Big Plans to Build Stadiums, and Interest M.L.S at Seven: Contraction and Distraction,” *The New York Times*, March 23, 2002, D4.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.⁵⁹⁰ Once Brad Lund the CEO of Express Sports learned the league wanted to expand back to twelve teams, he contacted them in order to find out more information and let them know of the potential interest in the state to acquire a team.⁵⁹¹ Abbott and Lund both believed its non-major league market might attract fans and revenue. Francisco Ojeda of the *Daily Oklahoman* thought it might work because of the growing Hispanic population.⁵⁹² Nonetheless, MLS realized all future locations must have a soccer-specific facility with about 22,000 seats in order to succeed, and Express Sports recognized this requirement and already identified available areas for possible construction.⁵⁹³ Another reporter Bob Colon disagreed with his coworker because of the previously failed pro franchises and the price tag of a new stadium with 25,000 seats, which he estimated “would cost \$20 million [to] \$30 million.”⁵⁹⁴ A week later, OKC Mayor Kirk Humphreys relayed his surprise when he heard someone spoke for the city and added that he “[didn’t] anticipate bringing any tax measure to voters,” especially since the construction of the Ford Center (now the Chesapeake Arena) finished in June.⁵⁹⁵ It appeared Lund needed to look elsewhere. Instead, he turned his gaze north to Edmond and the University of Central Oklahoma. On July 25, he met with the school’s president Roger Webb,

⁵⁹⁰ Francisco Ojeda, “Major League Soccer Interested in City,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 17, 2002, 1C.

⁵⁹¹ Ojeda, “Major League Soccer Interested in City,” 1C.

⁵⁹² Ojeda, “Point/Counterpoint: Would Professional Soccer be Successful in Oklahoma City? Yes,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 18, 2002, 2C.

⁵⁹³ Ojeda, “Major League Soccer Interested in City,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 17, 2002, 3C.

⁵⁹⁴ Bob Colon, “Point/Counterpoint: Would Professional Soccer be Successful in Oklahoma City? No,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 18, 2002, 2C.

⁵⁹⁵ Steve Lackmeyer, “City not Interested in Soccer Stadium,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 23, 2002, 1C; Ojeda, “Major League Soccer Interested in City;” Steve Lackmeyer, “Ford Center Welcomes Visitors,” *Daily Oklahoman*, June 8, 2002, 2A.

who noted the city's long-term designation as "a soccer city," and discussed the possibilities there.⁵⁹⁶

Edmond's Soccer History, 1970s-1999

The sport only started to gain interest in the area in the late 1970s.⁵⁹⁷ In 1975, students unsuccessfully attempted to organize a varsity team on Central State University (now UCO). Yet, the next year the International Educational Committee sponsored a match between international students at Wantland Stadium, which allowed them to form a men's soccer club.⁵⁹⁸ In 1978, a group of enthusiasts established the Edmond Soccer Club, and it continued to grow steadily over the next two and half decades.⁵⁹⁹ Within a year and a half, it expanded from "11 teams, 175 players, and 30 actively participating adult volunteers to 56 teams, about 900 players and 250 volunteers."⁶⁰⁰ In 1983, the city purchased land on Danforth Road and Kelly Ave to lease to the organization as a soccer complex, which the officers named Lucho Zalles Stadium in memory of an original board member.⁶⁰¹ In response to the 1991 Women's World Cup, the University of Central Oklahoma created "a women's indoor soccer league team" that later joined the UCO Soccer Club, which began to feature teams for both genders.⁶⁰² Seven years later, the women's team gained varsity status after the athletic department announced it "will compete as

⁵⁹⁶ Ojeda, "And Here's the Kicker: Edmond," *Daily Oklahoman*, July 26, 2002, 1D.

⁵⁹⁷ Sheryl Hamm, "Soccer Gains Local Fans," *The Vista*, October 12, 1976, 7.

⁵⁹⁸ "Soccer Game Set for October 21," *The Vista*, October 19, 1976, 7-8.

⁵⁹⁹ Edmond Soccer Club, *Fall 1978 Program* (Edmond, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Communities, Inc., 1978), 60.

⁶⁰⁰ Edmond Soccer Club, *Fall 1978 Program*, 60.

⁶⁰¹ Parris Sanders, Edmond Soccer Club General Manager, "Edmond Soccer Club History and Future," PowerPoint presentation on the History and Future of the Edmond Soccer Club, 1999; "Soccer Complex Readied," *Daily Oklahoman*, April 1, 1983, 65.

⁶⁰² "Broncho Notes," *The Vista*, December 12, 1991, 6.

an NCAA Division II member in the Lone Star Conference.”⁶⁰³ At the youth level, the sport gained even more traction in the city.

The Edmond Soccer Club hosted the Snickers U.S. Youth Soccer Southern Regional Championship, during the week of the 1999 Women’s World Cup, in which “137 teams from 11 states participated—Oklahoma, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.”⁶⁰⁴ Due to weather, the organizers cancelled the opening ceremonies to be held at Wantland Stadium.⁶⁰⁵ The city expected to see “\$2.4 million” in revenue from the tournament.⁶⁰⁶ One of the coaches at the tournament Jane Remy commented on how Oklahoma “[is] starting to get better” in soccer, especially women’s youth teams.”⁶⁰⁷ Previously, only a few clubs from the state won regional titles or competed for a national club crown.⁶⁰⁸ This long history of the sport in Edmond demonstrated strong support for the recreational activity in the area.

A Soccer-Specific Stadium

They showed a driven community, but in order to be considered for an expansion team, the city now needed a soccer-specific stadium. Two months before the news from MLS, the college started a joint plan with the Edmond Public Schools (EPS) to renovate Wantland Stadium and “create a shared ownership of it” since the football teams of all three high schools and UCO

⁶⁰³ UCO Sports Information, “UCO Athletic Program to Add Women’s Soccer,” *The Vista*, October 9, 1997, 11.

⁶⁰⁴ Murray Evans, “Girls ‘Got Game’ in Edmond: Southern Regionals Bringing World Cup Appeal,” *Edmond Sun*, June 26, 1999, 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Ryan Piersol, “Tournament Bringing in the Best,” *Edmond Sun*, June 25, 1999. The page number was left off of the copy placed into the vertical file.

⁶⁰⁶ Angel Riggs, “Muddy, Tired and Happy: Visiting Soccer Teams Taking in Best of What Edmond has to Offer,” *Edmond Sun*, June 27, 1999, 4A.

⁶⁰⁷ Evans, “Girls ‘Got Game’ in Edmond,” 4A.

⁶⁰⁸ Evans, “Girls ‘Got Game’ in Edmond,” 4A.

play in the stadium, which costs the school system “between \$30,000 and \$40,000 a year;” however, if the agreement succeeded, these expenses would end.⁶⁰⁹ Both entities planned to expand the amount of seating, and add “concession stands, an improved press box, extra restrooms, and a scoreboard.”⁶¹⁰ They expected construction to start as early as the 2003-2004 school year, but because of the timing, soccer discussions added more requirements.⁶¹¹

Throughout August, Edmond officials met with MLS, Bob Funk and Brad Lund of Express Sports, and J.E. Dunn Construction to discuss a new facility.⁶¹² On August 29, 2002, these groups, along with Lamar Hunt and the architecture firm CDFM2, gathered on campus for a technical presentation of possible designs, and to show the student body the concepts and formally announce the city and school’s decision to compete for an expansion team.⁶¹³ Bill Johnson of CDFM2 suggested they “take down all the seating and press box area and build a totally new stadium” with a seating capacity of 16,000 people and the possibility of increasing to 24,000 in its place.⁶¹⁴ Potentially, it might “be...a three-tiered multipurpose facility.”⁶¹⁵ None present discussed the price for the renovations, but City Manager Larry Stevens said that once they knew they would receive a team, the city would discuss partnering with EPS and UCO to

⁶⁰⁹ Brian Hostetler, “UCO, Edmond Plan Stadium Merger,” *The Vista*, March 28, 2002, 6.

⁶¹⁰ Kenna Griffin, “Edmond Stadium Plan May Score a Goal,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 13, 2002, 1.

⁶¹¹ Hostetler, “UCO, Edmond Plan Stadium Merger,” 6.

⁶¹² Ojeda, “Stadium Idea has the Ears of MLS Officials,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 17, 2002, 3C.

⁶¹³ “Major League Soccer, Edmond/UCO Wantland Stadium August 27, 2002 Agenda,” Vice President Office of Administration, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma. Cdfm2 is now a part of 360 Architecture.

⁶¹⁴ Daniel Holdge, “Pro Soccer Group Eyes Wantland Field,” *The Vista*, August 29, 2002, 9. CDFM2 has designed buildings

⁶¹⁵ “Sports Briefs,” *The Lawton Constitution*, August 29, 2002, 3C; “Major League Soccer Looks to Edmond and UCO as Possible New Home,” *UCOvations*, September 2002, Wantland Stadium BLD10, Vertical Files, Archives, Chambers Library, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma.

cover a portion of the expenditures.⁶¹⁶ In an opinion piece for *The Vista* (UCO's student newspaper), a reporter commented on this idea and said, "If you have ever been to the stadium, you know how bad of a shape it is."⁶¹⁷ Forty years ago in the 1960s, Central State College (renamed Central State University in 1971, then UCO in 1991) students witnessed the construction of Wantland Stadium, "named after longtime UCO head coach Charles W. Wantland."⁶¹⁸ On September 18, 1965, the Bronchos played for the first time in its new facility.⁶¹⁹ In 1991, the athletic department then "installed an eight-lane, all-weather track."⁶²⁰ Starting in 1994, it hosted football games for the Edmond Memorial High School Bulldogs, the Santa Fe High School Wolves, and the North High School Huskies.⁶²¹ For almost ten years, the four teams continually destroyed the field and, therefore, it needed several renovations in order for it to be marketable as a professional facility, a major problem across the nation in regard to potential soccer teams locations.

In October 2002, MLS officially announced that it planned to expand the league by two teams.⁶²² Edmond and several other cities—including Tulsa, Milwaukee, Winston-Salem, Rochester, Los Angeles, Seattle, Charlotte, Philadelphia, San Diego, Houston, Sacramento,

⁶¹⁶ Larry Stevens, (City of Edmond City Manager), interview with the author, July 13, 2015.

⁶¹⁷ "Opinion," *The Vista*, August 29, 2002, 2.

⁶¹⁸ University of Central Oklahoma, *University of Central Oklahoma Football 2004* (Edmond, OK: UCO, 2004), 4.

⁶¹⁹ University of Central Oklahoma, *Central Oklahoma Football: Bronchos vs. Southwestern Oklahoma October 30, 1999* (Edmond, OK: UCO, 1999), 31.

⁶²⁰ UCO, *Bronchos vs. Southwestern Oklahoma October 30, 1999*, 31.

⁶²¹ Henry Gatewood III, "100 Years of Football: The University of Central Oklahoma Bronchos Celebrated 100 Years of Football With a Present for Wantland Stadium," *The Vista*, April 28, 2005, 1.

⁶²² Associated Press, "MLS Announces Plans to Expand by Two Teams," *Daily Oklahoman*, October 16, 2002, 100.

Atlanta, New York, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Cleveland—now vied to be one of them.⁶²³

According to an article in the *Tulsa World*, the league contacted Tulsa, repeatedly over the years as well.⁶²⁴ It previously attempted to bring a team, but the lack of a facility caused it to fail.⁶²⁵ In the article, Major Bill LaFortune believed the city “is the perfect size market with the right kind of demographics.”⁶²⁶ He even traveled as part of “a seven-member group” to Columbus, Ohio, to visit with Hunt, who owns the Columbus Crew, and Michael Coleman, the mayor, to learn more about the benefits of a franchise and the requirements including a two million dollar a year assessment fee and the one-time franchise entry fee (undisclosed at the time).⁶²⁷ Hunt told the *Tulsa World* that they needed “the facility before we even try to get ownership, and that Tulsa’s opportunity is there, but if [Tulsa] doesn’t first build a stadium, Major League Soccer won’t come.”⁶²⁸ Skelly Stadium, the field used by the University of Tulsa and previously the home to the Tulsa Roughnecks, “is too large (45,000 seats) and the field too narrow.”⁶²⁹

Unlike Tulsa’s relative uncertainty about stadium details, Edmond started to create a plan and now needed to determine the level of interest in the community for a franchise if it wanted to be the one that brought a team to Oklahoma, but both Brad Lund and Bob Funk believed they are probably in the lead.⁶³⁰ The city paid WRS, an Oklahoma City marketing research firm, to

⁶²³ Don Walker and Charles F. Gardner, “Milwaukee Investors Pursuing MLS Franchise,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 26, 2001; “Oklahoma Tough Sell for Soccer,” *The Lawton Constitution*, July 23, 2002, 1C; “Major League Soccer,” Vice President Office of Administration, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma; Ojeda, “Officials Wait and See on MLS Team,” *Daily Oklahoman*, November 27, 2002, 4C.

⁶²⁴ John Klein, “Line in Sand Drawn for MLS,” *Tulsa World*, July 21, 2002, 1.

⁶²⁵ Klein, “Line in Sand Drawn for MLS,” 1.

⁶²⁶ Klein, “Line in Sand Drawn for MLS,” 1.

⁶²⁷ Dave Sittler, “Breaking into the Majors,” *Tulsa World*, August 16, 2002, A1.

⁶²⁸ Dave Sittler, “Want Soccer? Build a Stadium,” *Tulsa World*, August 18, 2002, B1.

⁶²⁹ Sittler, “Want Soccer? Build a Stadium,” B1.

⁶³⁰ Ojeda, “The Soccer Pitch: MLS Hopefuls Show Off Stadium Plan; Kansas City Owner Sees State’s Potential,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 28, 2002, 1C.

conduct a feasibility study to determine the interest level of a soccer franchise, and the results pleased the officials because they showed that “the Edmond area can host an MLS team.”⁶³¹

Lund believed this analysis might place them as a finalist.⁶³²

In January 2003, UCO joined with Premier Partnership to create a revenue analysis in order to determine the financial benefits of acquiring an expansion team.⁶³³ It stated that “businesses are just now becoming more willing to invest in their marketing and promotional efforts...but the timing could be advantageous as the national economy appears to be” improving.⁶³⁴ It also accurately corroborated what the university already knew, “corporate, governmental and local grassroots soccer and community efforts will also be vital to a successful start-up and the team’s long-term financial success.”⁶³⁵ The youth organizations, like the Oklahoma Soccer Association, would be strong allies because they “will be inspired...to watch professionals play, but also through camps and clinics,” along with the fact that their parents “represent...a large ticket base for individual games and season tickets holders.”⁶³⁶

Edmond needed to demonstrate the strength of support from its residents and the surrounding area, and in early January, rumors hinted at two teams visiting the city.⁶³⁷ In order to create more publicity and spur more interest in the expansion attempt, the university and Express

⁶³¹ Ojeda, “Edmond Studies Feasibility of MLS Team,” *Daily Oklahoman*, October 9, 2002, 3C; Ojeda, “Presentation to MLS Scheduled Next Week,” *Daily Oklahoman*, October 19, 2002.

⁶³² Ojeda, “Presentation to MLS Scheduled Next Week.”

⁶³³ Premier Partnerships, Inc., “Oklahoma City Major League Soccer Expansion Opportunity: Revenue Analysis,” January 15, 2003, Vice President Office of Administration, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma.

⁶³⁴ Premier Partnerships, Inc., “Oklahoma City Major League Soccer Expansion Opportunity.”

⁶³⁵ Premier Partnerships, Inc., “Oklahoma City Major League Soccer Expansion Opportunity.”

⁶³⁶ Premier Partnerships, Inc., “Oklahoma City Major League Soccer Expansion Opportunity.”

⁶³⁷ “News,” *MLS in OKC*, January 23, 2003, 1,

http://web.archive.org/web/20040801000000*/http://mlsinokc.com/ (accessed through Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine); Ojeda, “Edmond to Get MLS Test Run,” *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 2003, 1C.

Sports cosponsored a “Major League Soccer Rally” on January 30, 2003, in the school’s Constitution Hall.⁶³⁸ They ordered stickers, plastic soccer ball-shaped hats, and other commemorative items.⁶³⁹ Four hundred people, including Lund, Bob Funk, Mark Abbott, President Webb, and D.J. Countess, an MLS player for the Dallas Burn, attended.⁶⁴⁰ The fervor and intensity of the fans surprised everyone because of the late announcement about the rally. This event showed the strength of the Edmond community to come together and support a campaign that would benefit not only the school and the city, but the entire state as well. During the meeting, Abbot showed a brief promotional film about Major League Soccer to “highlight MLS and how the league is growing stronger and strengthening the National Team.”⁶⁴¹ He also announced that he scheduled a match between the “Kansas City Wizards and the Columbus Crew to play at Wantland Stadium on March 29, 2003.”⁶⁴² Countess enjoyed the crowd and commented, “I would be excited to play in Edmond. Sometimes in smaller communities you have better attendance and a feel for the game.”⁶⁴³

While the rally left an enthusiastic impression on the league, the real test appeared during the preseason game. Over the next two months, the creators of the website *MLS in OKC* and supporters on *BigSoccer* urged fans to purchase tickets because the more people that showed up,

⁶³⁸ “UCO Rally to Address Creating Soccer League,” *Daily Oklahoman*, January 30, 2003, 4; *Bronze Book* (Edmond, OK: University of Central Oklahoma, 2003), 67.

⁶³⁹ “Soccer’s a Kick for UCO,” *Old North Magazine*, Spring 2003, cover page; Larry Stevens, (City of Edmond City Manager), interview with the author, July 13, 2015; Matt Patterson, “Edmond Soccer Fans Rally for Potential Franchise,” *Edmond Sun*, January 31, 2003.

⁶⁴⁰ Patterson, “Edmond Soccer Fans Rally for Potential Franchise.”

⁶⁴¹ “News,” *MLS in OKC*, January 30, 2003, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030703225427/http://www.mlsinokc.com/mlsok.jpg>.

⁶⁴² Ojeda, “MLS Officials Get First Look at Edmond, Fans,” *Daily Oklahoman*, January 31, 2003, 1D.

⁶⁴³ Ojeda, “MLS Officials Get First Look at Edmond, Fans,” 1D.

the better chances Edmond might receive a team.⁶⁴⁴ Within two days, Express Sports sold “1,046 tickets” with all “216 box seats” gone and the rest “going quickly.”⁶⁴⁵ Buildings across town, especially on campus and at the Edmond Soccer Complex, displayed posters about the exhibition nearing.⁶⁴⁶ The *Edmond Sun* also published a program called: *MLSOK: Bring It!*. It featured advertisements from various businesses in the city and information about the history of Major League Soccer.⁶⁴⁷ Unfortunately, weather towards the end of February and beginning of March 2003 slowed ticket sales to “a total of 2,621.”⁶⁴⁸ Yet, they increased one again when people purchased almost two thousand more over the next fifteen days, and by game day, less than one thousand remained.⁶⁴⁹ As cohesion filled the small community, tension arose internationally because of the future War on Terror.

For the past six months, but in reality ever since the end of the First Gulf War in 1991, the United Nations investigated Iraq under the regime of Saddam Hussein for evidence of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).⁶⁵⁰ After 9/11, concerns over this possibility increased because the American government feared al-Qaeda might attempt to acquire this capability from Iraq or other nations with nuclear power.⁶⁵¹ President George W. Bush called Iraq “a member of

⁶⁴⁴ “Discussion,” *MLS in OKC*,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20030324170912/http://pub29.ezboard.com/fmlsinokcfrm7>;

⁶⁴⁵ Ojeda, “MLS Tickets Going Fast,” *Daily Oklahoman*, February 5, 2003, 2C.

⁶⁴⁶ Stomper, “So, who will be in OKC?,” in *MLS: Expansion*, *BigSoccer Forum*, March 12, 2003, 1, <http://forums.bigsoccer.com/threads/so-who-will-be-in-okc.37671/>.

⁶⁴⁷ EdmondSun, *MLSOK! Bring It*, 1.

⁶⁴⁸ Ojeda, “Weather Slows Ticket Sales for MLS Preseason Game,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 4, 2003, 2C.

⁶⁴⁹ Ojeda, “Exhibition Activities Set,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 19, 2003, 2C; “Major League Soccer Exhibition,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 29, 2003, 10C.

⁶⁵⁰ Joseph J. Collins, *Choosing War: The Decision to Invade Iraq and its Aftermath* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2008), 4.

⁶⁵¹ Collins, *Choosing War*, 5.

the axis of evil (along with North Korea and Iran).⁶⁵² He met with military advisers, instructed them to devise a war plan (in the end constructed by General Tommy Franks), and discussed it over the next two years with them.⁶⁵³ Reports of investigations in Iraq showed inconclusive results, but they all continued to believe in the existence of WMDs, which Hussein encouraged.⁶⁵⁴ The Commander in Chief knew war stood on the horizon starting shortly after the terrorist attacks, and on March 19, 2003, he announced that American and coalition forces invaded the Middle Eastern country.⁶⁵⁵ A week before the upcoming event, MLS almost shut it down.⁶⁵⁶ Its officials feared the actions overseas might create safety concerns for the spectators and players.⁶⁵⁷ They continued to monitor the situation and hoped to move on as planned.⁶⁵⁸

On March 29, 2003, UCO and Express Sports debuted their affair. The level of enthusiasm and attendance that day would determine the future.⁶⁵⁹ Almost exactly twenty-five years earlier on March 25, 1978, the Tulsa Roughnecks played a similar game against Lamar Hunt's Dallas Tornados of NASL there.⁶⁶⁰ The school's women's team conducted "soccer clinics" throughout the day before they played St. Gregory's University.⁶⁶¹ Both coaches of the professional teams performed "question-and-answer session" with the public.⁶⁶² Of the thousands of fans in Edmond that day, one fan named Bright Dike (pronounced "B'Right Dee-

⁶⁵² Collins, *Choosing War*, 6.

⁶⁵³ Collins, *Choosing War*, 6-8.

⁶⁵⁴ Collins, *Choosing War*, 9-10.

⁶⁵⁵ George W. Bush: "Address to the Nation on Iraq," March 19, 2003. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=63368>.

⁶⁵⁶ Ojeda, "Edmond Exhibition Game Still On," *Daily Oklahoman*, March 21, 2003, 9C.

⁶⁵⁷ Ojeda, "Edmond Exhibition Game Still On," 9C.

⁶⁵⁸ Ojeda, "Edmond Exhibition Game Still On," 9C.

⁶⁵⁹ "Soccer's a Kick for UCO," *Old North Magazine*, Spring 2003 Volume XXXX, 1.

⁶⁶⁰ "Roughnecks Foil Tornado 3-2 in Soccer Exhibition," *The Vista*, March 30, 1978, 7.

⁶⁶¹ Ojeda, "Exhibition Activities Set."

⁶⁶² Ojeda, "Exhibition Activities Set."

Kay”) rose above the rest in the American soccer world.⁶⁶³ He graduated from Edmond North High School in 2005, attended the University of Notre Dame, and then briefly joined the Columbus Crew in 2010.⁶⁶⁴ He recalled that exhibition match, “Seeing that, I held onto a dream to play in MLS and now I have the opportunity.”⁶⁶⁵ The team released him, but then the Portland Timbers (at the time part of the USSF Division 2 Professional League) signed him in March 2010 before it became an MLS club in 2011.⁶⁶⁶

Fans packed into the stands and filled 9,223 out of the 10,000 seats available, even with temperatures “in the low 40s and wind chills in the 20s.”⁶⁶⁷ This number surprised everyone and exceeded the expectations of eight thousand spectators.⁶⁶⁸ The Columbus Crew beat the Kansas City Wizards two to one.⁶⁶⁹ With such a good performance from the fans, things seemed to move strongly in Edmond’s favor. Nonetheless, as one *Vista* reporter commented, “Don’t be fooled by the near-capacity turnout.”⁶⁷⁰ Eleven other cities continued to entertain the idea of becoming the next MLS expansion team according to Aaron Plum, one of the league’s press officers, and “none...have managed to stand out.”⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶³ Craig Merz, “Number of rookies to make roster,” *MLSNet*, February 15, 2010, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/news/article/number-columbus-rookies-hope-make-roster>; “Players—Bright Dike,” *MLS Soccer*, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/players/bright-dike>.

⁶⁶⁴ “Players—Bright Dike,” *MLS Soccer*, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/players/bright-dike>.

⁶⁶⁵ Merz, “Number of rookies to make roster.”

⁶⁶⁶ Geoffrey C. Arnold, “Timbers Announce First Signed Players for MLS,” *Oregon Live*, October 19, 2010,

http://www.oregonlive.com/timbers/index.ssf/2010/10/timbers_announce_first_signed.html.

⁶⁶⁷ Andrew Gilman and Francisco Ojeda, “MLS Gets Warm Reception – 9, 223 Brave Cold, See Preseason Game,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 30, 2003, 1-C.

⁶⁶⁸ Ryan Jameson, “The Crew Cleans Up 2-1,” *The Vista*, April 1, 2003, 7.

⁶⁶⁹ Jameson, “The Crew Cleans Up 2-1.”

⁶⁷⁰ “MLS Officials Say Playing Field is Even,” *The Vista*, April 1, 2003, 2.

⁶⁷¹ “MLS Officials Say Playing Field is Even,” 2.

Just a few days later, Tulsa also hosted a match. The Wizards travelled northeast to compete against the Dallas Burn in the University of Tulsa's Skelly Stadium.⁶⁷² The Roughnecks, one of the most successful NASL teams, once called it their home.⁶⁷³ Yet, it stood in the way of their chance to have another club. The school needed to renovate it by widening the field and removing the artificial turf.⁶⁷⁴ Even with these issues, the league still considered it a possibility. On April 5, 2003, "14,585 fans" attended the second Oklahoma exhibition match, which also passed the hopes of "10,000."⁶⁷⁵ Tony Meola of KC commented on the Tulsa community, "I remember the Roughnecks and the players talking about how difficult it was to play in Tulsa. [It] was kind of like Oakland and Philadelphia in the NFL because the crowd was tough to play in front of."⁶⁷⁶ The night before they played, Mayor LaFortune started a season ticket campaign to collect 7,500 pledges, and by the next day, fans put the number at 2,500.⁶⁷⁷ Mark Tuttle, a University of Tulsa employee, told the *Tulsa World* that after the game, they gained another thousand.⁶⁷⁸ In regards to progress, even though the city still needed to determine its stadium situation, it seemed ahead of Edmond in the race and more organized.⁶⁷⁹

In between these two matches, Don Garber held a teleconference to discuss the status of the league. He stated that their main priorities "are player development, the television front, and

⁶⁷² John Klein, "Wizard, Burn to Play at Skelly Stadium," *Tulsa World*, January 30, 2003, B1.

⁶⁷³ Klein, "Wizard, Burn to Play at Skelly Stadium," B1.

⁶⁷⁴ John Klein, "TU, City Discuss MLS at Skelly," *Tulsa World*, January 31, 2003, A1.

⁶⁷⁵ Holly Leahy, "Major League Soccer Comes to TU," *Tulsa Collegian*, April 8, 2003, 4; Glenn Hibdon, "Tulsa Hosting Soccer," *Tulsa World*, April 5, 2003, B1.

⁶⁷⁶ Glenn Hibdon, "Longtime Coming," *Tulsa World*, April 4, 2003, B1.

⁶⁷⁷ P.J. Lassek, "MLS: Pledge Drive Begins for Soccer," *Tulsa World*, April 5, 2003, B5; Glenn Hibdon, "MLS: Kudos to Wizards, Tulsa," *Tulsa World*, April 6, 2003, B1.

⁶⁷⁸ Glenn Hibdon, "Sending a Strong Message," *Tulsa World*, April 7, 2003, B1.

⁶⁷⁹ Andrew Traxler, (University of Central Oklahoma student and soccer fan), interview with the author, July 23, 2015.

finally expansion.”⁶⁸⁰ He hoped to announce the “two finalists that will secure MLS franchises” later in the 2003 season.⁶⁸¹ He placed small markets, such as in Oklahoma, and large markets, like New York and Seattle, on an equal plane.⁶⁸² For now, all candidates needed to sell season tickets and proceed with facility plans.⁶⁸³

Due to the fact that UCO owns and operates Wantland Stadium, any changes in funding involved the entire school’s community. Earlier in February 2003, the student association (UCOSA) wrote a bill called “The Stadium Referendum Act of 2003” and approved the motion to have the student body vote on it.⁶⁸⁴ J.P. Jordan explained that the addition of “\$3 per credit hour increase...is to raise a bond” to help pay for the necessary renovations to the field.⁶⁸⁵ The organization believed the total amount of the “bond will be \$20 million,” including the “\$1.7 million in turf and PA improvements.”⁶⁸⁶ It sparked outrage because of the already rising tuition and confusions as to whether or not the current students might see the benefits, but thirty-nine student groups supported the increase.⁶⁸⁷ One person posed this question, “Why use traditional money-raising techniques when you can exploit a renewable resource—money from a fresh new crop of college kids every year?”⁶⁸⁸ This concept came into play later in the MLS discussion talks. On March 12, 2003, “410 students voted for the increase and 160 voted against it.”⁶⁸⁹ President Webb needed to make his decision about sending the proposal to the Board of Regents

⁶⁸⁰ Don Garber, “MLS Teleconference Call,” *MLSNET*, March 31, 2003, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030706105853/http://mlsnet.com/content/03/mls0331conf.html>.

⁶⁸¹ Garber, “MLS Teleconference Call.”

⁶⁸² Garber, “MLS Teleconference Call.”

⁶⁸³ Garber, “MLS Teleconference Call.”

⁶⁸⁴ Thad Danner, “Students to Vote on Fee Hike: UCOSA Approves \$3 Per Credit Hour Increase in Student Fee,” *The Vista*, March 4, 2003, 1.

⁶⁸⁵ Danner, “Students to Vote on Fee Hike,” 1.

⁶⁸⁶ Danner, “Students to Vote on Fee Hike,” 1.

⁶⁸⁷ “Opinion,” *The Vista*, March 6, 2003, 2; “Opinion,” *The Vista*, March 11, 2003, 2.

⁶⁸⁸ “Opinion,” *The Vista*, March 11, 2003, 2.

⁶⁸⁹ Thad Danner, “Referendum Passes, Four Percent Votes,” *The Vista*, March 27, 2003, 1.

and then the State Board of Regents of Higher Education.⁶⁹⁰ The monetary number of the bond partially depended on a professional soccer team because they considered two ideas.⁶⁹¹ One plan utilized a partnership with the Edmond Public Schools, while the other used funding from the league.⁶⁹² Either way, the renovation of Wantland Stadium “is the plan” and “will get a new turf, lighting, score board and sod.”⁶⁹³ Then, on April 4, 2003, the Board of Regents of Oklahoma Colleges chose to allow “UCO to start soliciting plans for stadium renovations” and also gave it the required amount of money to purchase new turf.⁶⁹⁴ Now, the school needed approval from the State Board of Regents of Higher Education.⁶⁹⁵

For quite some time, students and the community referred to UCO as “a drive-thru college,” but Webb wanted to change this reputation.⁶⁹⁶ They also wanted to “grow the number of UCO fans and see every seat at Wantland filled.”⁶⁹⁷ Athletic Director Bill Farley even changed the times of the school’s football games in order to avoid overlap with those of the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University.⁶⁹⁸ With all of the national interest, it seemed an appropriate time. In July, he unveiled a new logo that Roy Page of Third Degree Advertising and Communications volunteered to make, and the students polled in an issue of *The*

⁶⁹⁰ Danner, “Referendum Passes, Four Percent Votes,” 1.

⁶⁹¹ Danner, “Referendum Passes, Four Percent Votes,” 4.

⁶⁹² Danner, “Referendum Passes, Four Percent Votes,” 4.

⁶⁹³ Brad Frizell, “MLS to Try Out Edmond,” *The Vista*, January 23, 2003, 8; Senator Barbara Parrish Faculty Senate Secretary, “Minutes of Faculty Senate Meeting on Thursday, April 24, 2003,” *University of Central Oklahoma*, April 24, 2003.

⁶⁹⁴ Thad Danner, “Stadium Renovation Plan,” *The Vista*, April 10, 2003, 3.

⁶⁹⁵ Danner, “Stadium Renovation Plan,” 3.

⁶⁹⁶ Jim Epperson II, “UCO Logo to Get Facelift,” *The Vista*, July 3, 2003, 1.

⁶⁹⁷ Steve Gust, “Nelson’s Mission: Growing the Number of UCO Fans,” *Edmond Life and Leisure*, August 14, 2003, 4.

⁶⁹⁸ Bob Colon, “Image Overhaul – UCO Changes Game Times in Attempt to Draw Fans, Get Students Involved,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 9, 2003, 1-C.

Vista like the new look.⁶⁹⁹ The “Old Blue Crew” also revived in order to bring more spirit to athletic events.⁷⁰⁰ The school also completed the first phase of renovations for the stadium before the first Broncho game on September 15, 2003.⁷⁰¹ It came only days after the announcement in the Faculty Senate Meeting on September 11, 2003, that “finalists for the design [of Wantland] presented their ideas recently and Major League Soccer” visited during the week.⁷⁰²

After football season started, all plans for construction temporarily concluded, but the question of an MLS franchise still lingered along with additional problems regarding it. In April 2003, the league told Express Sports it could start a drive to sell “7,500 season tickets.”⁷⁰³ Then in July, it purchased a majority interest in the Oklahoma Redhawks, a baseball team in downtown Oklahoma City.⁷⁰⁴ A few days later, Lund told the *Daily Oklahoman*, “We do not feel comfortable finalizing a decision for a team, and we can’t commit 100 percent for a team.”⁷⁰⁵ Even though other possible ownership groups appeared, this loss dropped Edmond’s appeal to MLS and its possible lead over Tulsa.⁷⁰⁶ Two months later in September, the league announced Jorge Vergara, the owner of Chivas de Guadalajara, bought a team.⁷⁰⁷ Abbot reassured the city

⁶⁹⁹ “Logo Created Generously,” *Old North Magazine*, Fall 2003, 3; “UCO ‘On the Move’ and in the Right Direction,” *The Vista*, August 18, 2003, 2.

⁷⁰⁰ “Go Bronchos!,” *The Vista*, September 4, 2003, 2.

⁷⁰¹ “Go Bronchos!,” 2.

⁷⁰² Senator Barbara Parrish Faculty Senate Secretary, “Minutes of Faculty Senate Meeting on Thursday, September 11, 2003,” *University of Central Oklahoma*, September 11, 2003.

⁷⁰³ Ojeda, “MLS Season-Ticket Drive Planned – League Sets High Goal For Potential Franchises: 7,500,” *Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 2003, 1C.

⁷⁰⁴ Ojeda, “Funk Adds Redhawks to Sports Holdings,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 3, 2003, 1C.

⁷⁰⁵ Ojeda, “MLS Expansion Talk Loaded With Questions,” *Daily Oklahoman*, July 10, 2003, 1C.

⁷⁰⁶ Ojeda, “MLS Expansion Talk Loaded With Questions,” 1C.

⁷⁰⁷ Ojeda, “Chivas to Buy MLS Franchise,” *Daily Oklahoman*, October 28, 2003, 2C.

though that “if the Edmond bid fails, it would be a leading candidate for 2006 or 2007 expansion.”⁷⁰⁸

Heading into 2004, the university continued to pursue an investor. Webb commented in a news article, “This is our chance. We don’t want our window to close.”⁷⁰⁹ In February, the league announced another Kansas City Wizards exhibition match on campus on April 10, but this time against the Dallas Burn.⁷¹⁰ UCO hoped for better weather because the administration believed they could exceed what they did last year with the improvements to the stadium.⁷¹¹ Express Sports again handled management for the game, and Lund noted that on March 24, “about 1,000 tickets have been sold...compared to about 5,000 last year.”⁷¹² He suggested lesser amount of advertisement indeed affected sales.⁷¹³ Unfortunately, rain hampered the game, but only slightly as 6,738 soccer fans still attended and showed their support.⁷¹⁴ During the City Council meeting on April 12, 2004, Mayor Sandra Naifeh professed her pleasure that “the game ended in a tie” because it meant she “did not have to pay off on her bet with Webb.”⁷¹⁵

While expansion talks continued elsewhere and the media kept mentioning Edmond’s potential, they failed to notice that discussions between the organizations ended in April 2004 after the second exhibition match and no one reported this news until June, two months later.⁷¹⁶ Webb told the *Daily Oklahoman* that communication simply stopped, and they failed to gain a

⁷⁰⁸ Ojeda, “Edmond Still Has Chance at MLS Expansion Team,” *Daily Oklahoman*, November 8, 2003, 3C.

⁷⁰⁹ Ojeda, “MLS Still Considering Edmond for 2005 Expansion Team,” *Daily Oklahoman*, December 31, 2003, 7C.

⁷¹⁰ Ojeda, “MLS Returns to Edmond in April,” *Daily Oklahoman*, February 6, 2004, 3C.

⁷¹¹ Ojeda, “MLS Returns to Edmond in April,” 3C.

⁷¹² Ojeda, “Edmond Secures Owners for MLS Expansion Bid,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 24, 2004, 2C.

⁷¹³ Ojeda, “Edmond Secures Owners for MLS Expansion Bid,” 2C.

⁷¹⁴ Lindsay Brady, “Rain No Match for MLS,” *The Vista*, April 13, 2004, 1.

⁷¹⁵ Edmond City Council. “Minutes: April 12, 2004.” April 12, 2004.

⁷¹⁶ “Game Over for MLS,” *The Vista*, June 17, 2004, 1.

team because of the ten million dollar fee to join.⁷¹⁷ They secured minor ownership groups, but needed a major one.⁷¹⁸ He said, “The owners of other franchises are billionaire owners. Our groups have been people with millions, not billions.”⁷¹⁹ Luckily, no money disappeared from the school.⁷²⁰

Nonetheless, disappointment and confusion consumed the community after two years of hard work and support. Many wondered about why the expansion failed because they felt they never received full disclosure.⁷²¹ Some thought the possible owners refrained from telling the city and supporters about their lack of available funds, but “let the community take off without fully being truthful.”⁷²² Eventually, the same news seemed to repeat and “might have gradually soured the wide range support.”⁷²³ Yet, it gained a new stadium that met FIFA standards, a requirement for an MLS franchise—something to be noted if another consideration ever occurred.⁷²⁴

Over the next two months, Major League Soccer announced the two cities for the 2005 expansion, Salt Lake City (Real Salt Lake) and Los Angeles (Chivas USA).⁷²⁵ It largely chose these areas after witnessing the large Hispanic populations.⁷²⁶ For years, the league failed to

⁷¹⁷ Ojeda, “Edmond Won’t Get MLS Team – UCO’s Webb Says No Chance in 2005,” *Daily Oklahoman*, June 11, 2004, 1C.

⁷¹⁸ Ojeda, “Edmond Won’t Get MLS Team – UCO’s Webb Says No Chance in 2005,” 1C.

⁷¹⁹ “Game Over for MLS,” *The Vista*, June 17, 2004, 1.

⁷²⁰ “Game Over for MLS,” *The Vista*, June 17, 2004, 1.

⁷²¹ Traxler, interview with the author, July 23, 2015.

⁷²² Traxler, interview with the author, July 23, 2015.

⁷²³ Traxler, interview with the author, July 23, 2015.

⁷²⁴ “Game Over for MLS,” *The Vista*, June 17, 2004, 1.

⁷²⁵ Jason Halpin, “And Salt Lake City Makes 12,” *MLSNET*, July 14, 2004, http://web.archive.org/web/20040806180800/http://www.mlssoccer.com/MLS/news/mls_news.jsp?ymd=20040714&content_id=8211&vkey=news_mls&fext=.jsp.html; “Chivas USA,” *MLS Soccer*, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/history/club/chivas>.

⁷²⁶ Jason Halpin, “And Salt Lake City Makes 12.”

capitalize on this ethnic dynamic, and starting in 2001, it started to court the group.⁷²⁷ Each team held a Hispanic Heritage Night and donated proceeds to the Hispanic Scholarship Fund.⁷²⁸ Owners also faced the (ongoing) problem of creating loyalty because they connect more with the Mexican National Team and their local clubs rather than those in America.⁷²⁹ Jorge Vergara owned Chivas de Guadalajara, a recognizable team for this demographic, so it should attract more attention to the league. Dave Checketts, the owner in Utah, purchased the expansion fee and named the team Real Salt Lake, which established a link with Real Madrid, one of the top competitors in the Spanish *La Liga* (the league). This move also helped cater to the long sought after group because they saw players from Europe train in the United States at the youth academy.⁷³⁰

Wantland Stadium Renovations

With expansion talks completely over, President Webb and the rest of Edmond now focused on finishing the renovations of Wantland Stadium. Once the Board of Regents approved the bonds, it sent the request to the State Senate.⁷³¹ Senator Mark Snyder and House Representative Wayne Pettigrew wrote the measure “Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 41,” which passed both the Oklahoma Senate and the Oklahoma House of Representatives on March 18, 2004.⁷³² It allowed UCO to “be issued...eighteen million dollars” in order to complete the

⁷²⁷ David Stone, “Pledge of Allegiance,” *Soccer Digest*, August/September 2001, 34.

⁷²⁸ Stone, “Pledge of Allegiance.”

⁷²⁹ Stone, “Pledge of Allegiance.”

⁷³⁰ “Real Salt Lake,” *MLS Soccer*, <http://www.mlssoccer.com/history/club/saltlake>.

⁷³¹ Lisa Shearer, “Stadium Bonds Pass Senate,” *EdmondSun*, March 18, 2004.

⁷³² Shearer, “Stadium Bonds Pass Senate;” Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 41, S.C.R. 41, 49th Legislature. (2004).

construction.⁷³³ Then in June, it delayed further work because of finances and resumed “after the football season.”⁷³⁴ On December 6, 2004, the Flintco Construction Company employees “razed the west side of Wantland Stadium,” which included “the press box and nearby buildings” in order to make way for the new additions.⁷³⁵ After three months of rebuilding, the school reduced their original plans.⁷³⁶ Instead of adding 2,500 seats, the increasing prices of the necessary materials forced them to only add 1,100.⁷³⁷ The other parts of the project include: “a three-level structure” with “a concession stand, restrooms, clubhouse, and a press box.”⁷³⁸ In honor of the 100 anniversary of Bronchos football on April 28, 2005, President Webb sent out an e-mail to all of the faculty and students that invited them, and anyone else interested, to see the progress made by Flintco Construction Company.⁷³⁹ During the special event, they remembered the words of former professor Reba Collins from the Centennial celebration, “Ring Out the old old North Bells, Bring in the new, Bronze and Blue, We’re ready for a new century and the best is yet to be.”⁷⁴⁰ He also announced the creation of the “Committee of 100,” which he hoped might

⁷³³ Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 41, S.C.R. 41, 49th Legislature. (2004); Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, “Agenda,” April 1, 2004, 33-4; “Building Projects,” *Daily Oklahoman*, June 14, 2004, 4A.

⁷³⁴ Bob Colon, “UCO Construction Delayed – Wantland Stadium Project Will Resume After 2004 Season,” *Daily Oklahoman*, June 30, 2004, 2C; Harry Gatewood III, “Construction Halted at Wantland Stadium,” *The Vista*, July 15, 2004, 1.

⁷³⁵ Beth Gollob, “Wantland Stadium Work Starting – Renovation Project at UCO Will Cost Nearly \$12 Million,” *Daily Oklahoman*, December 4, 2004, 19A; “Stadium Demolished,” *Daily Oklahoman*, December 8, 2004, 30A.

⁷³⁶ Beth Gollob, “UCO Reduces Stadium Project,” *Daily Oklahoman*, March 5, 2004, 17A.

⁷³⁷ Gollob, “UCO Reduces Stadium Project,” 17A.

⁷³⁸ Gollob, “UCO Reduces Stadium Project,” 17A.

⁷³⁹ Henry Gatewood III, “100 Years of Football: The University of Central Oklahoma Bronchos Celebrated 100 Years of Football With a Present for Wantland Stadium,” *The Vista*, April 28, 2005, 1.

⁷⁴⁰ Charles Johnson, “Stadium Revamped for Second Hundred Years of Broncho Football,” *Edmond Life & Leisure*, September 1, 2005, 4.

“increase student, staff and fan attendance at the fall football season.”⁷⁴¹ On July 25, construction started to come to a close as workers added the final seats.⁷⁴² About a month and a half later, they “put the finishing touches on the stadium” on September 6, 2005.⁷⁴³ Two days later, they held the ribbon cutting ceremony.⁷⁴⁴ Finally, three years of hard work culminated in one day, September 10, 2005, that led to thousands of others over the years; that day, the UCO Bronchos played their first football game in the fully renovated stadium.⁷⁴⁵ Fans enjoyed pre-game activities such as a “Spirit Walk’ with the team,” a “Kids Zone,” a “Grown Zone” for adults with activities like “Mangus the Mechanical Bucking Bull and the Rodeo Roper,” and dozens of food vendors all organized by the Committee of 100.⁷⁴⁶ Even though the Bronchos lost 44-31 to West Texas A&M, it paled in comparison to the number of people that attended the game.⁷⁴⁷ Many of them commented that “they’d never seen a packed house before” inside the stadium.⁷⁴⁸

The University of Central Oklahoma used this exposure to change its image and create more cohesion within its community and throughout Edmond. “This is going to be an event location, not just a place to see football games,” Webb said in a *Daily Oklahoman* article.⁷⁴⁹ His

⁷⁴¹ “E-mail from President W. Roger Webb to Faculty and Students,” Wantland Stadium BLD 10, Vertical Files, Archives, Chambers Library, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma.

⁷⁴² Ashley Romano, “Wantland Stadium Renovations Make Progress,” *The Vista*, July 28, 2005, 1.

⁷⁴³ “Photos,” *The Vista*, September 8, 2005, 12.

⁷⁴⁴ “Ribbon Cutting Ceremony Invitation,” Wantland Stadium BLD 10, Vertical Files, Archives, Chambers Library, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma.

⁷⁴⁵ Trisha Evans, “Fun, Games, Football at Broncho Opener,” *The Vista*, September 13, 2005, 1.

⁷⁴⁶ Charles Johnson, “Stadium Revamped for Second Hundred Years of Broncho Football,” *Edmond Life & Leisure*, September 1, 2005, 4; Brett Deering, “Activities Planned at Wantland,” *The Vista*, September 8, 2005, 15; Evans, “Fun, Games, Football at Broncho Opener,” 3.

⁷⁴⁷ Evans, “Fun, Games, Football at Broncho Opener,” 3; Evans, “Fun, Games, Football at Broncho Opener,” 1.

⁷⁴⁸ Evans, “Fun, Games, Football at Broncho Opener,” 1.

⁷⁴⁹ Beth Gollob, “Stadium to be Locale for Events – The \$15 Million Renovation Targets Completion in August,” *Daily Oklahoman*, April 26, 2005, 17A.

statement demonstrated all of the hours spent to bring the funds necessary for a renovation. Everyone answered the simple call to show Major League Soccer that the city supported the campaign to bring a professional team to the area, but the expansion attempt failed because of the league's commitment to money above everything else. Yet, they gained something much more important: renewed school spirit, confidence in their community, and a brand new stadium for all to use.

Chapter 7 – Controlling and Disseminating the History of Sport: Conclusion

“You’re not supposed to be sycophants, you’re supposed to be skeptics. You’re supposed to ask me tough questions. You’re not supposed to be complimentary. You are supposed to cast a critical eye on folks who hold enormous power and make sure we are accountable to the people who sent us here.”

- Barack Obama, Final Press Conference, January 18, 2017⁷⁵⁰

~

This author wrote this thesis with the objective of educating the public about the reality of American soccer history and contributing a revisionist study to the slowly growing historiography. Too much misinformation exists and becomes perpetuated due to the multiple agendas of corporations and journalists. They choose to disseminate only the key parts of history that benefit their organizations’ narratives. It presents issues of power and control. Historians of sport must often work closely with sports corporations because of the unique relationship between the two parties. These organizations use their discretion with access to research material and oral interviews in addition to the possibility of requiring editorial review in exchange for this permission. This extra step hinders the publishing process and likewise creates a problem of transparency, an issue many sports organizations continually face.

No process exists for sports fans to elect representatives to sports leagues to make sure “folks who hold enormous power” hear their voices and opinions.⁷⁵¹ Historians hold a position that offers them the ability to “cast a critical eye” because they research the past and analyze the sources into a narrative. No paid connection to an organization precludes them from a commitment to write a consensus, or celebratory, history. Historians have the moral obligation to show the public even the vilest acts and events whether physically violent, economically

⁷⁵⁰ Brooke Seipel, “Obama to Press: Having You Here Keeps Us Honest,” *The Hill*, January 18, 2017, <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/314868-obama-on-the-press-america-needs-you>.

⁷⁵¹ Seipel, “Obama to Press: Having You Here Keeps Us Honest.”

damning, or racially condemning. It might take time for these histories of sport to reach the public, but in time, they should and without interference from those in power. Transparency keeps them honest as even the smallest error might cause an eruption in the communities upon which they rely.

As a sport history study, this thesis categorically falls into the grouping of social and cultural history, “the new social history” or “history from below” created in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷⁵² Yet, the people, such as Ronald Reagan, Bill Cox, Jack Kent Cooke, and Alan Rothenberg who received the most attention, belong to the elite ranks. How does one reconcile this contradiction? While true, it serves a purpose. As the 1971 American Historical Association President Joseph Strayer wrote in his 1953 introduction for Marc Bloch’s seminal work *The Historian’s Craft*:

What is the use of history, when the values of the past are being discarded ruthlessly? What is the use of history, when we repeat our old errors over and over again?⁷⁵³

After examining the source material, a similarity presented itself. The aforementioned men and their unnamed colleagues used soccer as a tool for their own benefit and not necessarily with any regard for how it might affect the bigger community from which they profit—American and international soccer fans. This author hopes anyone who stumbles upon this work reads about the actions of these elite and learns from history, then examines the current leadership with a “critical eye.” Does it uphold the interests of all, or only a small group? As a non-profit organization, the United States Soccer Federation must maintain transparency and keep the

⁷⁵² Foner, *Who Owns History*, 11.

⁷⁵³ Joseph Strayer, “Introduction,” in Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), vii.

public's interest in mind as it governs the entire country's soccer operations not just one league, but millions of people.

Americans of all ages enjoy watching, playing, and attending sports games. It serves as a distraction to the mundane activities of daily life and as a tool of unification to create cohesion. These fans form the backbone of sport business as they fund the operations through the purchase of memorabilia, tickets, and the creation of in-game atmosphere. As such, sport history is inherently public history. League administrators recognize this factor and want histories to actively show them and their colleagues in a positive light without corruption, conflicts of interest, or other aspects that might bring about criticism. Authors, if associated with them, then might spend less attention on these facets and more on the successes. Yet, the public deserves to know the accurate history of the sports they enjoy regardless of whether owners and officials desire to keep parts hidden.

This thesis purposely weaves together two important aspects of American soccer, the mainstream and the regional. In order to understand the history in its entirety, one must understand both versions. They exist simultaneously whether that means through cooperation, resistance, or no interaction at all. The majority of Americans fail to acknowledge the extended existence of these regional leagues. As corporate media primarily reports about the mainstream leagues and national teams, smaller outlets like bloggers and podcasters write about the regional history to keep it alive. Over one hundred years of American soccer history exists, and thus far readers only see a minute part of it with enumerable stories left untold.

As shown, much of the American soccer historiography represents a dearth in various areas, such as ethnic leagues and teams, women's soccer, and the history of African Americans in soccer. Journalists with published monographs detail the history of mainstream leagues (the

NASL and MLS), whereas trained historians research and disseminate studies (books and articles) with broader focuses. In particular, they examine the pre-WWII leagues. With the incorporation of regional and mainstream soccer into this thesis, the author chose to show the two parts simultaneously to demonstrate how both survived either through indifference, cooperation, or resistance to each other. When the average American thinks of soccer, typically Major League Soccer, the World Cup, the English Premier League, top-flight club in Europe (for instance, Barcelona, Manchester United, or Real Madrid), or even a famous player like Cristiano Ronaldo or Lionel Messi might first come to mind. All of these examples represent mainstream soccer. The general public predominantly consumes the work on mainstream leagues (aside from David Wangerin's *Soccer in a Football World* which transformed into a highly popular work) and fails to see the wide diversity of their beloved sport's existence in the United States.

During the 1960s, Americans witnessed the formation of four mainstream professional soccer leagues, but only one survived more than five years. The owners and administrators, primarily businessmen in the communication sector, imported the international game in the hopes of evolving it into a quick moneymaker. They soon saw the folly in this thinking and implemented a superficial fix rather than identifying the underlying problem of educating fans. With this in mind, they applied the traditional American sports model of enhancing the entertainment factor and changed many rules of the game to make soccer more palatable and understandable to the audience. Unfortunately for the United States Soccer Federation (USSF) and the NASL, the two organizations created a power struggle with the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) when the league refused to end its experiment with the offside rule per FIFA's insistence. The NASL finally capitulated, but the situation resulted in a negative long-term impact on the development of soccer in the United States.

The national development stalled after the NASL's collapse in 1984, but it captured the nation as a youth sport in the white suburbs. It represented a quandary though. As these primarily white middle-class youth adopted the "immigrant" sport, many white conservative-leaning Americans saw what they considered to be a lessening of white influence in the United States in the form of more minorities gaining power. They also wished to reposition the country as a once again formidable global power. To counteract this situation, they chose Ronald Reagan as the leader of the conservative movement and led to his victory as a candidate in the 1980 Presidential Election. Yet, during his eight years in office, he championed the abilities of soccer as a way to embrace and strengthen international relations because of the sport's popularity. Nonetheless, he and soccer administrators failed to translate the global enthusiasm into the ethnic communities because of ingrained nativism.

Americans have long derided soccer and mocked it as a foreign sport; but soccer evolved into a part of the US culture as it spread to future generations of US-born athletes. Scholars and fans, as well, should recognize the problematic nomenclature currently in use to refer to its early history. Terms such as foreign, immigrant, or ethnic perpetuate the marginalization of newcomers to the United States and suggest a superiority of US-born Americans or simply previous immigrants in addition to the failed assimilation of these groups. Retaining soccer as one's preferred sport makes one no less of an American. Supplanting soccer with gridiron football or baseball might appear as assimilation, but it only creates a false answer to the question of what is American? It predicates this national identity on relinquishing all previous aspects of one's self to assume a socially constructed persona that others find ideal. As a "melting pot" though, all manners of heritage and cultural practices exist in the United States even among those people whose ancestors immigrated several generations ago.

In 1988, US Soccer restarted its aspirations to bring commercial soccer back to the United States after the NASL's collapse. It formed the World Cup USA '94 Organizing Committee to handle all preparations for the 1994 World Cup. Alan Rothenberg chaired the committee, but also headed the federation as its president and made raking in revenue the prime objective of American soccer for decades to come. It created cause for concern when he also led the winning bid for the new professional outdoor Division 1 league. The average soccer fan in the US knows little about the circumstances under which Major League Soccer formed. To understand the league's arc, this conflict must be acknowledged as it still effects the development of soccer in this country.

This money first, development later mindset reared its head in Edmond, Oklahoma, between 2001 and 2004. During its first decade, MLS struggled to maintain survival, and in 2000, it momentarily folded. For the next five years, the league considered new locations for expansion teams once it saw it no longer needed to worry about another collapse. MLS sought an area with a large population, a brand-new (or recently renovated stadium), and an ownership group with hundreds of millions of extra funds to spend. UCO had hoped to improve its commuter-based atmosphere and make itself more welcoming to students, but the profit-minded investors, who originally contacted MLS, chose to ensure the continuation of the Oklahoma City Redhawks, the local minor league baseball team, instead of using its funds to bring soccer and a greater sense of community to the suburb. UCO completed its stadium renovation and still brought the community together through athletics without the investors' help.

Appendix A: “Henrietta Eleven” vs. Coach Tom Powell’s Topeka Team Roster⁷⁵⁴

Player Name	Position
Holden	Goal
W. Bennett	Right Back
C. Guthrie (Captain)	Left Back
G. Frew	Right Half
J. Bennett	Center Half
W. Stenhouse	Left Half
McKenna	Outside Right
F. Pierce	Inside Right
T. Parkin	Center
F. Armory	Inside Left
D. Yates	Outside Right

⁷⁵⁴ “Be A Good Game: The Soccer Contest at League Park Tomorrow, Tom Powell’s Team Versus a Crack Team from Oklahoma,” *The Topeka Daily State Journal*, December 28, 1912.

Appendix B: International Soccer League Participants, 1960-1965⁷⁵⁵

1960	
Section 1	Section 2
Kilmarnock, Burnley, Olympic Gymnaste Club Nice, New York Americans, Bayern Munich, Glenavon	Bangu, Red Star Belgrade, Sampdoria, Sporting Club Lisbon, Norrkoping, Rapid Vienna
1961	
Section 1	Section 2
Everton, Bangu, New York Americans, Karlsruhe, Kilmarnock, Montreal Concordia, Dinamo Bucharest, Beskitas	Dukla Prague, Montreal Concordia, Monaco, Red Star Belgrade, Espanol, Rapid Vienna, Shamrock Rovers, Petah Tikva
1962	
Section 1	Section 2
America RJ, Reutlingen, Guadalajara, Palermo, Dundee FC, Hadjuk Split	Belenenses, Wiener AC, Panathinaikos, MTK Budapest, Elfsborg, Real Oviedo
1963	
Section 1	Section 2
West Ham United, Mantova, Kilmarnock, SC Recife, Preussen Munster, Deportivo Oro, Valenciennes	Gornik Zabrze, Dinamo Zagreb, Wiener AC, Ujpest Dosza, Belenenses, Real Valladolid, Halsingborg
1964	
Section 1	Section 2
SV Werder Bremen, Heart of Midlothian, A. C. Lanerossi-Vicenza, Blackburn Rovers, E. C. Bahia	Zaglebie Sosnowiec, Schwechater, Red Star Belgrade, Victoria Guimaraes, AEK Athens
1965	
Section 1	Section 2
New York Americans, Portugesa, Varese, TSV Munich 1860, West Ham United	Polonia Bytom, Ferencvaros, West Bromwich Albion, Kilmarnock

⁷⁵⁵ Litterer, "International Soccer League II."

Appendix C: United Soccer Association (USA) Teams, 1967⁷⁵⁶

American Team	Imported Team
Boston Rovers	Shamrock Rovers
Chicago Mustangs	Cagliari Calcio
Cleveland Stokers	Stoke City
Dallas Tornado	Dundee United
Detroit Cougars	Glentoran FC
Houston Stars	Bangu Atletico Clube
Los Angeles Wolves	Wolverhampton Wanderers
New York City Skyliners	C.A. Cerro
San Francisco Golden Gate Gales	ADO Den Haag
Toronto City	Hibernian FC
Vancouver Royal Canadians	Sunderland AFC
Washington Whips	Aberdeen Dons

⁷⁵⁶ <http://www.logoserver.com/USA.html>

Appendix D: National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) Teams, 1967⁷⁵⁷

Western Division	Eastern Division
Baltimore Bays	Oakland Clippers
Philadelphia Spartans	St. Louis Stars
New York Generals	Chicago Spurs
Atlanta Chiefs	Toronto Falcons
Pittsburgh Phantoms	Los Angeles Toros

⁷⁵⁷ “National Professional Soccer League,” *The New York Times*, February 12, 1967, 196; <http://www.logoserver.com/NPSL67.html>.

Appendix E: Major League Soccer Teams, 1996-2005*

Founding Teams in 1996	
Colorado Rapids	Los Angeles Galaxy
Columbus Crew	New England Revolution
D.C. United	NY/NJ MetroStars (MetroStars 1998; New York Red Bulls, 2006)
Dallas Burn (FC Dallas, 2004)	San Jose Clash (San Jose Earthquakes, 1999)
Kansas City Wiz (Wizards, 1997; Sporting KC, 2011)	Tampa Bay Mutiny
1998 Expansion Teams	
Chicago Fire	Miami Fusion
2002 Defunct Teams	
Miami Fusion	Tampa Bay Mutiny
2005 Expansion Teams	
Chivas USA	Real Salt Lake

*Rebranded names are in parentheses.

Appendix F: Organizations in Support of the Stadium Referendum Act⁷⁵⁸

ACACIA	Oklahoma Intercollegiate Legislature
Alpha Lambda Delta	Pakistan Student Organization
Alpha Tau Omega	Pan Hellenic
Asian American Student Association	Phi Beta Sigma
Association of Information Technology Professionals	Pi Kappa Alpha
Burros del Rio	Presidents Leadership Council
College Republicans	Residence Hall Association
Envoys	Rock U
European Student Association	Sigma Tau Gamma
Fellowship of Christian Athletes	Slavic Student Association
First American Student Association	Spanish Club
G.A.T.E.	Student Ambassadors
Hispanic American Student Association	Student Mobilization
Inter-Fraternity Council	Student Programming Board
Iranian Student Association	Suites Hall Council
Japanese Student Association	Swing Club
Lambda Pi Eta	Taiwanese Student Association
Murdaugh Hall Council	Thailand Student Association
National Residence Hall Honorary	West Hall Council
Nepal Student Association	

⁷⁵⁸ “Vote Yes for the Stadium Referendum March 11th & 12th,” *The Vista*, March 6, 2003, 4.

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- Mark H. McCormack Papers. University of Massachusetts Amherst Library.
- Office of Legal Counsel. University of Central Oklahoma.
- Office of the President. University of Central Oklahoma.
- Office of the Vice President of Administration. University of Central Oklahoma.
- Research and Genealogy Center. Edmond Historical Society and Museum.
- Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Simi Valley, California.
- The Vista Archives. University of Central Oklahoma.
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