

## **Soccer & Society**



ISSN: 1466-0970 (Print) 1743-9590 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fsas20

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Thomas A. McCabe

To cite this article: Thomas A. McCabe (2017) Cooper's Block: America's first soccer neighbourhood, Soccer & Society, 18:2-3, 320-329, DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2016.1166778

To link to this article: <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2016.1166778">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2016.1166778</a>

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### Cooper's Block: America's first soccer neighbourhood

Thomas A. McCabe\*

Department of History, Rutgers University-Newark, Newark, NJ, USA

This essay traces the evolution and influence of Cooper's Block, a previously unknown Kearny, New Jersey soccer neighbourhood. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, The Block, a tiny soccer-loving hamlet on the banks of the Passaic River, played a pivotal role in nurturing, supporting and growing the game. British immigrants lived, worked and played in what came to be called 'the cradle of American soccer' and, in the process, continued to weave soccer into the fabric of everyday life. Soccer was not on the margins of American sporting space in places like Kearny as the intersection of immigration, labour and leisure established the game in certain urban neighbourhoods. Boys played on sandlots and for junior teams; men competed on weekends in a variety of leagues (amateur, semi-pro and professional) for a plethora of teams; and some players who grew up there went on to represent the United States on foreign tours and in World Cups. Cooper's Block was both a founding and foundational American soccer neighbourhood.

Three hundred people gathered at Kearny's First Ward Republican Club on 15 December 1936, and began the evening's festivities by singing, 'Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here'! The crowd members sang the popular tune 'loudly and with plenty of feeling' because they had grown up in Cooper's Block, a neighbourhood in lower Kearny, New Jersey. Most had moved on from their humble beginnings, but fondly remembered 'an institution known the world over as The Block'. It was the archetypical working-class neighbourhood where proud people tried to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. Whether they made it out or not, 'Cooper's Block alumni' came back to toast the memories of what they considered 'a school for life'.

Congressman Fred A. Hartley, dubbed The Block's 'First Citizen', served as toastmaster and chairman of the reunion committee. He read a series of telegrams from the Vice-President of the United States, two senators and the governor of New Jersey. 'Men high in politics, business and industry joined with less fortunate former neighbours' that evening to enjoy the entertainment provided by The Three DeMarco Sisters. Attendees paged through a reunion newsletter that recalled life in the old neighbourhood. Former residents also left with a small wooden square salvaged from tenement clapboards. Imprinted on the souvenir was the saying, 'A Chip Off The Old Block'. 'It was a night of handshaking, backslapping and reminiscing,' noted one attendee. 'The boys got together and recalled their pranks, their happy gatherings and their troubles. They talked about their fights and their romances'. They also talked soccer.

<sup>\*</sup>Email: tamccabe@andromeda.rutgers.edu

Tom Connell, a sportswriter for the *Newark Evening News*, attended the reunion and wrote about the neighbourhood's sporting importance: 'The Block symbolizes soccer in all its glory, from the time the game was introduced in this country until it reached its peak of popularity [after World War I]'. Reunion attendees, including some of the best players in American soccer history, lauded The Block as the oldest and most important soccer neighbourhood in the country. Like Connell, they appreciated the fact that it raised, nourished and supported players, officials and fans for over five decades. This essay traces the evolution and influence of Cooper's Block, a previously unknown Kearny, New Jersey soccer neighbourhood, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Block, a tiny soccer-loving hamlet on the banks of the Passaic River, was both a founding and foundational American soccer neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

John and Fred Cooper were guests of honour at the reunion as it was their parents who built the tenements that had housed generations of soccer-loving immigrants and their descendants. John and Mary Cooper moved to Kearny in the early 1880s and almost immediately noticed a glaring need. There were two monstrous mills, Clark Thread Company of Scotland and Marshall Flax Spinning Company of England, but little housing for its workers. The enterprising couple hired a gang of carpenters, masons and plumbers to build a dozen large wooden tenements and opened up a general store at the neighbourhood's core. A third factory complex sprang up like a brick behemoth north of the Clark and Marshall plants, when Sir Michael Nairn decided to bring his linoleum firm to Kearny in 1886. 'For those families, the first mainland soil they set foot on was [Nairn] property', recalled an employee. A Nairn official 'would collect new arrivals at Ellis Island, take them on a barge through Newark Bay and up the Passaic River, landing right at the company dock by the warehouse'. The same was true for thousands of other newcomers from England, Ireland, and especially Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

The Coopers built additional tenements to accommodate the continual influx of immigrants, and by the turn of the century the 10-block neighbourhood was the centre of working-class life and leisure in Kearny and East Newark, a tiny village that broke away from Kearny in 1895. Bounded by the Passaic River to the west, Belgrove Drive to the north, Kearny Avenue to the east, and the Newark line of the Eric Railroad to the north, The Block was not only shoehorned between three massive mills, its outlines resembled an old-fashioned leather soccer boot. It was altogether fitting because immigrants, often bound to six-year work contracts, brought their love of soccer with them across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, every conceivable narrative of American soccer occurred within The Block, from the game's pioneer players, teams, leagues and organizations to the confluence of immigration, work and leisure.<sup>3</sup>

It seemed like soccer was everywhere, literally part of The Block's DNA, not on the sporting margins as some scholars have maintained over the years. Children first played soccer on its sandlots before joining youth and school teams. Men played for dozens of teams, ranging from lousy amateur ones to top professional sides, at one of three local fields: Riverside Oval, Washington School Oval, and Clark Field. All three fields were either within the confines of The Block, or within a five-minute walk of its borders, and men and boys flocked there on weekends. Often donning woollen caps and overcoats because soccer was 'the outdoor winter sport', supporters witnessed some of the best soccer the country had to offer. Local semi-professional teams like the West Hudsons and Scottish-Americans succeeded

Clark's ONT as dominant teams by the early 1900s. Young and old watched and talked about the game constantly, whether in local taverns or along the sidelines at matches. It was a cradle-to-grave soccer environment and proof that geography could be sporting destiny.<sup>5</sup>

The Block was an immigrant, working-class district where women waited to buy fish until 6:00 PM, knowing the fishmonger had to give them a good price before it spoiled. It was a place where families shared a common bathtub, and huddled around a wood stove for heat in the wintertime. In the summertime, the kids walked past a foul-smelling slaughterhouse and bathed in the less-than-pristine Passaic River. Each year, it seemed, someone drowned in its murky waters, trying to cool off in the hot summer months. Since there were no indoor bathrooms, one-seat outhouses stood in each backyard. Older members of the family, as well as women, didn't use the 'one-seaters' after dark, and took care of their business inside on a wooden commode lined with a metal bucket. Young boys had to empty it of 'night soil' every morning, and the '6 AM bucket brigade' was described as 'an odoriferous affair'.

The Block was also a place where everyone worked. Family members, male and female and as young as 11, walked to one of the three local mills each morning to work 10 to 12-hour days. And it was a neighbourhood where after work and on weekends, people eagerly sought out recreation. The kids played in the street or vacant lots near their homes, but some even wandered off to play in the Kearny Woods or near the Kearny Castle, the mansion of the town's namesake, Major General Philip Kearny, commander of New Jersey troops in the American Civil War. Men patronized one of the many 'thirst emporiums', including Ford's Bar at the foot of Johnston Avenue, and talked about work, politics, religion and sport. They drank hard, too. And when residents could, they escaped to another world, watching silent films and the first 'talkies' at Grant Theatre.

The Block was a soccer incubator, where, according to local historian and former player George Rogers, 'children are cradled in soccer'. Many clubs had junior teams, which offered teens and young men an opportunity to play before breaking into the first teams. Young kids played the sport, most often in sandlots, but they did not always do so with a ball. 'One of the primary requisites in the business of getting along with the kids on The Block was the ability to kick a tin can with uncanny skill', noted a local newspaperman. That skill transferred over to soccer, and at places like 'Tin Can Oval', a sandlot in the shadow of the mills, soccer players were first made and 'from such a setting came many of the outstanding figures in American soccer'.

In The Block, and in other major 'cradles' of early American soccer like it, soccer was played in both sun and shadow, but also in rain, sleet or snow. Most of the fields had little to no grass, so in the foul weather of mid-winter the ground could be virtually unplayable. Yet, hardy soccer players persisted, playing during a 'disagreeable drizzle', in 'a veritable sea of mud', or 'ankle-deep snow', but such conditions often made for less than desirable soccer. Also, the rough-and-tumble nature of the soccer frequently led to violence, both on the field and in the crowd. 'Fans figured they were entitled to a refund if they were not furnished with a few free-for-all fights', noted one observer. Fans also abused the referee, verbally and physically, and on occasion, spectators charged the field to confront, or even strike, the official. Fuelled by alcohol, 'the saloon element' confirmed soccer's image as a rough,

tough, working-class affair. 'Soccer [was] not exactly a gentle pastime', said one commentator on the early game, and therefore, a soccer player 'in those days' was 'one of three things: rough, tough, or both'.

As soccer became more popular, local sportswriters, more attuned to football, basketball and baseball, grudgingly covered the sport in greater detail. They called it 'the soccer bug', like it was some sort of sporting virus brought to American shores as part of the 'immigrant menace'. The historian Stephen Hardy rightly argued that 'the athletic germ that infected the country after the Civil War found its most fertile ground in cities', and in the case of Kearny, and several other surrounding industrial towns, soccer's not-so-visible microbes crept into its various immigrant communities. Marginalized for long periods of time, the game proved to be a resilient strain of the 'sporting craze', and three representative families – the Fishers, Fords and Starks – caught 'the soccer bug' and passed it on to successive generations.

The Fishers are among the first families of American soccer, and they are likely the longest-continually kicking clan in US soccer history. George Fisher lived a mile and one half from central London's Freemasons' Tavern in 1863, where a group of men agreed to the modern rules of association football. While in the English capital young George may well have played the game that would conquer the world, and he most certainly arrived in his adopted country after the global game had splashed ashore. The 24-year-old English immigrant settled in New York City in 1872, and married Margaret McMahon four years later. By 1880, the young couple had three children; a decade later there were ten. Their apartment in Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen was no longer large enough, so the family moved across the Hudson River and Jersey Meadows to Kearny. 12

The Fishers moved into new worker housing built by Marshall Linen, a block or so from the tenements built by the Coopers, and it must have seemed heavenly to the large family. The house was one of a dozen in a complex called 'The Twelve Apostles' and, fittingly, it was across Watts Street from four homes for the foremen's families that folks referred to as Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. George found work as a brass finisher, an upgrade from his years as a labourer in New York. There was room to play for the children, who played lots of soccer because they now lived in one of the game's hotbeds. The American Football Association (AFA) had been founded in 1884 in a Clark Thread Company building on the Newark side of the river, but the company team played on nearby Clark Field and became the first American soccer dynasty, winning the first three AFA cups from 1885 through 1887. Together, the soccer-centric towns of Kearny, East Newark and Harrison came to be called 'the cradle of American soccer'.

The eldest son George, Jr. listed himself and the family apartment as the contact for a new Under-15 team – Young Kearny Cedars – in 1894, months after the family settled in the area. The Fisher brothers made up the spine of the new team with George, Jr., Leonard and Andrew all playing. Brothers Tommy, Charlie and Frank were all too young for the team, but they would become local legends in due time. The six soccer-playing siblings lived within kicking distance of Riverside Oval, where the Young Cedars played, and a short walk to Clark Field, the mecca of the metropolitan soccer community of New Jersey and New York. Plus, there were several sandlots where neighbourhood boys tested their mettle against one another – a tradition that continued well into the next century. Kurt Rausch, a distant relative of the Fishers, recalled his own father's upbringing in The Block:

My father would see a friend walk out of his house dribbling a soccer ball down the street. He'd whistle and another boy would come out, and then they'd whistle further down the street. Soon, they had enough guys to play.

It was the clarion call that generations answered. 15

By 1900, most of the Fisher boys and girls worked at local factories: Leonard was a toolmaker; Mary was a winder at the thread mill; Tommy and Charlie worked as tier boys at Nairn Linoleum; and the two youngest, Henry and Frank, still attended school. George, Sr., now 51, still worked as a brass finisher. Several of his sons made their way from the sandlots to the semi-professional squads in the National Association Foot Ball League (NAFBL), the strongest league in the country until the formation of the ASL in 1921. Tommy and Charlie turned out for Clark AA, the reincarnated side of the thread mill, in league and cup games during the 1906–1907 campaign. Wingers in the standard 2-3-5 formation, both brothers scored against West Hudson AA to knock the defending champion out of the AFA Cup. Two seasons later the brothers led Clark AA to the 1909 NAFBL championship, the same year that George, Sr. succumbed to pancreatic cancer. The patriarch of the soccer-loving family died the day after Clark AA beat Fall River, Massachusetts in the cup. Uncharacteristically, Charlie, who old-timers said possessed the deadliest shot 'in the cradle', missed two penalty kicks that day, but the Fisher clan continues to play soccer in New Jersey to this day, an unprecedented run from Cooper's Block to the suburbs of the Garden State. 16

John and Jim Ford, born in 1889 and 1890, respectively, spent over a third of their lives in the sole of the boot-shaped Cooper's Block. To know their world is to know the roots of much of American soccer because they both made sizable contributions to the local and national soccer scenes. The brothers grew up at 25 Johnston Avenue along with two older sisters, just across the railroad tracks from Clark Thread Mill. Their parents left an English textile town for Kearny in 1886, with James, their father, finding work as a day labourer, and their mother, Rose, raising the young family at home. The boys' uncle also emigrated and he eventually owned a Johnston Avenue tavern called Ford's Bar. Life for many in the predominantly immigrant, working-class community centred on a few simple things — work, religion and leisure — and in the Ford family, the pull of the pulpit, pub and pitch was especially strong.

As Roman Catholics of Irish heritage, the Fords were part of the minority in Kearny, a predominantly Scottish and Presbyterian town. 'The people of Kearny are largely Protestants, while in Harrison, Roman Catholics are in the great majority', wrote Daniel Van Winkle in his 1924 history of Hudson County. Van Winkle insisted 'religious differences or friction, however, do not exist, and never have'. <sup>18</sup> Yet, religious tensions did exist, and when a patron threatened to sing an anti-Catholic song at Ford's bar before Prohibition, another man retorted, 'You'll sing it at your own risk'. On another occasion, two men helped a Block tenant move to a nearby city, and in the process one of them dropped a large framed picture of Pope Leo. 'You Scotch bastard', yelled the other. 'If that was a picture of King William, you'd be more careful'. Religion was a badge, an identifier, so much so that when one resident answered questions on a government form, he wondered if 'occupation' meant 'Catholic or Protestant'? <sup>19</sup> By the early 1900s, Kearny and nearby Harrison had their own version of Glasgow's 'Old Firm', the bitter sectarian rivalry between Protestant Rangers FC and Catholic Celtic FC. Some of the fiercest and

best-attended games at Clark's Field were those between the Scottish-Americans and Celtic AC, later the Irish-Americans.<sup>20</sup>

Work mattered, too, and most began work in their teens in order to help supplement the family income. In 1900, the Ford sisters worked as 'doffers' and changed out used spools of thread at the local mill. John and Jim were still in school at St. Cecilia's, a Catholic grammar and high school on Kearny Avenue. But by 1910, after some high school, they also went to work in the mill. Their father no longer worked as a labourer, but tended bar at his brother's tavern, which also sponsored a soccer team. When the Great War broke out in Europe, John worked as an electrician and Jim as a machinist. By the time the brothers registered for the US Army in 1917, John was a labourer at Nairn Linoleum Company, and Jim worked as a machinist at Bethlehem Steel in Pennsylvania, where he also played for their powerhouse company team. Work was always a constant, but so was soccer.

Like the Fishers, soccer helped shape the Fords' worldview, and early on they learned lessons about teamwork, toughness and tenacity in The Block's sandlots. A distant relative saw soccer as a birthright, saying, 'The Fords didn't just feed their children milk, we fed them soccer'. The Ford boys played in pick-up games throughout their childhoods, and when they were old enough they joined junior teams. In their late teens, the brothers finally broke into senior sides. John was a tall, slender striker who played for more than a handful of teams throughout his 17-yearlong career, including the Scottish-Americans of Kearny, Jersey AC of Jersey City, the Paterson Rangers, and the Eurekas of Harrison. Jim played even longer, and as a wiry, hard-working outside forward or halfback, he suited up for Brooklyn FC, Bethlehem Steel, Jersey AC, Harrison SC, the New York Giants, and the Newark Skeeters. Like the suited up for Brooklyn Steel.

Most players of the era saw cup games as the big occasions because they drew the largest crowds and garnered the most publicity from the local sporting press. Soccer in the United States has a long history of cup competition, beginning with the AFA cup in 1884, and then with the National Challenge Cup (NCC) in 1913, which is still played today under a different name – the US Open Cup. Jim Ford scored in the first two NCC winning sides, first for Brooklyn in 1914, and second for Bethlehem Steel in 1915. During the 1915–1916 cup competitions, the brothers played for little-fancied Jersey AC, and managed to shock several top teams.<sup>23</sup>

On 7 November 1915, one thousand spectators watched the Jersey City-based amateurs take on the semi-professional West Hudsons in the first round of the AFA cup. The Jerseys had several players from The Block in their line-up, but it was Jim Ford who made a lasting impression. In the second half he dribbled through the West Hudson defence, and shot with 'lightning speed, straight and true in the net'. That goal stood and the Jerseys knocked out the three-time cup champions. Thomas Adam, the West Hudson coach who lived only blocks from the Fords, filed a protest, accusing Jim of receiving a 10-dollar signing bonus from the Jerseys. As an amateur Jim was not supposed to play for money, but many 'amateurs' did in order to supplement their working-class wages. 'He's sore because I turned [his team] down', said Ford. 'I can prove I am innocent of the charge'. The West Hudsons lost the protest and the Ford brothers moved on to the next round.<sup>24</sup>

Two weeks later, the Jerseys hosted the Scottish-Americans of Kearny in the first round of the other cup, the NCC. The Scots featured the young Stark brothers, Archie and Tommy, who were born in Glasgow, Scotland, but immigrated to Kearny as teenagers. If the Fishers and Fords were among the first families of American

soccer, then the Starks would become American soccer royalty. By 1915, at age 17, Archie was already on his way to becoming the most prolific goal-scorer in American soccer history. Tommy, aged 19, was a stalwart defender. The up-and-coming side was a classic blend of youth and experience, and during the 1914–1915 season the Scots challenged the old order, finishing third in the NAFBL and winning the AFA Cup. Archie scored the lone goal in the final while Tommy helped shut down the Brooklyn Celtic attack before 5000 at Newark's Bartell's Park. Both Starks would go on to represent the USA at the international level in 1925, the first official US match on home soil. A quarter century after that historic match, a 6–1 victory over Canada in which Archie scored five, one newspaper poll voted him the best American player in the first half of the twentieth century (25% of the top 12 vote getters were also from The Block). <sup>25</sup>

In the 1916 NCC Cup the underdog Jerseys started poorly, especially since they could not score with gale force winds at their backs during the first half. The Scots scored instead. At the break, several Scots players stood at midfield smoking cigarettes, no doubt thinking that the second half would be a breeze. Yet, the winds of fortune blew in the Jerseys' favour as John won a penalty kick within a minute of the restart. With the game deadlocked, the Scots targeted Jim Ford for rough treatment. At one point, Jim 'was charged so heavily that he was sent flying over the ropes ... that lined the field'. Opponents then squared up to give an exhibition of the 'manly art', but the Fords delivered the knockout blow. Jim sent in a cross that his brother smashed home for the winning goal. '[John's] teammates nearly pulled him apart in attempting to shake his hand and hug him and one or two fair rooters insisted upon going on the field and kissing the bashful younger resident of Kearny', noted the local newspaper. Jersey AC had earned another 'sensational victory', and hoped to make a run to the final, which some wanted to stage in Newark's Weequahic Park as part of the city's 250th anniversary celebration.

The Jerseys did not make it to the NCC final (lost in second round to Brooklyn Celtic FC), or to the AFA final either (lost in the quarterfinal to eventual champion Bethlehem Steel FC), but the Ford brothers relished their time together. The two-week stretch in November 1915 was probably the high point for the tandem. Jim, one of the best American wingers, was one of four players from The Block to travel with the first-ever US national team on a tour of Scandinavia that summer. They played together for Jersey AC after Jim's return that fall, but at the end of the 1917 season, the brothers, along with many other players from The Block joined the military and prepared for war.<sup>27</sup>

Stateside soccer struggled during the war as some teams lost the bulk of their players to enlistment. For example, Jersey AC and the West Hudsons lost so many players to the war that the clubs dropped out of the NAFBL before the season started, and the Scots had to take a leave of absence after only five games due to player shortages. While the Fisher brothers played soccer on the home front throughout the war, the Fords and Starks joined the service. John Ford even coached the soldier team for the 309th Infantry of the 78th Division. His efforts were part of the Army's use of sport to ready the troops for combat. Once stationed abroad, American servicemen played against one another, and Uncle Sam's troops even played against French soldiers, beating them 4–0 on one occasion.<sup>28</sup>

War-front soccer boosted morale, noted a YMCA official advising the United States Army in France, because

a contest of this kind is not only interesting to the combatants, but provides the officers with an opportunity to thaw out a bit when they also see their subordinates sprawling about in the village street with shins barked, shirts torn, and faces covered with dirt.<sup>29</sup>

Sport allowed men to temporarily escape the horrors of war, but Thomas Cahill, editor of *Spalding's Soccer Guide* and secretary of the United States Football Association (founded in 1913), believed it had restorative powers, too. He said soccer served as 'one of the greatest aides possible to restore the nerves of the soldier, shattered by the crash of tremendous guns, half asphyxiated by poisonous gases, depressed by the sight of shattered comrades'. Some boys from The Block suffered injuries, including George Post, who was shot in battle, and John Ford, who returned home with reduced lung capacity as a victim of mustard gas. 1

Many of the top soccer players from The Block, including Archie and Tommy Stark, Jim Ford and George Post, played for Erie AA during the 1919–1920 and 1920–1921 seasons. During the war 40 of its 50 members were stationed overseas and still other servicemen joined the Johnston Avenue athletic club upon returning home. The association's soccer team was a truly representative neighbourhood side as they had all grown up together, many on the same streets or just a few blocks away from one another. They had learned the game together, and then figuratively and literally gone to battle with one another on the fields of West Hudson and Western Europe. They had represented their clubs with pride before the war and their country during it, but in a sense, the men of Erie AA possessed a different civic pride in their immediate post-war soccer careers. When they stepped on to the dirty and dusty pitches to face their rivals – Brooklyn Celtic, Bethlehem Steel, Scottish-Americans, Robins Dry Dock of Brooklyn – they went out to play for one another and the neighbourhood that forged them.

Due in part to the soccer talent within its borders and the community pride that the team from The Block had, Erie AA became one of the top teams in the NAFBL, finishing a point behind champion Bethlehem Steel and easily winning the NJ State Cup in 1920. The following season they finished a disappointing fourth in the league, but reached the semi-final of the venerable, yet-soon-to-be defunct AFA cup. The Eries lost to eventual champions Robins Dry Dock, 1–4, in a third replay after two thrilling draws. During the course of those two seasons, the Eries fielded seven past and future US internationals, including Archie and Tommy Stark, Jim Ford, Al Blakey, George Tintle, Davey Brown, and John Hemingsley. All but Blakey, a native Philadelphian, grew up in The Block. Most of The Block's soccer stars became professionals in the newly formed American Soccer League (ASL) beginning in 1921.<sup>32</sup>

Archie Stark, Davey Brown, Jim Ford and John Hemingsley were routinely among the ASL's top goal scorers. Tommy Stark and George Post were top defenders, and George Tintle, a fireman by trade, and Jim Douglas, a 1924 Olympian and 1930 World Cup member, established the long line of top goalkeepers from the area. Men from The Block more than played, though, they passed on the game to those in the neighbourhood and beyond. For example, John Ford coached Paterson FC in the ASL and led them to the NCC cup title in 1922. He also went on to coach soccer at St. Benedict's Prep in Newark, the future school of US national team stars Tab Ramos, Claudio Reyna and Gregg Berhalter. Tintle was a coach at Harrison High School, and another player-turned-coach, Fred Coggin, turned Kearny High into a perennial power. The school's best-ever team with future World Cup veterans John

Harkes and Tony Meola appeared in 1984, 100 years after the AFA was founded in the Clark Thread Mill firehouse.

But long before the beginning of the modern history of American soccer, the gang was all there at Kearny's First Ward Republican Club. They were there to celebrate a truly special place. The Cooper's Block's tenements were torn down in the months after the first reunion in 1936, but The Block's 'alumni' returned for two more gatherings in 1946 and 1955 to remember an era when soccer was birthed and nurtured and raised in the United States. They paid tribute to the country's first and most important soccer neighbourhood.

#### Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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